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Being a student in the Habsburg Monarchy

Proceedings of the International Conference
Zagreb (Croatia), 18-19 May 2017
Croatian Institute of History

edited by
Ivana Horbec, Maja Matasović and Branko Ostajmer

Being a student in the Habsburg monarchy. Introduction

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ABSTRACT: This essay is an introduction to a collection of papers that discuss the (proto-) modern school system in various parts of the Habsburg Monarchy during the 18th and 19th centuries from the perspective of students or their teachers. While the research on the history of education and schooling in East Central Europe has mainly focused on the topic in terms of political aspects of education, this collection of papers aims at weakening the influence of this perspective by placing the social, cultural or anthropological aspects of the student's life at the centre of the analysis. The papers were presented at the international conference *Being a Student in the Habsburg Monarchy* organised by the Croatian Institute of History in Zagreb from 18th to 19th May 2017.

EET/TEE KEYWORDS: History of education; History of school; Students; Habsburg monarchy; XVIII-XIXth Centuries.

In May 2017 the Croatian Institute of History in Zagreb hosted an international conference entitled *Being a Student in the Habsburg Monarchy*. The conference was part of a research project in historiography *From Proto-Modernisation to Modernisation of Croatia's School System (18th - 19th Century)*. The project was conducted at the Croatian Institute of History and funded by the Croatian Science Foundation from 2014 to 2018. The project aimed at drawing attention to the importance of education for understanding societal development in

Croatian history and stressing the importance of research of the school system as an integral part of the development of a modern state¹. The historiography of education science and education considered the Habsburg Monarchy and Prussia to be the cradle of the modern, state-controlled school system². State education played major role in integrating the Habsburg provinces, which were very heterogeneous socially, economically and constitutionally. The Habsburg education policy greatly influenced education systems in all the successor states of the Monarchy even after its dissolution. Therefore, research results from various successor states of the Habsburg Monarchy on the subject were necessary to understand the extent of the educational reforms in the 18th and 19th centuries and their impact on the politics and society of individual states. Selected papers from the aforementioned conference that are published here are a contribution to our understanding of the learning experience across different regions. They re-examine the impact of the education system on the development of society and socialisation. This collection of papers is the result of most recent research of historians, historians of education science and musicology, sociologists and anthropologists. They discuss the results of the Habsburg education system in Italian, Austrian and Hungarian provinces under Habsburg rule, as well as in areas not well known in international scholarly literature such as Croatia, Serbia or Bosnia and Herzegovina. These proceedings could therefore be considered a step forward towards a comparative and interdisciplinary approach to the history of schooling and education in Central and East Central Europe.

Emphasis is on the second part of the 18th century and the 'long' 19th century (up to 1918). This period is considered a period of proto-modernisation and modernisation processes in the school system of the Habsburg provinces. This was also a period of implementation of educational policy and practices initially inspired by the Enlightenment, when the stage was set for the assertion of a state-controlled education system. Since the second half of the 18th century when education became a political issue, the Monarchy saw the emergence of many debates and plans for the modernisation of education. A specific legal framework (school ordinances, curricula and educational institutions) was also put in place to support the complex system of schools³. While earlier research

¹ The results of the project (including publications and databases) are available at <<http://histedu.isp.hr>> (last access: 30.09.2019).

² Cf. e.g. an influential study by J. Van Horn Melton, *Absolutism and the Eighteenth-Century Origins of Compulsory Schooling in Prussia and Austria*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1988. G.B. Cohen also characterises Austria's education system as one of the major accomplishments of government and civil society in the 19th-century Habsburg Monarchy; G.B. Cohen, *Education and Middle Class Society in Imperial Austria, 1848-1918* (Central European Studies), West Lafayette, Indiana, Purdue University Press, 1996.

³ For school ordinances in the 'western' part of the Monarchy cf. H. Engelbrecht, *Geschichte des österreichischen Bildungswesens. Erziehung und Unterricht auf dem Boden Österreichs*, Vol. III. *Von der frühen Aufklärung bis zum Vormärz*, Vol. IV. *Von 1848 bis zum Ende der Monarchie*, Vienna, Österreichischer Bundesverlag, 1984, 1986; Ch. Aichner, B. Mazohl (edd.), *Die Thun-*

on the history of education and schooling in Habsburg provinces has primarily focused on studying its legal framework⁴, most recent research mainly aims at weakening the influence of this perspective. It places the very effects of this framework at the centre of analysis and considers social, cultural and anthropological aspects of the student's life as well⁵. This collection of papers uses the same approach to the (proto-)modern school system in various parts of the Monarchy. It places the bottom-up perspective of the school system at the centre of research interest. We believe that such a change in perspective complements research focused on the political aspects of education. It facilitates better understanding of the actual scope of educational reforms in different political, economic and cultural environments, social expectations from educational strategies, or challenges faced by end users of the system.

From the papers presented at the conference, the editors of these proceedings have primarily selected contributions that concern education and the school system from the perspective of students and teachers, and through the prism of two methodological-epistemological turns, i.e. cultural and spatial turn. The papers published here are based on the study of various sources that complemented official documents on educational policies: memoirs, diaries,

Hohenstein'schen Universitätsreformen 1849-1860. Konzeption – Umsetzung – Nachwirkungen, Vienna-Cologne-Weimar, Böhlau Verlag, 2017. School ordinances that exerted greatest influence on Hungarian provinces in the 18th and 19th centuries are discussed in I. Horbec, M. Matasović, V. Švoger, *Od protomodernizacije do modernizacije školstva u Hrvatskoj: Zakonodavni okvir*, Zagreb, Hrvatski institut za povijest, 2017, <<https://histedu.isp.hr/sources-for-school-history>> (last access: 01.12.2019).

⁴ For example, some of the most influential works dealing with the beginnings of the state-controlled education system in the Habsburg Monarchy, i.e. the reforms of Maria Theresa and Joseph II, are the works by Gerald Grimm (G. Grimm, *Die Schulreform Maria Theresias 1747-1775. Das österreichische Gymnasium zwischen Standesschule und allgemeinbildender Lehranstalt im Spannungsfeld von Ordenschulwesen, thesianischen Reformabsolutismus und Aufklärungspädagogik*, Bern, Peter Lang, 1987; *Elitäre Bildungsinstitution oder „Bürgerschule“? Das österreichische Gymnasium zwischen Tradition und Innovation 1773-1819*, Frankfurt, Peter Lang, 1995); then by E. Fináczy for the Hungarian provinces, *A magyarországi közoktatás története Maria Theresia korában*, I-II vols., Budapest, Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 1899, 1902; by A. Cuvaj for the Croatian lands under Habsburg rule in the 18th and 19th centuries, *Grada za povijest školstva kraljevina Hrvatske i Slavonije: od najstarijih vremena do danas*, Zagreb, vols. 1-11, second edition, 1910. Such an approach to reforms of the school system provides an insight necessary for further research (cf. Horbec, Matasović, Švoger, *Od protomodernizacije*, cit., introductory part).

⁵ Over the last two decades many works have appeared on the subject. Here, we refer just to Croatian historiography as an example of this change in perspective and literature on the Habsburg education system: T. Šek Brnardić, *Svijet Baltazara Adama Krčelića. Obrazovanje na razmeđu tridentskoga katolicizma i katoličkoga prosvjetiteljstva*, Zagreb, Hrvatski institut za povijest, 2009 (for the 18th century); T. Luetić, *Studenti Sveučilišta u Zagrebu (1874-1914). Društveni život, svakodnevnica, kultura, politika*, Zagreb, Srednja Europa, 2012; D. Župan, *Mentalni korzet. Spolna politika obrazovanja žena u Banskoj Hrvatskoj (1869-1918)*, Osijek, Slavonski Brod, Učiteljski fakultet, Hrvatski institut za povijest, Podružnica za povijest Slavonije, Srijema i Baranje, 2013; I. Iveljić (ed.), *The Entangled Histories of Vienna, Zagreb and Budapest (18th-20th Century)*, Zagreb, FF Press, 2015.

correspondence, (published) treatises, discussions, school memorials, etc. They demonstrate how the (intense) educational reforms were perceived by individuals who were closely involved in the process of their implementation, and touch upon various cultural and anthropological aspects of education – mobility, learning, leisure time; students' memoirs, diaries, correspondence, symbolic power and school rituals; discipline; students' and school premises; the shaping of students' subjectivity and identity (gender, social, ethnic, etc.); institutional hierarchy and school ceremonies; students' emotions, illnesses and hygiene.

Based on the authors' approach to the perception of the school system, contributions are grouped into four thematic sections. The first thematic section re-examines various adaptations of regulations and regulatory guidelines issued by the Court of Vienna in different provinces of the Habsburg Monarchy (Hungary, Croatia, Dalmatia, Istria, Bosnia and Herzegovina) and underlines the reasons why it was difficult (or easy) for these changes to take hold. Analysing discussions and criticism among Hungarian and Croatian intellectuals on the subject of intense school reforms in the second part of the 18th century and focusing on the problems of practical education, Ivana Horbec and Maja Matasović provide an insight into the tendencies and ideas behind the 18th-century educational reforms and point out diverse practices in accepting the changes in educational standards. While welcoming the ideas and intentions behind the reforms, prominent experts in the education system of the Kingdom of Hungary also stressed the need to take local conditions and traditional values into consideration when drafting school ordinances. They pointed out the usefulness of extended education and broader knowledge for society, the role of education in moral upbringing and the status of Latin in education. Valentina Chierichetti and Simonetta Polenghi demonstrate how the social background and financial means of the family impacted the children's choices of education and individual careers, taking as an example the secondary schools in Milan during the Restoration period. They reconstruct the teachers' status, the pupils' social background and their academic performances. Their research, based mostly on archival sources, increases the understanding on how the Austrian school ordinances were received by Italian intellectuals in the context of mutual political distrust between Vienna and the Italian provinces under Habsburg rule. It also clarifies how the Habsburg educational standards increased pressure to climb up the social ladder in economically and financially more prosperous regions of the Monarchy. Magdolna Rébay focuses on one of the most prominent Hungarian families of the 19th century – the Széchényis. She examines if Hungarian aristocratic families changed their educational strategies with the emergence of the civil society, which was accompanied by the establishment of the modern education system and professionalisation of public affairs. Analysis of the family correspondence and other archival sources indicates that members of the Széchényi family maintained education patterns

inherent in the upper classes of society, but also adopted new educational standards by acquiring necessary qualifications for the public service at state-controlled schools. Rudolf Barišić points out a persistent problem during the establishment of the school system, especially faced by the population living far from university centres, namely poor completion rates in high schools. Reasons for this were not always of a financial nature: dropping out of high school was a frequent occurrence even if a student was a scholarship recipient. Barišić's research unveils the most common reasons for the discontinuation of higher education, based on the example of the students from the Franciscan Province of Bosna Argentina in Ottoman Bosnia. Although the students from this Province received scholarships of Emperor Joseph II in 1785 for studies at the universities of the Habsburg Monarchy, many of them did not complete their studies, mostly due to their pastoral duties, health problems or issues of discipline. However, the author concludes that the discontinuation of studies did not have much impact on the future involvement of these students in the Church administration. In addition, he has largely contributed to the understanding of the problems that the Roman Catholic Church faced in the Ottoman territories. Manuela-Claire Warscher documents a completely different perception of educational standards imposed by the Habsburg authorities in the 19th century than those analysed by Chierichetti and Polenghi, using education patterns in the predominantly agricultural population of Istria as an example. In this economically underdeveloped province of the Monarchy, the general view on education was shaped by the traditional routines and values of rural society, and the pressure by the Habsburg authorities resulted in a rejection of external stimuli and a hostile stance of the peasantry towards education.

Next thematic section discusses the general impact of learning on personal maturation and the role of education in forming an individual – whether as a result of the state's intervention in the teaching content or as a result of the personal educational process. To answer these questions, Zrinko Novosel has focused his research on several autobiographical narratives originating from Croatian lands under Habsburg rule. Using a comparative approach and considering social background, aspirations and ideas of individual authors, Novosel uses these sources to provide a clearer perspective on the process of upbringing and early education in 19th century Croatia. Thus, he contributes to our understanding of the child's view on his schooldays, teachers and the rules of behaviour present in the contemporary school ordinances. The essay by Marijana Kokanović Marković deals with music lessons as an important medium in 19th-century female education, as well as a medium of the transfer of culture among urban centres in the Habsburg Monarchy. Analysing music lessons given to young girls from the most prominent, middle class families in Novi Sad in present-day Serbia, the author points out the significant role of music in female upbringing and education, and discusses knowledge of music and performance as a symbolic way of revealing family wealth, civic education

and social status in the semi-peripheral region of the Habsburg Monarchy. Nineteenth century female education is also the main topic of research conducted by Dinko Župan. Župan's research focuses on school gender policy in 19th-century Europe, primarily based on creating desirable gender identities. Analysing the status of female students in the Croatian education system in the second half of the 19th century, the author examines the discourse of school journals and education science books in Croatia in the second half of the 19th century when the 'education of women' became one of the central topics in the debates of Croatian educationists and professors. Teaching programmes in the 19th century prove that power and knowledge were mutually connected, and that the education system used those programmes to influence the cultural creation of male and female identities. Using the Habsburg educational policy in Bosnia as an example, Guido van Hengel examines its impact on creating various types of non-formal educational spaces, and, consequently, shaping adolescence as a political force. The author stresses the importance of state education for stimulating the sense of political affiliation at the peripheries of the Habsburg power, but also its impact on the awareness of cultural and political distinctiveness of the nations represented in the Monarchy.

The third thematic section contributes to a better understanding of the cultural and intellectual transfer among Habsburg provinces in the 18th and 19th centuries. This section refers to *peregrinatio academica* and relates to various experiences of students from the eastern part of the Monarchy studying at higher learning institutions in Vienna (as the most prestigious in the Monarchy). Its aim is to foster understanding on how more traditional social structures of the Monarchy responded to the emergence of the state-controlled processes of higher education and professionalisation. Olga Khavanova provides a unique insight into the everyday life of the prestigious Theresian Academy in Vienna based on the analysis of letters written in the 1750s by its student, Hungarian nobleman István Dessewffy. Khavanova considers an interesting hypothesis that *mediocre* students, who paid less attention to the formalities of letter-writing rules, wrote more informative letters and discussed a wider range of topics in their letters. She demonstrates how the lack of rhetorical discipline could be used as a methodological pattern for analysing individual concerns, fears and hopes of young men sent far away from the familiar milieu to mature for a public career. Personal accounts revealing individual experiences of studying in Vienna also form the basis of research conducted by Vlasta Švoger. She used autobiographic and diary notes, as well as personal correspondence of several distinguished members of the Croatian intellectual elite to discuss the impact of the students' mobility on the intellectual and cultural transfer from Vienna to the provinces of the Monarchy. Studies in Vienna greatly contributed to individual careers and at the same time provided benefits of the intellectual, cultural and social life in Vienna. Rupert Klieber draws a similar conclusion in his essay on Croatian students of the 'Frintaneum' in Vienna, which was

the highest institution of post-graduate studies in Theology in the 19th century Habsburg Monarchy. Basing his research on the protocols of the institution, the author reconstructs the impact of studies in Vienna on individual careers and discusses the dissemination of theological, cultural, spiritual and political tendencies from Vienna to the Habsburg provinces.

The last thematic section discusses students' everyday life and informal student spaces and examines the diverse practices of socialising of various student groups. In this way, it contributes to the understanding of the transfer of ideas among the Monarchy's student population through informal media. Teodora Shek Brnardić has researched the everyday life of cadets at the Military Academy in Wiener Neustadt. As the basis for her analysis she uses gouache paintings by Bernhard Albrecht (1785-1793) that portray different training activities of cadets. The scenes of these activities are interpreted in juxtaposition to the enlightened curriculum created by the director of the Academy, Count Francis Joseph Kinsky. Focusing on the experiences of Slovene students, Željko Oset discusses their everyday life in the university centres of Vienna, Graz and Prague. Social standing, means of subsistence, individual affinities and social skills greatly influenced how the opportunities offered by the university centres were used. Finally, Tihana Luetić discusses students' periodicals as a medium of sharing ideas in politics, the economy, science and culture. The author has based her research on magazines published by Zagreb students belonging to various political and cultural groups, and concluded that such magazines represented important communication and mobilisation channels for high school and student youth, and were a place for fulfilling their sociability.

We believe that all these essays greatly contribute to understanding the experience of the education of groups and individuals in a multinational and multicultural milieu of the Habsburg Monarchy. We hope that the proceedings will contribute to the re-examination of the impact of the (proto-) modern education systems in East-Central Europe and acceptance of some new methodological patterns in the use of sources connected to the history of education and the school system. Finally, we would particularly like to thank all the authors for sharing their enlightening research, including those who were just participants in the conference. In a wonderfully stimulating atmosphere, they facilitated a discussion on a wide range of topics, methodologies and problems related to very diversified parts of the Monarchy. We also thank the Croatian Institute of History and the Croatian Science Foundation for their administrative and financial support.

Towards the modernisation of school system: students' perspective

Sola praxis format hominem? Ideals and criticism of the system of higher learning in the 18th Century Kingdom of Hungary*

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ABSTRACT: This research paper focuses on the perceptions of reforms in the system of higher learning in the eastern part of the Habsburg Monarchy, particularly among Hungarian intellectuals during the second part of the 18th century. The research is based on archival sources and selected contemporary writings. Discussions and criticism among the (contemporary) academics on the topic of the intense school reforms are a valuable contribution to our understanding of the extent to which Court provisions were perceived and adopted among the more traditional political and social structures of the Habsburg Monarchy. This paper provides an insight into tendencies and ideas behind educational reforms, focusing on the problems of practical education, and points to diverse practices in accepting changes in educational standards throughout the Habsburg Monarchy.

EET/TEE KEYWORDS: Higher learning; History of school; Jesuits; Habsburg Monarchy; XVIIIth Century.

Introduction

«Shall we further multiply the number of idiots who cry: ‘what’s the point? Only practice makes a man!’?»¹. This opinion, expressed in 1792 by Adalbert

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¹ [A.A. Barics], *Nonnihil de educatione iuventutis scholasticae et studiorum reformatione in ditionibus Pannonicis*, Pampelonae (a fictive place), 1792, p. 111. All citations from this source in

(Béla) Adam Barić (1742-1813), professor and former rector of the University in Pest², vividly reflects the essence of discussions held in the Kingdom of Hungary on the needs for education reform in this part of the Habsburg Monarchy. In his short treatise, published anonymously, Barić tried to express his ideas for «emendation of some of the shortcomings of the Hungarian education system»³ – among them, it seemed to Barić that giving more importance to practice rather than theory was the most dangerous one. Speaking in the name of many Hungarian professors who protested against new incentives for reform in Hungary that would «make superficialists, not experts»⁴, Barić's treatise raised questions on the role of the state in promoting arts and sciences, cultivating knowledge and preserving the morals of youth – questions that are still raised in discussions on modern education systems.

The discourse could be traced back to extensive reforms of the schooling system in the Habsburg Monarchy since the late 1740s. By the mid-18th century, in the Habsburg Monarchy, as well as in the whole of Central Europe, schooling became one of the most important tasks of the *politicum*. With the education reforms introduced by Empress Maria Theresa (ruled from 1740 to 1780) and her son Joseph II (ruled from 1780 to 1790), the protomodern school system was built under the auspices of the state, relying on the premises that are associated today with modern education systems. A strong impetus for reform was found in the dissolution of the Jesuit order in 1773, which previously controlled most of the schools in the Habsburg Monarchy. The enormous wealth of the Habsburg Jesuits was then taken over by the Treasury and used as a financial basis for school reform. Many Jesuits were still involved in the administration of the school system. However, their work was subjected to state control⁵. From an organisational point of view, the new system was based on a utilitarian approach to education. It included administrative mechanisms for controlling the system from elementary schools to academia, stable legislation that allowed similar (or even equal) schooling systems throughout the Monarchy, control over the hiring of teachers and professors, prescribing curricula and handbooks, as well as control over the results of the schools' activity⁶. Furthermore, this system led

this paper are translated from Latin by the authors.

² On Barić (Barics, Barits) cf. J. Szinnyi, *Magyar írók élete és munkái*, Budapest, 1891, Vol. 1, pp. 582-583; E. Laszowski, *Adalbert Barić, prvi profesor državnopravnih i financijskih znanosti u Varaždinu i na Zagrebačkoj akademiji 1769-1777*, «Nastavni vjesnik», n. 31, 1922-1923, pp. 232-239; O.V. Khavanova, *Adal'bert Barić: ot studenta v Vene do professora v Zagrebe*, «Slavjanskij al'manah», 2006, pp. 434-446.

³ Barics, *Nonnihil de educatione*, cit., p. 3.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 15.

⁵ Cf. I. Horbec, M. Matasović, V. Švoger, *Od protomodernizacije do modernizacije školstva u Hrvatskoj: Zakonodavni okvir*, Zagreb, Hrvatski institut za povijest, 2017, pp. 15-20.

⁶ For further details on the reform cf. G. Grimm, *Die Schulreform Maria Theresias 1747-1775. Das österreichische Gymnasium zwischen Standesschule und allgemeinbildender Lehranstalt im Spannungsfeld von Ordenschulwesen, thesianischen Reformabsolutismus und Aufklärungspäda-*

to the specialization of schools, thus addressing the problem of previous public schools, administered by Church structures and criticized for being oriented towards the study of the Latin language, classical authors and Roman law with no connection to the current (practical) needs of the state's subjects.

This paper aims to analyse the perceptions of ordinances in the Habsburg Monarchy that led to the formation of a protomodern school system in its eastern part – the Kingdom of Hungary. The emphasis is on sources originating from the territory of Hungary and Croatia-Slavonia⁷, which will be interpreted in the context of the Court's education policy towards the Kingdom of Hungary, focusing on its utilitarian approach. The research examines sources from the second half of the 18th century, when most of the discussions took place. Among them, we singled out those assessed as most representative for the establishment of a (proto-) modern education system in Hungary and Croatia in the late 18th century. In 1769 Hungarian aristocrat Kristóf Niczky wrote two treatises making proposals to the Court in Vienna on how to approach the reform of Hungarian *gymnasia* and university – «A Plan for a Royal University in the Royal Free City of Buda» and «The Most Humble Opinion on how the Gymnasia in the Kingdom of Hungary Could Be Established to the Great Advantage and Benefits of the State»⁸. There were also views expressed by Croatian scholar and canon of the chapter of Zagreb Adam Baltazar Krčelić in his works⁹, as well as the «History of the New School Reform in Hungary» published in the literary magazine *Merkur von Ungarn* in 1787¹⁰, and the aforementioned treatise by Barić, «Something about the Education of Scholarly Youth and the Reformation of Studies in the Pannonian Regions» from 1792¹¹. These sources have been selected because they present views on the education

gogik, Bern, Peter Lang, 1987; U. Herrmann, *Pädagogisches Denken*, in N. Hammerstein, U. Herrmann (edd.), *Handbuch der deutschen Bildungsgeschichte*. vol. II.: 18. Jahrhundert. Vom späten 17. Jahrhundert bis zur Neuordnung Deutschlands um 1800, Munich, C.H. Beck, 2005, Vol. II, pp. 97-133; for the Kingdom of Hungary in particular cf. E. Fináczy, *A magyarországi közoktatás története Maria Theresia korában*, I-II vols., Budapest, Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 1899, 1902 and Horbec, Matasović, Švoger, *Od protomodernizacije do modernizacije školstva u Hrvatskoj*, cit.

⁷ The Croatian-Slavonian Kingdom was part of the Kingdom of Hungary. It enjoyed broad autonomy in public affairs, but its Estates were considered «Hungarians» (*Hungari*) in the political sense.

⁸ Kristóf Niczky, «Planum Universitatis Regiae in der königlichen Freystadt Ofen» and «Allergehorsamste Meynung, wie die Gymnasia in dem Königreich Ungarn zum grossen Vortheil und Nutzen des Staats könnten eingerichtet werden», Hungarian State Archives (hereinafter: MNL OL), holdings A1, 439ex1769, and published (in German) by Fináczy, *A magyarországi közoktatás*, cit., 1899, pp. 388-401.

⁹ B.A. Krčelić, *Annuae ili historija 1748-1767*; transl. by V. Gortan, Zagreb, JAZU, 1952 and *De regnis Dalmatiae, Croatiae et Sclavoniae notitiae preaeliminares*, Zagreb, A. Jandera, [1770].

¹⁰ *Geschichte der neuen Schulenreformation in Ungarn*, «Merkur von Ungarn. Literaturzeitung für das Königreich Ungarn und dessen Kronländer», M.G. Kovachich (ed.), Year II, vols. I-VI, Pest, 1787.

¹¹ Barić, *Nonnihil de educatione*, cit.

system in the Kingdom of Hungary as a whole. Analysing these sources, we shall try to explain how education reforms in the Habsburg Monarchy were perceived in the Kingdom of Hungary, and understand the extent to which the Court provisions were adopted among the more traditional political and social structures of the Monarchy.

1. *Some Goals of Education Reform in the Habsburg Monarchy*

In the context of education policy-making, the 18th century was marked by education theories of the Enlightenment – ranging from the ideas of Locke (*Some Thoughts concerning Education*, 1693) through Rousseau's *Emile* (1762) to Kant's discussion on education (*Über Pädagogik*, 1803). They brought inevitable changes to attitudes towards public education. In Central Europe, the ideas shaped at royal courts and rulers' initiatives provided a key impetus for education reforms. Two main tendencies in these reforms could be emphasised as the most far-reaching for the history of education in these areas. They are the right (and obligation) of rulers to regulate and control public education, and the necessity to organise teaching in public schools according to the contents that suited the 'common good' or 'general welfare', or – to be more precise – to the contents that were in line with the interests of society and the ruler. The objective was to educate subjects who were capable of ensuring their own livelihood and willing to live in accordance with positive laws¹².

Building a network of state-controlled educational institutions became an essential part of state-building. Educational reforms were first introduced in Vienna, aiming at building elite institutions of higher learning and acquiring knowledge on the process that could then be implemented in other provinces of the Monarchy. Initial reforms related to students of medicine and law since these disciplines were most important for the enlightened state's idea of concern for the welfare of all citizens and ensuring public governance suited to contemporary norms of government in (enlightened) absolutist states of the 18th century.

Control over the legal sciences was of primary importance for the state. A rapid development of the state administration culminated in the second half of the 18th century, and the first schools to be regulated were those where prospective civil servants could obtain their professional education. In 1746, Maria Theresa founded the noble academy *Collegium Theresianum* in Vienna. Its mission was to transmit knowledge necessary for civil and military service of the (higher)

¹² For references cf. footnote 6, as well as J. Van Horn Melton, *Absolutism and Eighteenth-Century Origins of Compulsory Schooling in Prussia and Austria*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1988.

nobility, who held political power in the Monarchy, especially at the local level¹³. The Faculty of Law at the University of Vienna underwent significant reforms in the 1760s. They applied practices that were common to faculties of law at German Protestant universities, especially in Halle and Göttingen, which emphasised the practical use of lessons in public administration¹⁴. From an organisational aspect, the control of the Faculty's management and engagement of professors was ensured, and the model was soon applied at the Monarchy's other universities. For prospective civil servants, the curriculum of the reformed schools provided lessons in new, practical disciplines, such as public law, state law, natural law, statistics, political and cameral sciences, history, political economy, natural and financial sciences, modern foreign languages, civil and military engineering, surveying and other technical disciplines. For future jurists and civil servants, the purpose of the reform was to instill new perceptions of law in line with the concept accepted at the Court at the time and to teach them 'good policy' or 'wise government' («gute Polizei»). This comprised theoretical knowledge of public administration, health, economy, education and security since they were the main postulates for incorporating the principles of common good and prosperity in public governance¹⁵. A similar shift towards practical learning was evident in the reforms of the School of Medicine at the University of Vienna that were introduced from the 1740s to the 1780s. In this period, at the initiative of Gerard van Swieten (1700-1772), Maria Theresa's private physician and her main councillor in health care issues¹⁶, the School of Medicine was fully reorganised. The administration of the School was also

¹³ The full name of *Collegium Theresianum* at its foundation in 1746, *Collegium Nobilium Theresianum Societatis Jesu*, reflects the conviction that the ruler has exclusive right to intervene in Jesuit education, which was very closed and autonomous in the Monarchy. Cf. E. Guglia, *Das Theresianum in Wien: Vergangenheit und Gegenwart*, Vienna, Böhlau Verlag, 1996; O. Khavanova, *Official Policies and Parental Strategies of Educating Hungarian Noblemen in the Age of Maria Theresia*, in I. Cerman, L. Velek (edd.), *Adelige Ausbildung. Die Herausforderung der Aufklärung und die Folgen*, Munich, Martin Meidenbauer, 2006, pp. 97 f.

¹⁴ Cf. M. Stolleis, *Staat und Staatsräson in der Frühen Neuzeit*, Frankfurt, Suhrkamp, 1990, p. 268; N. Hammerstein, *Besonderheiten der Österreichischen Universitäts- und Wissenschaftsreform zur Zeit Maria Theresias und Josephs II*, in R. Plaschka et alii (edd.), *Österreich im Europa der Aufklärung. Kontinuität und Zäsur in Europa zur Zeit Maria Theresias und Josephs II*, Vienna, ÖAW, 1985, Vol. II, p. 803; W. Heindl, *Gehorsame Rebellen. Bürokratie und Beamte in Österreich 1780 bis 1848*, Vienna, Böhlau, 1991, pp. 96-111; for reforms in Hungary during Maria Theresa's reign cf. Fináczy, *A Magyarországi közoktatás*, cit.

¹⁵ On the concept of the 'gute Polizei' with an emphasis on German-speaking lands, cf. R. Axtman, 'Police' and the Formation of the Modern State: Legal and Ideological Assumptions on State Capacity in the Austrian Lands of the Habsburg Monarchy, in C. Emsley (ed.), *Theories and Origins of the Modern Police*, New York, Routledge, 2016, pp. 131-154, and I. Horbec, *Lessons in 'Good Policy' for the King's Servants: Political and Cameral Studies in Croatian (1769-1776)*, «Povijesni prilozi», vol. 54, pp. 239-356.

¹⁶ On van Swieten cf. F.T. Brechka, *Gerard van Swieten and his World 1700-1772*, The Hague, 1970 and the edited volume published by E. Lesky, A. Wandruszka (edd.), *Gerard van Swieten und seine Zeit*, Vienna, Böhlau, 1973.

under the jurisdiction of state institutions, foreign professors were invited, and the medical curriculum was modernised and oriented towards empiricism and everyday practice¹⁷. The reformation process lasted as far as the 1780s. This was in line with the Court's ordinances to establish a unified system of public health in the Habsburg Monarchy and to provide good education based on practical knowledge and contemporary practices to all medical practitioners.

The objective of these reforms was, above all, to ensure training in 'practical' knowledge for the Monarchy's subjects, and, consequently, ensure that state education would directly contribute to the national economy and its subjects. The idea of educating a citizen that would be 'useful' to the state was at the centre of the education policy: e.g., Wenzel Anton von Kaunitz (1711-1794), an influential state secretary, saw the ideal of state education in 1760 in «appropriate education of youth of all classes». In his view, the youth ought to be taught agriculture, local economy and medical sciences. Education of nobility ought to be more oriented towards practical rather than 'speculative' knowledge, because it was «more important for the state to educate useful citizens than world-famous scientists»¹⁸. In this approach to public education, Kaunitz foresaw the «régénération de l'Etat». Similarly, Baron Egid Borié (1717-1793), Councillor in the State Council, made a point in 1765 that «this silent force [i.e. education] is the strongest and the most exhaustive»¹⁹. The attitudes of Joseph II towards state education were not far off from the attitudes of his mother's councillors: in 1782, he pointed out that higher schools should serve to «educate prospective state servants, not scientists»²⁰.

2. Perception of Educational Reforms in the Kingdom of Hungary until 1790

In the eastern part of the Monarchy – the Kingdom of Hungary – the only university was located in Trnava, present-day Slovakia. The reforms in schools of higher learning in Vienna were not initially transferred to the University in Trnava, but did have a major impact on the Hungarian population, especially its nobility. The youth from the entire Kingdom of Hungary was encouraged by the Court in Vienna to enrol in new institutions of higher learning, such as the *Theresianum*, or in the reformed courses at the University of Vienna. The

¹⁷ E. Lesky, *Krankenbett-Unterricht, van Swieten und die Begründung der medizinischen Fakultät Tyrnau*, «Orvostörténeti Közlemények», nn. 57-59, 1971, pp. 29-39.

¹⁸ Grimm, *Die Schulreform Maria Theresias*, cit., pp. 116-118.

¹⁹ Gy. Ember, *Der österreichische Staatsrat und die ungarische Verfassung 1761-1768*, «Acta Historica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae», vol. VII, p. 156. Translated from German by the authors.

²⁰ Heindl, *Gehorsame Rebellen*, cit., p. 96.

ruler promised that these students would take precedence in obtaining public offices, thus addressing primarily the Hungarian noble families dedicated to the public service. A diploma in reformed studies became a sign of 'professional qualification' for any kind of public service²¹, leading to changes in educational strategies among subjects in the Kingdom of Hungary as well. Scholarships were granted for less wealthy students of noble or common origin: e.g. in 1769 Maria Theresa established a scholarship fund for Croatian students to be enrolled in the programme of political and cameral sciences led by Joseph von Sonnenfels (1732-1817) at the University of Vienna²²; during the second half of the 18th century, the high costs of study of medicine or surgery at the Monarchy's reformed universities were reimbursed by the state²³. This incentive by the Court in Vienna aimed at creating a stimulation for competition among students and attracting young men otherwise not able to afford higher education.

Some differences in education between Vienna and the Kingdom of Hungary at the time were revealed by the treatise *The History of the New School Reform in Hungary*, published in sequels in the literary magazine *Merkur von Ungarn* from 1787 onwards²⁴ by Hungarian historian and diplomat Martin Georg Kovachich (1743-1821)²⁵. Referring to the period prior to the 1770 reform of the University in Trnava, the author attributed the most important reform incentives to the period of the Seven Years' War (1756-1763). Then, many students from the war-inflicted regions of the 'western' part of the Monarchy (Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia), where the educational reforms had already been introduced, were oriented towards the University of Trnava, «where the academy was highly renowned»²⁶. However,

this confluence of students from different nations inspired a vivacious contest, which greatly increased the diligence [of the students]. After this war was over, the mindset of the higher class of the Hungarian nation began to take a different turn: the countries, where the war was fought, had [...] already reached a higher degree of culture, but also wallowed in freedom of thought, in disbelief, and irreligiosity: the sons of Mars have found [themselves] in sciences, and especially in freedom of thought and irreligiosity [...] and brought them home where it would spread very fast among other estates; in the fine world it had already become fashionable. There, the name *Voltaire* was pronounced in all assemblies [...]²⁷.

²¹ Khavanova, *Official Policies*, cit., p. 107.

²² Austrian State Archives (hereinafter: ÖStA), Finanz- und Hofkammerarchiv, Camerale Ungarn, Fasc. r. Nr. 607. Subd. 2, 103 ex Jul. 1769, fol. 413r.

²³ Cf. F.X. Linzbauer, *Codex sanitario-medicinalis Hungariae*, Budae, 1853, Vol. III-I, pp. 501, 505, 510-511, 532-533.

²⁴ *Geschichte der neuen Schulenreformation*, cit.

²⁵ On Kovachich and his works cf. Kovachich, Márton György, in *Österreichisches Biographisches Lexikon 1815-1950*, Vienna, Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1969, Vol. 4, p. 167.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, cit., Vol. I, p. 19. All citations from this source are translated from German by the authors.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 19-20.

In this quotation, educational tendencies were perceived through differences in culture and the general mindset. It was argued that change in educational strategies goes hand in hand with a change in the youth's morals. This corresponded with a general point of view of Hungarian intellectuals of the time – the 'libertinism' of student youth will also be one of the main concerns of professor Barić from Pest (see below). The author of the lines quoted above also looked back at the initial response of more traditional structures: in his view, the Jesuits – who held control over a significant part of Hungarian higher education at the time «were careful to observe this new way of thinking» and foresaw the danger that might threaten their principles. Therefore, they made efforts to uphold their doctrines against all innovations. He also reported that another «movement» arose at the same time, «which threatened much more seriously the old school constitution»²⁸. First, in Hungary there were Protestants and also many Catholics who had visited foreign universities and returned to Hungary with – as the author put it – «dubious knowledge». This knowledge relied on new books «that no Jesuit has written». Through such reading they had «recognised the difference among various scholarly works and found that ancient doctrines partly consisted of vain, worn-out sophistries [*Spitzfindigkeiten*] and were partly built on shaky grounds»²⁹. As the author stresses, this tendency had a significant impact on the Hungarian nobility: they no longer wanted to «believe strongly in mere words», abandoning the «prejudice» that only those who spoke Latin fluently could be considered educated³⁰.

Indeed, fluency in Latin indicated that an individual belonged to the educated elite – the *litterati* – and thus was an authority in public affairs. However, the approach to Latin classes in curricula could be taken as a representative example of how teaching in practical knowledge affected the discourse on education in the second half of the 18th century. In the Kingdom of Hungary, Latin was the official language throughout the Early Modern Age. In the political organisation where the nobility, as the political elite, did not have a single mother tongue, the use of Latin was aimed at providing equal conditions for political participation of all the estates of the Kingdom of Hungary. Latin was not only the language of administration, but also the first choice for literary works or science, even for private letters. Moreover, the schooling system was based on the teaching of Latin and classical authors: *Ratio atque institutio studiorum Societatis Jesu* of 1599, the fundamental document of Jesuit teaching, considered knowledge of Latin a prerequisite for *res publica litteraria*. It prepared students to communicate with different nations, perform school tasks, write books and

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 20.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 21.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 22.

treatises, understand the Church fathers, who often wrote in Latin, and to associate with men of learning³¹.

However, by the second half of the 18th century Latin was already regarded as obsolete in Vienna: Croatian linguist Josip Voltić (Voltiggi, 1750-1825), who lived in Vienna, thus concluded that Latin there was «banished by boys who mock it as if it were an old geezer»³². Considering the efforts of the Court to direct education towards modern, practical knowledge, this is no surprise. Books written in modern languages, especially German, were generally perceived as more useful and more desirable in school curricula. For example, a 1756 provision of the Court in Vienna governing the training of the Monarchy's surgeons, stated that reading German medical books «will prove to be much more useful than spending four or five years studying Latin, which he [i.e. the surgical apprentice] will soon forget»³³.

Similar attitudes could be found in the works of contemporary Hungarian authors. Count Kristóf Niczky (1714-1787), the Supreme Count of the Virovitica (Verőcze) County in the Kingdoms of Croatia-Slavonia and assessor of the Septemvirale Table in Hungary, submitted two anonymous proposals to Maria Theresa in 1769, in which he expounded his ideas on the reform of the University in Trnava and Hungarian *Gymnasien*³⁴. Niczky's proposals strongly reflected the positions of the Court in Vienna on the role and form of public education in the Habsburg Monarchy. He clearly stated what he thought the purpose of education should be, and how practical teaching should be organised. To him, public schools were closely connected to the public governance, because «in these schools, the youth should not only be thoroughly taught in the duties of a faithful subject/citizen to the sovereign, but also qualified and efficient for occupying various services and the promotion of the public interests»³⁵. From this goal, Niczky derived two main principles of public schooling:

1. When founding schools, one should particularly consider formation of the mind and the way of thinking of the youth. Consequently,
2. in addition to the usual sciences, sciences should be introduced and taught that would qualify the youth for promoting contemporary commendable and useful intentions of the state³⁶.

³¹ T. Shek Brnardić, *Svijet Baltazara Adama Krčelića. Obrazovanje na razmeđu tridentskoga katolicizma i katoličkoga prosvjetiteljstva*, Zagreb, Hrvatski institut za povijest, 2009, pp. 64-65. On the implementation of this document in teaching practice cf. *ibid.*, pp. 64-72.

³² J. Voltić, *Bečka pisma: Ričoslovník*, J. Bratulić (ed.), Pula-Rijeka, Otokar Keršovani, 1981, p. 77. Translated by the authors from the Croatian translation of Voltić's Latin letters.

³³ [J. Kropatschek, ed.], *Sammlung aller k. k. Verordnungen und Gesetze vom Jahre 1740 bis 1780*, Vienna, 1786, Vol. III, pp. 336-337. Translation from German by the authors.

³⁴ Cf. footnote 8.

³⁵ Cit. after Fináczy, *A magyarországi közoktatás története*, cit., p. 401. All citations from this source in this paper are translated from German by the authors.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 401-402. Here, Niczky advocates the introduction of the same sciences previously introduced in the western part of the Monarchy and regarded as more useful for the performance

Niczky reminds us that schools in Hungary were administered by the Jesuits and the Piarists, whose teaching was generally oriented towards *principia catechetica*, history, geography, and especially towards a six-year-course of Latin. His propositions to change Latin teaching at Hungarian *gymnasia* corresponded to the Court's view. Niczky believed that Latin should be taught only to the extent of its usefulness for public administration. In his view, the poetry class – or the sixth year of Latin practice – should be transformed into more useful disciplines, such as teaching of legal sciences, statistics, cameral sciences, technical disciplines and modern foreign languages: the state would not have any use of «poets», but of people with a knowledge of «more useful sciences»³⁷.

Furthermore, referring to the reforms carried out at the University of Vienna, Niczky also proposed a thorough reform of higher learning in the Kingdom of Hungary. He stated that «nothing more outright could be done for religion, as well as for the public good» than to found a university in Hungary *ad ipsam generalem institutionem* as was done at the University in Vienna. He thought that such a reform would be one of the best after those introduced by Maria Theresa in the 1750s and 1760s³⁸. Niczky proposed the introduction of new professorships and courses as arranged in Vienna, significant secularisation of the university's administration, the establishment of university libraries and scientific collections. He believed that university teaching should be focused on contents applicable in practice – especially with regard to the Faculties of Law and Medicine. He proposed new resources for increased funding as well as moving the University from Trnava to Buda, «the former royal seat»³⁹. Niczky also decided to explain why he believed that the sovereign possessed the legitimacy to intervene in the systems of higher learning in the Kingdom of Hungary: in his view, the Habsburg ruler was entitled to enact these decisions in order to ensure that public education «brings the right benefit» or corresponds to «the useful intentions of the state». He believed that the ruler had the right to intervene in what was accepted as *bonum publicum* – the public good, and the manner of disposing of the funds for the university was the exclusive right of the sovereign⁴⁰.

The difference between reformed schools in the western part of the Monarchy and contemporary schools in the Kingdom of Hungary was soon noticed among the Hungarian youth. The author of «The History of the New School Reform in Hungary» in 1787 recalled that prior to the school reforms in Hungary in the 1770s «the Hungarian youth transferred in numbers larger than usual to the University of Vienna, where many emendations were already

of public duties (see paragraph 2 above).

³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 403.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 388.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 388-397.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 397-401.

introduced»⁴¹ and attended the lectures of famous professors. In addition to the aforementioned van Swieten or Sonnenfels, one should certainly mention Karl Anton von Martini (1726-1800), a theoretician of natural and public law and, since 1760, one of the better known members of the Imperial Commission on Education (*Studienhofkommission*), or Paul Joseph von Riegger (1705-1775), an influential theoretician of natural, public and canon law who interpreted positive canon law in the context of natural law and advocated greater influence of the ruler in ecclesial affairs. These Hungarian students were «excellently distinguished by their talents and persistent diligence». Their further career in the public service contributed to the contemporary theory that «Hungarians possessed the best facility and ability to distinguish themselves, not only in the world of culture and refinement, but also in acquiring a most thorough knowledge in sciences, and that they once lacked only an educational opportunity to become the greatest»⁴².

The reform of higher education in Vienna was also praised by Croatian canon Baltazar Adam Krčelić (1715-1778). He emphasised that the Court in Vienna had employed «the most prominent European experts» at the University and concluded that «if scientific work anywhere in Europe should be considered regulated, then this must be the case with the University of Vienna»⁴³. Krčelić quoted an example that as many as 500 students of medicine, physicians and other prominent men attended lectures by physician Anton de Haen (1704-1776) delivered at the School of Medicine in Vienna. As far as the public administration was concerned, Krčelić strongly criticised contemporary education in the Kingdom of Hungary, especially in Croatia and Slavonia:

We fed on metaphysical trifles. We were not even allowed to think of the sciences of state, politics, military and economic circumstances and public law in general – these were said to be heretical things. [...] We will not take a man who is not familiar with horses to be a groom, or a man who is not familiar with sheep to be a shepherd, or a man who has not seen a vine to be a wine-maker; now they ask us to expect that the best rulers are people who have never dealt with those disciplines, and such people are the only ones teaching us how to rule and how to perform public services⁴⁴.

Krčelić was singled out in *The History of the New School Reform in Hungary* as the author of various works in a «somewhat rough Latin style of writing» who articulated «the most daring principles»⁴⁵, referring to his progressive thoughts on education at the time⁴⁶. In Croatia, Krčelić was

⁴¹ *Geschichte der neuen Schulenreformation*, cit., pp. 22-23.

⁴² *Ibid.*, pp. 35-36.

⁴³ Krčelić, *Annuae*, cit., pp. 394-395. The authors' translation based on the Croatian translation of Krčelić's work.

⁴⁴ Krčelić, *De regnis*, cit., pp. 440-441. The authors' translation from Latin.

⁴⁵ *Geschichte der neuen Schulenreformation in Ungarn*, cit., p. 22.

⁴⁶ Shek Brnardić, *Svijet Baltazara Adama Krčelića*, cit., esp. pp. 157 f.

entrusted with giving lectures in philosophy to Petar Ivan Nepomuk Sermage, previously taught at the *Theresianum* in Vienna. His lessons and theses were compiled according to the works of German philosopher and jurist Johann Gottlieb Heineccius (1681-1741), who was unknown in Croatia, according to Krčelić. He also praised every innovation in the education system that was in line with contemporary education policy⁴⁷. Some of his views brought Krčelić in a conflict with the Jesuits and the Franciscans, but the theses – that were defended in 1761 and published – aroused great interest in Vienna⁴⁸.

A comprehensive reform of education in the Kingdom of Hungary was introduced in 1777, with the fundamental document *Ratio educationis totiusque rei literariae per Regnum Hungariae et provincias eidem adnexas* («The System of Education and Overall Schooling in the Kingdom of Hungary and Its Associated Lands»)⁴⁹. *Ratio educationis* regulated and unified all schools on the Hungarian territory, from elementary schools to university and built the protomodern education system. It addressed the issues of administration and control of the school system, its financial base, school curricula, teaching schedules, collections necessary for conducting classes, as well as duties of professors, students and parents. The creation of a good and useful citizen who would contribute to society and his homeland was proclaimed the principal goal of education.

As far as institutions of higher learning were concerned, with *Ratio educationis* five «Royal Academies of Sciences» were founded in the Kingdom of Hungary: in Győr, Oradea (present-day Romania), Trnava, Košice (present-day Slovakia) and in Zagreb in Croatia. The only Hungarian university was moved from Trnava to Buda in 1777, and thence again to Pest in 1784. The *Ratio educationis* did not pay much attention to this university, probably due to extensive reforms that the University was undergoing, primarily at the School of Medicine in 1769 and the Faculty of Law in 1775⁵⁰.

The concept of royal academies was especially interesting, since it merged the principles of higher education with general conditions of study. The academies were intended for students who wanted to acquire the knowledge of the free arts and disciplines usually taught at the university. They included three courses of study – Philosophy, Law and Theology, with Philosophy being a preparatory course for other studies. The lessons were divided into compulsory

⁴⁷ Cf., e.g., his appraisal of introducing arithmetic at the Jesuit College in Zagreb in Krčelić, *Annuae*, cit., p. 441.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 417-419.

⁴⁹ I. Mészáros, *Ratio educationis. Az 1777-i és 1806-i kiadás magyar nyelvű fordítása*, Budapest, Akadémiai Kiadó, 1981; Horbec, Matasović, Švoger, *Od protomodernizacije do modernizacije školstva u Hrvatskoj*, cit., pp. 18 f.

⁵⁰ Cf. Linzbauer, *Codex sanitario-medicinalis Hungariae*, cit., Vol. II, pp. 508-511 and 579-582; K. Kovács, *Der Unterricht des Strafrechtes an der Rechtswissenschaftlichen Fakultät der Universität in Trnava, 1667-1777*, in M. Vietor et alii (edd.), *Die juristische Bildung in der Slowakei und Ungarn bis zum Jahre 1848*, Bratislava, 1968, pp. 153-164.

and beneficial ones, and those appropriate only for certain students⁵¹. Students of royal academies attended mandatory lessons in logic, physics, mathematics, natural history, Hungarian and religious history, public news, history of philosophy, practical philosophy, metaphysics and economy; law studies continued with public and nationality law, politics, trade and finance⁵². Among optional courses, intended for the students «eager to learn»⁵³, were lessons in Greek, poetry and prose (in Latin and a vernacular language, different for different nations in the Kingdom of Hungary), general history, heraldry and other auxiliary historical sciences, as well as aesthetics and bibliography that – according to the legislator – «although they [i.e. these sciences] do not promise a future benefit, they do lead to a good taste»⁵⁴. As for the teaching language, *Ratio educationis* stressed the cultural and political importance of Latin in the Kingdom of Hungary, but also emphasised German as «useful»⁵⁵. The most obvious difference between the curriculum in the western part of the Monarchy and in Hungary was in law studies: while the new curriculum of law studies at Hungarian Royal Academies followed the model of the Faculty of Law in Vienna by insisting on public law, as well as on European legal science and institutional history, it also considered the Hungarian *ius patriae*, including its legal norms, legal practices and institutions⁵⁶.

The personal maturation and the forming of a ‘useful’ citizen relied on very practical knowledge, taught by the reformed, state-controlled education system. While learning more and more about the history, geography and laws of their homeland, students

will adopt new feelings, experience new incentives of the soul, and rise to the level of those citizens whose efforts are no longer held by boundaries of one homeland, but who consider their highest obedience to the ruler and the public good to be their homeland, and regard each subject endowed with the same feelings as their compatriot – and this is, finally, the ultimate goal of education⁵⁷.

⁵¹ *Ratio educationis totiusque rei literariae per Regnum Hungariae et provincias eidem adnexas*, Vienna, Trattner, 1777, § 162-163. All citations from this source in this paper were translated from Latin by the authors.

⁵² *Ibid.*, § 176-178; 185-189. Theology had a special program, not yet specified in *Ratio*, cf. §197.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, § 179.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, § 180.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, § 83, § 84, § 101-102. «The focus in the *Ratio* [...] was obviously a shift from gaining knowledge of Latin to Latin as a means of gaining real knowledge, which ceased to be necessarily ancient», T. Šek Brnardić, *The Enlightenment's Choice of Latin: The Ratio educationis of 1777 in the Kingdom of Hungary*, in G. Almási, L. Šubarić (edd.), *Latin at the Crossroads of Identity. The Evolution of Linguistic Nationalism in the Kingdom of Hungary*, Leiden, Boston, Brill, 2015, p. 123.

⁵⁶ Cf. Table IV. published as an appendix to the *Ratio educationis* and Mészáros, *Ratio educationis*, cit., p. 215.

⁵⁷ *Ratio educationis*, cit., § 196.

In this way, maturation of an individual was closely linked to the teaching that was beneficial to the political community. The cited intention of the educational reform, introduced in the Kingdom of Hungary through the 1777 *Ratio educationis*, fully corresponded to the goals of state education. Similar attitudes were vividly expressed by the Monarchy's school reformer and pedagogical writer Johann Ignaz von Felbiger (1724-1788): in his view, the ultimate goal of education was to form «souls to the honour of God, tools of His heavenly will, capable members of His Church, honourable subjects of the ruler, useful citizens of the state, the heirs to paradise, and those who will enjoy eternal happiness»⁵⁸.

3. Barić's Contribution to Discussions on Education Reforms in Hungary after 1790

It was necessary for the reforms to be accepted by the population: the success of their implementation very much depended on the local prerequisites. With that in mind, Maria Theresa established special departments and commissions in the Kingdom of Hungary in order to ensure the implementation of the reforms, as well as continuous monitoring of the situation in Hungarian schools and communication with the central administration in Vienna. Within the Hungarian Lieutenancy Council – a central executive body of the Kingdom – a Department of Education (*Departamentum litterario-politicum*) was established in 1773, which also supervised the activity of the Commission on Studies (*Studiorum commissio*) founded in 1776 as part of the organisational reforms preceding *Ratio educationis*⁵⁹. A Commission on Education was also founded in the Kingdoms of Croatia and Slavonia in 1776 and was subordinated to the newly established Commission on Studies (*Commissio in re studiorum*) within the Croatian Royal Council in Zagreb in 1777⁶⁰.

With these organisational reforms, the education system in the Kingdom of Hungary did not, however, immediately sever its traditional bonds. Many members of religious orders were still interested in obtaining professorships or involved in the Hungarian school system as councillors of the Court in Vienna. For example, upon the foundation of the Royal Academy in Zagreb, there were many candidates for professorships, most of them ordained priests, Franciscans,

⁵⁸ Grimm, *Die Schulreform*, cit., p. 105.

⁵⁹ Sources on the activity of these bodies are kept in MNL OL, holdings C 68. Cf. also Gy. Ember, A M. Kir. Helytartótanács ügyintézésének története 1724-1848, Budapest, MOL, 1940, pp. 78, 86, 125.

⁶⁰ «Benignum mandatum regium de systemate studiorum», HDA-12, A 97/1776. The Croatian Royal Council was abolished in 1779, with all its agenda being transferred to the Hungarian Lieutenancy Council.

Pauline monks or ex-Jesuits⁶¹. Furthermore, ex-Jesuits remained irreplaceable in the modernised interpretation of education in the Kingdom of Hungary: the *Ratio educationis* itself was co-authored by, e.g., Ádam Ferenc Kollár, a director of the Vienna Court Library, as well as physicist Pál Makó, professor at the University in Buda, and Daniel Terst'anský, director of the Vienna Court Archives⁶². They all tried to harmonise new standards of education (as instructed by the Court) with traditional achievements in pedagogy and learning.

Similar goals were pursued by the Education Deputation (*Deputatio litteraria*) founded by the Hungarian Parliament in 1790-91 with the task of implementing new general principles of education in the Kingdom of Hungary based on the 1777 *Ratio educationis*⁶³. Stating that the well-being of the state very much depended on the education of the youth, this Deputation was a reply to Maria Theresa's and Joseph II's request to align the reforms in Hungary – generally considered progressive – with the needs of the Kingdom, especially regarding the use of vernacular languages and acquiring practical knowledge. Its members were József Ürményi (also entrusted with the *Ratio educationis*), bishops Antun Mandić and Endre Szabó, Councilors of the Lieutenantcy Council Anton Brunszvik, József Podmaniczky, Supreme Count of the Gömör county Gabriel Prónay, Parliament deputies from the counties Károly Luby, László Melczer, István Vaj, Miklós Péchy, director of the Commission on Education in Košice Lajos Török, protonotary János Somogy and Benedictine Christoph Novak⁶⁴.

The very composition of the Deputation suggests that education was already considered primarily a political issue in Hungary. The Commission consisted mostly of men engaged in the political administration of the Kingdom who never worked as teachers⁶⁵. The activity of the Commission initiated a public debate on the quality and goals of education among Hungarian intellectuals⁶⁶. The aforementioned booklet of Adalbert Barić *Nonnihil de educatione* from 1792⁶⁷ sums up the concerns of the intellectuals close to the Court (like many professors in Hungary), but also of those deeply involved in the teaching practice in Hungary.

⁶¹ Cf. the list of candidates in MNL OL, A39, 5209 ex 1776.

⁶² Horbec, Matasović, Švoger, *Od protomodernizacije do modernizacije školstva u Hrvatskoj*, cit., p. 19; Mátej, *Ratio educationis*, cit., pp. 13-16.

⁶³ Conclusion 1790/1: XV («De educatione juventutis»), *Articuli Diaetales Posonienses Anno MDCCXCI*, Posonii, Landerer, 1791, p. 40. For a detailed reconstruction of the activity of 1790-91 Hungarian Parliament in educational issues cf. Gy. Kornis, *A Magyar Művelődés eszményei 1777-1848*, Budapest, Királyi Magyar Egyetemi Nyomda, 1927, Vol. I, pp. 168-239.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 113-114.

⁶⁵ This is criticised by Barics, *Nonnihil de educatione*, cit., pp. 7-10.

⁶⁶ Kornis, *A Magyar Művelődés eszményei*, cit., pp. 185 f.

⁶⁷ Barics, *Nonnihil de educatione*, cit. A short description of Barić's treatise was also given by Kornis, *A Magyar Művelődés eszményei*, cit., pp. 215-220.

Although Barić agreed with the basic principles of the reform – the right of the ruler to intervene and the need to adjust the studies to the future ‘common good’ of all citizens, he used the establishment of the Deputation as an opportunity to explain how education reform in Hungary is to be different from the one in hereditary lands and what were the issues one should pay attention to. He expressed two main concerns: on the one hand, he considered it necessary to propose measures to preserve the moral of the youth; on the other, he strongly opposed the obvious tendency towards implementing the reforms through shortening the study period at the expense of broader knowledge. For Barić, who otherwise praised the education reforms in the western part of the Monarchy, mere implementation of some practices in Hungary could lead to degradation.

Working as a professor for more than two decades, Barić noticed, similarly to the aforementioned author of the treatise in the *Merkur von Ungarn*, that students of the time enjoyed too much freedom, both in thought and behaviour. Barić called this «*libertinismus*, licence not only to speak of anything freely and think or feel at whim, but often also to act openly», and proclaimed it to be «an evil more or less common to this age and all nations»⁶⁸. However, he thought that this was not the University’s fault, or of the school system in general, but the spirit of the times and the influence of the environment. In his view, therefore, there was only one way to combat it: to remove students from the opportunities that lead to bad ways by moving the University once more, this time to a more distant, but not so remote Hungarian town of Vác. In this way, the students would avoid all the decoys Pest offered: the vicinity of the army with their alluring exercises and licentiousness, numerous taverns, cafés, theatres, dances, street entertainment, fireworks, night life, etc.⁶⁹

It was in fact a tribute to all the reformatory actions and reformers of the Hungarian education system in the previous 20-30 years when Barić admitted that the morals of the youth were actually better than before (though still not perfect and always at risk of deterioration). «Today’s youth has, through multiple useful studies, become so polite, educated, modest in actions and cultured that a poor young man of today can far surpass the former sons of a nobleman»⁷⁰. It is interesting to note that this view complements the works of authors writing several decades earlier. For example, Krčelić spoke about learning «metaphysical trifles» and disciplines unnecessary for public offices (see above). Barić also referred to this problem of education before the reforms introduced by Emperor Joseph II and connected it with students’ morals. Even though young men at that time regularly attended mass, went to confession, performed spiritual exercises, whereas theatres, dances, cafés and associations

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 61.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 62-109.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 47-48.

with women were forbidden, they were behaving so badly that even armed student gangs wandered around, fighting in taverns and streets, plundering, and on occasion attacking some professors in Trnava. When the University moved to Pest, citizens had to pay for the police to be protected from these gangs⁷¹. At the same time, students studied (in subjects like dialectics, logic, metaphysics and physics) useless things such as medieval syllogisms and Tychonian system, while reading *Instructio pro deliberantibus de eligendo vitae statu* (persuading them to become monks) as compulsory literature. The effect of this discipline was that religious orders chose the best young men, while the state was left with those not even familiar with the names of the disciplines that were important for public life (e.g. natural history, diplomacy, geography, agriculture, experimental physics, mechanics, algebra, etc.): «the arrogant, the dull, the uncombed and unrefined numskulls who didn't even know how to salute or respond decently, or groom their hair or care for their bodies – shortly, didn't know anything besides growing a moustache and smoking»⁷².

For Barić, education reform and introduction of disciplines training students for their future careers produced positive effects. Of course, corruption still existed, but he thought the youth was corrupt during their primary education (which was not in the focus of Barić's treatise), mostly because they were not busy with schoolwork, because of inadequate use of corporal punishment and seeing underpaid and disrespected professors taking bribes from wealthy parents so they would turn a blind eye to their incompetent children⁷³. Since positive changes had already been made, the primary concern for the university system in Hungary, according to Barić, was to remove the students (i.e. the University) from an unsound and too liberal environment in order to further improve morals.

Barić's other main concern was the tendency towards fully adopting the reformed curricula from the Austrian provinces while shortening the studies and leaving the students to further their education after graduation through practical work. Focusing on the recent example of the Habsburg reformers who took over the curricula from Protestant German universities (as was the case of the Faculty of Law in Vienna), Barić argued that this model, where many sciences were taught for only short periods of time, would not work in Hungary because primary education was different and Hungarian students were not prepared in the same manner. Unlike Germans, they didn't have the custom of later professional development, or even of reading anything after completing their studies. That model of fast and cursory learning would therefore result in public officials having only superficial knowledge about their profession⁷⁴.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 48-52.

⁷² *Ibid.*, p. 45. Issues of Jesuit education and morals are discussed especially on pp. 40-45.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, pp. 55-59.

⁷⁴ Barić, *Nonnihil de educatione*, cit., pp. 15-17.

Barić therefore opposed proposals to shorten the study of law at the University in Pest and implored the Education Deputation and all those who had a saying in educational matters not to shorten the courses, because deficient knowledge of legal studies endangers and harms the state⁷⁵. Shorter studies did enable the students to find employment sooner, but in Barić's view this only increased nepotism and inefficiency⁷⁶. He believed that it was for the common good to let the students complete their studies later, at the age of 22, and thus make them more qualified to serve their country⁷⁷. It is also worth mentioning Barić's humanist idea that education has an inherent value and that those who study more should be paid more and take precedence in employment⁷⁸.

It seems that through his criticism Barić wanted to demonstrate some positive shifts in the morals of the student youth and thus the 'usefulness' of the education system. This is also a good example of the utilitarian approach not only in his advocacy of socially usable subjects for greater efficiency of the public apparatus in the future, but also in the details of his call for the University to move, enumerating the arguments such as the moral environment, costliness, health issues, closeness to home of potential students, traffic connections, etc.⁷⁹

It is fitting to conclude this overview of Barić's views of the state and directions of university education in Hungary with an idealistic opinion that connects the two main 'players' in each school system: the administrator (the state, which has the power to regulate it) and the recipient (ultimately, the citizens, who benefit either as students or as the public for whose well-being these students will eventually work).

The state pays the public officials to promote and uphold the public good through their work and services, while people have the right to expect their officials to perform their pressing duties satisfactorily with quality and expertise⁸⁰.

The new *Ratio educationis* was published in 1806, after many discussions, and it could be regarded as a compromise between the positions of the Court and the Hungarian estates⁸¹. Although the first *Ratio educationis* from 1777 served as the basis, the one from 1806 was more elaborate, better structured and predicted a more thought through selection of teachers⁸². It also included some of the suggestions of Hungarian intellectuals not directly involved in its drafting (such as Barić). For example, it provided for the introduction of a third year of

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 108-114, 123.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 26-27, 117.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 10-13, 117-122.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 114-115.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 8-10, 80-107.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 121.

⁸¹ Kornis, *A Magyar Művelődés eszményei*, cit., p. 240; Mátej, *Ratio educationis*, cit., p. 23. Cf. also Mészáros, *Ratio educationis*, cit., pp. 217-382.

⁸² Mészáros, *Ratio educationis*, cit., p. 9.

legal studies, although this reform was eventually not carried out in practice due to a lack of funding⁸³. However, the University remained in Pest. With regard to Barić's comments, it is interesting to note the changes in the curriculum of law studies in Hungary provided for by the 1806 *Ratio educationis*. As in 1777, the connection between Hungarian law and legal practices with European civil and ecclesiastical law was emphasised. However, additional attention was paid to the teaching of natural law, economic and political sciences, criminal law according to its use in Austria and in Hungary, feudal law, statistics, and mining law⁸⁴. This brought the curriculum of law studies in Hungary closer to that of law faculties in the western part of the Monarchy and emphasised the main goal of the studies: the creation of a qualified public servant, needed by the proto-modern state. *Ratio educationis* remained in use until 1848-49, when a new – 'modern' – education system began to be established. However, some concerns of intellectuals in this premodern era remained a topic of debate well into the 19th century.

Conclusions

Every reform has its critics, and the educational reform in the 18th century Habsburg Monarchy is no exception. This paper provides a short insight into some of these critiques, which especially addressed the problems in higher education of the Kingdom of Hungary. We cannot help but notice many of the tendencies and ideas mentioned are still valid and modern in today's discussions on educational reforms: the usefulness of extended education and broader knowledge for society; the usefulness of humanities and social sciences in addition to natural sciences; the role of education in moral upbringing; the responsibilities of educated citizens towards their homeland; the proper age for entering the labour market; or the responsibility of the state and society in general for the education of the youth.

In this paper we tried to indicate how these matters were treated in the works of some of the prominent figures in the education system of the Kingdom of Hungary, and which solutions were proposed. Based on the sources presented, it could be concluded that educational reforms in the Habsburg Monarchy in the second part of the 18th century had a major impact on the intellectuals in the Kingdom of Hungary: while praising the ideas and intentions behind these reforms and wishing for the Hungarian youth to benefit from them as well, these

⁸³ A. Szilárd Tar, *Die Ungarischen Rechtsakademien in den 1850er-Jahren*, in Ch. Aichner, B. Mazohl (edd.), *Die Thun-Hohenstein'schen Universitätsreformen 1849-1860. Konzeption – Umsetzung – Nachwirkung*, Vienna-Cologne-Weimar, Böhlau, 2017, p. 222.

⁸⁴ Mészáros, *Ratio educationis*, cit., p. 379.

intellectuals insisted on the need to take into consideration local conditions and traditional values. Among many problems that Hungarian education had in relation to the model of Vienna, we have found several that have major and far-reaching significance in the context of the history of education in the lands of the Kingdom of Hungary. These are the introduction of disciplines needed for performing public services, the special status of Latin in education, the fear that the morals of the youth are corrupted by more liberal education and non-useful subjects, as well as the fear that shortening the period of studies will result in «superficialists», or *Fachidioten*, which would eventually cause more harm than good to the public. Debates on similar issues are characteristic of the period of formation of state education systems. However, in the Kingdom of Hungary, they should be particularly considered when discussing the most prominent school provisions at the time. They reflected the special position of the Kingdom within the Monarchy and highlighted the challenges faced when implementing laws drafted in Vienna.

Although the sovereign had the power to intervene in the education system, the creation of a state education system was the joint enterprise of the state and its councillors, as well as intellectuals involved in the education system. The practices and awareness of the (un)feasibility of implementing some provisions contributed as much to the reforms as the ideas of the sovereign and his closest councillors. In the Kingdom of Hungary, this cooperation was visible in the drafting of School ordinances (*Ratio educationis*) from 1777 and 1806. This happened after many years of preparation and gave rise to much discussion, resulting in a compromise that was somewhat distinct from the practice in the western part of the Monarchy. Such a compromise took into account the local prerequisites: Latin remained the language of teaching, lessons included more national and traditional subjects, etc. The necessity of this compromise was clear in the critiques and suggestions elaborated in selected writings of contemporary intellectuals and in the school ordinances. This very discussion, presented here through the views of Niczky, Krčelić, the author of the treatise in the *Merkur von Ungarn*, and Barić, speaks of a responsible approach to education, in line with the ideas and practices of the Enlightenment. It also reminds us of an important moral: whereby ideals conceived in one area, although praiseworthy overall, will not necessarily yield the same results in another.

Learning in *ginnasio* and *liceo* in Habsburg Milan (1814-1859)

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ABSTRACT: This article presents the results of research carried out using archival sources and the class registers of the high schools of Milan during the Restoration period. The sources used allow a quantitative analysis that produces a detailed picture of pupils' social family backgrounds and their school performances. Milan, the capital of the Kingdom of Lombardy and Venetia, had two Imperial *ginnasi* and *licei*, plus a municipal *ginnasio* and a private College. The research proves that many of the *ginnasi*'s pupils came from the middle but also lower classes, whereas upper class pupils prevailed in the *licei*. The discipline in these schools was rigid, the teaching mainly by rote, with a strict and obsessive system of exams. Pupils' morality and behaviour were also controlled by the school as far as possible. The high levels of attendance were a constant worry for Vienna, which tried repeatedly to make high school more selective, fearing social mobility. However, Milan was a rich city, with many artisans and shopkeepers who desired a better education for their sons. The lack of *Realschulen* was one of the causes of the overcrowding of *Gymnasien*.

EET/TEE KEYWORDS: History of school; Secondary school; *Gymnasien*; Milan; XIXth Century.

In the territories of the Austrian monarchy enrollments in the *Gymnasien* declined in the first two decades of the XIX century, before slowly raise again in the 1830s. In the second half of the century the number of students of secondary academic schools and universities started expanding in a significant way, which became dramatic in the 1890s, so much that Austria overcame

Germany in this respect before WW1¹. The explanation for the growth of enrollments in Germany's secondary and higher education and then in Austria's is multicausal, but in both States the number of lower middle-class students increased². The data about enrollments in the *ginnasi* and *licei* of Lombardy differ from this trend, because they show a higher percentage of pupils and a growth that started earlier and continued, in spite of the attempts of the government to contain it. The number of students in the University of Pavia was high in all the decades before the Unification. This great demand of instruction has to be explained in connection with the economic situation of Lombardy and with the strong network of elementary schools already existing. As a matter of fact, the real data about school history in Lombardy have been long ignored, because the Restoration period was long considered a dark chapter in the history of Italian schooling, until research conducted by scholars from the Catholic University in Milan showed that Austria stood out not only for its education policy, which led to an increase in literacy rates³, but also for the quality of its elementary school teacher training⁴.

With regard to secondary schools, some important studies have been published in recent years. Following the excellent pioneering work of Donatella Giglio on *ginnasi* and *licei* (1974)⁵, there was a long wait until 2007 when a study of teaching careers in Lombardy-Venetia⁶ and an analysis of Austrian legislation on school matters appeared (initially in Italian)⁷. The

¹ G. Cohen, *Education and Middle-Class Society in Imperial Austria, 1848-1918*, West Lafayette, Ind., Purdue University Press, 1996, pp. 55-75.

² K.H. Jarausch, *Students, Society, and Politics in Imperial Germany. The Rise of Academic Illiberalism*, Princeton N.J., Princeton University Press, 1982, pp. 72-76; Cohen, *Education and Middle-Class Society*, cit., pp. 55-75, 171-175.

³ X. Toscani, *La politica scolastica nel Regno lombardo-veneto: scuole elementari*, in L. Pazzaglia (ed.), *Chiesa e prospettive educative in Italia tra Restaurazione e Unificazione*, Brescia, La Scuola, 1994, pp. 317-353.

⁴ S. Polenghi, *La formazione dei maestri nella Lombardia austriaca*, in Ead. (ed.), *La scuola degli Asburgo. Pedagogia e formazione degli insegnanti tra il Danubio e il Po (1773-1918)*, Turin, SEI, 2012, pp. 45-89; M. Gecchele, *Maestri e formazione nelle province venete (1814-1866)*, *ibid.*, pp. 113-148; S. Polenghi, *Elementary school teachers in Milan during the Restoration (1814-59): innovations and improvements in teacher training*, «History of Education & Children's Literature», vol. 8, n. 1, 2013, pp. 147-166.

⁵ D. Giglio, *I ginnasi e i licei lombardi nell'età della Restaurazione*, in I. Ciprandi, D. Giglio, G. Solaro (edd.), *Problemi scolastici ed educativi nella Lombardia del primo Ottocento*, 2 vols., Milan, SugarCo, 1977-1978, pp. 87-188.

⁶ E. Pagano, *Ginnasi e Licei (Lombardia e Veneto, 1802-1848)*, in A. Bianchi (ed.), *L'istruzione in Italia tra Sette e Ottocento. Lombardia – Veneto – Umbria*, vol. I. *Studi*, Brescia, La Scuola, 2007, pp. 269-302; now see also E. Pagano, *I professori di liceo nel primo Ottocento. Nascita di una professione moderna*, in G. Vigo, E. Pagano (edd.), *Maestri e professori. Profili della professione docente tra Antico Regime e Restaurazione*, Milan, Unicopli, 2012, pp. 125-190.

⁷ S. Polenghi, *La riforma del Gymnasium austriaco dall'età teresiana al 1819 e la sua applicazione nella Lombardia della Restaurazione (1818-1835)*, in Bianchi (ed.), *L'istruzione in Italia tra Sette e Ottocento. Lombardia – Veneto – Umbria*, cit., pp. 15-63; S. Polenghi,

latter examined the impact of Austrian legislation – which replaced that of the Napoleonic era – on the Lombardy *ginnasi*. An analytical work on Milan's public *ginnasi* and *licei*, and their teachers and students from 1818 to 1851 was also published⁸. Some data on the Veneto region can also be found in a work published in 2013⁹. In terms of the years immediately following Thun's reforms, in addition to a very good essay by Brigitte Mazohl, in German, one can now also find an Italian work in both German and English¹⁰.

In this article we will reconstruct the framework of the laws and the school policy, to then concentrate the analysis on the students of *ginnasi* and *licei* in Milan during the Restoration period.

1. Ginnasi and licei in Lombardy and Milan during the Vormärz period

Milan's secondary schools had experienced a complicated period of change following the suppression of the Jesuits, both during Maria Theresa's reign and then in the Napoleonic era, when the Law of 4 September 1802 introduced the *licei*, modeled on the French *lycée*¹¹. The *licei* broke with the earlier Jesuitical model, both by hiring lay teachers and by introducing new science subjects while scaling down the importance of Latin and Greek¹². Indeed, alongside the

From Vienna to Milan: the Austrian Reform of the Gymnasium and its Implementation in Lombardy and during the Restoration, with some Data on the Ginnasio di Brera, «History of Education & Children's Literature», vol. 2, n. 2, 2007, pp. 101-126.

⁸ V. Chierichetti, *I ginnasi e i licei di Milano nell'età della restaurazione: professori, studenti, discipline (1814-1851)*, Lecce-Rovato, PensaMultimedia, 2013.

⁹ Gecchele, *Maestri e formazione nelle province venete (1814-1866)*, cit.

¹⁰ B. Mazohl-Wallnig, *Die Österreichische Unterrichtsreform in Lombardo-Venetien 1848-1854*, «Römische Historische Mitteilungen», n. 17, 1975, pp. 104-138; V. Chierichetti, S. Polenghi, *Die Thun-Hohensteinsche Reform und das lombardo-venetianische Gymnasialsystem. Aspekte und Probleme*, in C. Aichner, B. Mazohl (edd.), *Die Thun-Hohenstein'schen Universitätsreformen 1849-1860. Konzeption-Umsetzung-Nachwirkungen*, Vienna, Böhlau, 2017, pp. 284-313; Ead., *The Thun-Hohenstein reform and the Lombardy-Venetian ginnasi. Aspects and problems*, in C. Aichner, B. Mazohl (edd.), *The Thun-Hohenstein University Reforms 1849-1860. Conception-Implementation-Aftermath*, Vienna, Böhlau, 2017, pp. 226-248. Cf. also Cohen, *Education and Middle-Class Society*, cit., pp. 21-36; M. Friedrich, B. Mazohl, A. von Schlachta, *Die Bildungsrevolution*, in H. Rumpler, P. Urbanitsch (edd.), *Soziale Strukturen in der Habsburgermonarchie 1848-1918*, Band IX/1, Vienna, Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2010, pp. 67-107.

¹¹ J.-O. Boudon (ed.), *Napoléon et les lycées. Enseignement et société en Europe au début du XIX^e siècle*, Paris, Nouveau Monde Éditions/Fondation Napoléon, 2004.

¹² Pagano, *Ginnasi e licei (Lombardia e Veneto, 1802-1848)*, cit.; Id., *I licei italiani tra iniziativa statale e realtà urbane*, in E. Brambilla, C. Capra, A. Scotti, (edd.), *Istituzioni e cultura in età napoleonica*, Milan, FrancoAngeli, 2008, pp. 454-474; E. Brambilla, *Licei e Collegi ecclesiastici tra chiesa e Stato: la formazione di un sistema scolastico "nazionale" in età napoleonica (1802-1814)*, in A. Robbiati-Bianchi (ed.), *La formazione del primo Stato italiano e Milano capitale, 1802-1814*, Milan, LED, 2006, pp. 669-718; E. Pagano, *I licei di Napoleone presidente e re*, in A. Bianchi (ed.),

humanities, philosophy and mathematics – subjects that were already taught in city *ginnasi* – the *licei* offered a range of new disciplines such as physics, chemistry, agronomy and botany, architectural design, and law (the Napoleonic code), all in place of classical literature. In 1807, again copying the French model, *licei* offering places for boarders were introduced, competing with the religious boarding schools traditionally attended by the sons of the nobility and the ruling classes. Hence, secular schools with a modern curriculum now coexisted with the traditional boarding schools, both religious and private, that continued to implement the Jesuitical model.

New legislation introduced in 1811 reduced the *ginnasio* course to four years, removed Latin and Greek from the curriculum and made *ginnasio* preparatory to *liceo*, which, featuring teachers who were subject specialists, in turn became definitively preparatory to university. In the second year of the two-year *liceo* course, students were offered a choice between a science and a law curriculum.

In view of this framework, the introduction in the Kingdom of Lombardy and Venetia of the Austrian *Gymnasium* curriculum, by means of the *Codice Ginnasiale* (Gymnasial Code) which was set out in 1817 and implemented after 1818, meant a break with the Napoleonic innovations. The *Codice Ginnasiale* corresponded to the Austrian reform undertaken by Franz Innozenz Lang in 1806, which had introduced the subject teacher (*Fachlehrer*)¹³. But already in 1819, the form teacher (*Klassenlehrer*) was reintroduced in Habsburg dominions and also in Lombardy-Venetia, thus in practice reverting to the earlier Jesuitical model.

This measure meant that the natural science subjects were disadvantaged, since the *ginnasi* teachers in Lombardy-Venetia, who were generally clergymen, had very little knowledge of these subjects¹⁴. The reintroduction of Greek, which had been abolished at the Napoleonic *ginnasio*, also led to problems, as there were no qualified teachers for this subject.

The vast majority of *ginnasio* teachers had no knowledge of Greek whatsoever and had severe difficulty with mathematics. They were required to take an exam in these subjects, but the situation did not improve greatly, because the teachers' background in most subjects other than Latin was too weak and consequently they typically spent more time teaching Latin than set out in the curriculum, to the detriment of other disciplines. As late as 1835,

L'istruzione in Italia tra Sette e Ottocento. Da Milano a Napoli: casi regionali e tendenze nazionali, Brescia, La Scuola, 2012, pp. 35-88; Pagano, *I professori di liceo nel primo Ottocento*, cit.; Id., *Il liceo napoleonico di Brescia*, «History of Education & Children's Literature», vol. 9, n. 1, 2014, pp. 451-466.

¹³ G. Grimm, *Elitäre Bildungsinstitution oder „Bürgerschule“? Das österreichische Gymnasium zwischen Tradition und Innovation, 1773-1819*, Frankfurt a. M., New York, Peter Lang, 1995, pp. 423-567.

¹⁴ Giglio, *I ginnasi e i licei lombardi nell'età della Restaurazione*, cit.; Polenghi, *La riforma del Gymnasium austriaco dall'età teresiana al 1819*, cit.; Id., *From Vienna to Milan*, cit.

Carlo Giuseppe Londonio, chief director of Lombard *ginnasi*, was lamenting that very few *ginnasio* teachers had a grounding in algebra¹⁵.

While most *ginnasio* teachers were priests, by contrast, there continued to be a reasonable proportion of lay teaching staff in the *licei* (two-thirds in 1821), despite changes in comparison with the Napoleonic period. The teachers at the *licei* were civil servants, who enjoyed better pay and a better reputation than their counterparts at the *ginnasi*. They often went on to occupy a university chair at a later stage¹⁶. There was therefore a clear difference between *ginnasi* teachers and *licei* teachers in terms of education, competence and social position.

In 1815-1816 there were 20 public *ginnasi* in Lombardy and 10 in Venetia, including imperial (*ginnasi imperiali*) and municipal (*ginnasi comunali*) schools. In Lombardy 112 teachers taught a total of 3,903 pupils, while in Venetia 70 teachers taught 2,043 pupils¹⁷. Pupils made up 0.11% of the overall population¹⁸. By contrast, there were 4 lyceums in Venetia and 7 in Lombardy, with a total of 795 pupils¹⁹.

Table 1. *Lyzeen* and *Gymnasien* in the individual imperial territories (1817)²⁰

Land	<i>Lyzeen</i>	<i>Gymnasien</i>	Population per <i>Gymnasium</i>
Austria below the Enns	-	8	130,000
Austria above the Enns	1	2	307,000
Salzburg	1	1	150,000
Styria	1	5	153,000
Carinthia	1	2	135,000
Carniola	1	2	188,000
Austrian Littoral	-	2	173,000
Tyrol and Vorarlberg	1	8	90,000
Bohemia	-	24	130,000
Moravia	1	9	154,000

¹⁵ Archivio di Stato di Milan (hereinafter: ASM), *Studi*, p.m., 639, Milan, 25 mar. 1835, from Londonio to the Government.

¹⁶ Pagano, *I professori di liceo nel primo Ottocento*, cit., pp. 125-190.

¹⁷ Id., *Ginnasi e Licei (Lombardia e Veneto, 1802-1848)*, cit., p. 286.

¹⁸ The proportion of school pupils attending *ginnasi* in Lombardy-Venetia is calculated on the basis of a population figure of 5,024,117. A. Ficker, *Die Österreichische Monarchie in ihren wichtigsten Momenten statistisch dargestellt*, Gotha, Justus Perthes, 1860, p. 6.

¹⁹ Pagano, *Ginnasi e Licei (Lombardia e Veneto, 1802-1848)*, cit., p. 300.

²⁰ A. Ficker, *Geschichte, Organisation und Statistik des österreichischen Unterrichtswesens, mit statistischen Tabellen von Gustav Schimmer*, Vienna, A. Hölder, 1873, p. 130. The population figures for Lombardy-Venetia can be found in M. Romani, *Un secolo di vita economica lombarda. 1748-1848*, Milan, Vita e Pensiero, 1950, p. 44.

Silesia	-	4	87,000
Galicia	1	8	475,000
Bukovina	-	1	201,000
Dalmatia	-	3	102,000
Lombardy	7	20	81,174
Venetia	4	10	136,000

In absolute terms, Lombardy had the highest number of lyceums in the entire empire in 1817, and was in second place behind Bohemia in terms of its number of *ginnasi* (Table n. 1). In 1824-1825, the 20 *ginnasi* in Lombardy were attended by 4,345 pupils (0.19 %). In the same year, the seven lyceums taught 633 pupils (0.02 %) ²¹.

In 1825 Lombardy was the land with the most *ginnasi* (30 in total, made up of twelve state, eight communal, six diocesan institutes and four private *ginnasi*), while in Bohemia there were 25 and in Venetia 20. One in every 310 inhabitants was a *ginnasio* pupil in Lombardy, compared to one in every 395 in Venetia, one in 414 in Lower Austria (including Vienna), and one in 1074 in Dalmatia ²².

Between 1825 and 1835 the number of *ginnasio* enrolments declined slightly, due in particular to the Government's restrictive measures. These aimed to limit or indeed reduce the number of pupils attending *ginnasi*, since it considered an excessive growth in pupils from the lower and middle social classes to be politically dangerous ²³.

According to the *Codice Ginnasiale*, there were two criteria for admission to *ginnasio*: the family's social status and the boy's ability, but they stressed the importance of having a wealthy background, to avoid the risk of failing to later find employment of suitable intellectual calibre and hence to avoid political discontent (art. 3-5). In 1825, the *Studienhofkommission* ordered the number of *ginnasi* in Lombardy to be reduced and the exams to be made stricter, because there were too many students in the *licei* and in the University of Pavia «who would have difficulties in returning to the class of artisans, so that when neither State nor Church employed them, they would be greatly embarrassed» ²⁴. The following year Vienna protested again that the exams in Lombardy were too lax, enabling pupils with a low social status to progress, and again demanded the closure of some *ginnasi*, thus recommending a policy of restriction that was

²¹ The percentage of pupils in Lombardy was calculated on the basis of a population figure of 2,260,096. See Romani, *Un secolo di vita economica lombarda*, cit., p. 44.

²² Giglio, *I ginnasi e i licei lombardi nell'età della Restaurazione*, cit., p. 186.

²³ ASM, *Studi*, p.m., 641.

²⁴ ASM, *Studi*, p.m., 636, Vienna, 31 Dec. 1825, the *Studienhofkommission* to the Lombard Government.

opposite to the one of expansion that Vienna was carrying out in Austria in the very same period²⁵.

The chief director of Lombard *ginnasi* Londonio firmly refused to close any *ginnasio*, no matter how small, stressing that they were all much in demand, so that any closure would cause social damage, rather than benefit. Instead, he asked the government to open more *Hauptschulen* (*Scuole elementari maggiori*) and *Realschulen* (*Scuole tecniche*), where middle-class families could rather send their children, who were indeed crowding the *ginnasi* classrooms²⁶. *Realschule* was translated in Italian with *Scuole tecniche*, but it has to be remembered that the *Realschule* was not a vocational school, instead it offered a curriculum with more science and modern language, rather than the classic language core curriculum of the *Ginnasio*.

If no schools were to be closed, teachers had to be stricter, particularly towards of private pupils. Many boys were taught privately but then, according to the *Codice Ginnasiale*, had to pass the exam in a public *ginnasio* (the private teacher had to declare his name and his program).

Londonio himself agreed that too many of the clergy privately roughly prepared pupils who were then approved, but who «were destined by nature to push a plough, or smite with a hammer or wield an axe»²⁷. In 1833 Londonio had complained that pupils were not cultivated enough and teachers were not strict enough, so that, once again, directors and teachers were rebuked²⁸.

In spite of the decrees from the Vienna authorities demanding greater strictness on the part of teachers, the number of pupils continued to grow in subsequent years. In 1839 there were already 8,306 pupils attending a *ginnasio* in Lombardy, including private schools; by 1848 this figure had risen to 9,000 pupils²⁹. In 1845, the percentage of the overall population attending a *ginnasio* as a pupil reached 0.58 % in Lombardy and 0.48 % in Venetia. This meant that the education rates at the *ginnasi* of Lombardy-Venetia were higher than those in Austria below the Enns (0.35 %) and Austria above the Enns (0.21 %) ³⁰. The complaints from Vienna about excessive pupil numbers at the Lombardy *ginnasi* did not cease. However if we consider

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 20 Feb. 1826, the *Studienhofkommission* to the Lombard Government; Vienna, 27 May 1826, the *Studienhofkommission* to the Lombard Government.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, Milan, 20 Feb. 1826, Londonio to the Lombard Government.

²⁷ *Ibid.*

²⁸ *Ibid.*, Milan, 15 Aug. 1833, Londonio to the Lombard Government; 6 Sept 1833, Londonio to the Lombard Government.

²⁹ Cf. Giglio, *I ginnasi e i licei lombardi*, cit., p. 18; Polenghi, *From Vienna to Milan*, cit., pp. 117-118; Ficker, *Geschichte, Organisation und Statistik*, cit., p. 138.

³⁰ A. Schimmer, *Statistik des österreichisch-ungarischen Kaiserstaates, in vierter Auflage neu bearbeitet*, Vienna, 1872, quoted by Mazohl, *Die Österreichische Unterrichtsreform*, cit., p. 111. It is impossible to report the ratios of schools and of the total enrollments to the total numbers of the school-aged in the population, which would give us more precise data, since the 1869 Austrian population census was the first to include any good statistics on age stratification.

the pupil numbers in relation to the population, we can see that there was a balanced number of *ginnasi* and *lycei*.

In order to explain this high rate, one has to remember that the Kingdom of Lombardy-Venetia was served by a very good network of elementary schools with a large number of pupils. This was especially true of Lombardy, where the existence of many free parish schools in the Duchy of Lombardy had been rapidly strengthened by the Habsburg rulers, Maria Theresa and Joseph II, and by the Napoleonic governments³¹. In Lombardy in 1855, the percentage of children being educated in public and private elementary schools had risen to 74 % of male and 69 % of female children³². The literacy rate among adults in 1861 was 45 % of the male and 36 % of the female population older than 6 years³³. This placed Lombardy ahead of the other states in Italy prior to Unification, and ahead of the other lands of the Habsburg Empire.

This growing demand for literacy and secondary education was a consequence of the fact that Lombardy was a rich province, with few landed estates, and enterprising merchants, traders and farmers, who demanded an education beyond basic literacy for their children. It was a region that was economically advanced in comparison with other Italian but also Habsburg areas, since a system of modern agriculture was in use, exchanges with more advanced countries had been set up, an industrial system was emerging with a mechanized system of production, and traditionally the mentality of both the aristocracy and the middle classes was to be open to innovation and enterprise³⁴. Milan, as the state capital, had a large number of state employees, artisans, specialized workers, shopkeepers, etc. who desired for their children a level of education that went beyond the elementary, as did the noble and upper middle-class families who were already demanding a humanistic education for their children.

Milan, the seat of the Lombardy government, had two Imperial *ginnasi* (Brera and S. Alessandro) and two *licei* (Porta Nuova and S. Alessandro), plus a municipal *ginnasio* (Santa Marta) and a private college (Longone)³⁵. The Imperial Brera *ginnasio* had replaced the Jesuit College during Maria Theresa's reign and was housed in an old and prestigious building, by the Academy of Fine Arts and the astronomical observatory. It had a well-furnished library, a physics hall, and

³¹ X. Toscani, *Scuole e alfabetismo nello Stato di Milano da Carlo Borromeo alla Rivoluzione*, Brescia, La Scuola, 1993; Id., *La politica scolastica nel Regno lombardo-veneto: scuole elementari*, cit.

³² Id., *La politica scolastica nel Regno lombardo-veneto*, cit., p. 336.

³³ L. Pazzaglia, R. Sani, *Scuola e società nell'Italia unita. Dalla Legge Cassati al Centro-Sinistra*, Brescia, La Scuola, 2001, p. 551.

³⁴ M. Romano, *Alle origini dell'industria lombarda. Manifatture, tecnologie e cultura economica nell'età della Restaurazione*, Milan, FrancoAngeli, 2012. Cf. also R.K. Greenfield, *Economia e liberalismo nel Risorgimento. Il movimento nazionale in Lombardia dal 1814 al 1848*, Bari, Laterza, 1940.

³⁵ Chierichetti, *I ginnasi e i licei di Milano nell'età della restaurazione*, cit.

chemistry laboratories. Its Imperial *Liceo* was in Porta Nuova, by the *Collegio Longone*, up until 1859, when Lombardy became united with Piedmont.

The Sant'Alessandro Imperial *Ginnasio* and *Liceo* were housed in the same building, which had previously held prestigious old schools. These schools had technical and arts drawing halls, a physics hall, and a library, plus a natural history museum, a botanic garden and an astronomical observatory.

These two Imperial secondary schools, as we will see, could not cope with the great demand for instruction: they were so overcrowded, it was necessary to open a third *ginnasio* in 1820: the *Ginnasio Santa Marta*, which was not supported by the state, but by municipal finance. It was housed in an old refurbished monastery and was supported entirely by the City Council, which could not afford to spend as much as the state. Teachers' salaries were therefore lower, the teaching materials were insufficient, and there was no heating (Carlo Cattaneo, the famous patriot and philosopher who taught Italian there for 15 years, reported that the temperature in winter went down to 10° and in January 1830 the ink in the inkpots froze³⁶).

Milan also had a prestigious private boarding school, the *Collegio Longone*. Originally set up to educate the sons of noble but impoverished families and run by the Barnabites, during the Napoleonic era it was opened up to the sons of upper middle-class families. The Barnabites were kept on as teachers following the suppression of religious orders in 1810. After the fall of Napoleon, the school continued to cater for pupils who were of noble birth or at least from wealthy families. The number of upper- and middle-class sons and boys coming from the provincial aristocracy grew³⁷. There were also other private boarding schools: the old Calchi Taeggi with 60 pupils, plus three more that opened in 1815, which together hosted about 100 pupils³⁸. Those who wanted to become priests studied in the Archbishopric seminary (Napoleon had forbidden secular pupils to attend this, as had been the custom previously)³⁹.

From 1819 to 1851, there were 107 teachers who worked in the five Milanese *ginnasi* and *licei*, 58 working in *ginnasi* and 49 in *licei*. In the *ginnasi*, the number of teachers who were priests gradually diminished but remained roughly equal to the number of lay teachers (53% vs 47%), since knowledge of Latin – the focus of *ginnasio* studies – and the insistence on religious education

³⁶ M. Cancarini Petroboni, M. Fugazza (edd.), *Carteggi di Carlo Cattaneo*. Series I, *Lettere di Cattaneo*, Florence, Le Monnier, Bellinzona, Casagrande, 2001, pp. 39, 42.

³⁷ Cherichetti, *I ginnasi e i licei di Milano nell'età della restaurazione*, cit., p. 71. Archivio Convitto Nazionale Longone, Milan, 2.

³⁸ C. Ravizza, *Il Collegio Calchi-Taeggi. Una dimenticata istituzione milanese*, «Archivio storico lombardo», n. CXXXIII, 2007, pp. 233-263; X. Toscani, *I collegi-convitti "privati" in Lombardia 1750-1848*, in Bianchi (ed.), *L'istruzione in Italia tra Sette e Ottocento. Da Milano a Napoli*, cit., pp. 89-156.

³⁹ X. Toscani, *I seminari*, in Bianchi (ed.), *L'istruzione in Italia tra Sette e Ottocento. Lombardia-Veneto-Umbria*, cit., pp. 211-234.

meant they tended towards the clergy. In *licei*, by contrast, the majority of teachers were lay (71%) (see Table n. 2)⁴⁰.

Table 2. Status of the teachers in the 5 *ginnasi* and *licei* of Milan (1819-1851)

Teachers	Secular	Priest	Total
Ginnasio	31 (53%)	27 (47%)	58
Liceo	35 (71%)	14 (29%)	49

Both in respect of students' and teachers' education, the *liceo* was connected with university, whereas *ginnasio* was closer to elementary school, which affected the composition of the teaching body. *Liceo* teachers received higher salaries and had a higher level of education, many of them having published books, schoolbooks or scientific works. Some took part in the 1848 uprising, but most of them refrained from a public anti-Austrian position. In terms of their pedagogical education, the lay teachers who had been appointed in the twenties were unfamiliar with Vincenz Milde's pedagogy, since it was only in 1824 that the study of Milde's *Lehrbuch der allgemeine Erziehungskunde zum Gebrauch der öffentlichen Vorlesungen* became compulsory in the Universities of Padua and Pavia, being already the prescribed text for all pedagogy chairs across the Empire's universities. Milde's *Lehrbuch* was only translated into Italian in 1827. Priests who had studied at seminaries under Habsburg rule, whether before or after Napoleon, had studied Pedagogy (*Methodik*) which had been a compulsory subject since the time of Maria Theresa⁴¹.

2. Attendance data on students at the *ginnasi* and *licei* in Milan

Our analysis will focus on the three state and municipal *ginnasi*, and the two state *licei* whose archival data have been collected. Analysis of the school registers of the three state and the municipal *ginnasio*, and the two state *liceo* have allowed us to classify 13,530 public pupils (8,606 in *ginnasi* and 4,924 in *licei*) plus 3,589 private pupils (who has said were taught by private teachers, or in small private schools and had to be examined in public schools) were examined in those schools: in total, 17,119 pupils. School registers from 1819

⁴⁰ Cherichetti, *I ginnasi e i licei di Milano nell'età della restaurazione*, cit.

⁴¹ W. Brezinka, *Pädagogik in Österreich. Die Geschichte des Faches an den Universitäten vom 18. bis zum 21. Jahrhundert*, Vienna, Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2000, Vol. 1, pp. 34 ff.; Id., *La pedagogia accademica e la formazione degli insegnanti nell'Impero austriaco (1804-1918)*, in Polenghi (ed.), *La scuola degli Asburgo*, cit., pp. 6-7; V. Chierichetti, *Le nomine dei docenti di pedagogia nell'Ateneo pavese (1817-1859)*, *ibid.*, pp. 91-112.

to 1851 (with cohorts of 5 years) have been indexed for: birthplace, father's job, pupils' age, and school marks. The attendance rate of public pupils has also been recorded⁴².

Attendance was always high and classes were crowded, even if the limit of 80 pupils per form imposed by the *Codice Ginnasiale* was rarely exceeded, apart from at S. Alessandro (Table n.3). The first forms (Grammar) were particularly crowded, whereas the last two forms (Humanities) were within the prescribed limits. The Grammar forms at S. Alessandro in 1820 were incredibly crowded, with 130 pupils in the second year and 128 in the fourth year and as many as 169 in the third year. In the two years of Humanities, there were 117 and 108 pupils respectively. The overcrowding of *Ginnasio* S. Alessandro was well-known and in 1816 Francis II had already asked to open a third *ginnasio*⁴³. The founding of the municipal *Ginnasio* Santa Marta in 1820 allowed for the pupils to be distributed more evenly and S. Alessandro registered a gradual reduction in its numbers of students as a result.

Pupil numbers at Brera *Ginnasio* dropped in 1825, from c.400 to c. 350, but this was in line with the reduction in pupil numbers that we also register in the other *ginnasi* in Milan and Lombardy-Venetia following the previously mentioned intervention from Vienna to be much more selective. The number of pupils then grew again to 426 in 1840, and decreased again thereafter, following another imposition from Vienna. As elsewhere, the higher attendance figures in Brera were concentrated in the first three forms. The Humanities forms were less crowded, both as a result of selection and because three years' schooling was enough for many boys of low status.

Table 3. Attendance at state and municipal *ginnasi* in Milan 1820-1850

Years	1820	1825	1830	1835	1840	1845	1850
Students ginnasio S. Alessandro	726	499	429	399	438	429	412
Students ginnasio Brera	397	412	357	385	426	360	310
Students ginnasio Santa Marta	387	402	353	345	375	363	408
Total	1510	1313	1139	1129	1239	1152	1130

⁴² The school registers of the Ginnasio Brera and Liceo di Porta Nuova are kept in the Archives of the Liceo Parini, those of Sant'Alessandro Imperial Ginnasio and Liceo are kept in the Archives of Liceo Beccaria, and those of Ginnasio Santa Marta are preserved in the Archivio Storico Civico of Milan. Unfortunately, no school registers for the years under consideration here remain in the archives of the Convitto Nazionale Longone. The series of the registers is almost complete, but some are in very bad condition and cannot be examined. So for the series were analysed 1820-1821, 1825-1826, 1830-1831, 1835-1836, 1840-1841, 1845-1846, 1850-1851; and for *licei* 1819-1820, 1824-1825, 1826-1827, 1831-1832, 1836-1837, 1841-1842, 1846-1847, 1851-1852. Complete data in Chierichetti, *I ginnasi e i licei di Milano nell'età della Restaurazione*, cit., pp. 185-252.

⁴³ ASM, *Studi*, p.m., 879. See also Londonio's protests against this situation in 1819 ASM, *Studi*, p.m., 878.

Santa Marta *Ginnasio* opened in 1820, offering just the Grammar forms, which were immediately filled. The first form, containing 97 pupils, exceeded its limit of 80. Of these 97, 20 had been failed in the state *ginnasi*. The second form contained 27 pupils who had been failed in the state *ginnasi* and the third form, 17. Following the 1825 intake, the number of Santa Marta pupils remained stable at between 345 and 375, until 1850 when it grew again to 408. This growth bucked the trend of the state *ginnasi*, especially Brera, and can be explained by changes in the teaching staff. Between 1840 and 1850 six teachers out of seven were new and young and clearly less selective, since the number of pupils who failed diminished. As a matter of fact, Santa Marta *Ginnasio* had also been less selective than the state *ginnasi* previously, but the trend clearly grew in the Forties.

Boys attending private schools or being taught at home had to take annual exams in the three state and municipal *ginnasi*. Hence we know their numbers from the registers, which were high⁴⁴. The amazing number of 834 in 1820 fell sharply to 369 in 1825 and remained more or less stable until the Forties, when it rose again to 511 in 1845 and 532 in 1850. The three *ginnasi* were selected more or less equally for these private exams, with an average of 150 pupils per year until 1845-1850, when S. Alessandro and Brera became much more popular than Santa Marta, presumably in keeping with the waning fortune of the municipal *ginnasio*: parents of well-prepared boys presumably preferred the more prestigious state *ginnasi* (Table n. 4).

Table 4. Number of private pupils of *ginnasi* taking exams in Milan 1820-1850

Years	1820	1825	1830	1835	1840	1845	1850
Private pupils Ginnasio S. Alessandro	341	123	146	152	147	128	239
Private pupils Ginnasio Brera	336	131	137	153	171	243	185
Private pupils Ginnasio Santa Marta	157	115	146	146	145	140	108
Total	834	369	729	451	463	511	365

As regards attendance at the state *licei*, numbers were also high (Table n. 5).

Porta Nuova *Liceo* had a large number of pupils, because it was not only the natural choice of those coming from Brera *Ginnasio*, but also of others coming from other *ginnasi* in Milan and Lombardy, both private and public. Within the Porta Nuova *Liceo*, progression to the second year was highly selective. The number of students in the second year was noticeably lower: many failed the first year exams, while the director himself suggested others leave, sparing them

⁴⁴ Chierichetti, *I ginnasi e i licei di Milano*, cit., pp. 194-195; More data on other years in ASM, *Studi*, p.m., 636. Cf. Polenghi, *From Vienna to Milan*, cit., p. 121.

the official exam failure⁴⁵. As previously mentioned, the élite College Longone was annexed to Porta Nuova.

Table 5. Attendance at the state *licei* in Milan 1819-1851

Years	1819	1824	1826	1831	1836	1841	1846	1851
Students Liceo S. Alessandro	166	246	242	261	309	302	351	374
Students Liceo Porta Nuova	98	120	152	176	199	133	171	186
Total	264	366	394	437	508	435	522	560
			834	369	729	451	463	511

The number of students at the S. Alessandro *Liceo* was higher. It welcomed pupils from S. Alessandro *Ginnasio* as well as from Brera and Santa Marta, and from other *ginnasi* in Lombardy. The higher number is also explained by the strategic position of the building, in the very centre of the city, close to the cathedral. Brera *Ginnasio* and Porta Nuova *Liceo* were in separate buildings, in different areas of Milan, whereas S. Alessandro *Ginnasio* and *Liceo* were in the same building, another fact that favoured attendance at S. Alessandro *Liceo*. The classes at S. Alessandro *Liceo* were so crowded that teachers complained repeatedly⁴⁶.

If we compare the number of pupils of these five *ginnasi* and *licei* in 1832, for instance, (1,579 pupils) with the inhabitants of Milan (131,059)⁴⁷, we see that 1.20% of the population attended the secondary school. If we include private pupils (421) the percentage rises to 1.53%. This calculation is not accurate, because quite a few of the *liceo*'s pupils came from other cities and towns, and only males could attend secondary school, but it gives us a good comparison nonetheless, when we include it with two other datasets: elementary school attendance in that year (19,165 pupils, both male and female)⁴⁸, hence 14.62% of the population; and the number of students attending the University of Pavia in 1832 (1,300)⁴⁹. Pavia's students came from across Lombardy, and elsewhere, but many came from Milan, so that again, if we use that figure of 1,300 as a proportion of the population of Milan, we get a figure of 0.99%. In 1840, the *ginnasi* and *licei* pupils (2,137 including private students) made up 1.03% of

⁴⁵ ASM, *Studi*, p.m., 675. Chierichetti, *I ginnasi e i licei di Milano*, cit., pp. 195-198.

⁴⁶ Ead., *I ginnasi e i licei di Milano*, cit., pp. 198-201.

⁴⁷ ASM, *Atti di Governo, Popolazione*, p.m., 40.

⁴⁸ G. Sacchi, *Intorno all'attuale stato dell'istruzione elementare in Lombardia in confronto ad altri Stati d'Italia*, Milan, Stella e figli, 1834, p. 10.

⁴⁹ *Annali Universali di Statistica*, Milan, Società degli Editori degli Annali Universali delle Scienze e dell'Industria, 1832, p. 320.

the population of Milan, which had risen to 164,095⁵⁰; in 1849 there were 2,112 pupils, which again made up 1.20% of the *Milanesi* (172,327 persons)⁵¹.

The main attendance gap lay between elementary and secondary schools, rather than between secondary schools and university. Indeed, Austrian authorities kept worrying about the high number of students at Pavia and Padua, a number which was very high compared to elsewhere in the Empire, fearing (indeed not without reason) the university students' anti-Austrian feeling⁵². The Universities of Pavia and Padua had the highest numbers of students, with the exception of Vienna. In 1851, for example, there were 1,619 students at the University of Pavia and 1,574 at the University of Padua, while no other university in the Empire, except for those of Vienna (2,416) and Prague (1,390), had more than 700 students enrolled⁵³. Hence the constant warnings from Vienna, to reduce the number of secondary school pupils and therefore of university students. Indeed, many of them risked unemployment, for the Austrian bureaucracy could not absorb them all⁵⁴. Not surprisingly, Pavia University was an active centre of recruitment to liberal thought and the Risorgimento movement⁵⁵.

3. *The students at the ginnasi and licei in Milan: data on family social status and geographic provenance*

The data collected from the school registers allow us to know the geographic provenance of pupils in Milanese schools, from 1820 to 1850. The most striking difference between the *ginnasi* and *licei* is that 80% of *ginnasi* pupils lived in Milan, versus only 60% of *licei* pupils. Moreover, only 6% of *ginnasi* pupils came from families that lived in Lombardy, versus 20% of *licei* pupils. The reason for this is that in Lombardy there were many other *ginnasi*, both public and private, but many rich and noble families preferred to send their

⁵⁰ G. Ferrario, *Statistica medica di Milano dal secolo XV fino ai nostri giorni*, Milan, Guglielmini e Redaelli, 1840, Vol. 2, p. 259.

⁵¹ M. Bergaglio (ed.), *Popolazioni che cambiano. Studi di geografia della popolazione*, Milan, FrancoAngeli, 2008, p. 81.

⁵² I. Ciprandi, *L'Università di Pavia nell'età della Restaurazione*, in *Problemi scolastici ed educativi nella Lombardia del primo Ottocento*, Milan, Sugarco, 1978, Vol. II.

⁵³ Other universities reported the following figures for enrolled students: 699 (Lviv), 457 (Graz), 419 (Pest), 312 (Olomouc), 240 (Krakow), 218 (Innsbruck). See *Statistica Universitaria dell'Impero austriaco*, «Annali universali di statistica, economia pubblica, legislazione, storia, viaggi e commercio», 1855, Series 3, vol. 8, Issue 22, p. 99.

⁵⁴ M. Meriggi, *Amministrazione e classi sociali nel Lombardo-Veneto (1814-1848)*, Bologna, il Mulino, 1983, pp. 257 ff., pp. 301 ff., pp. 317-323.

⁵⁵ S. Polenghi, *Studenti e politica nell'università di Pavia durante il Risorgimento (1814-1860)*, «Storia in Lombardia», n. 3, 2001, pp. 5-38.

children to Milan to attend the *liceo*, since the two *licei* in Milan were very prestigious. In fact, if we include the pupils coming from the County of Milan, the number of *ginnasi* pupils increases to 92% versus 75% for *licei*: the student population of the three *ginnasi* was centred on the city, whereas more students from Lombardy attended the *licei* (Table n. 6). Of the three *ginnasi*, both Brera and Sant'Alessandro had c.78% of their pupils living in Milan, while Santa Marta had c.85%: being the less prestigious *ginnasio*, it was not much chosen by families who lived in the country.

Table 6. Geographic provenance of pupils from 1820 to 1850

Place	Ginnasi	Licei
City of Milan	80%	60%
County of Milan	15%	15%
Lombardy	6%	20%
Habsburg Empire	1%	1%
Other Kingdoms	1%	4%

These data can be better interpreted if we combine them with data about fathers' professions, which allow us to determine the social class of the majority of the pupils in the period under examination (Table n. 7).

Table 7. Father's profession - social class 1820-1850

Ginnasio	Profession	Liceo	Profession
Brera	Clerks (25.37%),	Porta Nuova	Clerks (22.45%)
	Shopkeepers and merchants (20.25%)		Shopkeepers and merchants (10.15%)
	Landowners and landlords (18.98%)		Landowners and landlords (43.75%)
	Intellectual jobs (12.24%)		Intellectual jobs (12.78%)
	Artisans (8.32%)		Artisans (3.92%)
	Others (9.90%)		Others (1.48%)
	Military personnel (1.43%)		Military personnel (1.56%)
	Farmers (3.11%)		Farmers (1.48%)
	Unknown (0.4%)		Unknown (2.43%)
Sant'Alessandro	Clerks (17.42%)	Sant'Alessandro	Clerks (16.12%)
	Shopkeepers and merchants (26.38%)		Shopkeepers and merchants (16.44%)
	Landowners and landlords (14.25%)		Landowners and landlords (37.1%)

	Intellectual jobs (11.94%)		Intellectual jobs (14.31%)
	Artisans (8.99%)		Artisans (5.64%)
	Others (7.62%)		Others (3.44%)
	Military personnel (6.36%)		Military personnel (0.78%)
	Farmers (6.1%)		Farmers (3.42%)
	Unknown or deceased (0.94%)		Unknown or deceased (2.75%)
Santa Marta	Clerks (20.50%)		
	Shopkeepers and merchants (20.58%)		
	Landowners and landlords (14.63%)		
	Intellectual jobs (12.41%)		
	Artisans (11.74%)		
	Others (7.66%)		
	Military personnel (1.64%)		
	Farmers (6.40%)		
	Unknown or deceased (4.44%)		

Analysis of the data shows that in Brera *Ginnasio* a quarter of fathers worked as clerks, in S. Alessandro *Ginnasio* more than a quarter were the sons of shopkeepers and merchants (26,4%), and in S. Marta both these categories were 20% of the total. Shopkeepers and merchants included bakers, milkmen, greengrocers, grocers, chemists, jewellers, and merchants of cloths and canvas, wine, cheese and so on. These categories represented a middle class/lower middle class.

Landowners and landlords included families with large landed estates and/or properties. These were the richest families, which included the nobility. There were a higher proportion of these in Brera (nearly 20%) than in S. Alessandro and S. Marta *ginnasi* (nearly 15%). The category of clerks included mainly state employees of various levels, who were naturally quite numerous in Milan. Intellectual professions, such as lawyers, notaries, doctors, surgeons, business brokers, professors, teachers, writers, etc, made up approximately 12% in all three *ginnasi*. Artisans accounted for c.10%, and included carpenters, knife-grinders, shoemakers, blacksmiths, potters, tailors, etc. Military personnel included officers, including high ranking ones, as well as soldiers, policemen and customs officers. There were very few of them at S. Marta and Brera, but made up more than 6% in S. Alessandro. The category of "Other jobs" includes low-paid workers, such as servants, valets and waiters, porters, master-builders, barbers, coachmen, doorkeepers, gardeners, millers, gravediggers, factory workers, etc. They account for between 7 and 10%, which is quite

high considering the social status of the fathers: poor though they were, these families were clearly asking for a better education for their boys to give them a wider range of employment options and pushed them to the *ginnasio*. The number of farmers' children was stable, at around 6%. In this category we find animal farmers but also peasants. The population of S. Marta is more balanced between the social classes, where there was a higher percentage of poor families, probably because this school was less prestigious and the teachers were less strict.

From this table we can see that Vienna's objections to the high number of boys from the lower classes in the *ginnasi* were valid: the *ginnasi* in Milan were full of middle but also lower class boys, a clear indication that Milanese society was dynamic and also that even the lowly workers understood the value of education and believed in the possibility of obtaining a better status for their children.

Many of these boys did not carry on studying after the *ginnasio* and in fact the social status of *licei* pupils was quite different. Here landowners and landlords were the most represented class (making up nearly 44% in Porta Nuova and 36% in S. Alessandro), and included many of the nobility, whereas in the state and municipal *ginnasi* there was only a small number of aristocrats. Porta Nuova *Liceo* welcomed the sons of the gentry from *Collegio* Longone, and this explains the higher number of landowners' children compared to S. Alessandro. Among the clerks, here it was the high level ones who were represented, as opposed to the simpler state employees. The percentage of pupils with humble origins drops dramatically. The *liceo* was a school for upper middle class/middle class boys, alongside aristocrats. Landowners' and landlords' sons joined the state school at *liceo* level, having previously been educated privately. The registers of the three *ginnasi* in fact testify to the fact that the majority of private pupils who had to take their exams in public schools came from the landowners and landlords class (c. 38% of the private pupils across the three *ginnasi*).

The overcrowded classrooms of the *ginnasi* were also a consequence of the delay in opening technical schools (*Realschulen*). The *Scuola tecnica* had been specified in the *Codice ginnasiale* and was planned for 1824-25⁵⁶, but only opened in Milan in 1841⁵⁷ and in Venice in 1843. The one in Milan only became popular gradually, due to problems with the curriculum in the early stages; so that although pupil numbers increased, this only happened slowly: it would take years for the new school to compete with the traditional *ginnasi* in terms of prestige⁵⁸. However, a decade later, the *Scuola Tecnica* had gained

⁵⁶ ASM, *Studi*, p.m., 386/11.

⁵⁷ T. Russo, *L'istruzione tecnica a Milano 1841-1859*, «Storia in Lombardia», n. 3, 2003, pp. 31-56; A. Galbani, *Alle origini dell'istruzione tecnica: la Scuola tecnica di Milano (1838-1859)*, in M.C. Basile (ed.), *150 anni di storia dell'Istituto Carlo Cattaneo di Milano*, Milan, Negri, 1992, pp. 17-37.

⁵⁸ Pupils number grew slowly but steadily. In 1841 there were 48 pupils. In 1843-44 there were

people's confidence and in 1851 it was reorganized as *Scuola reale* (*Realschule*). Eventually, in 1857 a second *Scuola Tecnica* was opened.

4. Pupils' ages and school results

The data regarding final marks and pupils' ages have been collected from the school registers, for the cohort years previously mentioned, with the partial exception of S. Alessandro *Ginnasio*, whose registers do not record the marks until 1840⁵⁹. The first clear result concerns boys' ages: in the three *ginnasi*, we find boys in the Grammar forms from the age of 9 up to 17 years old, rather than 9-13 as prescribed, and in the Humanities forms, boys aged 13-19, sometimes even men of 20, rather than 13-15. This meant that in the Grammar forms children and adolescents were sitting together, and in Humanities pre-adolescents and adolescents, and even young men, were sitting together.

In the first *liceo* form the pupils' ages ranged between 16 and 21, but most boys were aged 16-17-18. In the second form, the age range went from 17 up to 23, but again the majority of students was aged 18-19-20. So the age differences were actually quite minor in the *licei* and, given the fact that students were older, these differences were less significant from a psychological point of view.

Keeping in mind that the classes were overcrowded, we can understand why disciplinary problems were always a worry for teachers, particularly in the Grammar forms. However, it is not the case that the worst marks for behaviour were to be found in the Grammar forms.

Discipline was very strict. The *Codice ginnasiale* stipulated a firm control over pupils and their morality. They had to attend Mass every day, and spiritual exercises were compulsory for three days before Easter, as were monthly confessions. *Licei* pupils had to attend Mass every Sunday and go to confession at least once a year. The teaching system in the Grammar forms was characterized by an obsessive system of repetition and examination, which stimulated the memory, particularly in the humanistic subjects. Pupils were deliberately overloaded with homework, so that they would not waste time in reading «useless fantastic novels, which could ruin morality and nourish them with vain phantasy»⁶⁰.

Any infringement of the disciplinary rules was severely punished. Pupils could be *arrested*, that is, not allowed to leave the school; moved back to the

59, ASM, *Istruzione pubblica*, 469/31, Milan 1845, *Rapporto del direttore Moretti sulla situazione della Scuola tecnica nell'anno 1843-44*. In 1850 the number of pupils had grown to 93. Cf. Russo, *L'istruzione tecnica a Milano 1841-1859*, cit.; Galbani, *Alle origini dell'istruzione tecnica*, cit.

⁵⁹ A complete analysis in Chierichetti, *I ginnasi e i licei di Milano*, cit., pp. 235-245.

⁶⁰ *Codice Ginnasiale o sia raccolta degli ordini e regolamenti intorno alla costituzione ed organizzazione dei ginnasi*, Milan, Imperiale Regia Stamperia, 1820, p. 35.

previous form; not entered for exams; or expelled from the school⁶¹. In the Milanese schools it looks like teachers managed to uphold discipline mainly by failing students.

In the Grammar forms the subjects with the worst marks were Latin, Maths and Greek. This was partly due to the teaching method. As we have seen, many teachers had not mastered Maths and Greek. Furthermore, as Londonio reported in 1833, numerous teachers, despite the requirement (Art. 71) to use only textbooks in lessons, tended to dictate their own comments, and some teachers did not even observe the timetable, and limited the teaching of those subjects they considered to be less important to just a few hours at the end of the school year. The preparation of pupils in Latin proved to be rather average, which Londonio explained by the fact that the *ginnasi* were also attended by pupils who were not sufficiently qualified, and that there were in general too many subjects on the curriculum⁶². Finally, in 1835, Londonio found that not only were there too many subjects, but their content was also too complex for children aged eleven and twelve. He therefore suggested making Greek an optional course, and abolishing arithmetic and algebra completely (or to make them optional)⁶³. Another teaching obstacle was the fact that classes contained too many pupils, due to a lack of teachers.

The marking system was set out in the *Codice Ginnasiale*: first cum laude, first (good), second (sufficient) and third (insufficient). Being awarded a third was classified as a fail. In all *ginnasi* the marks were lower in the first three forms, and better in the fourth form of Grammar. They were certainly better in the Humanity forms. In the *licei* the marks were on average good and very good, but Latin and the scientific subjects still presented difficulties. The real selection took place during the years at the *ginnasi*, although *licei* pupils also sometimes failed. In the Forties the marks got generally higher, probably due to staff turnover, particularly, as previously mentioned, in Santa Marta *Ginnasio*.

Learning in the Grammar forms was mainly by rote, whereas in the Humanity forms and especially in the *liceo* there was a greater emphasis on critical thinking. The *Codice Ginnasiale* stated that «The aim of philosophical studies is not any more to learn by heart, but to think and to learn to judge». The code made it clear that «seven-year-old children could not be [treated as] thinking men, just as it would be harmful to keep older boys growing towards adulthood trapped learning childish formulae by rote. In the first case we would educate unruly and arrogant boys, in the second, men incapable of reasoning»⁶⁴. The Code followed Milde's pedagogy: Milde criticized rote

⁶¹ Chierichetti, *I ginnasi e i licei di Milano*, cit., p. 248.

⁶² ASM, *Studi*, p.m., 636, Milan, 11 Aug. 1833, Londonio to the Lombard Government. Polenghi, *From Vienna to Milan*, cit.; Chierichetti, *I ginnasi e i licei di Milano*, cit., pp. 110-112.

⁶³ ASM, *Studi*, p.m., 639, Milan, 25 March 1835, Londonio to the Lombard Government.

⁶⁴ *Codice Ginnasiale*, cit., pp. 95-96.

learning and stressed the importance of *Selbstbildung*. The pupil had to develop the ability to learn by himself. A method which relied solely on mnemonics was therefore of no use. Too many teachers believed they had to give their pupils knowledge: instead, they had to make them think. The faculty of memory was nonetheless very important, but it had to be developed in harmony with the other faculties. The memory is «indispensable for every operation of thinking. Reasoning depends partially on knowing and this depends on the culture of the memory». But one had to distinguish between a «mechanical memory», linked to impressions, and a memory connected to logical reflection⁶⁵. Reason had to be stimulated gradually: contrary to the pedagogy of the Enlightenment, Milde criticized those who tried to make a child be rational before his time, hence not respecting his nature.

However it seems that in the *ginnasio*, due to the overcrowding of the classes, memory was particularly emphasized, with a system of weekly practices and monthly exams.

5. Thun-Hohenstein Reform

The so-called Leo Thun-Hohenstein reform, proposed by Franz Exner and Hermann Bonitz, was approved in September 1849 in Vienna. The *ginnasi* were extended by two years, Latin and Philosophy lessons were reduced, while Greek and natural science-mathematical subjects were strengthened. This was intended to create a balance between lessons in the classical languages and other subjects, as Johann Friedrich Herbart had demanded. The introduction of subject teachers to replace the previous form teachers was also a key development. This in turn required improved teacher training. The old Philosophy course was integrated into the last years of the newly formed *Ginnasi-Liceali* and the Faculty of Arts was reorganized and strengthened as an independent rather than a preliminary course⁶⁶.

⁶⁵ V.E. Milde, *Trattato di educazione generale: adattato all'uso di pubbliche lezioni*, Milan, Imperiale Regia Stamperia, 1827, pp. 150-151. Cf. H. Holstiege, *Die Pädagogik Vincenz Eduard Mildes 1777-1853*, Vienna, Wiener Domverlag, 1971. W. Brezinka, *Die Geschichte des Faches Pädagogik an den österreichischen Universitäten von 1805 bis 1970*, «Paedagogica Historica», n. 2, 1995, pp. 408-410; Id., *Geschichte des Faches Pädagogik an der Universität Wien von 1805 bis 1956*, «Mitteilungen der Österreichischen Gesellschaft für Wissenschaftsgeschichte», n. 15, 1995, pp. 67 ff.; Id., *Pädagogik in Österreich*, cit., pp. 233-248; I.M. Breinbauer, G. Grimm, M. Jäggle (edd.), *Milde revisited. Vincenz Eduard Mildes pädagogisches Wirken aus der Sicht der modernen Erziehungswissenschaft*, Vienna, Lit Verlag, 2006.

⁶⁶ Mazohl-Wallnig, *Die Österreichische Unterrichtsreform in Lombardo-Venetien 1848-1854*, cit.; Friedrich, Mazohl, von Schlachta, *Die Bildungsrevolution*, cit., pp. 80-84; Cohen, *Education and Middle-Class Society*, pp. 21-36.

For political reasons, the Kingdom of Lombardy-Venetia was initially excluded from the reform, until 1850, when the opinion of intellectuals in Lombardy and Veneto was sought, only to be ignored subsequently. The political tension, and the mistrust on both sides between the Austrians and Italians following the 1848-49 uprising and war, was still present. The Universities had been closed and had only re-opened in 1850. The reform was introduced in Lombardy and Veneto from 1851. *Ginnasi* and *licei* were reorganised into a single, eight-year school (*Ginnasi-Liceali*). In order to offer the lower/middle classes an alternative to the *ginnasio*, the *Scuole tecniche* in Milan, as well as in Venice, were changed into six-year *Scuole reali superiori* which were to serve as the model for subsequent ones in the regions⁶⁷.

The abrupt introduction of the *Ginnasi-Liceali*, which was made without taking into account the observations of the Italian Bolza-Ambrosoli commission, caused dissatisfaction and problems and was seen as yet another imposition from Vienna. The introduction of a fee, albeit low, was not appreciated. *Liceo* teachers felt downgraded in being made to teach in a common eight-year school: the prestigious tradition of the Napoleonic *liceo*, which was still viewed as a positive model by the commission, seemed to have been completely forgotten. The introduction of subject teachers (*Fachlehrer*) was not easy. In Milan the government tried to improve the quality of lessons and therefore employed new teachers for mathematics, physics, Italian and Greek – in other words, specifically for those subjects in which teachers previously had had little knowledge. But the introduction of subject teachers in Milan was only partially completed, since the form teacher system was generally preferred, especially for younger pupils. It also seemed more politically prudent to only employ new teachers gradually. In some cases, the form teacher was kept, while in other cases a form teacher was replaced by a teacher who continued to teach several subjects (Italian, history, geography, Latin), thus representing a kind of middle way between a form and subject teacher. The subject teacher was only firmly introduced for the natural sciences⁶⁸.

But in spite of the difficulties, within a short space of time, Brera and Sant'Alessandro managed to adapt to the prescribed conditions. Due to financial constraints, the municipal *Ginnasio* Santa Marta resisted the new regulations

⁶⁷ A. Ferraresi, *The mixed fortunes of the university reforms in Lombardy-Venetia after 1850. The case of Pavia*, in Aichner, Mazohl (edd.), *The Thun-Hohenstein University Reforms 1849-1860*, cit., pp. 205-225; Chierichetti, Polenghi, *The Thun-Hohenstein reform and the Lombardy-Venetian ginnasi. Aspects and problems*, cit., pp. 226-248.

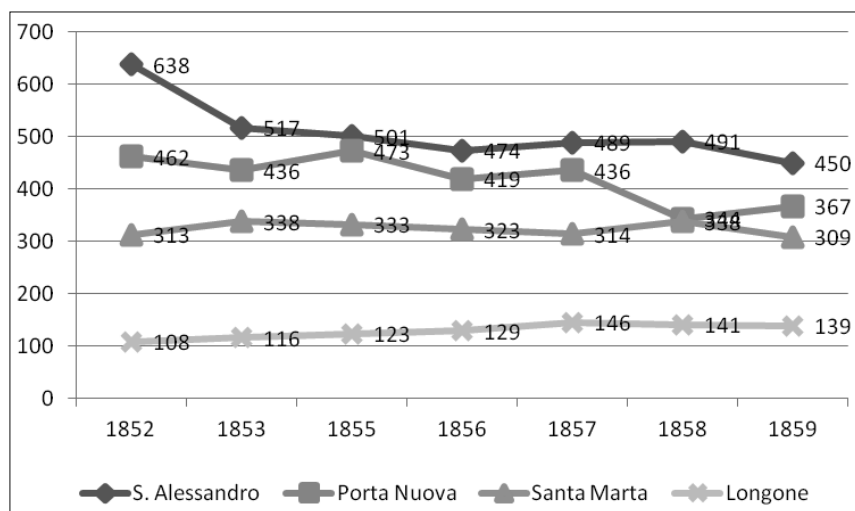
⁶⁸ A circular from the royal and imperial general director of the *ginnasi* and *licei* in Lombardy of 3 January 1854 emphasized that not too many teachers should teach in the lower classes, so that the «pedagogical target can be reached». Instead it was pertinent that one single teacher should have command of several subjects, «*Rivista ginnasiale*», 1854, 1, p. 88.

for a long time. From 1851 onwards, this triggered intensive debate among the municipal authorities about the fate of the school. Eventually, Santa Marta was also classified as a *ginnasio liceale*. In advance of this, however, it was necessary to extend the school building, and until its completion the pupils in the seventh and eighth years were forced to complete their education at the *ginnasi liceali* of Sant'Alessandro or Brera-Porta Nuova⁶⁹.

Pupil numbers at the *ginnasi liceali* remained very high, including in the last years of Austrian rule (Chart 1). Sant'Alessandro *Ginnasio* had the highest number of pupils, with an average of 508, while Santa Marta had the lowest number (324), which – as previously stated – was also due to the fact that for many years it had only six classes.

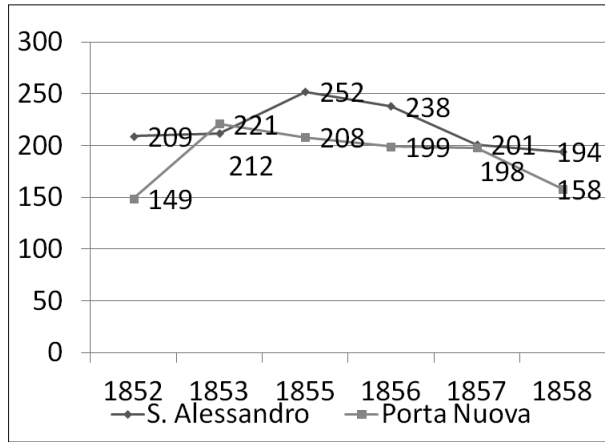
The number of private pupils in Milan had always been very high. This did not change after the Thunian reform. In the period from 1852 to 1858 there were never fewer than 350 private pupils (Chart 2).

Chart 1. Public students of *Ginnasi Liceali* in Milan 1852-1859⁷⁰



⁶⁹ Archivio Storico Civico di Milan, *Istruzione*, 54.

⁷⁰ *Prospetto statistico dei ginnasi liceali austriaci alla fine dell'anno scolastico 1852-1853*, «Rivista ginnasiale», 1854, pp. 26, 27; *ibid.*, 1857, 1; *ibid.*, 1858, 1, p. 149; *ibid.*, 1859, 2. The data for Chart 2 is also taken from these sources.

Chart 2. Private Students of *Ginnasi Liceali* in Milan 1852-1859

6. After Italian unification

As a result of the Treaty of Zurich of 10 November 1859, Lombardy was annexed by the Kingdom of Sardinia. On 17 March 1861, the Kingdom of Italy was born. On 13 November of the same year, the La Marmora-Rattazzi government passed a new school law, the so-called *legge Casati*, which remained in effect, albeit with minor changes, until 1923. This law was immediately criticized as too *piedmontese* and even patriots such as Carlo Tenca regretted the loss of the Austrian schools, such as the *Realschule*, which were considered to be better than the Piedmontese *Scuola Tecnica* imposed on Lombardy⁷¹. Milan City Council soon worked at renewing its schools. In 1861 the Municipal *Ginnasio* Santa Marta was closed down, since it was considered a school of inferior quality. The City Council preferred to provide middle-class and lower middle-class boys with two new Technical schools, one of which was opened on the site of the Santa Marta. In 1865 the two former *Ginnasi Licei* were renamed after two famous intellectuals of the Enlightenment: Brera-Porta Nuova became Liceo Giuseppe Parini (the great poet); S. Alessandro school became Liceo Cesare Beccaria (the famous jurist and philosopher).

⁷¹ S. Polenghi, *La politica universitaria italiana nell'età della Destra storica (1848-1876)*, Brescia, La Scuola, 1993, pp. 91-94.

Enrolment at the 3 technical schools rapidly overtook that of the two *ginnasi*, which were also hindered by high fees applied by the Italian state (Table n.8). This went so far that in 1866 the number of pupils in the technical school exceeded those in the *ginnasi*. On the one hand, this confirmed the decades-long demand for an expansion of technical education, but on the other, this trend also fed the concern about the crisis in classical education.

In 1870, Amato Amati, a lecturer, director, school administrator and author of numerous works on school and culture, an anticlerical patriot who as a student had taken part in the *Five Days of Milan* uprising in 1848, and then fought in the student battalion of Luciano Manara, having to flee to Turin in 1849 and then on to France, before being allowed to return to Pavia, sharply criticized the Casati Law in favour of Thunian reform.

Table 8. Pupils of the public schools in Milan⁷²

Year	Population	Elementary school male pupils	Ginnasi Licei pupils	Realschulen/ Scuola tecniche pupils
1857-58	177,963	3,694	1,314	750
1858-59	184,920	4,047	1,350	689
1859-60	191,544	3,978	1,265	733
1860-61	196,508	4,247	1,142	688
1861-62	200,735	4,645	948	587
1862-63	203,865	4,849	958	567
1863-64	202,188	5,202	890	630
1864-65	200,699	5,359	878	697
1865-66	204,713	5,374	799	765
1866-67	209,022	5,263	782	810
1867-68	214,547	5,351	689	869
1868-69	215,864	5,431	614	883
1869-70		5,546	541	884

In his criticism of the *legge Casati*, Amati emphasized the decline in the number of pupils in the *ginnasi*. While the population of Milan grew by 37,901 inhabitants between 1857 and 1869, and the number of pupils rose by 1,852 in elementary schools and by 134 in technical schools, the number of pupils in

⁷² A. Amati, *Del movimento delle scuole elementari classiche e tecniche in Milano e in altre città lombarde*, Milan, Vallardi, 1870, pp. 8-9.

classical schools dropped by 773 – a decline of 31 %. Taking into account the growth in population at the time, the decline was even greater at 43 %⁷³. Amati also criticised the higher school fees for the *ginnasi*, compared to those under Austrian rule, and the fact that the *legge Casati* provided for fewer exemptions from these fees⁷⁴. It was ultimately not so much the Thunian reform itself, but rather the political situation and the tensions after 1848 that exerted such a strong influence on the assessment of the Habsburg educational policy in Italy, as well as a long-lasting influence on historiography⁷⁵.

The trend in Milan was worse than for *ginnasi* and *licei* nationally, which registered slower growth rather than an actual decrease: between 1861 and 1900 the number of pupils in Italian Technical Schools increased fivefold (from 11,700 to 61,400), whereas the number of pupils in *ginnasi* and *licei* tripled (from 30,100 to 88,800)⁷⁶. The majority of *Scuole tecniche* pupils (those in the 3 lower years of technical school) did not carry on to *Istituti tecnici* (the 4 upper years of technical schools) but entered the workplace. Milan's role as the most important city for commerce and industry was growing, so once it had enough Technical schools, plus the Polytechnic (which opened in 1863), it could offer middle-class families schools which were more appropriate and held in higher regard, which opened up more practical job opportunities, being in fact a multifunctional extension of elementary school⁷⁷. The *Istituto tecnico* provided higher level technical instruction and eventually the possibility of enrolling in the Polytechnic of Milan, where the majority of students came from *Istituti tecnici* rather than from *licei*⁷⁸.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, p. 10.

⁷⁴ At Parini *ginnasio* (formerly Porta Nuova), for example, of the 439 pupils in the period 1856-1857, around 133 were exempted from school fees, while in the period 1869-1870, only nine of the 250 pupils were exempted. Amati, *Del movimento delle scuole elementari classiche e tecniche in Milano*, cit., p. 31.

⁷⁵ S. Polenghi, *Die Österreichische Schulreform in der habsburgischen Lombardei*, «History of Education & Children's Literature», vol. 6, n. 1, 2011, pp. 77-91.

⁷⁶ C.G. Lacaita, *Istruzione, cultura e sviluppo in Lombardia (1748-1914)*, in *Il paese di Lombardia*, Regione Lombardia (ed.), Assessorato agli enti locali e alla cultura, Milan, Garzanti, 1978, pp. 478-503. See also Id., *Istruzione e sviluppo industriale in Italia, 1859-1914*, Florence, Giunti Barbera, 1973.

⁷⁷ M. Fugazza, *Per una storia dell'istruzione secondaria a Milano dopo l'Unità. Le scuole tecniche (1860-1881)*, «Archivio storico lombardo», vol. CXLII, 2016, pp. 189-212.

⁷⁸ S. Morosini, *Scuole secondarie e Politecnico di Milano: la provenienza scolastica degli studenti*, in C.G. Lacaita, M. Fugazza (edd.), *L'istruzione secondaria nell'Italia unita 1861-1901*, Milan, FrancoAngeli, 2013, pp. 314-332.

Conclusions

Returning to the dominion of the Habsburg Empire and the implementation of Austrian school law with the *Codice Ginnasiale* in 1818 meant the dissolution of the Napoleonic model of upper secondary school and a reversion to the Jesuitical model. This was a retrograde step in terms of the modernization of the curriculum and intellectuals in Lombardy often regretted the Napoleonic *liceo*. The choice of the form teacher, rather than the subject teacher, hindered both the specialization and the secularization of *ginnasi*. The Thun-Hohenstein reform of the *ginnasi* was negatively received, partly because *licei* teachers felt downgraded, but mainly due to the mutual political distrust and suspicion that existed between Vienna and the Italian people. In Milan, the teaching staff in the *ginnasi* did not change after the fall of Napoleon, but had to adjust to the new rules. Many *licei* teachers changed, but thereafter the teaching staff remained stable and was well-regarded. The analysis of the status of the 107 teachers in the 5 *ginnasi* and *licei* of Milan (1819-1851) has shown that the percentage of priests teachers was 47% in *ginnasi* and only 29 % in *licei* (Table n.2). In 1851 the priests teaching in the *ginnasi* on the Empire were 60%, a percentage that went down to 52% in 1857. The secularization of Milan *ginnasi* and above all *licei* was rooted in the Napoleonic era and in a more dynamic and pre-industrial society. In the Venetian region, for comparison, in 1851 still 82% of the teachers were priests⁷⁹.

The analysis of the school registers of the three state and the municipal *ginnasio*, and the two state *liceo* of Milan have allowed us to classify 13,530 public pupils (8,606 in *ginnasi* and 4,924 in *licei*) plus 3,589 private pupils. During the Restoration period, the city of Milan had a notable number of secondary school pupils, so many that classes were overcrowded and discipline had to be strongly enforced. The documents and school registers clearly show that many boys from the middle and lower classes attended the *ginnasi*, and quite a few even the *licei*, to the extent that Vienna constantly worried, for political reasons, and indeed not without justification. The lack of technical schools did not deter poor boys from trying to make their way up the social ladder: many enrolled in *ginnasio*, some even in *liceo*, which remained the school for aristocratic and upper middle-class boys, but with some boys of lower social status also in attendance. The constant presence of many boys of middle and lower classes and the high rate of attendance compared with other area of the Empire, show the pressure to climb the social ladder in a region which was modernizing its economy. Not few of these boys managed to enrol in the University of Pavia. The high number of graduated, though, did not managed to be absorbed by the society with an adequate job, particularly in the

⁷⁹ Friedrich, Mazohl, von Schlachta, *Die Bildungsrevolution*, cit., p. 81.

tertiary sector. According to Meriggi, the intellectual unemployment favoured the spread of nationalistic ideas⁸⁰.

Many of the famous men and patriots of the time were among the pupils of Milan's *ginnasi* and *licei*, such as Carlo Cattaneo, Francesco Hajech, Achille Mauri, Paolo Taverna, Agostino Bertani, Giulio Carcano, Cesare Correnti, Carlo Tenca, Pietro Maestri, Giuseppe Missori, and the Dandolo brothers. Luciano Manara (previously at Collegio Longone) and Emilio Morosini, who both died fighting the Austrian army in 1848, were among the pupils at Porta Nuova Liceo. A generation of patriots, in spite of Austrian efforts to control the country's youth – or perhaps also in response to a too rigid system of control.

⁸⁰ Meriggi, *Amministrazione e classi sociali nel Lombardo-Veneto*, cit.

School in the eyes of Hungarian high nobility. The counts Széchenyi (1867-1918)*

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ABSTRACT: The aim of the research is to examine whether the aristocrats' studying habits had changed as a result of the emergence of civil society, as well as the process of professionalisation and the establishment of the modern Hungarian educational system. Was studying transferred from family milieu to the schools? And if it was, how did the high nobility students experience everyday school life? The study aims to answer these questions using the examples of selected members of the Count Széchenyi family. The research is based on archival documents (school application forms, student name registries, family letters) and school reports.

EET/TEE KEYWORDS: History of school; Hungarian educational system; Count Széchenyi family; Hungary; XIXth-XXth Centuries.

Introduction. Hungarian High Nobility in the Historiography

For ideological reasons, the history of nobility, particularly its upper stratum (high nobility, aristocracy)¹ in Hungary has come into the focus of research after the regime change². Works analysing the aristocrats' upbringing and

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¹ The expressions 'high nobility' and 'aristocracy' are used here as synonyms (cf. E. Conze, *Adel*, in Id. (ed.), *Kleines Lexikon des Adels: Titel, Throne, Traditionen*, München, C.H. Beck, 2005, pp. 17-18).

² See among others: H-U. Wehler (ed.), *Europäischer Adel 1750-1950*, Göttingen, Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1990; W. Schmitz (ed.), *Adel in Schlesien und Mitteleuropa: Literatur und Kultur von der Frühen Neuzeit bis zur Gegenwart*, München, Oldenbourg Verlag, 2013; T. Tönsmeeyer,

education appeared both in the field of general history and education history. Hungarian social and cultural historian Sasfi, for example, studied the schooling and socialisation of four noble young men using their memoirs³, while Kovács and Kende⁴ or Bertényi Jr⁵ – to mention only a few researchers – investigated the educational choices of the elite. The educational historian Virág applied a different paradigm of education science, focusing on upbringing and education of high nobility in Hungary, especially on the goals, ideas, principles and methods of education, choosing private tutors and schools, besides raising content-related as well as pedagogical-methodical issues. His research encompassed the era between 1790 and 1848. He stated that in the first half of the 19th century, the high nobility typically acquired an education that was significant for them and adapted to their social status, via private (home) schooling. Governesses with a foreign mother tongue took care of the children from an early age, because the knowledge of several languages was an inherent class requirement for their wards. They also acquired their elementary education at home, with the family hiring a tutor for the boys and a governess for the girls. As a rule, the boys even completed their secondary grammar education in the same manner, only visiting the actual institutions to take exams. As an alternative, they chose boarding schools in Hungary or abroad. Their high-level education typically comprised philosophical studies, while many of these boys attended law school as well, primarily at the University of Budapest⁶.

The international literature also dealt with the education of high nobility after World War I. Wasson discoursed on the educational culture of European aristocracy in terms of power and fortune, using examples from Hungary as well. He refuted several stereotypes (e. g. that the introduction of a meritocratic examination system resulted with the decline of the aristocratic culture) and argued that aristocracy had always been the most highly educated stratum of society, having a better chance of progress facilitated by their parents, and being able to afford quality education⁷. Lieven also discussed the education and culture of the aristocracy, using examples from England, Germany, and

L. Velek (edd.), *Adel und Politik in der Habsburgermonarchie und den Nachbarländern zwischen Absolutismus und Demokratie*, München, Martin Meidenbauer, 2011.

³ Cs. Sasfi, *Az oktatás társadalomtörténeti megközelítése: négy dunántúli nemesifjú kiművelése a reformkorban*, «Korall», Vol. 2, nn. 2-4, 2001, pp. 20-69.

⁴ I.G. Kovács, G. Kende, *A tudáselit középiskolái: A két világháború közötti tudáselit középszintű iskoláztatása 1860 és 1920 között*, in I.G. Kovács, *Elitek és iskolák, felekezetek és etnikumok: Társadalom- és kultúratörténeti tanulmányok*, Budapest, L'Harmattan, 2011, pp. 75-98.

⁵ I. Bertényi jun, *Az elit gimnáziumai vagy a gimnáziumok elitje? A budapesti piarista és a Mintagimnázium diákságának vizsgálata (1879/80-1896/97)*, in A. Forgó (ed.), *A piarista rend Magyarországon*, Budapest, Szent István Társulat, 2010, pp. 316-350.

⁶ I. Virág, *A magyar arisztokrácia neveltetése (1790-1848)*, Eger, Líceum Kiadó, 2013, pp. 50, 67.

⁷ E. Wasson, *Aristocracy and the Modern World*, Basingstoke, New York, Palgrave, Macmillan, 2006, p. 138.

Russia, and arguing that the elite favored public schools for reasons of better socialization or career choices⁸.

This paper discusses the educational choices of the Hungarian high nobility after the Austro-Hungarian compromise of 1867, regarding the period until the 1918 as a transitory period for the aristocracy, when their political role was contested⁹. In that period, 'staying on top' («Obenbleiben») has been the strategy of aristocracy across Europe¹⁰. The wealthier aristocrats enjoyed privileges, occupying political positions in the Upper House of the Hungarian Parliament (so-called *Főrendiház*, House of Lords). Some of them were representatives in the House of Representatives (so-called *Képviselőház*), while some held positions in the executive government branch. At the same time, the nobility was faced with impoverishment and debt that also reflected their political influence¹¹. As perceived by Kövér, this was a period of the decline for the aristocracy, that resulted with the loss of identity and social legitimacy¹².

Additionally, this was a period when 'new' aristocracy could be clearly distinguished from the 'old' aristocracy. The new aristocracy emerged from the ranks of successful large entrepreneurs, soldiers, scientists, and leading officials, making the high nobility more heterogenous than before. High-ranking families differed in terms of their title and its ancientry, their wealth, religious affiliation, and political stance. Therefore, this paper aims to understand the position of older, Catholic, national minded and wealthy Hungarian families within the changed political circumstances by analysing the school experiences of several members of the Count Széchényi family. The founder of the wealth and dignity of the Széchényi family was the bishop György Széchényi (1592-1695). One of his nephews, György II, received the title of Count in 1697. His descendant was Count Ferenc Széchényi, who donated his library to the Hungarian nation in 1802¹³. Ferenc Széchényi had six children, and his three sons made the family truly large in the 19th century. His oldest son, Lajos I¹⁴ (1781-1855), had nine

⁸ D. Lieven, *The aristocracy in Europe, 1915-1914*, Basingstoke, Macmillan, 1992, pp. 161-177.

⁹ Similar could be concluded about European high nobility, cf. A. Sinclair, *Aristokraten im 20. Jahrhundert*, Vienna-Berlin, Paul Neef Verlag, 1969, pp. 13-51.

¹⁰ «Staying on top» («Obenbleiben») was the European nobility's strategy in fighting the decline. Cf. E. Conze, *Niedergang und „Obenbleiben“*, in Id. (ed.), *Kleines Lexikon des Adels: Titel, Throne, Traditionen*, München, C.H. Beck, 2005, pp. 187-188; R. Braun, *Konzeptionelle Bemerkungen zum Obenbleiben: Adel im 19. Jahrhundert*, in H.-U. Wehler (ed.), *Europäischer Adel, 1750-1950*, Göttingen, Vandenhoeck, Ruprecht, 1990, pp. 87-95.

¹¹ Ch. Horel, *Az arisztokrácia Magyarországon a két világháború között: látszólagos folytonosság*, «Valóság», vol. 51, n. 10, 2008, pp. 117-125.

¹² G. Gyáni, *Magyarország társadalomtörténete a Horthy-korszakban*, in G. Gyáni, Gy. Kövér (edd.), *Magyarország társadalomtörténete a reformkortól a második világháborúig*, Budapest, Osiris Kiadó, 2006, pp. 235-236.

¹³ *Széchenyi*, in *Pallas Nagy Lexikona*, <<http://mek.oszk.hu/00000/00060/html/095/pc009589.html#2>> (last access: 30.11.2019).

¹⁴ The names are numbered because several members of the family bore the same name.

children. The oldest son of Lajos I's son Imre (1789-1865) was Dénes II (1866-1934). The third son, Dénes I (1828-1892) had four sons: Imre II (1858-1905), Géza (1860-1930), Lajos II (1865-1889) and Viktor (1871-1945). Lajos I's great-grandchild born from his second son was Lajos junior III (1868-1919). Ferenc Széchenyi's other son Pál (1789-1871) had 14 children altogether, two of them being Gyula (1829-1921) and Pál (1838-1901). The former's son was Andor Pál (1864-1943), the latter's sons were Aladár (1862-1936) and Emil (1865-1932)¹⁵.

This research concentrates on four members of the Széchenyi family largely of the same age (highlighted above in italics), whose educational choices could help us understand the changes in educational strategies of the aristocracy after the dissolution of the feudal system in Hungary, in the ongoing process of professionalisation and the establishment of the Hungarian educational system. This paper tries to answer the following questions: how did the educational strategies of the Széchenyi family reflect their choices in higher education? What knowledge and skills did they acquire outside the school curriculum? What were their views on their schooling? In the absence of other sources, the basis for the research are the application sheets of the Jesuit Secondary Grammar School of Kalksburg, and the private correspondence.

Our work is made more difficult by the lack of an all-encompassing portrayal, from a social-historic perspective, of the Hungarian educational institution system¹⁶. As for the levels of the public education system and the social basis of particular school types, we can primarily depend on the researches of Mazsu¹⁷. In 1900, merely 1.8% of the students who participated in public education attended a secondary school, where the attrition was remarkably high¹⁸. In the years prior to World War I, merely about 130-150 thousand individuals, and during the entire period examined here, 5-10% of the primary school students continued their studies on some secondary educational level¹⁹. As for the percentage of high nobility among the secondary school students, we do not have any data regarding this. The only proportion we can determine is that of the large estate holders and tenantry: this number was approx. 3% both in the school years of 1890-91 and 1894-95, while in 1901-02, it was 2.4%. The total number of students in the above mentioned three school years was 1272,

¹⁵ J.J. Gudenus, *A magyarországi főnemesség 20. századi genealógiája*, Budapest, Heraldika Kiadó, 1998, Vol. IV, pp. 30-51.

¹⁶ For Austrian case cf. G.B. Cohen, *Education and Middle-Class Society in Imperial Austria 1848-1918*, West Lafayette, Purdue University Press, 1996.

¹⁷ J. Mazsu, *Oktatási rendszer és társadalmi mobilitás az I. világháború előtt – Honnan rekrutálódott a tisztviselő-értelmiség?*, in G. Pusztai, M. Rébay (edd.), *Kié az oktatáskutatás? – Tanulmányok Kozma Tamás 70. születésnapjára*, Debrecen, Csokonai Könyvkiadó, pp. 86-105.

¹⁸ In the 1880s and the 1890s, this proportion was one fifth.

¹⁹ Mazsu, *Oktatási rendszer és társadalmi mobilitás az I. világháború előtt*, cit., pp. 87-89, 102.

1506 and 1423, respectively²⁰. The majority of them probably held a title of high nobility.

1. *School Choices*

In the first half of the 19th century, similarly to the rest of Europe, children from Hungarian aristocratic families were tutored at home or sent to a boarding school abroad. What was the case in a generation prior to the individuals examined here? Lajos II's father, Count Dénes Széchényi completed not only his elementary school studies at home, but the secondary grammar school as well. He had a private exam in the Hungarian language in the Benedictine Secondary Grammar School of Pozsony (present-day Bratislava, Slovakia), then he attended law studies. In spite of all this, Count Dénes later opted for a military career, a field in which he never earned any degree, but had the background for it. The system of private studies made it possible for him to acquire a command of languages traditionally characteristic for the aristocracy; besides Hungarian, he spoke German, French, English, Italian, and later he even learnt Spanish²¹. Aladár's and Emil's father, Count Pál Széchényi, completed his studies in Nagyszombat (present-day Trnava, Slovakia). He was a student of the town's Benedictine Secondary Grammar School. Later, he enrolled in the local Catholic seminary; he was even ordained as a priest, but he still opted for the secular career of farming. He must have been interested in this subject earlier, having founded a farming union, himself presiding over it²². Count Gyula Széchényi, Andor Pál's father, acquired his secondary school degree in a third town: Szombathely. Later, he continued his studies in Innsbruck, then he too chose a military career²³. Summing it up, we can state that all of them received elementary school lessons at home, and acquired a secondary grammar school grade in a Catholic institution in Hungary. It was not necessary for them to attend higher schools: when they did so, it did not reflect their career choice.

The analysis of school choices of the younger generation of Széchényis shows a significant change in educational strategies: instead of home-schooling, private

²⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 90, 95.

²¹ W. Hecker, *Egy elfeledett Széchényi, Gróf Széchényi Dénes élete és munkássága*, Debrecen, IAT Kiadó, 2017, pp. 5, 17.

²² «For a minor, symbolic membership fee, everyone received a spade, a hoe, a rake and a watering can, as well as a part of the seminary's garden, which they were obliged to cultivate» (E. Vass, *Széchenyi István unokaöccsének miniszteri kinevezése, Széchényi Pál élete és tevékenysége*, <http://mnl.gov.hu/mnl/ol/hirek/szechenyi_istvan_unokaoccsenek_miniszteri_kinevezese> [last access: 30.11.2019]).

²³ L. Bártfai Szabó, *A sárvár-felsővidéki gróf Széchényi család története*, Vol. III, 1820-1920, Budapest, Sárvár-felsővidéki gróf Széchényi család, 1926, p. 582.

educational institutions or public schools were chosen, where students could be enrolled as regular or as private students. Aladár, Count Pál Széchenyi's son, completed first two classes of the secondary grammar school as a private student at the Piarist school of Budapest. He attended Jesuit Secondary Grammar School of Kalksburg, Lower-Austria from 1873 to 1878²⁴. This boarding school had no 'publicity right' at the time, and he had to take exams at the Royal Catholic Secondary Grammar School of Budapest in order to continue his studies. Aladár excelled in all subjects and completed the seventh class at this school as a regular student. In 1880, he passed the graduation exam (*érettségi*), which was a prerequisite for further education. Aladár then opted for legal education: he studied at the Academy of Pozsony for two years, and then at the University of Budapest for another two years²⁵. Aladár entered political life by being elected a parliamentary representative in 1887 and 1896. In 1916, he was appointed the Supreme Count (*főispán*) of the County of Somogy. In 1914, and in the new political system following World War I in 1927, Aladár became a member of Parliament's Upper House. He also managed his estate²⁶. This career was by no means surprising; Aladár's parents labelled him as being a dominant and ambitious personality, prone to pride and vanity, but at the same time sincere and just²⁷. It was remarkable how, on the occasion of a family wedding in 1908, Aladár took a stance on the necessity of choosing an occupation, justifying it with the thesis of 'noblesse oblige'²⁸. According to this, values such as the sense of duty, diligent industriousness, and an active life, while serving the public good, as observed by high nobility, were just as valid in the new social establishment as before, but these values entailed new tasks:

Today we live in times [...] when everyone, even a greatest lord, has to have a decent job. Those lazy lords who only care about fun or, at best, just pursue their own selfish interests will be tested by the spirit of the age. Therefore, do not follow the example of these men! Wherever the Providence leads you, live an active and hard-working life so that you can be

²⁴ Archivum Provinciae Austriae Societatis Iesu [hereafter AASI], Kollegsarchiv Kalksburg [hereafter KK] 37/2. Register der eingeschriebenen Zöglinge, vol. 2; *Aladár Graf Széchenyi*, «Kalksburger Korrespondenz», vol. 52, September 1936, pp. 67-69.

²⁵ National Archives of Hungary [hereafter NAH], holdings P 623, A VII. 16. 1. Leckekönyv [registration book], Végbizonyítvány [leaving certificate], Iskolai bizonyítvány [school certificate].

²⁶ *Széchenyi Aladár (sárvári felsővidéki gróf)*, in J. Szinnyei, *Magyar írók élete és munkái*, <<http://mek.oszk.hu/03600/03630/html/>> (last access: 30.11.2019); I. Szemerjai Deák (ed.), *Magyar Országgyűlési Almanach 1927-1932: (Dr. Deák-féle)*, Budapest, Springer Gusztáv, 1927, p. 56; *Gróf Széchenyi Aladár †*, «Erdészeti Lapok», vol. 75, n. 6, 1836, pp. 460-463, <http://erdeszetilapok.oszk.hu/00412/pdf/EL_1936_06_461-463.pdf> (last access: 30.11.2019).

²⁷ AASI KK Box IV, Anmeldebögen bis 1926, Su-To, Aladár Graf Széchenyi.

²⁸ Cf. E. Conze, *Noblesse oblige*, in Id. (ed.), *Kleines Lexikon des Adels: Titel, Throne, Traditionen*, München, C.H. Beck, 2005, p. 189.



Pic. 1



Pic. 2

an example to follow for those who live around you [...]. Never forget our nation and know that it is our greatest obligation to teach, enlighten, lead, and advocate the interest of those with lower assets.[all men of the family have to be] God fearing, Christian Catholics and ... true Hungarian patriots²⁹.

Aladár's younger brother, Emil, also completed his elementary education privately. Emil enrolled at the Kalksburg boarding school, where he had studied at the same time as Aladár. Although already 10 years old, he started with the so-called preparatory class, established for pupils who did not possess sufficient basic knowledge or knowledge of German for the grammar school. Emil's character was very different from that of his brother's: he was a talented and quick-witted child, but also – according to his parents – lazy and unambitious, mischievous and unreliable³⁰. Upon his death, his school remembered him as a withdrawn and noble-hearted student³¹.

²⁹ NAH holdings P 623, A VII. 16. 6. *Gróf Széchenyi Pál és Szegedy Erzsébet esküvője*, «Szombathelyi Újság», vol. 14, n. 30, 1908, pp. 2-4. (Translated from Hungarian.)

³⁰ AASI KK Box IV. Anmeldebögen bis 1926, Su-To, Emil Graf Széchenyi.

³¹ *Emil Graf Széchenyi von Sárvarfelsővidék*, «Kalksburger Korrespondenz», vol. 48, n. 1, December 1932, pp. 55; *Aladár Graf Széchenyi*, «Kalksburger Korrespondenz», vol. 52, September 1936, pp. 68-69.

Emil also spent five years in Kalksburg, from where he applied to the Archiepiscopal Secondary School of Nagyszombat. He completed his last three classes in this school (1880-81 and 1882-83) as a regular student. After completing his graduation exam, Emil acquired a doctoral degree in Law at the University of Budapest, and a degree at the Academy of Agriculture at Magyaróvár in 1892. Emil put both of his degrees to good use. In County Bács-Bodrog, he managed the estate at Vajszka, and, similarly to his brother, entered the political life. At first, he was a representative in the Upper House of the Parliament (1902-1905), the Supreme Count of the County Sopron (since 1905), and parliamentary representative of the towns Sopron (1905-1906) and Esztergom (1911-1917)³².

Count Andor Pál Széchényi, Aladár's and Emil's cousin and son of their uncle Gyula, was described as a good-hearted, withdrawn, orderly boy with a great talent of observation. He also completed his primary education as a private student and applied to the Jesuit Secondary Grammar School of Kalksburg, where he had studied for three years³³. This institution was popular among the Széchényis: until 1918, nine Counts Széchényi studied there³⁴. In 1877, Andor Pál enrolled at the Secondary Grammar School of the *Theresianum* in Vienna³⁵, where he had stayed until his graduation exam in 1884³⁶. Andor Pál, similarly to Emil, initially applied to a not clearly specified higher education institution in Vienna, where he wasn't accepted³⁷, so he continued his studies in Budapest, where he attended law school³⁸. Later he managed his estates, besides assuming the membership of several companies' directorates. Andor Pál was for a long time a member of the Parliament's Upper House, but rarely attended parliamentary sessions, rather contributing to the public life on the County level³⁹.

³² A. Németh, *Gróf Széchényi Emil*, <<http://ovarigazdasz.hu/8-az-akademia/513-grof-szechenyi-emil>> (last access: 30.11.2019).

³³ AASI KK, Box IV, Anmeldebögen bis 1926, Su-To, Graf Andor (Andreas) Széchényi; AASI KK, 37/2. Register der eingeschriebenen Zöglinge, vol. II.

³⁴ *Ibid.*

³⁵ The *Theresianum* in Vienna had both a secondary grammar school and an academy department.

³⁶ M. von Gemmel-Flischbach, C. Manussi (edd.), *Album der k. k. Theresianischen Akademie (1764-1913)*, Vienna, Theresianische Akademie, 1913, p. 241.

³⁷ «The Alte [Andor Pál] is a Schwein [pig]! One day before the telegraph arrived saying that he couldn't come to Vienna, he was imploring not to go to Vienna again, he would much prefer to attend in Pest! And the next day, the telegraph arrived.» NAH holdings P 623, A VIII. 14. 50. Emil Széchényi's letter to Lajos Széchényi (Lábod, 16.09.1883). All citations from this source were translated from Hungarian.

³⁸ Bártfai Szabó, *A sárvár-felsővidéki gróf Széchényi család története*, cit., p. 379.

³⁹ I. Haeffler (ed.), *Országgyűlési almanach: Az 1935-40. évi országgyűlésről*, Budapest, Magyar Távirati Iroda, 1940, p. 164.

Lajos II, son of Dénes I – was a second cousin of the mentioned Counts Széchényi. He was also home-schooled in elementary studies. Lajos took his exams (first class) as a private student in the school his father and brothers had attended (1875-1876): the Royal Municipal Catholic Secondary Grammar School⁴⁰. In the next few years, he received private tutoring at home. No data is available on his private education⁴¹. Upon his own request, he started the school year of 1879-80 at the Fiume Naval Academy (present-day Rijeka, Croatia). This academy was an extremely unusual choice for an aristocrat: it would have been more usual if he attended one of the Jesuit secondary grammar schools (at Kalksburg or Feldkirch), already mentioned *Theresianum*, or possibly *Schottengymnasium* in Vienna⁴². Upon seeing his determination and persistent devotion to his plan, his parents finally accepted his decision. His father deemed his choice to be «one of the noblest, most beautiful, most masculine careers», giving him no reason to raise any objections against his son's request⁴³. Lajos successfully completed the difficult, multi-level entrance exam. Dénes Széchényi also mobilized his connections to get his son enrolled⁴⁴.

Thus, in September 1879, Lajos started his studies in Fiume. He maintained correspondence with his family. His older brother, Géza, even teased him for his overweight physique: «I hope you have sweated some fat and you are not so fat any more, are you? Do you have to climb on the mast? Aren't you dizzy? Or can you raise your weighty butt at all?»⁴⁵ Lajos had problems with his school, but held out until the end of the year upon his parents' request. In June 1880, his father Dénes was still encouraging him to continue the naval studies, stating that they would provide Lajos with a chance to engage in sciences, even as a naval officer. Otherwise Lajos would have to continue his studies in a secondary grammar school and, later, at a university⁴⁶. This demonstrates that

⁴⁰ K. Wiedermann, *A pozsonyi kir. kath. főgymnasium értesítője az 1875/76. évről*, Pozsony, 1876, p. 48.

⁴¹ NAH holdings P 623, A VIII. 14. 4. Dr. Berm's (?) letter to Lajos Széchényi, Krems, 30.09.1879; NAH, holdings P 623, A VIII. 14. 32. József Párkányi's letter to Lajos Széchényi (Keszthely, 19.10.1887).

⁴² For schools preferred by the high nobility cf. Cohen, *Education and Middle-Class Society*, cit., p. 214.

⁴³ NAH holdings P 623, A VIII. 14. 49. Dénes Széchényi's letter to Lajos Széchényi (Venice, 03.01.1880).

⁴⁴ It could not be estimated whether his father's connections played any part in his school performance. (*Ibid.*, Dénes Széchényi's letter to Lajos Széchényi [Somogyvár, 18.09.1879].)

⁴⁵ NAH holdings P 623, A VIII. 14. 51. Géza Széchényi's letter to Lajos Széchényi (Somogyvár, 10.09.1879).

⁴⁶ NAH holdings P 623, A VIII. 14. 49. Dénes Széchényi's letter to Lajos Széchényi (Berlin, 04.06.1880).

it was expected from the members of aristocracy to educate themselves either for a profession in the military or the navy, or to acquire a university degree. Finally, Lajos chose secondary grammar school. Even though he was only 15 years old, he completed his studies independently, with an obligation to report on his progress regularly. His reports were addressed to the private tutor his family employed, who taught only his younger brother Viktor. When his father caught Lajos being slothful, he gave him a thorough reprimand. He reproached his son for abusing his freedom, threatening to send him to a strict school if he did not change his attitude⁴⁷. Lajos, therefore, prepared at home for his private exam, which he completed in 1881-82, reporting on the material of the 5th and 6th classes in his old school in Pozsony⁴⁸. Then he finished his studies in the Piarist Grammar School in Budapest: he took an exam (7th class) in September 1883 and then he finished the 8th grade as a regular student in 1884⁴⁹.

After taking the graduate exam, Lajos decided to study law⁵⁰. He earned a degree in two years (1886/87-1887/88) at the University of Budapest⁵¹. During his university years, Dr. József Hoffmann helped Lajos as a tutor⁵². In 1888, he acquired the doctoral degree. His family had already started considering his future earlier. As far back as November 1887, his father advised him, referring to his character: «Being a judge better suits your individuality than administrative bureaucrat»⁵³. Thus, Lajos did study for a judge, but he did not have the chance to start his career because of his death in the summer of 1889⁵⁴.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, Dénes Széchenyi's letter to Lajos Széchenyi (London, 08.03.1881).

⁴⁸ K. Wiedermann, *A pozsonyi kir. kath. főgymnasium értesítője az 1881/82. évben*, Pozsony, 1882, pp. 38, 40.

⁴⁹ *Tudósítvány a kegyes tanítórendiek buda-pesti főgymnasiumáról az 1883-84-iki tanévben*, Budapest, 1884, p. 73.; Central Archives of the Hungarian Province of the Piarist Order (MPRKL), Pesti gimnázium [Grammar School Pest], Anyakönyvek [Registers], vol. 109, Névkönyv [Name Book] 1882-83, VII. osztály [7th Class], vol. 110, Névkönyv [Name Book] 1883-84. VIII. osztály [8th Class].

⁵⁰ NAH holdings P 623, A VIII. 14. 49. Dénes Széchenyi's letter to Lajos Széchenyi (Somogyvár, 19.10.1888; Berlin, 20.01.1889).

⁵¹ Either preceding his law studies in Budapest, or following them, he also attended the University of Berlin, together with Dénes. Cf. Bártfai Szabó, *A sárvár-felsővidéki gróf Széchenyi család története*, cit., p. 586; National Széchenyi Library [Országos Széchenyi Könyvtár], Kézirattár [Manuscript Collection], Levelestár [Letter Collection], Lajos Széchenyi's letter to Zsigmond Justh (Berlin, without year, 08.02.).

⁵² NAH holdings P 623, A VIII. 14. 12. József Hoffmann's letter to Lajos Széchenyi (Budapest, 16.08.1887).

⁵³ NAH holdings P 623, A VIII. 14. 49. Dénes Széchenyi's letter to Lajos Széchenyi (Berlin, 18.11.1887).

⁵⁴ Bártfai Szabó, *A sárvár-felsővidéki gróf Széchenyi család története*, cit., p. 586.

Table 1. Chosen schools

	Primary School	Secondary School	Academic Institution
Aladár	-	Piarist Secondary School of Budapest*, Jesuit Secondary Grammar School of Kalksburg°, Royal Catholic Secondary Grammar School of Budapest°	Pozsony Academy of Law, Faculty of Law at University of Budapest
Emil	-	Jesuit Secondary Grammar School of Kalksburg°, Archiepiscopal Secondary Grammar School of Nagyszombat°	Faculty of Law at University of Budapest, Academy of Agriculture (Magyaróvár)
Andor Pál	-	Jesuit Secondary Grammar School of Kalksburg°, Secondary Grammar School of the <i>Theresianum</i> in Vienna°	Faculty of Law at University of Budapest
Lajos	-	Royal Catholic Secondary Grammar School of Pozsony*, <i>no data</i> , Fiume Naval Academy°, Royal Catholic Secondary Grammar School of Pozsony*, Piarist Secondary Grammar School of Budapest (*, later °).	Faculty of Law at University of Budapest, University of Berlin [?]

* Private student

° Regular student

Based on our previous research⁵⁵ and data given in Table 1, it could be concluded that the primary education among the high nobility has usually remained private in the second part of the 19th century. Young aristocrats completed their studies in grammar schools in Hungary or elsewhere in Europe, or rarely in military schools, not always as private students. Finishing higher schools became a standard for the Hungarian aristocracy in the second half of the 19th century, with legal studies being the most common choice. The university was then more preferred than academies. Thus, in Hungary, in accordance with European trends, the aristocracy's seclusion diminished in terms of secondary studies, whereas – as opposed to Austria⁵⁶ – it entirely ceased to exist in terms of high-grade studies, although the university study system, which ensured great freedom, made it possible for the students to be present only on a few occasions. Thus, in practice, they still had the chance to complete their studies privately.

⁵⁵ See among others M. Rébay (ed.) „...szelíd, de szigorú és egyben nagyon igazságos bánásmódban...”: *Arisztokraták nevelése-oktatása Magyarországon a XIX-XX. században*, Szeged, Belvedere Meridionale, 2017.

⁵⁶ Cohen, *Education and Middle-Class Society*, cit., p. 184.

2. *Acquiring Special skills through Public Schools*

The aim of this chapter is to analyse the lessons Hungarian aristocracy received in addition to obligatory school curriculum. German language was undoubtedly taught from the earliest age, as proved by the example of Andor Pál⁵⁷. It could be supposed that Lajos, Aladár and Emil were also taught in German: Lajos's mother was of Austrian descent⁵⁸, while Aladár and Emil were admitted to the Jesuit school of Kalksburg where German was used as the teaching language. Aladár applied to a secondary grammar school class; he had to understand the language of education. It is possible, although unlikely, that Emil's knowledge of German was not on the same high level.

Lessons in foreign languages were central in the education of the aristocratic youth⁵⁹. Besides German, Aladár and Emil were taught French at home before they applied to grammar school⁶⁰. As early as ten years of age, Andor Pál also spoke French⁶¹. Aladár and Emil also began learning to draw already during their home-schooling⁶².

Secondary schools offered the so-called extraordinary or optional subjects. For example, the Jesuit Secondary School of Kalksburg offered an especially rich selection. Aladár attended lessons in Hungarian (language and literature) and sport lessons (gymnastics, swimming, riding)⁶³. Besides all these, Emil also received piano lessons⁶⁴. Emil also enrolled in optional subjects in the Secondary Grammar School of Nagyszombat, attending French classes for three years, as well as learning to play music and taking stenography, for two years each. Interested students could receive those lessons without additional fees⁶⁵.

Andor Pál's parents expected their child, besides practicing various sports, to learn a multitude of languages, with a special emphasis on his mother tongue. Upon applying to the Jesuit school of Kalksburg, they requested from the School the following:

⁵⁷ AASI KK, Box IV, Anmeldebögen bis 1926, Su-To, Graf Andor (Andreas) Széchenyi. (Translated from German language.)

⁵⁸ See NAH holdings P 623, A VIII. 14. 49. Mariette Hoyos's letters to Lajos Széchenyi.

⁵⁹ Sinclair, Andrew (1969): *Aristokraten im 20. Jahrhundert*, cit., p. 241.

⁶⁰ AASI KK Box IV. Anmeldebögen bis 1926, Su-To. Emil Graf Széchenyi; *ibid.*, Aladár Graf Széchenyi.

⁶¹ AASI KK Box IV, Anmeldebögen bis 1926, Su-To, Graf Andor (Andreas) Széchenyi.

⁶² AASI KK Box IV. Anmeldebögen bis 1926, Su-To. Emil Graf Széchenyi; *ibid.*, Aladár Graf Széchenyi.

⁶³ AASI KK 37/2. Bd. 2. Register der eingeschriebenen Zöglinge; *Aladár Graf Széchenyi*, cit., pp. 67-69.

⁶⁴ AASI KK Box IV, Anmeldebögen bis 1926, Su-To, Emil Graf Széchenyi.

⁶⁵ J. Graffler, *A nagyszombati érseki főgymnasium értesítője az 1880-81. tanév végén*. Nagyszombat, 1881, p. 59; Id., *A nagyszombati érseki főgymnasium értesítője az 1881-82. tanév végén*, Nagyszombat, 1882, pp. 140, 157-158; Id., *A nagyszombati érseki főgymnasium értesítője az 1882-83. tanév végén*, Nagyszombat, 1883, pp. 159, 182-183.

Please do not neglect teaching the Hungarian language and encourage the boy to talk with his schoolmates in Hungarian. Besides German and French, I wish that later, when he has time and necessary skills, he learns English as well. He should also play the piano, but only if he feels like doing it and has the talent for it. Along with gymnastics, swimming, fencing, and drawing, he should take riding lessons, too⁶⁶.

The *Theresianum* – just like the Jesuit school – offered a multitude of optional subjects to study, but contrary to the other institution, certain languages were obligatory. For example, for students with a Hungarian state scholarship, studying Hungarian (that is, Hungarian language, literature, history and geography) was prescribed. Riding was also among the optional subjects. However, for a member of a family famous for its love of horses⁶⁷, who, similarly to Lajos⁶⁸, most probably started to ride already in his childhood, the circumstances were not too appealing:

Horse riding bores me and I do not really know how I can go down to the *Reitschul* [Riding school]. [...] First, all the horses are old, over 20 years old, spoiled carcasses. No fire, no movement, after a gallop they moan so you do not want to ride them, being afraid they fall! The equerry! He's been in this job for 30 years, for him these are all the *wurst* [irrelevant], you can imagine. But he is very accurate, and whoever has not been taught by him for 2 years, *cannot* know a thing, it is *unimaginable*. So, once a week lounge riding, these carcasses only mount but never gallop without a tread. For more than 2 years now – this is what I call fun!⁶⁹

Aladár, Emil, and Andor Pál also learned to draw. Lajos's father, Dénes, who was keen on drawing and painting himself, took note of his son's talent as early as in 1881. During Lajos's recovery from a leg injury, Dénes encouraged him to take lessons from Gyula Benczúr, the renowned painter, or from a tutor that Benczúr recommended. Lajos, however, seemingly lacked ambition: we do not have any knowledge of him seriously engaging in painting⁷⁰.

Religious, scientific or literary student societies were then also active in secondary schools. Although supervised by a teacher, these unions acted independently by choosing members who would hold the positions of students' officers. Some of the Széchényis also participated in these student unions.

⁶⁶ AASI KK, Box IV, Anmeldebögen bis 1926, Su-To, Graf Andor (Andreas) Széchenyi.

⁶⁷ Andor Pál's father, Gyula, later became the king's chief equerry. Cf. I. Haeffler (ed.), *Országgyűlési almanach, 1935-40. (Sturm-féle országgyűlési almanach)*, Budapest, Haeffler István, 1940, p. 164.

⁶⁸ Hecker, *Egy elfeledett Széchényi*, cit., pp. 148, 152-153.

⁶⁹ NAH holdings P 623, A VIII. 14. 47. Andor Pál Széchényi's letter to Lajos Széchényi (Vienna, 29.01.1883).

⁷⁰ NAH holdings P 623, A VIII. 14. Ignác Molnár's letter to Lajos Széchényi (without place, 1883, Baden, 15.08.1883, Baden, 13.09.1883, without place, 1885[?]); NAH holdings P 623. A VIII. 14. 49. Dénes Széchényi's letter to Lajos Széchényi (London, 08.03.1881, Somogyvár, 11.10.1885, Berlin, 07.01.1886, Berlin, 19.02.1886).

The Marian Congregation gathered students zealous in religious life and successful in studies. Aladár and Emil were members of such society in Kalksburg from 1875⁷¹. The Archiepiscopal Secondary Grammar School of Nagyszombat did not hold the Marian Congregation or any other religious societies; however, it had a literary-scientific, so-called study circle (*önképzőkör*). This circle took in students of higher classes as voluntary members. Emil actively devoted himself to the work of such society. In the 6th class, he gained an acclamation, and in the next two years, he continued to excel in his recitals and well-structured, elegantly phrased compositions. His good performance and, at the same time, acceptance is demonstrated by the fact that he was elected deputy notary in the 7th class, keeping records of the circle's sessions, and head librarian of the circle's library in the 8th class. He also announced a competition reward, granting a high monetary prize, for the members of the study circle, entitled: «Honouring the outstanding figures of the Széchenyi-age»⁷². Undoubtedly due to his position, he was bestowed with the privilege of holding a lecture at the formal gala in honour of the Cardinal Primate in 1882. As a reward, he got a chance to participate at the afternoon tea and reported this event with great pride. Emil also gave a recital during the study circle's formal gala organised in honour of the famous poet, Sándor Petőfi⁷³. Lajos, on the other hand, took part in the social life of young people: he was the vice president of the *Szent Imre Egylet* (Saint Emery Union) a circle for Catholic religion and apologetics, founded in 1888⁷⁴.

In the period examined here, families of high nobility also organized theatre performances in their homes. These performances were regular events in the schools as well, primarily during the time of the Mardi Gras carnival. In January 1883, the Archiepiscopal Secondary Grammar School of Nagyszombat staged Carl Theodor Körner's popular historic play *Zrínyi*, frequently performed in schools at that time. Emil played the main character, a role he declared to be long and difficult. For this play, he had two theatre costumes made for himself. Furthermore, he performed – likewise playing main characters – in one of the school's one-act comedies, as well⁷⁵.

⁷¹ AASI KK 37/2. Bd. 2. Register der eingeschriebenen Zöglinge; Aladár Graf Széchenyi, cit., pp. 67-69; Emil Graf Széchenyi von Sárvárfelsővidék, cit., p. 55.

⁷² Graffler, *A nagyszombati érseki főgymnasium értesítővénye az 1880-81. tanév végén*, cit., p. 59; Id., *A nagyszombati érseki főgymnasium értesítővénye az 1881-82. tanév végén*, cit., pp. 140, 157-158, 169; Id., *A nagyszombati érseki főgymnasium értesítővénye az 1882-83. tanév végén*, cit., pp. 159, 182-183.

⁷³ NAH holdings P 623 A VIII. 14. 50. Emil Széchenyi's letter to Lajos Széchenyi (Nagyszombat, [autumn/winter] 1882).

⁷⁴ NAH holdings P 623, A VIII. 14. 31. Sándor Pálffy Sándor's letter to Lajos Széchenyi, Malacka, 19.06.1888.06.19, Malacka, 13.08[?].1888.

⁷⁵ NAH holdings P 623, A VIII. 14. 50. Emil Széchenyi's letter to Lajos Széchenyi (Nagyszombat, 23.01.1883).

Lajos undertook the so-called *grand tour*⁷⁶, which traditionally completed the regular studies of aristocratic youth. Without officially interrupting his university studies – since he rarely attended classes – in 1887, he began a half-year-long study tour in Europe and South-Africa with his friend, Count Péter Vay, who later became a missionary. He covered his expenses from his scholarship and funds he got from his brother⁷⁷.

Conclusively, we can state that the regular student status – depending on ambition and interest of an individual – gave the young people of high nobility the possibility to engage in the student life. Studying at public schools led to more homogenous education of the intellectuals and public servants from different social classes. However, practical schooling, such as foreign languages or riding, continued to constitute an important part of the education of nobles, who relied on the complementary education within their family or at their school for acquiring these.

3. *The Perception of Studying in Public Schools*

As shown above, the members of the Count Széchenyi family spent an unusually long time at school for those times. How did they experience the everyday school life, the daily routine, community life, school and boarding school regulations? As for their views on the Secondary Grammar School of Kalksburg, we have no data⁷⁸. The fact that this grammar school was chosen by Aladár for his son György and by Andor Pál for his son József suggests that they were satisfied with the education offered by this school⁷⁹.

Széchenyis' views on other schools are better documented. Emil wrote lengthy accounts from the Archbishopal Grammar School of Nagyszombat, and Andor Pál from the *Theresianum*. Emil's letters from 1882 and 1883 reveal that he was far from content with his life in Nagyszombat. He found the boarding school to be «terribly boring» and monotonous⁸⁰. He was yearning for the «Eden» of the summer holiday shortly after he started this school⁸¹. A

⁷⁶ Th. Nicklas, *Kavalierstour*, in: E. Conze (ed.), *Kleines Lexikon des Adels: Titel, Throne, Traditionen*, München, C.H. Beck, 2005, pp. 135-136.

⁷⁷ NAH holdings P 623, A VIII. 14. 49. Dénes Széchenyi's letter to Lajos Széchenyi (Berlin, 28.02.1887; Beis [?], 22.07.1887); NAH holdings P 623, A VIII. 14. 51. Géza Széchenyi's letters to Lajos Széchenyi (without place, 23.01.1887; Somogyvár, 07.03.1887; Budapest, 16.03.1887; Budapest, 24.03.1887; Budapest, 27.03.1887); Dénes Széchenyi's letter to Lajos Széchenyi (Vienna, 22.02.1888).

⁷⁸ A. Apponyi, *Emlékirataim*, Helikon Kiadó, Budapest, 2016, pp. 15-22.

⁷⁹ AASI KK 37/2. vol. 2. Register der eingeschriebenen Zöglinge.

⁸⁰ NAH holdings P 623, A VIII. 14. 50. Emil Széchenyi's letter to Lajos Széchenyi (Nagyszombat, 17.09.1882).

⁸¹ *Ibid.*

few months later he felt «abandoned and secluded»⁸². He therefore maintained frequent correspondence with his family and sought company of the like-minded far away from his fatherland: he visited the families of high nobility living in the neighbourhood (Count Majláth, Count Erdődy). Furthermore, he could hardly wait to return home: «I am also counting the days», he wrote on 11th December 1882, «but not so much because I want to abandon the studies, but to see my dearest home and my dearly loved»⁸³. He spent Christmas at home, in Lábod, County Somogy, where he “had great fun” regularly pursuing the popular sport of aristocrats: hunting⁸⁴. He travelled back to his school by train. He had to get into the rhythm of student life again: «It was hard to get used to this nasty life here after Christmas. – But I am more or less used to it again; I am consoled that I have to be here for (less than) five months. – Then, when I get the Certificate of the graduation exam, *fertig*. – Life is finished [here]!»⁸⁵.

His cousin, Andor Pál, perceived his last year at the secondary grammar school with very similar sentiments. As Emil, he complained about the distance of home and the monotonousness of the boarding school life, likewise repeatedly mentioning the happy holiday:

It was rather hard to leave home again, and I have this year ahead with the graduation exam as a nightmare, so be glad that you are not in this state and you will never be. It is more pleasant to read about Virgil with ‘Spek’ than to sit in school for 5 hours and study and get out into fresh air only for half an hour a day [...] monotonousness and boredom here have a terrible effect on me after the pleasant holidays⁸⁶.

The graduation exam was a serious challenge for both Emil and Andor Pál. This must have been the case even if they slightly dramatized about their situation for their younger cousin (Lajos II) who was home-schooled and thus enjoyed a greater freedom. Emil described his life in January 1883 with following words: «Now I am croaking and croaking again, until, in mid-June, the graduation exam – That is a long time, and yet, so brief»⁸⁷. He frequently complained about a lot of work: «I have so much to do»⁸⁸. As mentioned before, these tasks did not consist only of preparing for school classes, because Emil had several non-obligatory subjects and duties in the student society. However, he mentioned his successes in the society and other achievements with pride⁸⁹. Even though

⁸² *Ibid.*, Nagyszombat, 21.01.1883.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, Nagyszombat, 12.12.1882.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, Nagyszombat, 14.01.1883.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, Nagyszombat, 21.01.1883.

⁸⁶ ‘Spek’ [Bacon] was József Prasek, the home tutor of Count Lajos Széchenyi and his brother, Viktor. NAH holdings P 623, A VIII. 14. 47. Andor Pál Széchenyi’s letter to Lajos Széchenyi (Vienna, 04.01.1883).

⁸⁷ NAH holdings P 623, A VIII. 14. 50. Emil Széchenyi’s letter to Lajos Széchenyi (Nagyszombat, 14.01.1883).

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, Nagyszombat, 23.01.1883.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, Nagyszombat, [autumn/winter] 1882.

he did not plan to travel home for Easter because of his preparations for the graduation exam, he did so, counting on learning more at home⁹⁰. Following the holiday, his thoughts again revolved around the graduation exam only: «It will take only two and a half months of this miserable life; I hope I will pass the graduation exam; if not, I am ready for the last and greatest. – May God grant that it does not get that far!» – he wrote in March⁹¹. The exam was very important for him – as Emil cynically prompted: upon the exam, he would become «aut diplomat, aut Schusterbub» [either a diplomat or a shoemaker's apprentice]!⁹² The family was also worried, especially his mother, from whom he had to hide his struggles. He told her it was impossible for him to fail⁹³.

Finally, Emil had passed the exam with the grade 'Sufficient'⁹⁴. He prepared really hard, and as he himself noticed – «lessons were portioned well», meaning that the school conscientiously prepared him for the graduation exam⁹⁵. With foreign languages, however, Emil cannot have had much trouble, as demonstrated by the correspondence with his cousin during the French and German classes⁹⁶. «I have no prospect of getting [the letters written] at any other time» – he wrote – «having so much to do, I am forced to get such an aid»⁹⁷. Emil lived his everyday life according to a strict schedule, with his studies occupying almost his entire day. He had a longer break at lunchtime (12-13:15), in the afternoon (4-5), and in the evening (from 7)⁹⁸.

The graduation exam – as we wrote – was also a difficult trial for Emil's cousin, Andor Pál. He complained about the oppressing weight of this exam, calling it a «spectre»⁹⁹. In September 1882, Emil mockingly commented on his cousin, also in his final year: «*Alte*¹⁰⁰ must also be sweating in the *Theresianum*»¹⁰¹. As the time of the exam approached, Andor Pál's mood worsened: «I am sitting here again in these smelly rooms and studying until July. Funny! And I envy you! Laugh! I am whining like a child, but what else can I do in a prison like this» – he wrote in March 1883¹⁰². But he had been at home in Marcali with his

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, Nagyszombat, 23.01.1883 and 14.03.1882.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, Nagyszombat, 14.03.1883.

⁹² *Ibid.*

⁹³ *Ibid.*

⁹⁴ Graffler, *A nagyszombati érseki főgymnasium értesítővénye*, cit., p. 156.

⁹⁵ NAH holdings P 623, A VIII. 14. 50. Emil Széchényi's letter to Lajos Széchényi (Nagyszombat, 1882, Nagyszombat, 11.12.1882).

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, Nagyszombat, 1882, Nagyszombat, 11.12.1882.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, Nagyszombat, [autumn/winter] 1882.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, Nagyszombat, 14.03.1882.

⁹⁹ NAH holdings P 623, A VIII. 14. 47. Andor Pál Széchényi's letter to Lajos Széchényi (Vienna, 04.01.1883).

¹⁰⁰ *Alte* was Andor Pál's family nickname.

¹⁰¹ NAH holdings P 623, A VIII. 14. 50. Emil Széchényi's letter to Lajos Széchényi (Nagyszombat, 17.11.1882).

¹⁰² NAH holdings P 623, A VIII. 14. 47. Andor Pál Széchényi's letter to Lajos Széchényi (Vienna, 29.03.1883).

father where he spent his time hunting¹⁰³. During next months he prepared for the graduation exam. He did not even write until the 20th July, from the family residence in Reichenau (Lower Austria), when he reported passing the exam¹⁰⁴. He was in «great agony» until the last day, but it went away, or he would have hardly been able to take the exam¹⁰⁵.

At the time of the Carnival, there was little amusement besides «cramming night and day»: the students could get a theatre leave¹⁰⁶. Andor Pál took this opportunity twice, thanks to the invitation of his relatives. He liked going to the theatre, although he preferred Somogy, his home, over Vienna. He was very happy about his father's short official visit¹⁰⁷. In the winter, he also skated in his spare time in the garden of the *Theresianum* with other students, but could not continue due to frequent colds. Therefore, daily half-hour walks in the garden remained «his only amusement» – as he remarked cynically. He also complained about the numerous tasks that involved cramming¹⁰⁸.

Emil and Andor Pál's cousin Lajos had even harder time with life in a public school. As mentioned above, Lajos studied at the Marine Academy of Fiume that trained navy and merchant marine officers. Being home-schooled, the change must have been all the more drastic for him. Already after the first year of study he asked his father to allow him to quit school, complaining about the extreme order and discipline. The other cause of this can be found in his bad grades in mathematics. He worked slowly, applying outdated methods. Because of this, his father sent a reproachful letter to his son's former home tutor, József Prasek. According to him, the problem could be derived from the fact that Lajos was only willing to learn according to his own concepts¹⁰⁹. Lajos also became the target of his fellow students, e.g. his papers were stolen. He tried to win over their goodwill by presenting them with songs (couplets), that he asked his brother to give him. And even though his family sent him a few of these songs, they strongly warned him not to let them get into the hands of his superiors. His older brothers urged him to be persistent. For example, Imre advised him as follows: «Show those people that whether you feel like doing the whole thing or not, you can still prove that you are a Hungarian man, and it is not in vain that your name is Széchenyi»¹¹⁰.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, Reichenau, 20.07.1883.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, Vienna, 29.01.1883.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁹ NAH holdings P 623, A VIII. 14. 49. Dénes Széchenyi's letter to Lajos Széchenyi (Somogyvár, 11.09.1879, Lad, 14.09.1879, Somogyvár, 30.09.1879); NAH holdings P 623, A VIII. 14. 35. József Prasek's letter to Lajos Széchenyi (Csáktornya, 19.10.1879).

¹¹⁰ NAH holdings P 623, A VIII. 14. 51. Géza Széchenyi's letter to Lajos Széchenyi (Somogyvár, 10.09.1879); NAH holdings P 623, A VIII. 14. 53. Imre Széchenyi's letter to Lajos Széchenyi (without place, 15.10.1879).

During the autumn and winter, Lajos was frequently reporting in sick¹¹¹. When his father refused to let him quit school, Lajos wanted to transfer to another military school. His father, however, asked him to persist at least until the end of the school year. Quitting school would cause financial problems to the school and cast the family in a negative light. He stressed: a Széchényi cannot give up, he has to finish what he started, behave well, be kind and receive as little punishment as possible. His fellow cadets and superiors should not suspect that he is struggling to cope with difficulties, his father added. In his father's opinion, the naval academy has already been an asset to Lajos: it made him shed his childish habits, trained him to be disciplined and accurate, made it possible for him to get to know the life circumstances of other strata of society, and the acquired knowledge would be useful for him in any career¹¹². This opinion clearly expresses the shift in the attitude of aristocracy.

Lajos had no other choice but to remain at the Academy until the end of the school year. His parents helped him in every way they could. They sent him money and food¹¹³, arranged for him to visit them in Venice¹¹⁴. They asked the Count Szapáry family to let him visit them in his spare time. He even spent Christmas with them¹¹⁵. Lajos obeyed his father's will and continued his studies at home only from the next school year, where he had enjoyed greater freedom.

Two years later, after receiving the graduation certificate, Lajos enrolled at the Faculty of Law of the University of Budapest. He was enrolled by his tutor, Dr. József Hoffmann, who also encouraged him to attend the lectures: «I do not mind if Your Honour, my sweet Lajos, does not come to register in person; however, I confess that I do desire it [i.e. your presence] greatly *pro primo* since I would like to see you again and counsel you regarding your future pursuits, and *pro secundo*, perhaps it would be a good idea, if not to introduce yourself, but at least to show yourself in person to one teacher or the other, considering how that always has a good effect on some teachers»¹¹⁶. But Lajos

¹¹¹ NAH holdings P 623, A VIII. 14. 49. Dénes Széchényi's letter to Lajos Széchényi (Somogyvár, 31.10.1879, Venice, 07.02.1880)

¹¹² *Ibid.*, Somogyvár, 30.09.1879, Somogyvár, 01.10.1879, Kálmánca, 06.10.1879, Somogyvár, 18.10.1879, Venice, 04.12.1879, without place, 05.12.1879, Venice, 20.12.1879, Venice, 03.01.1880, Venice, 07.02.1880, Berlin, 04.04.1880.

¹¹³ *Ibid.*, Somogyvár, 22.10.1879, Vienna, 19.11.1879, Venice, 03.01.1880, Venice, 07.02.1880, Venice 23.02.1880.

¹¹⁴ It was difficult to receive a permit for such a visit, but it shows how important appearances were for the family. (*Ibid.*, Venice, 07.03.1880, Venice, 08.03.1880.) Lajos's mother visited him in Fiume in November 1879. (*Ibid.*, Somogyvár, 05.11.1879)

¹¹⁵ Count Géza Szapáry was the Governor of Fiume between 1872 and 1882. Cf. G. Zsigmond, *A Monarchia kereskedelmi tengerészetének kialakulása*, II. <<http://www.kriegsmarine.hu/hk/zsg00601.html>> (last access: 30.11.2019). NAH holdings P 623, A VIII. 14. 49. Dénes Széchényi's letter to Lajos Széchényi (Somogyvár, 05.11.1879); NAH holdings P 623, A VIII. 14. 51. Géza Széchényi's letter to Lajos Széchényi (Somogyvár, 10.09.1879).

¹¹⁶ NAH holdings P 623, A VIII. 14. 12. József Hoffmann's letter to Lajos Széchényi (Budapest, 16.08.1887).

did not attend classes. His friend, Count László Szapáry, once tried to excuse Lajos's absence to a professor: «This morning I have talked to Kerkápoly, who marked you down with *absentia*. I was excusing you by telling him that since your younger brother is being plagued by a contagious rash, your father had you sent to the countryside. Upon this the old man told me: All right, but when the illness has ended, he should excuse himself in person; after all, this will not last a whole semester»¹¹⁷. As mentioned earlier, Lajos eventually managed to complete his university studies, and he even acquired the doctoral degree¹¹⁸.

Based on the sources presented it could be concluded that young aristocrats were trying to meet the school requirements by following the “noblesse oblige” principles and performing as well as they could. As public students, they had, indeed, no other choice but integration.

Conclusions

This research took into account the education and upbringing of four members of the Count Széchenyi family based on three aspects: their school choice, special skills they have acquired during their education and their perceptions of public schools. Unlike their fathers, Aladár, Emil, Andor Pál and Lajos were regular students of a (private or public) secondary school. All of them have been students in institutions of higher learning as well. Thus, in their case, the family upbringing, guided by their tutor, became reduced to elementary education, as well as the beginning of the secondary education. They did, however, acquire special knowledge and skills characteristic for Hungarian high nobility at the time. It could therefore be concluded that the education of the aristocracy became more complex in the second part of the 19th century.

Based on this research and our earlier studies it could be stated that in this very period high-level studies became common for Hungarian high nobility. They usually passed graduation exams required for grammar schools. The choice of private or regular status in these schools mostly relied on individual talents and the wealth of the family. In this period, in some of the schools the majority of high nobility were private students, and in some, they were regular students. The number of private students among high nobility increased in some schools and diminished in others. It could generally be concluded that young

¹¹⁷ NAH holdings P 623, A VIII. 14. 45. László Szapáry's letter to Lajos Széchenyi (without place, November 1885 [?]) Károly Kerkápoly was the university's national economy teacher. Despite his austere manners and strictness, he enjoyed great popularity due to his thorough and clear lectures as well as his great knowledge. (*Kerkápoly Károly*, in J. Szinnyei, *Magyar írók élete és munkái*, <<http://mek.oszk.hu/03600/03630/html/k/k10915.htm>> [last access: 30.11.2019]).

¹¹⁸ NAH holdings P 623, A VIII. 14. 20. Sándor Menyhárt's letter to Lajos Széchenyi (Kalocsa, 08.11.1888).

people of high nobility rarely spent their learning years in a single grammar school. However, being a 'vagrant student', as it was called in that period, had a host of various reasons, and was not only typical for this social class.

As a part of the strategy of «staying on top» (*Obenbleiben*) during this period when the need of professionalisation was emphasized, Hungarian aristocracy acquired qualifications necessary for receiving public positions worthy of their social status. During the examined period, namely, only a very small percentage of Hungarian population held the degrees necessary for filling the public offices (minimally the 4th class of the secondary school), let alone the graduation exam. This way, the aristocracy could guarantee their elite niche in civil society. Therefore, besides their estate wealth, the high nobility acquired secondary-grade, and even high-grade degrees, accessible primarily to the children of bureaucrats and intellectuals, or the children of the civil middle class.

Education interrupted: reasons why clerics in Bosna Srebrena discontinued their studies

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ABSTRACT: The paper presents reasons why students from the Franciscan Province of Bosna Srebrena often discontinued their education in the first half of the 19th century. During this period, they received scholarships from a fund that had been established by Emperor Joseph II in 1785, and attended various educational institutions across the Hungarian part of Habsburg Monarchy, mainly in present-day Croatia, Hungary and Slovakia. Considering that almost every third one of them at some point ceased his studies without completing them, this paper presents the reasons for this and offers case studies. Furthermore, it questions the consequences of these suspensions on Bosna Srebrena by establishing whether or not students later became involved in pastoral activities.

EET/TEE KEYWORDS: History of school; Educational institutions; Bosna Srebrena; Habsburg Monarchy; XIXth Century.

Introduction

For the greatest part of its history, the Franciscan Province of Bosna Srebrena¹ (lat. *Bosna Argentina*) operated under specific conditions of restricted tolerance within the Ottoman Empire. The main focus of its activities was directed at pastoral work in its parishes as a way of preserving Catholicism within the

¹ Provinces are the territorial organisations for Catholic religious orders. Franciscans first came to Bosnia in the late 13th century and their first territorial organisation dates from the middle of the 14th century. Bosna Srebrena derives its name from the monastery once situated in Srebrenica, in eastern Bosnia. It attained the rank of province in 1517.

territory of Bosnia². The education of young friars³ was often overlooked. Bosnian monasteries lacked both the material and the human resources to carry out these duties. Novices would learn the basics of Latin language and also «bosančica» (a Bosnian type of Cyrillic script) and, after taking their vows, would be sent abroad to continue their education. Until the late 18th century, the main destinations for their studies were Franciscan monasteries situated across Italy. This process achieved inadequate results for multiple reasons. The number of clerics accepted by Italian Franciscan provinces was always lower than the number of clerics that Bosna Srebrena had at its disposal and those clerics who did go would remain there for longer than was necessary. Consequently, the Province started to look for a solution elsewhere⁴.

In 1785, the apostolic vicar of Bosnia Augustin Botoš Okić managed to obtain a foundation from Joseph II, which was intended to finance the future education and accommodation of Bosnian clerics in the Hungarian-Croatian part of the Monarchy. The Management of the foundation and the implementation of its process were handed over to the Hungarian Vice-regency Council. It placed clerics into monasteries of the Franciscan provinces in the Hungarian part of the Monarchy⁵. This process can be divided into two phases, the first of which

² The best insight into the position of Bosnian Catholicism under Ottoman rule can be found in S.M. Džaja, *Konfesionalnost i nacionalnost Bosne i Hercegovine: predemancipacijsko razdoblje 1463.-1804*, Mostar, ZIRAL, 1999. This study was originally written and published in Germany: S.M. Džaja, *Konfesionalität und Nationalität Bosniens und der Herzegovina. Voremanzipatorische Phase 1463-1804*, München, R. Oldenburg Verlag, 1984. For the period discussed in this paper see S.M. Džaja, *Katolici u Bosni i zapadnoj Hercegovini na prijelazu iz 18. u 19. stoljeće: doba fra Grge Ilijića Varešanina (1783-1813)*, Zagreb, Kršćanska sadašnjost, 1971.

³ Candidates wishing to become Franciscan friars had to undergo three phases. The first was to become a «boy» (lat. *puerus*). These «boys» stayed at the monastery preparing to enter the second phase: the *Novitiate*. The «boy» would become a «novice» (lat. *novitius*) upon receiving a religious habit, whereafter he would spend a year under the close supervision of the elders (lat. *magister novitiorum*), during which he was obliged to pass through three rounds of voting. After this period, assuming he was already at least 16 years old, the candidate would take his solemn vows, thus becoming a member of Franciscan Order and his Province. These youths were called «clerics» (lat. *clerici*). Therefore, this term will be used hereafter as a general designation for all students from Bosna Srebrena, especially since its Latin form was the version used predominantly in sources. Others were: *alumnus* and, less often, *studens*. Sometimes, clerics were afforded an attribution according to their level of schooling at the time, for example, *Philosophus in secundum annum* and *Theologus Tertii Anni*. The older members of the Order used attributions like *Reverendus Pater* and *Multum Venerandus Pater*, depending upon how long they had been members of the Order.

⁴ These and many other aspects are broadly discussed in R. Barišić, *Školovanje klerika Bosne Srebrene na učilištima u Habsburškoj Monarhiji 1785-1843*, Doctoral Thesis, Department of History (Supervisor: P. Knezović), Zagreb, Centre for Croatian Studies, Academic Year 2014-2015.

⁵ These were: the Franciscan Province of St. Ladislaus, the Franciscan Province of the Blessed Virgin Mary, the Franciscan Province of St John of Capistrano and the Franciscan Province of the Holy Saviour, which got involved a little later. There was one more Franciscan Province, that of the Holy Cross, which also had monasteries in present-day Slovenia. Due to the various hardships that this Province endured during this period, it only participated for a brief time, hosting a small number of students from Bosnia in one of its monasteries.

lasted from 1785 to 1810. During this period, the Council insisted that clerics complete their education for the full duration of 12 years. Firstly, they had to attend four years of grammar school, followed by two years of humanities (*humaniora*: consisting of *rhetorica* and *poesis*). This six-year period constituted the lower segment and was modelled after Jesuit *Ratio Studiorum*. After its completion, future priests were supposed to enrol in two years of philosophy (*physica* and *logica*), which were followed by four years of theological studies. Of course, this higher segment also followed methods prescribed in the *Ratio Studiorum*. The main goal of the lower levels of education was for students to comprehend the Latin language as well as possible, since it was the main language used in teaching.

Since Bosnian clerics lacked any prior knowledge and had a poor understanding of Latin, they had to be placed somewhere in the inner-Croatian area due to the mutually understandable language. They mostly stayed in monasteries situated in Zagreb, Požega and Varaždin, with only a few of them being placed in Szombathely or Pécs. This led to many problems, which will be discussed later. Displeased with the situation, the monarch entrusted Maksimilijan Vrhovac⁶, the Bishop of Zagreb, with solving the problem. His solution was to shorten the duration of clerics' stays. This was achieved by relieving them of the obligation to attend certain classes. Moreover, Bosna Srebrena was supposed to improve the education in Latin provided by its monasteries prior to the clerics' departure. In this way, more monasteries in Hungarian, German and Slovak-speaking territories could be included in the process, since philosophy and theology were studied in Latin. This initiated the second phase of the process which, besides those in Croatia, also included a large number of monasteries situated in areas which are now parts of Hungary and Slovakia, as well as, to a lesser extent, Austria, Serbia and Romania⁷. This phase lasted until 1843 when the government in Vienna forbade the arrival of new clerics, the last among them being mentioned in sources from 1849⁸.

Work of the foundation was never without difficulties, caused by many various factors. The first phase was marked by the conflict between the Monarchy and France, which worsened the economic situation. Also, there were many differences in mentality and daily monastic practices between Bosna Srebrena and the provinces in Hungary and Croatia. Furthermore, as the number of

⁶ The role of Bishop Vrhovac is presented in detail in R. Barišić, *Intervencije Maksimilijana Vrhovca u proces stipendiranja bosanskih klerika*, «Croatica Christiana Periodica», vol. 42, n. 80, 2017, pp. 49-73.

⁷ A complete analysis of monasteries involved in hosting Bosnian clerics suggests that, over time, the number of clerics hosted by monasteries in Hungary or Slovakia had been constantly rising, especially after the Franciscan Province of the Holy Saviour became involved during the 1820s.

⁸ The last known recipients of scholarships from the foundation of Joseph II were Lovro Androšević, Ivan Vucić, Ivan Jaranović and Anto Alaupović Jr., admitted in 1845.

Franciscan candidates in Bosnia steadily grew, in Hungary and Croatia, by contrast, it was diminishing due to Josephine policies, and the average age of the Franciscans there was increasing⁹. Lastly, some provinces were forced to host Bosnian clerics without giving their prior consent¹⁰. This created fertile ground for conflicts which could lead to unpleasant scenes.

In such circumstances, the focus of the Bosnian clerics' stay was often shifted away from education. It is therefore not unusual that many of them ended their education before its formal completion. The reasons for this can categorize the clerics into one of three groups:

- a) Those who were forced to quit their studies due to disciplinary issues
- b) Those who abandoned their studies on their own for various reasons
- c) Those who returned to Bosnia earlier than anticipated due to illness or at the demand of their Province.

The number belonging to each group varies and, in many cases, we lack precise information about why some clerics ended their education early. Of course, the situation is a bit different if a student was affected by health issues, but, as we shall see, even then we cannot always precisely conclude which illness prevented him from further study. At this point, it is important to highlight that an abrupt ending of education did not mean in all cases that a student would also abandon his religious vows and leave the Order or even the priesthood. After a presentation of various examples from each group, it is necessary to perform an analysis of the effects which Bosna Srebrena sustained in the aftermath of these cases: did the discontinuation of studies represent a permanent loss for the Bosnian Franciscan Province or not?

1. *Disciplinary issues*

Sources are mostly general in their descriptions of disciplinary problems: insubordination towards elders, arbitrary abandonment of the monastery and vagrancy and alcohol abuse were the most common causes. There were

⁹ D. Beales, *Enlightenment and Reform in Eighteenth-century Europe*, London-New York, I. B. Tauris & Co. Ltd., 2005, pp. 227-256.

¹⁰ One of the first reports on the Bosnian clerics was submitted by Kajetan (*Caietanus*) Aufer, guardian of the Franciscan monastery in Zagreb, in 1788. There, among other things, Aufer complained that the monastery was first notified about the arrival of Bosnian clerics on 30 May 1785 without prior consultation or having given consent. Hrvatska (Croatia) [Later: HR], Nadbiskupijski arhiv u Zagrebu (Archbishopric Archive in Zagreb) [Later: NAZ] Spisi nadbiskupskog duhovnog stola (*Officium dioecesanum*) [Later: NDS (OD)], 845/1788. This is further highlighted by the fact that Karoly Pálffy, a close associate of Joseph II, had, already in a letter dated 3 May 1785, instructed apostolic vicar Okić to send future Bosnian fellows to Zagreb where they would be hosted in the Franciscan monastery. J. Jelenić (ed.), *Izvori za kulturnu povjest bosanskih franjevac*, Sarajevo, Zemaljska štamparija, 1913, p. 57.

occasional cases of physical threats and confrontations as well as gambling. The heads of monasteries (Guardians) would report problematic clerics directly to the Council or to the local bishop. The Council would try to solve these issues by transferring clerics to different monasteries, by separating troublesome groups or with warnings and threats. It seems that these methods were, for the most part, successful, since the number of expulsions is far fewer than the number of those who were reported. The first case was noted in 1801 when Marko Ostojić was expelled from Zagreb¹¹. In the summer of 1827, Mijo Kljajić had to be escorted by guards to Đakovo and then transferred further on to Bosnia¹². Other known cases were noted in 1837 when Lovro Mlinarević and Augustin Dembić were expelled from Baja¹³ and Blaž Petrović from Eger¹⁴. All three of them were later sent to Italy where they successfully ended the theological studies. In 1838 Ambrozije Dakić became the last known cleric to be expelled when he was likewise ordered to leave Eger¹⁵. Unfortunately, neither of these cases contains details which would reveal what provoked the Council to take such a drastic step as scholarship discontinuation. It is even more surprising when we realise that all of the above-mentioned clerics later served as priests in Bosnia, and Marko Ostojić was even elected as the Provincial in 1832¹⁶. More information is available on the expulsion of Nikola Bilandžić which occurred in 1812. Since 1807, he had been staying in Szombathely, whereupon his scholarship was suspended and he was made to return to Bosnia. He was accused of forging the bishop's seal and embezzling money received while serving mass¹⁷. The latter indicates that by this point he had already been ordained as a priest and enrolled to study theology. He was punished by his Province, but nevertheless, he assumed his priestly duties. During the Great Plague (mentioned later) he was infected and died in 1815.

If we summarise these cases, it is obvious that they were neither numerous nor can they be regarded as a permanent loss for Bosna Srebrena. As already

¹¹ Hrvatska (Croatia) [Later: HR], Arhiv Hrvatske franjevačke provincije sv. Ćirila i Metoda u Zagrebu (Archive of Croatian Franciscan Province of St. Cyril and Methodius in Zagreb) [Later: AHFPZ], A-VIII-3a (*Acta studentium ex Bosnia 1784-1841*), 1801. – 28. IV.

¹² J. Jelenić (ed.), *Spomenici kulturnog rada Franjevaca Bosne Srebreničke*, Monumenta franciscana Iugoslavica, Mostar, Povijesno društvo za proučavanje prošlosti jugoslavenskih franjevaca, 1927, Vol. 1, p. 318.

¹³ Bosna i Hercegovina (Bosnia and Herzegovina) [Later: BA], Arhiv Franjevačke provincije Bosne Srebrene (Archive of Franciscan Province of Bosna Argentina) [Later: AFPBS], *Missi ad Exteras Provincias pro Studiis et ab iis Regressi a tempore Ministeriatus Adm. R. Patris Andreae Kujuncxich de Kresbevo seu ab Anno 1835*, p. 9.

¹⁴ HR-AHFPZ, A-VIII-3a, 1838. – 13. III.

¹⁵ Bosna i Hercegovina (Bosnia and Herzegovina) [Later: BA], Arhiv Franjevačkog samostana u Kreševu (Archive of the Franciscan monastery in Kreševo) [Later: AFSK], *Registrum inceptum a die 12. Februarii anno 1815*, box 15, reg. no. 1, pp. 10-11.

¹⁶ The Provincial (lat. *Minister Provincialis*) is the head of the Province, elected by all Franciscan clergy in the Province on a three-year term.

¹⁷ BA-AFPBS, *Protocollum Provinciae Bosnae Argentinae*, sv. II. 1793.-1835., p. 314.

remarked, disciplinary issues were a constant throughout the whole duration of the Foundation, and the number of clerics who at some point during their stay in Hungary were reprimanded and classified as insubordinate is far greater than just those described here, but in most cases they managed to complete their studies according to the original plan.

2. *Arbitrary abandonment*

Descriptions of clerics' lack of discipline originate mostly from hosting monasteries. Only in a small number of cases have sources representing Bosnian clerics' side been preserved. There are consistencies across their letters. They regularly complained about allegedly unjust treatment. Scholarships were not paid directly to clerics, but to the guardians of the monasteries where they were staying. Clerics often suspected that the full amount of the scholarship was not spent entirely on their needs and they complained about poor nutrition, insufficient access to laundries and school supplies such as ink, paper or candles. Guardians refuted these claims, justifying them on account of inflation. Regardless of who was right, thanks to these sources we have a better insight into cases when Bosnian clerics arbitrarily left their education.

Ivan Martinović arrived in Varaždin from Kreševo in 1807 and, after four years, was transferred to Zagreb where he studied philosophy and then theology. His academic track record up until that point had been impeccable, as was also the case with his conduct. However, he did not complete his theology studies and he left Zagreb in 1814. Before his departure, he explained his reasons in a letter sent to Bishop Vrhovac, stating that the guardian of the Franciscan monastery in Zagreb, Isidor Reichert, had promised him that he would recommend Martinović for ordination, but had later failed to do so¹⁸. If Martinović is to be trusted, Reichert lied to him, stating that a person can be ordained only upon completing theological studies, which at the time was not the case. His disappointment and bitterness are attested to in a line from this letter, stating: «I would rather save my soul among barbarians than my body among these lazy and discordant friars, who would rather lose their monastery, than help a single Bosnian»¹⁹. Disagreement with another guardian was expressed in 1837 by Mijo Škorić who accused him of misuse of his scholarship, claiming that he had spent it on his own personal expenses²⁰. Thereafter, he continued

¹⁸ HR-NAZ-NDS (OD), 253/1814.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, Martinović wrote his letter in Latin: «Summo enim studio inter rudes, ac Barbaras gentes ad animam, quam hic corpus inter otiosos, et discordes Fratres, qui potius Monasterium perdere vellent, quam uni Bosnensium vel boni aliquid desiderare, salvandam pergo».

²⁰ HR-AHFPZ, A-VIII-3a, 1837. – 13. VI.

his education in Dubrovnik²¹. That same year Josip Vrljić also left his studies. He had received his scholarship at the age of 26 and, because of his poor pre-existing knowledge, had been made to attend classes with children half his age. He proved to be the worst student in the class, prompting his mental collapse, and he fled from Požega's monastery²². After he was caught, he was pardoned and allowed to return to Bosnia. He subsequently completed his education in Italy²³. What is common for all three of these clerics is the fact that they remained priests and friars. The exact motivation of Franjo Ostojić Jr. and Petar Pinotić for fleeing the monastery in Brod in 1811, remains unknown²⁴. Although records show that during the earlier period of their education they caused some disciplinary issues, there was never a proposal for them to be suspended from their studies. It is possible that, unhappy with their stay, they became homesick and simply decided to take advantage of Brod's proximity to Bosnia so as to return home. It is not known whether, at some point, they went to Italy to complete their studies in philosophy and theology, but later they were both active members of their Province.

One of the main problems for Bosna Srebrena was the selection of future members. In the 18th century, the majority of Bosnian Catholics were peasants who cultivated the land of their local Ottoman landowners (beys). Within the framework of Ottoman society, social life took place within confessional communities. Becoming a friar was the only means of social ascendancy for a Catholic²⁵. This is why people who did not possess true religious fervour nevertheless joined the Franciscan Order. In Bosnia, this issue manifested itself in the immoral lives led by individual Franciscans, whether that was maintaining relationships with women or abusing alcohol. However, during their stays in the Monarchy, those who sought different ways of social promotion were provided with such opportunities.

Bosna Srebrena desired that certain clerics finish other studies besides just theology, that would have a practical application in Bosnia, such as Turkish and Arabic languages and medicine. Upon completion of his theological studies in 1826, Petar Marešević was sent to Pest to study medicine for four years. Then, in 1830 he was sent to study medicine for six more years in Vienna. Aware of his perspectives as a trained physician, Marešević was not interested in returning to the then-unsafe Bosnia and in 1836 he left the priesthood and moved to Buda²⁶. A fear of returning to Bosnia played a major role in the case

²¹ BA-AFPBS, *Missi ad Exteras Provincias pro Studiis*, cit., p. 8.

²² HR-NAZ-NDS (OD), 1098/1837.

²³ BA-AFPBS, *Missi ad Exteras Provincias pro Studiis*, cit., p. 7. He was among Franciscans from Hercegovina who after 1844 seceded from Bosna Srebrena.

²⁴ J. Barbarić, E.S. Biber (edd.), *Kronika Franjevačkog samostana u Brodu na Savi: Zapisnik ili Knjiga bilješki Samostana Presvetog Trojstva u Brodu u Slavoniji, sv. II (1806.-1834.)*, Slavonski Brod, Matica hrvatska, 1995, pp. 116-117, 122-125.

²⁵ Džaja, *Katolici u Bosni i zapadnoj Hercegovini*, cit., p. 135.

²⁶ J. Jelenić, *Kultura i bosanski franjevci: II. svezak (1780.-1878.)*, Sarajevo, Prva hrvatska

of Marijan Krajinović, although he did not lose his religious zeal. As a cleric, he first came to Požega in 1794. There is no available information concerning how and where he spent the time of his education, but in 1806 his Province ordered him to return to Bosnia and assume his priestly duties²⁷. Krajinović went into hiding, so Bosna Srebrena asked bishop Vrhovac to intervene. A year later, Vrhovac finally managed to track down Krajinović and the two personally met in November of 1807. During their meeting, Krajinović explained that he was too afraid to return to Bosnia and asked Vrhovac to let him stay in Croatia as a member of Zagreb diocese. Vrhovac wrote to Grgo Ilijić Varešanin, the then apostolic vicar in Bosnia, assuring him that Krajinović's fear was sincere and that he was even prepared to abandon the priesthood if this would save him from returning home²⁸. In either case, the Church in Bosnia would not have any use of Krajinović. Vrhovac acknowledged that Krajinović was very pious and well educated, so the bishop was prepared to accept him into the ranks of his clergy and thus asked Ilijić to permit this. Krajinović received permission from his prelate²⁹ and served as a priest in Jastrebarsko for the rest of his life, dying there in 1835³⁰.

The case of Stjepan Ilija Verković is both romantic and tragic at the same time. He lost both of his parents as a child and was raised by Franciscans, so his entry into the Order was a logical step. Having a scholarship for Zagreb gave him the opportunity to achieve other goals in life. Unlike Marešević, he left records of his time in Zagreb and an explanation for his decision to leave the Franciscans. This is how we find out that at the time when he was still a cleric, he had fallen in love with a girl who lived on the route he took to classes. He was thrilled by Ljudevit Gaj's Illyrian movement and even met him personally³¹. They soon started collaborating and Verković left his studies in 1843. Almost 40 years later, he sent a couple of letters to Josip Dobroslav Božić (1860-1900), a Bosnian Franciscan, describing his youth and the period he spent in Zagreb. Concerning his decision to leave his vocation he wrote:

There was no chance for me to work for beloved Slavdom as much as I would have wanted to [...] if I was to remain in the class forced upon me by unfortunate circumstances [...]. Therefore, after careful deliberation, I decided 'ad maiorem utilitatem et gloriam carae slavicae gentis' to throw off the unpleasant black cassock, since I felt that I had been predestined by Providence for something else³².

tiskara Kramarić i M. Raguz, 1915, p. 460.

²⁷ HR-AHPZ, A-VIII-3a, 1806. – 21. X. and J. Jelenić (ed.), *Izvori za kulturnu povjest*, cit., pp. 98-99.

²⁸ HR-NAZ-NDS (OD), 1272/1807. Vrhovac openly stated about Krajinović: «He'll be more useful here than in Bosnia where he would only carry his fear and the shaking of his bones».

²⁹ HR-NAZ-NDS (OD), 426/1808.

³⁰ HR-NAZ, *Matica umrlih svećenika Zagrebačke (nad)biskupije 1788.-1911. I. svezak*, p. 75.

³¹ The Illyrian Movement (cro. *Ilirski pokret*) was the Croatian national revival, active in politics, literature and culture during the first half of the 19th century.

³² J. Jelenić (ed.), *Pisma Stjepana I. Verkovića Josipu D. Božiću*, Zagreb, Posebni otisak iz

At first, he moved to Serbia, then on to Macedonia, where he spent his time collecting old manuscripts and folk songs. His later years were marked by «Veda Slovena» (*Slavic Vedas*), a forgery which he believed to be the oldest European epic poem³³.

Political ideas were also crucial for Josip (Toma) Kovačević. During his studies in Pest, he came into contact with Sava Tekelija and other members of local Serbian intelligentsia. He gradually adopted Serbian national thought, left the priesthood and moved to Serbia where he converted to orthodoxy and worked for Serbian government and Prime Minister Ilija Garašanin. For the rest of his life, he staunchly advocated that the whole population of Bosnia was Serbian and that this territory should be annexed by Serbia. He died in Belgrade in 1865³⁴.

There are a number of clerics who were last mentioned while still students. Therefore, it is logical to conclude that at least some of them, if not all, inspired by opportunities for a safer life outside Bosnia, left the Order. Mato Marketić is last mentioned in December of 1811, after only one year of studying philosophy – first in Brod, then in Szombathely³⁵. Franjo Bušić was expelled from Zagreb due to constant disciplinary issues, again after only one year³⁶. He probably left the Order immediately since he is not mentioned in later sources. The last information about Bartol Jurič dates from July 1839³⁷ and the name of Josip

«Narodne tiskare», 1925, p. 17. Verković's parents both died when he was 8 years old, after which Ilija Starčević, his local parochial priest, took care of him. Since Verković proved himself to be very talented, Starčević sent him to the monastery in Kraljeva Sutjeska. During his correspondence with Božić, Verković had already for several years been living in Russia, in very precarious living conditions. He was trying to regain his reputation, lost due to accusations of forging «Veda Slovena», so he believed that someone from the Sutjeska monastery might be able to help him by testifying to his good character as a Franciscan novice. Božić was interested in Verković's intriguing destiny after he left his studies and the two kept up written communication for a while. Their letters, written in Croatian, reveal many biographical details about Verković's life.

³³ Life of Verković and the whole issue regarding «Veda Slovena» are detailed in Lj. Doklešić, *Stjepan Verković (1821.-1894.): Život i djelo*, Zagreb, Srednja Europa, 2007.

³⁴ The same year that Kovačević died, his brother-in-law Ilija Rakić published the first edition of Kovačević's *Opis Bosne i Hercegovine* (*A Description of Bosnia and Hercegovina*). This edition was heavily censored, so an integral version was eventually published, again thanks to Rakić, in 1879. In the preface, Kovačević addresses his fellow countrymen with the following words: «Leave behind your hatred and discord and be aware that all of you are Serbs who speak the sweet Serbian language. Let both the Orthodox and Roman Catholics enjoy complete freedom each in their Church. And as for those of our brothers who find themselves in Muhammad's faith, let them also remain in it safe and undisturbed». Т. Ковачевић, *Опис Босне и Херцеговине*, Београд, Штампарија И. Стефановића и Друга, 1879, p. x.

³⁵ HR-AHPZ, A-VIII-3a, 1811. – 10. XII.

³⁶ HR-NAZ-NDS (OD), 2229/1839.

³⁷ HR-AHPZ, A-VIII-3a, 1839. – 30. VII.; HR-NAZ-NDS (OD), 1589/1839. Int. There are many contradictory accounts about his ultimate fate. In the spring of 1840, a group of Bosnian clerics secretly returned to Bosnia with the intention of organizing an uprising against Ottoman rule. The idea did not come to anything, as their elders persuaded them to abandon it. Nevertheless, they had to change their place of study. Two of them were sent to Dubrovnik, and the third was

Dragićević disappears from sources after 1841 when he was sent to Gyöngyös to study theology³⁸.

3. *Illness and death*

Besides personal motives and a questioning of whether one was indeed suited to life in the priesthood, some circumstances beyond an individual's direct control also had an impact on an education and its duration. Illness was a part of everyday life for Bosnian clerics during the 19th century. Illness proved to have mortal consequences in 22 cases: fourteen clerics died while in Hungary, while eight died almost immediately upon their return to Bosnia. Most frequently, it was tuberculosis, which was widespread at the time. Since the risk of contamination was high, the usual procedure constituted the removal of the patient from the monastery, regardless of whether he was a Bosnian cleric or a local Franciscan. Given that the symptoms of tuberculosis are clearly visible, it is even more surprising that a large number of clerics were kept in Hungary. It should be kept in mind that the decision to remove someone from a monastery and send him home was particularly unpleasant for Bosnian clerics. The considerable distance and challenging journey meant that this was essentially a death sentence, a step which was not always easy for guardians to take, irrespective of how common it might have been.

There is no need to describe each of the fatal cases separately since they all ended in the same way³⁹. When the death occurred while the student was still in Hungary, there was often no other information except for a brief notification. The clerics who died without even starting their journey back to Bosnia were: Ivan Juričević (1812), Grgo Knežević (1815), Anđeo Malbašić (1816), Bartol Gašić (1818), Ivan Franjić (1821), Anto Elegović (1821), Vinko Jurič Jr.

secretly returned to Hungary, albeit to a different address. What exactly happened to the fourth cleric would remain unresolved until recently. Many authors have identified Bartol Jurič and Toma Kovačević (see above) as the same person, concluding that he left the Franciscans after the rebellion failed and moved to Serbia. On the other hand, it has been argued that Jurič, as the only one among the rebels, continued with the plans and was caught and executed by the Ottomans. Jurič and Kovačević were without doubt two separate individuals and Jurič is the one who should get credit for rebellious plans. It is still difficult to conclude for certain whether he was actually executed or he simply left the Order after the plans for the uprising failed. Barišić, *Školovanje klerika Bosne Srebrene na učilištima u Habsburškoj Monarhiji 1785-1843*, cit., pp. 236-240 and 397-398.

³⁸ HR-AHFPZ, A-VIII-3a, 1841. – 14. IX.

³⁹ This analysis encompasses the clerics who died within a year of their return. Since tuberculosis is quite often mentioned as a cause of death, the deceased could have contracted it while in Bosnia, which often happened. In each of the eight cases, there is a strong indication that the illness was first noticed while the cleric was still in Hungary and that this was the reason why he was ordered to go back to Bosnia.

(1823), Pavao Lovrić (1826), Nikola Čujić (1827), Petar Vučić (1832), Lovro Ćorković (1834), Petar Marijanović (1845), Augustin Momčinović (1845) and Lovro Androšević (1847). Tuberculosis was not necessarily the main cause of death in each particular case. For example, Grgo Knežević died in Vukovar. The monastery's official necrology states that his leg was affected by an open wound that could not be treated.

Between 1821 and 1824, Martin Franjić spent one year each in Zagreb, Nagykanizsa and Varaždin. Reports state that his medical condition continuously worsened. This is reflected in the report submitted in February 1824 by the guardian of the monastery in Varaždin, Nepomuk Turban⁴⁰. He describes Franjić as a much better monk than a student, but also asserts that the young Bosnian was constantly afflicted by health issues. Franjić's state soon worsened further and in his next report we find out that during the second semester he was unable to attend classes⁴¹. It was therefore decided in August 1824 that Franjić should travel to Bosnia for convalescence⁴². He left Varaždin the following month. He managed to reach Kraljeva Sutjeska monastery, but by then he was in such a desperate state that he had to take a further trip, this time to Vareš, his place of birth, where he died just nine months after leaving Varaždin. The death of Ambrozije Livajić in December of 1846 was even swifter. While in Zagreb, in February 1845, he submitted a plea for a transfer either to Bosnia or to another monastery on health grounds⁴³. It was decided that he could go to Kreševo where he arrived in the autumn of the same year. Necrologies reveal that he died in great agony, vomiting a large amount of blood. Since he died in the monastery the fear of contagiousness rose quickly, but fortunately for the Franciscans, nobody else was affected. The other known mortalities that occurred soon upon return to Bosnia were those of Mijo Pinjušić (1808), Ambrozije Jakovljević (1811), Ilija Lučić (1821), Andeo Radovčić (1824), Josip Kalfić (1843) and Mijo Rozić Jr. (1847).

Almost all clerics who suffered a physical illness which made them stop their education went on to die soon after. Only three cases of recovery and subsequent pastoral activity can be tracked. In 1834 Ivan Krilić received doctor's recommendation to be relieved of his obligation to attend the fourth year of his theological studies due to problems with his lungs. He went on to reach a very old age for his time, eventually dying in 1902. For the other two, Petar Babajić and Grgo Nikolić, the nature of their illnesses cannot be determined, however after they suspended their studies, they would never return to the Monarchy, even after their full recoveries. Babajić had spent three years in Požega, attending grammar and humanistic classes, before return to Bosnia in 1810 due to an

⁴⁰ HR-NAZ-NDS (OD), 675/1824.

⁴¹ HR-NAZ-NDS (OD), 3169/1824.

⁴² HR-NAZ-NDS (OD), 2961/1824. Int.

⁴³ HR-NAZ-NDS (OD), 493/1845. Int.

unspecified illness⁴⁴. He died in 1837. Nikolić had already finished the second year of his theology studies when, in 1821, he was sent from Vukovar back to Bosnia. Again, the reason for this decision was his illness, but as in the previous example, there are no precise details about it. Nikolić died in 1839.

It is recorded that three clerics suspended their education because of mental health issues. Andrija Vuković was returned from Požega in 1811 and, according to necrologies, he spent the next 40 years in Fojnica monastery, in a deranged state of a mind⁴⁵. The case of Pacifik Krnjić is more interesting. Between 1821 and 1828 he constituted an average student who even received the permission for ordination. But in 1829 he was abruptly transferred to Fil'akovo where Bosnian clerics had not previously stayed⁴⁶. Later, he was moved to Spišské Podhradie⁴⁷. His story herein becomes quite unusual. Before he completed his studies, he started to claim that he was not in fact a Catholic at all, but rather a Muslim, the son of a bey from Uskoplje, where he had grown up, and that the Franciscans had kidnapped and forcefully baptised him, before sending him to Hungary⁴⁸. If he were to return to Bosnia, these statements could bring in great peril upon the Franciscans. Therefore, Bosna Srebrena made sure that Krnjić stayed in Slovakia indefinitely. The last record of him was made in 1842, but the exact date of his death remains unknown. Mental issues were also recorded in the case of Lovro Gašpar. In April 1838, he had to leave Brod where he had been studying theology⁴⁹. He returned to the Kraljeva Sutjeska monastery, where he would die the next month already. His necrology does not mention the exact cause of his death at the age of just 20 years old, but it does note that his mind was deranged.

Sources only mention one single case of death by misadventure. Anto Ćurić was a student of theology in Székesfehérvár where, in 1843, a building caught fire. Ćurić rushed in and saved some people before being overcome by the blaze and succumbing to the wounds caused by the burns.

⁴⁴ HR-AHPZ, A-VIII-3a, 1810. – 2. X.; HR-NAZ-NDS (OD), 1123/1810.

⁴⁵ HR-AHPZ, A-VIII-3a, 1811. – 15. X.

⁴⁶ HR-NAZ-NDS (OD), 3763/1829.

⁴⁷ HR-NAZ-NDS (OD), 1889/1830. Int. Next to his name, the Regency Council put an observation: «mente turbatus».

⁴⁸ His case is described by A. Škegro, *Apostazija fra Pacifika (Šime) Krnjića iz Skopja Gornjeg, «Bosna franciscana»*, vol. 19, n. 35, 2011, pp. 105-123.

⁴⁹ J. Barbarić, E.S. Biber (edd.), *Kronika Franjevačkog samostana u Brodu na Savi: Zapisnik ili Knjiga bilješki Samostana Presvetog Trojstva u Brodu u Slavoniji, sv. III (1834.-1878.)*, Slavonski Brod, Matica hrvatska, 1998, p. 72.

4. Dispensation

The specificity of the circumstances under which Bosna Srebrena operated, is reflected in the fact that expelled clerics were not later barred from priesthood in Bosnia. The Franciscans had to turn a blind eye to such omissions since the need for the active priests was always high. Under such circumstances, one could not just look at the quality of an education or whether an individual had actually completed it or not. In some situations, Bosna Srebrena itself requested that clerics be returned before having formally completed their education. One such situation was the plague which severely affected Bosnia between 1813 and 1817 and to which a number of Franciscans succumbed⁵⁰. Although the number of Franciscan victims was not especially great, the age structure within the Order was unfavourable. A large proportion of Franciscans in Bosnia were either old or ill, while numerous clerics were being educated in Italy and Hungary⁵¹. With nowhere else to turn, the administration of Bosna Srebrena decided to call back some of the senior theology students and send them to vacant parishes. We are not familiar with details of selection policy, because not all senior students were called back. This procedure was coordinated with the government, which is exhibited by the higher engagement of the monastery in Vukovar that, until then, had not been receiving Bosnian clerics⁵². Between 1814 and 1820 twelve clerics were sent there, and a note beside their names always indicated that they were only obliged to attend classes on moral, pastoral and dogmatic theology⁵³. In this way, they would manage to cover subjects from at least two academic years' worth of studies in just one year. Most of the above-mentioned clerics had, by then, spent at least two years studying theology, but there were other examples as well. Three of them had attended only one year of theological studies before arriving in Vukovar, while Lovro Šljivić came directly from the lower study level, i.e. having only completed humanities⁵⁴. In some cases, the Council

⁵⁰ The course of the plague is described by Džaja, *Katolici u Bosni*, cit., pp. 101-102.

⁵¹ The number of Bosnian Franciscan priests decreased from 142 in 1786 to 100 in 1813. If only those who were in charge of parishes, and their assistants, are counted, then the numbers were 96 in 1786 and 79 in 1806. *Ibid.*, pp. 119-120 and 150-151. It should, nevertheless, be stressed that, during the same period, the number of candidates for the Order gradually rose.

⁵² The whole process is detailed by R. Barišić, *Bosanski klerici školovani u franjevačkom samostanu u Vukovaru 1814-1844*, in P. Knezović, M. Jerković (edd.), *Zbornik o Emeriku Paviću. Zbornik radova sa znanstvenoga skupa „Emerik Pavić i franjevci u kontinentalnoj Hrvatskoj“*, Zagreb, Hrvatski studiji Sveučilišta u Zagrebu, 2014, pp. 397-418.

⁵³ They were: Vinko Alaupović, Marko Jeličić, Nikola Kordić, Bono Kraljević, Andrija Kujundžić, Josip Šimić, Franjo Aždajić, Jakov Grgić, Bono Benić Jr., Lovro Šljivić, Augustin Maračić and Ilija Ilić. All of them eventually returned to Bosnia and were very active in various pastoral duties.

⁵⁴ Šljivić came to Vukovar in 1815 and, by the following year, there were already plans for him to return to Bosnia, see HR-AHPZ, A-VIII-3a, 1816. – 24. IX. where, next to his name, there is a remark: «Non constat utrum redierit in Patriam absolutis necessariis Theologicis Studiis nec ne?» In the end, it was decided that he should stay for another year in order to properly conclude

approved the return of clerics without sending them to Vukovar to attend the aforementioned subjects. For example, Ilija Starčević and Stjepan Marijanović, both later prominent Franciscans, finished respectively two and three years of studies and were then returned to Bosnia upon the request of their Province⁵⁵. In all, during this period, 22 clerics returned earlier from their studies. Out of these, 12 finished their education in Vukovar and 10 did it elsewhere⁵⁶. Since the various theological academies followed different curricula, many clerics were likely to have already finished classes on moral, pastoral and dogmatic theology⁵⁷. Thus, the Council probably responded to the appeals from Bosna Srebrena by simply sending these clerics home. Of course, it is logical to assume that other criteria were included such as one's behaviour and overall attainment during the previous period of education.

There are three known cases in which clerics submitted their own pleas to be allowed to end their education earlier. Both Ambrozije Matić, in 1824⁵⁸, and Šimun Tovljaković, a year later⁵⁹, had by these points already finished three years of theological studies. The Hungarian Regency Council granted them permission. Ten years earlier, bishop Vrhovac had given his approval to Lovro Kuliš⁶⁰. This latter example constitutes the only known case in which approval was granted by the bishop rather than the Council.

As previously noted, the first phase of funding Bosnian clerics' education still lacks sources; so many aspects of the entire process remain unknown. The period between 1800 and 1805 is especially obscure and without almost any preserved sources. During this period, four clerics abandoned their scholarships upon the request of their Province. Marijan Jakovljević⁶¹, in 1799, and Ivan

his study.

⁵⁵ Starčević spent two years studying theology in Szombathely, while Marijanović stayed for three years in Székesfehérvár. Starčević returned to Bosnia in 1816 and Marijanović in 1817. He would later become the Provincial.

⁵⁶ Besides Starčević and Marijanović, others were Ilija Glavadanović, Bartol Martinović, Mijo Samardžić, Nikola Glavočević, Anto Đurić, Nikola Bilandžić, Pavao Kolanović, Augustin Begčević and Anto Knezović.

⁵⁷ In a memorandum that he sent to Emperor Francis I in 1808, Maksimilijan Vrhovac highlighted pastoral praxis as the most important aspect in the education of Bosnian clerics. Barišić, *Intervencije Maksimilijana Vrhovca*, cit., pp. 65-67 and Džaja, *Katolici u Bosni*, cit., pp. 144-146 where there is a Croatian translation of Vrhovac's Memorandum. A transcription of the original text, written in German, can be found in T. Matić (ed.), *Prijedlog biskupa Vrhovca o reformi školovanja bosanskih franjevac*, Zagreb, Tisak zaklade tiskare Narodnih novina, 1931, pp. 3-8. To quote Vrhovac: «During the many years spent by them on this kind of study, these pupils are not sufficiently prepared for the pastoral activities which should be the primary goal of their education».

⁵⁸ HR-AHPZ, A-VIII-3a, 1824. – 2. XI.

⁵⁹ HR-NAZ-NDS (OD), 1839/1825. Int.

⁶⁰ HR-NAZ-NDS (OD), 1174/1814.

⁶¹ Bosna i Hercegovina (Bosnia and Herzegovina) [Later: BA], Arhiv Franjevačkog samostana u Kraljevoj Sutjesci (Archive of Franciscan Monastery in Kraljeva Sutjeska) [Later: AFSKS], VII. Poslanice, okružnice, kronike, *Arkiva (knjiga prva) u kojoj povjesnica države Srebreno-Bosanske*,

Skočibušić Jr.⁶² and Grgo Juričević⁶³, in 1802, all had to move to Italy. There is no clear explanation as to what prompted Bosna Srebrena to transfer them there, especially since only a couple of years earlier, in 1798, the Province had made a great effort to transfer a group of clerics in the opposite direction: from Italy to Habsburg Monarchy. The Regency Council approved both Skočibušić's and Juričević's departure. Also, in the autumn of 1801, the Council moved Šimun Topalović from Požega to Pécs, where he enrolled in the first year of philosophy⁶⁴. However, already by March of the following year, Bosna Srebrena urged him to return to Bosnia as soon as possible⁶⁵. There are many possible hypotheses as to what may have happened: perhaps his Province also wanted him to move to Italy; perhaps he had to return because he had fallen ill in the meantime; he might even have been causing disciplinary issues and so, by calling him back, Bosna Srebrena wanted to avoid any unpleasant scenes. Whatever the actual reason, he should also be numbered among those clerics who suspended their studies.

5. *Aftermath – effects on Bosna Srebrena*

None of the discussed cases is by any means typical just for Bosna Srebrena. Its clerics were definitely not the only ones who abandoned their education due to disciplinary issues, illness or a wish to follow a different path in life. Therefore, all of the presented data must be looked at from a broader perspective. For example, this could be done by comparing the relative numbers of those cases discussed here with those members of Bosna Srebrena who spent their education in Italy, however such research into source materials from Italian monasteries has not yet been conducted. The same is the case regarding a comparison between members of the Croatian and Hungarian Franciscan provinces during the same period. This cannot be done because, unlike their Bosnian counterparts, the Croatian and Hungarian Franciscans attended educational institutions within their own Provinces, putting them in a different position. As such, further analysis will deal with the effects that these discontinuations of education had on Bosna Srebrena itself.

Crkva Bosanska, topographia manastira starih, biographia redovnika izvrsnijih i još mlogah drugih, sabrana po O. fra Mati Mikiću 1853. [Later: POK5] pp. 409-410.

⁶² HR-AHFPZ, A-VIII-3a, 1802. – 19. X.

⁶³ HR-AHFPZ, A-VIII-3a, 1802. – 20. IV. (b).

⁶⁴ HR-AHFPZ, A-VIII-3a, 1801. – 13. X.

⁶⁵ HR-AHFPZ, A-VIII-3a, 1802. – 30. III.

According to presently-available data and sources, a total of 244 members of Bosna Srebrena were at some point educated in the Hungarian part of Habsburg Monarchy, receiving their scholarships from Joseph's Foundation⁶⁶. This number may actually be even smaller because in some cases there are strong indications that the individuals mentioned eventually went on to Italy. On the other hand, during the first phase (1785-1810), there is often a deficiency of sources for some years and, perhaps, some names were thus omitted. In addition, there were two separate groups of Bosnian students educated in the Habsburg Monarchy whose members are omitted from this analysis. The first one contains the names of 10 young Franciscans who were sent to the Monarchy in 1780, before Joseph II approved the establishment of the foundation. Presently, all available sources are insufficient to make any precise reconstruction of where or for how long they stayed. The second group encompasses 12 names, but none of them were members of the Franciscan Order. They were sent to Zagreb by the apostolic vicar Augustin Botoš Okić at the request of count Pálffy, probably because Habsburg policy intended for the organisation of a secular priesthood which would gradually supersede the Franciscans after the annexation of Bosnia to the Habsburg Monarchy. These candidates spent their education in Zagreb, but the plans for them were never realised. Only half of them completed their studies. Two of them returned to Bosnia and joined the Franciscans and one became a priest in Đakovo diocese. There is no precise data on the other three. Nevertheless, it is quite clear why the members of this group are beyond the scope of this analysis. Their education was not designed to be of any benefit to Bosna Srebrena.

If we compare all of the numbers, it can be seen that there are 77 cases of interrupted education out of the 244 clerics who were granted scholarships. This means that almost every third Bosnian cleric had to quit his education early for one of the reasons analysed in this paper. These reasons can be observed from several alternative perspectives: did they abandon their place of study on their own or were compelled to do so; did they return to Bosnia or go on somewhere else; did they remain priests or change their profession, etc.

There are several criteria with which we can analyse these 77 cases. Out of these criteria, two stand out as being the most appropriate and suitable for the discussed topic. The first one is whether or not the abandonment of their education was voluntary. It is possible to claim that there were only 15 cases in which the clerics undoubtedly decided out of their own volition to discontinue their education: five of them by returning to Bosnia without asking permission, seven by leaving their religious vows and three by submitting a plea for early dispensation from further study. In the cases of the expelled clerics, there can be little doubt that the discontinuation happened at the behest of Regency

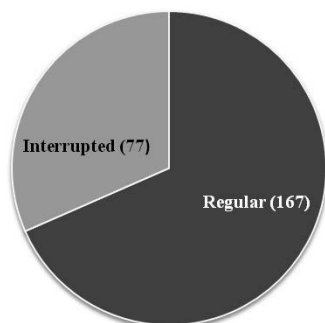
⁶⁶ Barišić, *Školovanje klerika Bosne Srebrene na učilištima u Habsburškoj Monarhiji 1785-1843*, cit., pp. 429-440, contains tabular lists with all names and basic data.

Council. Of course, we have to keep open the possibility that some clerics, wanting to leave earlier, provoked their own expulsion. To this number, we can add all the cases of death occurring in Hungary (15) as well those in Bosnia (8), again with the caveat that in some cases ill clerics had themselves requested to return to Bosnia hoping that they would manage to recover. On the other hand, it is clear that they probably would not have asked to be relieved of their obligations had they not been ill. Another three clerics also had to suspend their education due to the same reason, but they managed to recover. The mentally ill can also be ascribed to this group. There were 25 cases of clerics' dispensation, out of which only three made the request themselves, with the others having been chosen by the Regency Council or their Province. Lastly, there were three cases of clerics moving from Hungary to Italy and another one when Bosna Srebrena, for reasons which are still unclear, recalled one cleric. In conclusion, it can be said that the majority of interruptions (62) were the consequence of external factors.

The second criterium is the one concerning a question of whether those clerics, who had interrupted their education, represented a loss to their Province or whether they nevertheless later assumed their duties and contributed to the activities of Bosna Srebrena. This time, the numbers are more evenly distributed. In 34 cases we can talk about permanent losses for the Province. There were seven abandonments of the Order and three clerics were rendered disabled due to psychological issues, although they remained members of the Order. Nevertheless, the greatest number (23) is constituted by those clerics who died whilst still students, mostly due to illness but also in one case due to an accident. Out of the expelled clerics, only one immediately left not just his studies but also the Order. The other 43 clerics returned to Bosnia and, for at least a short period, performed their religious duties. While that was to be expected from those students who asked for dispensation, it is interesting that – with one exception – even those who arbitrarily left their scholarships or were forced to do so returned to Bosnia, became priests and became involved in pastoral activities.

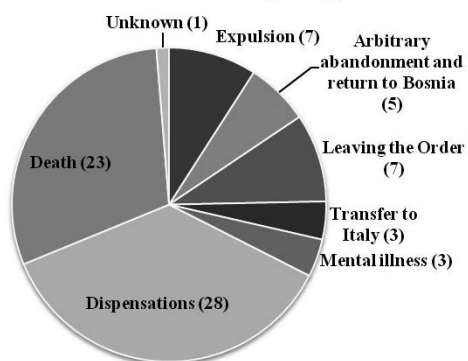
Therefore, the «real loss», represented by those clerics who never returned from their studies, can be numbered at 34, meaning one-in-seven of all the members of Bosna Srebrena who received the scholarship. We should keep in mind that the main reason for this was illness, usually ending in death, amounting to 23 cases, to which we should also attach the three cases when a mental illness left clerics permanently disabled and unable to undertake any pastoral duty or activity. That leaves just seven clerics who voluntarily left their education and at the same time left their Province, with one more who did the same after he was expelled from his scholarship.

Education of Bosnian clerics by duration



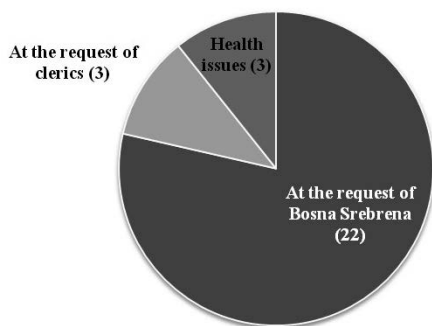
Pic. 1

Reasons for interrupting

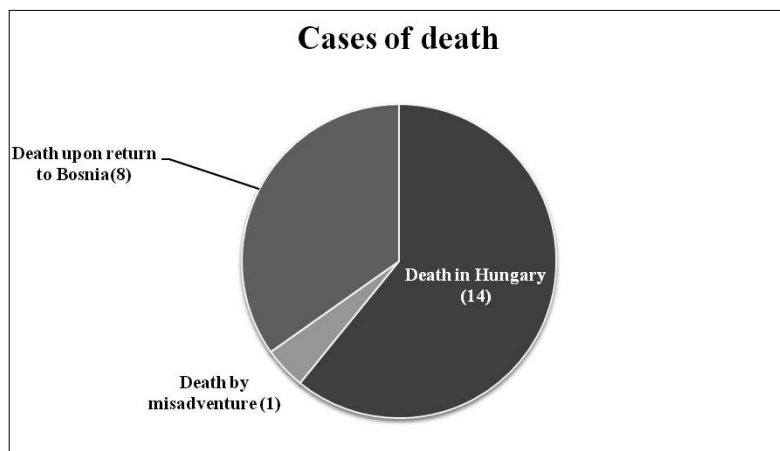


Pic. 2

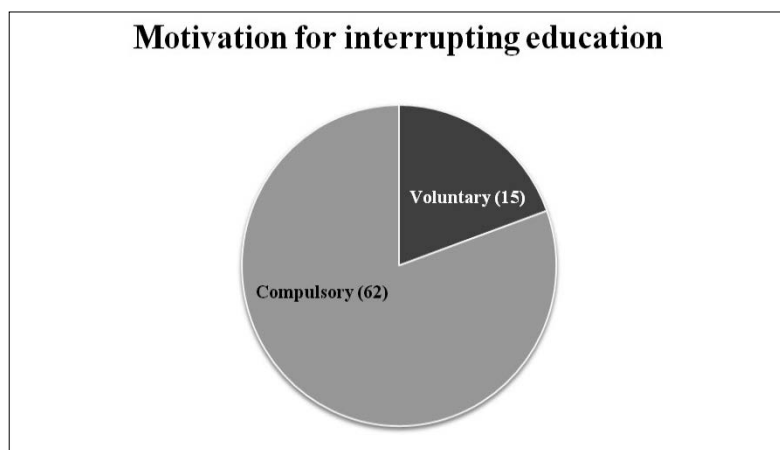
Reasons of granting dispensation



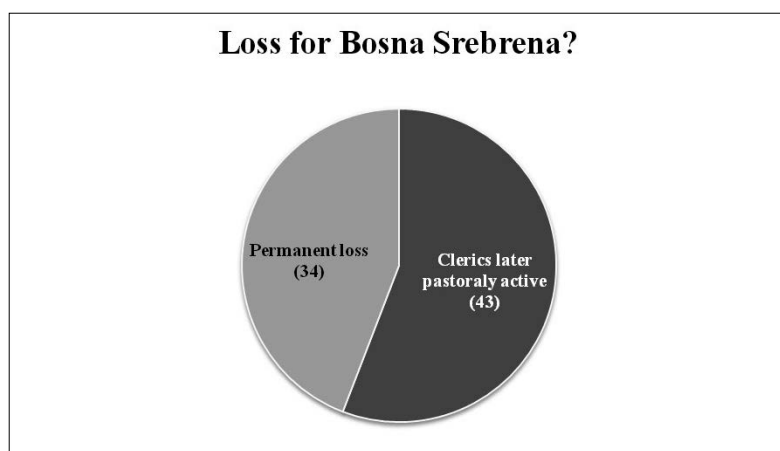
Pic. 3



Pic. 4



Pic. 5



Pic. 6

Conclusion

Due to various reasons, a high number of young Bosnian Franciscans abandoned their scholarships sooner than originally intended. While it is still impossible to establish whether this number was unusually high or average and whether it is correspondent to various other groups of youths attending schools and universities, its close examination reveals that the abrupt discontinuation of one's education did not necessarily represent a loss for the Province of Bosna Srebrena. As shown, the majority of the cases presented here eventually concluded with the cleric returning to Bosnia and assuming his role in the everyday life of the Catholic Church in Ottoman Bosnia. The one major exception was clerics who had to suspend their education due to health issues, since almost every recorded case ultimately ended in the cleric's death. Otherwise, the majority of students who left their scholarships on their own accord and those who were expelled (hence judged as unfit for religious life) in the end went back to Bosnia and took up priestly service.

Another noticeable trend is evident in how Bosna Srebrena was often displeased with the long duration of clerics' stays while receiving the scholarship. One of the main reasons why the whole process ultimately resulted in significant improvements to pastoral activities of the Church in Bosnia is visible in the activities of Maksimilijan Vrhovac, the Bishop of Zagreb. At the beginning of the 19th century, it seemed that the funding of Bosnian students would end up in a dead-end street, with the long duration of their stay as one of the main reasons for this. Vrhovac correctly recognised this as an obstacle and consistently advocated shortening the clerics' stays. With his ideas finally accepted in the period after 1810, the whole process became more flexible and more adapted to the various challenges. When Bosnian territory was affected by an outbreak of the plague, the resulting shortage of priests was eased by recalling those clerics who had already studied theology. They would be granted dispensation from further study, which could occur in one of two ways. The first was to send clerics to Vukovar monastery in order for them to complete courses in moral, pastoral and dogmatic theology. The second was to select the more successful students already attending the second or third year of theology and send them back to Bosnia. Either way, it seems that everybody was happy with this kind of solution. Although there are known cases when Bosnian clerics opted not to return home, thus eventually leaving the Order and choosing a different career, none of these cases occurred during the mentioned period of plague.

Considering that even those clerics who were expelled not only served as priests later but also had the chance to be elected to the highest offices within the Province⁶⁷, it is obvious that Bosna Srebrena did not regard the discontinuation

⁶⁷ For example, as already noted, Marko Ostojić, having been expelled in 1801, later became a Provincial (1823-1826) and, in this role, tried to foment improvements in the teaching of Latin

of its clerics' education as a major problem. Hence future research should focus on examining the later careers of these students who were educated through the Foundation of Joseph II and compare them with each other and with those clerics educated elsewhere.

Within the context of the entire scholarship process, it is significant that suspensions of education, especially ones originating from disciplinary issues, are the aspects most represented in sources. The daily routines of those clerics who attended their education regularly remain largely unknown. This indicates differences in mentality and also biases on both sides, representing yet another research challenge.

language in Bosnian monasteries. During Ostojić's mandate, Stjepan Marijanović, another friar formerly educated in Hungary, published the second volume of his grammar book which was adapted according to the methods used in Habsburg Monarchy.

«... we do not need educated farmers». Rural education in Istria 1850-1914

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ABSTRACT: Despite the vast research on peasantry, little is known about traditional society's role on education. The present case study on Istrian male primary education up to the age of fifteen outlines both the role of children within the traditional society as well as the opportunities given to them in the course of basic schooling in the late Habsburg Monarchy. In doing so, it approaches the topic from the traditional society perspective and its living world. By means of records of local authorities held by the National Archive of Rijeka from the 1850s, it was possible to produce a more nuanced idea of traditional society's power to prevent individual progress through education, which would have jeopardised the entire community.

EET/TEE KEYWORDS: History of education; Rural education; Habsburg Monarchy; Istria, XIXth-XXth Centuries.

Introduction

Peasantry in nineteenth-century Istria was characterised by idleness, backwardness and illiteracy – at least from the authority and landowner perspective. From the peasants' own perspective, they were traditional, religious and related to the land they cultivated. Education was not perceived to be necessary either by peasants or landowners. However, authorities sought to take measures to overcome the archaic traditional lifestyle of peasantry.

In recent years, research on peasantry in almost every period has expanded significantly. This ongoing interest might very likely be explained, on the one hand, by the “cohesion” of this family type¹. On the other hand, the rural microcosmos offers several aspects for further and deeper investigation. Existing

¹ M. Mitterauer, *Sozialgeschichte der Familie. Kulturvergleich und Entwicklungsperspektiven*, Vienna, Verein für Geschichte und Sozialkunde & Wilhelm Braumüller Universität-Verlagsbuchhandlung Ges.m.b.H., 2009, p. 13.

research has primarily had two focuses: first, studies on the social structure of the rural households and secondly, research on the qualitative aspect of the rural work². However, although they raise questions about the strategies of the rural livelihood, they hardly focus on the role of education as being key to these strategies. Recently, Nadine Vivier and Socrates Petmezas have offered new insights into the methods the state put in place in terms of rural education for the sake of more prosperous agriculture. Scholars have pointed to the fact that from the nineteenth century onwards, the education of ordinary people and the lower classes became a key concern for states, giving example of Hungary (György Kurucz), Sweden (Anders Nilsson, Lars Pettersson), Italy (Rossano Pazzagli), France (Michel Boulet) and the United Kingdom (Paul Brassley)³.

Regarding Istria, Diana de Rosa reveals the «fights for elementary education» which often failed due to both the poverty of the pupils and the difficult economic conditions of teachers that made them leave the profession⁴. She also points to the rural population's indifferent and hostile attitude towards education and the opposition of the parishes to building and maintaining school buildings. Even though both the state and local authorities recognised the importance of rural education, this by no means meant that farmers accepted it without resistance. Nicola Sheldon addresses this opposition in terms of labourer by analysing the phenomenon of truancy in nineteenth-century Coventry. She concludes that truancy as a means of opposition was the result of both lacking parental care due to occupation and other social factors such as housing and neighbourhood⁵.

Nevertheless, our knowledge of rural life and the rural society as a whole is far from complete. In too many instances, ideas of rural education issues are subject to generalisation. Many aspects such as the significance for and the influence of the traditional lifestyle on children's education are even less known. The present paper seeks to challenge the prevailing image of illiterate nineteenth century-peasants by questioning the underlying motives of the peasantry's opposition to education. By analysing male education opportunities in rural Istrian areas, the topic is approached from a bottom-up perspective. In other words, the paper assesses education through the lens of the traditional rural society's structure. In doing so, the aim is to outline how much the traditional lifestyle, which depended on and was the result of the economic necessity, minimised the willingness of peasants to let their offspring participate

² *Ibid.*, p. 13.

³ N. Vivier (ed.), *The State and Rural Societies. Policy and Education in Europe 1750-2000*, Turnhout, Brepols Publisher, 2008.

⁴ D. De Rosa, *Maestri, scolari e bandiere. La scuola elementare in Istria dal 1814 al 1918*, Udine, Del Bianco Editore, 1998.

⁵ N. Sheldon, *Families in the firing line: prosecutions for truancy in Coventry, 1874-1899*, «Local Population Studies», n. 83, Autumn 2009, pp. 21-38.

in education. It proposes that the values of the traditional society undermined education as an external intruder into their closed existence.

The paper opens with the characterisation of the Istrian peasantry and the idea of the role of education within the rural family, on the basis of attendance lists and certificates of poverty held by the *National Archive in Rijeka*; the second part seeks to discuss the extent to which both societal groups, peasantry and politics, were responsible for the Istrian illiteracy.

1. *Istrian Agricultural Society and Education*

Nineteenth century-Istria was a predominately agricultural region which was, in contrast to the majority of the crownlands, partly still determined by an old-fashion lease system (colonate) after the emancipation in 1848. However, the ecological conditions for effective farming varied within the Magravate. Whereas fertile soil on the coast facilitated mixed agriculture, farmers in the Karst regions could hardly cultivate their land. Floods and droughts along with different plant diseases regularly led to several crop failures⁶. Contemporary agricultural experts such as Carlo Hugues, aware of these differences, discussed the possible transformation of the archaic agriculture into a more progressive one⁷. Their efforts led to several scientific publications and the establishment of the *Stazione Sperimentale Enopomologica* in Istria, which in turn elevated the general awareness of the agricultural challenges in this crownland, however, this did not succeed in its lasting modernisation. The reason for this failure was the strict traditional rural society, whose extent was greater the more remote the area was.

In historical research, peasantry has been analysed by ethnology-anthropological, socio-economic and transnational studies and approaches⁸. The so-called rural society has been understood as a «partial society»; as one that participated in a larger social unity⁹. Partial could also be seen as 'divided', which in turn would construct peasantry as a parallel society with different rights and opportunities, such as in the case of Istrian peasantry in terms of

⁶ Österreichisches Staatsarchiv, Allgemeines Verwaltungsarchiv, Ministerium des Inneren, Präsidiale, document nr. 39100, 23.741-07, 34663-07, 1907; Österreichisches Staatsarchiv, Allgemeines Verwaltungsarchiv, Ministerium des Inneren, Präsidiale, document nr. 19.698, 25.05.1905.

⁷ C. Hugues, *L'Economia Agraria dell'Istria Settentrionale*, Parenzo, Stab. Tipografico G. Coana, 1889.

⁸ J. Myrdal, *Peasants and Rural Societies in History*, in *International Encyclopedia of the Social & Behavioral Sciences*, vol. 17, 2015, Amsterdam, Boston, Heidelberg, London, New York, Oxford, Paris, San Diego, San Francisco, Singapore, Sydney, Tokyo, Elsevier Ltd, pp. 669-675.

⁹ Myrdal, *L'Economia Agraria*, cit., p. 669.

political participation or education¹⁰. Developing this idea of a 'divided society' means that rural participation in the opposite society would be rejected because this 'side of society' did not belong to their living world. This living world has been described by scholars such as Redfield as one with strong values, such as close ties to land, family and community, along with an inherent distrust of the outside world¹¹. Others, like Rihtman-Auguštin and Mendras, argue that such a «simplified view» on peasantry cannot be made uniform for all societies, as there are strong differences in their values¹². Using this scholarly debate as a starting point, the following analysis considers the intrinsic rural aversion towards education to question the possible differences in this attitude and its underlying realities. It is argued that external stimuli were perceived as intruders into the closed existence of the traditional society.

In Istria, the traditional society consisted of peasants in all its 'sub-definitions', such as fishermen or seamen. Research has even suggested that living arrangements in several regions point to the existence of the traditional *zadruga*, an economic cooperation of several families, which indeed constituted an intrinsic pattern of Slavic peasantry which was particularly prevalent in Dalmatia and Croatia-Slavonia¹³. Within the traditional Istrian family, less attention was given to the children's socialisation and mental development because the child's life was closely connected to the daily workflow within the rural household. In fact, there is broad scientific agreement on children's role as a cheap labour-force within the rural economy¹⁴. The Austrian historian Sieder therefore states that a specific «conscious education» of rural children was thus neither provided nor deemed necessary; rather, children had to learn skills, behaviour and ideas by «an immediate experience» within the household and the feudal power relations¹⁵. The familial patriarch's power was limited in families existing under colonate contracts because in those cases the entire peasant family had to subordinate itself to the property owner¹⁶. In other words, a «good family» was one that «work[ed] hard and adhere[d] strictly to (village) norms»¹⁷. The American historian Bell traces in that strict way of living, which required a village's self-sufficiency by proving all necessary support

¹⁰ R.M. Bell, *The Transformation of a Rural Village: Istria, 1870-1972*, «Journal of Social History», vol. 7, 1974, p. 255.

¹¹ R. Redfield, *Peasant society and culture: an anthropological approach to civilization*, Chicago, Cambridge University Press, 1956, pp. 24-25, 140-142.

¹² D. Rihtman-Auguštin, *The model of family in Ethnology and Sociology*, «Revija za sociologiju», vol. 14, 1984, p. 194; H. Mendras, *Seljačke vrijednosti*, «Sociology and Space», vol. 77, 1982, p. 185.

¹³ Bell, *The Transformation*, cit., p. 244.

¹⁴ R. Sieder, *Der Jugendliche in der Familie*, in R. Sieder, M. Mitterauer (edd.), *Vom Patriarchat zur Partnerschaft. Zum Strukturwandel der Familie*, München, Beck, 1991, pp. 126-148.

¹⁵ Sieder, *Der Jugendliche*, cit., p. 131.

¹⁶ P. Meyer, *Zur Lage der Lehnbauern. Ein Beitrag zum Studium der Kolonatsfrage*, «Monatsschrift für christliche Socialreform», vol. 5, 1909, p. 12.

¹⁷ Bell, *The Transformation*, cit., p. 247.

from midwife to blacksmith within this closed world, a principal hindrance to the peasantry entering the modern world¹⁸. In developing this argument, the impermeability of this society in terms of external stimuli led to the hostile stance towards education.

Indeed, by attempting to characterise the rural Istrian family, biographies of their members outline distress and poverty due to crop failures over a long period of the household, with hardly any chance of a better future for the young generation¹⁹. This distress hit both types of rural families, those possessing land and those in feudal structures. Less surprisingly, the level of urgency that resulted from this generally low socioeconomic level primarily considered measures that might ease poverty and hardship. Education was therefore ranked secondary and non-attendance was highest in families with more than five members all occupied in the family economy²⁰. The participation in family and village community and the economy was the principal reason for child truancy. Indeed, rural isolation increased with the decline of agriculture and thus so did the socioeconomic situation. This isolation covered all aspects of life and 'external institutions' such as schools were understood as intruders into the peasants' living world.

Peasantry controlled the degree of 'intrusive education' by the general way that education was promoted in rural families, and the resistance to the state's requirement to send children to school despite the penalty (2 to 10 Crowns) demonstrates how strong this intrusion was felt²¹. Similarly, the analysis of the 1850s attendance registry of the elementary school in Mošćenice reveals how the parental stance towards education made truancy socially acceptable because it occurred within the 'preserved world' of the respective peasant community that judged itself according to its own rules. Of the twenty-three male pupils of ages six to twelve who were registered in this school in 1857, the majority originated from a rural family, followed by mariner and artisan families, and fourteen did not attend school on a regular basis²². Given the principal reasons for non-attendance of these fourteen pupils, negligence and illness, as well as the several absences for working reasons, one may conclude a lack of parental care of both child's wellbeing and (educational) development.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 248.

¹⁹ Državni Arhiv u Rijeci (DAR), Zemaljski sabor Markgrofovije Istre (fond), Klasifikacija 1869-1916, VIII. ŠKOLE I CRKVE, 2. Stipendije i potpore 3. Školski fond, Kutija 110, VIII 2,3, Opći spisi, Certificati di povertà, Sign. 2338/43, 07.10.1870, Sign. 1573, 24.12.1871.

²⁰ Državni Arhiv u Rijeci (DAR), Zemaljski sabor Markgrofovije Istre (fond), Klasifikacija 1869-1916, VIII. ŠKOLE I CRKVE, 2. Stipendije i potpore 3. Školski fond, Kutija 110, VIII 2,3, Opći spisi, Certificati di povertà, Sign. 2338/43, 07.10.1870, Sign. 1573, 24.12.1871.

²¹ De Rosa, *Maestri*, cit., pp. 40-43, 276-278; F. Wiggermann, *K.u.k. Kriegsmarine. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der italienischen Nationalbewegung in Istrien*, Vienna, Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2004, cit., p. 127.

²² DAR, Kotarsko školsko nadzorništvo Kastav, Opća dokumentacija, 1857, HR-DARI-Holding: 890, box nr. JU -221, signature: 111.

However, these reasons are not unexpected because of the principal occupation of parents in this region, namely fishing and small farming on grains, olives and wines. Both economic sectors had to struggle against ecological difficulties and required the absence of parents over a longer period, either for fishing or selling. Bell even describes the economic situation in this area as «little more than self-sufficient» and a surplus was often only possible at the expense of a reduced self-sufficiency²³. The parental absence for working led to the increased invisibility of children in this age group in this region because even the traditional contact and interaction in the child-parent-labour-process did not exist. In 1855, eleven out of twelve rural children did not even receive the final certificate due to their absence of more than five months due to negligence²⁴. Given this situation, Istrian school inspectors in the 1860s, who from 1851 acted as organs of governmental control over the church as school providers, had already identified mothers as the key to ensure that children visited school regularly and recommended the promotion of the education of girls «as future mothers and first teachers of children»²⁵.

On the one hand, this campaign met the educational need for action. On the other hand, it failed to consider that truancy or irregular school attendance was not only the result of the peasants' non-willingness to support children's education, rather it was foremost the result of the socioeconomic reality faced by the peasantry. Given the tense situation, the degree of parental care was limited and child labour necessary. With the reduction of the duration of compulsory education by two years (from fourteen to twelve years), the *Statthaltereien* in Istria (Luogotenenza, Governor's office) met at least partly the need for child labour on the farms²⁶. However, the summer schools remained mandatory to children from thirteen to fifteen²⁷. Again, the obligation was subordinated to the rural need. Records from Rukavac of 1857 show that farmer sons left school earlier to take up employment outside the crownland to support the family financially, or else they missed lessons for occupation at home²⁸. Teachers accepted this absence since they were part of this traditional society and they had to adapt themselves to its values if they wanted to keep their occupation²⁹.

²³ Bell, *The Transformation*, cit., p. 244.

²⁴ DAR, Holding, Kotarsko školsko nadzorništvo Kastav, Opća dokumentacija, 1855, HR-DARI- 890, box nr. JU -221, signature, 116.

²⁵ De Rosa, *Maestri*, cit., p. 198.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 198.

²⁷ A. Ritter Klodic von Sabladoski, *Zur Geschichte des Schulwesens in Görz und Gradisca*, Vienna, Fromme, 1902, p. 7.

²⁸ DAR, Holding, Kotarsko školsko nadzorništvo Kastav, Opća dokumentacija, 1857, HR-DARI- 890, box nr. JU -221, signature: 120.

²⁹ M. Papathanassiou, *Zwischen Arbeit, Spiel und Schule: die ökonomische Funktion der Kinder ärmerer Schichten in Österreich 1880-1939*, Vienna, Verlag für Geschichte und Politik, München, Oldenbourg, 1999, p. 242.

The intrinsic role of tradition and customs thus constituted one of the major causes of the rural refusal of education. The prevailing view on the educational function of family tradition even affected agricultural lessons³⁰. In 1861, school inspectors indeed revealed how effectively farmers prevented any lessons aimed at demonstrating to children a contemporary approach to different agricultural production methods such as silkworm breeding³¹. There is much reason to believe that the parental resistance consisted of the simple prohibition of the children's attendance. Such persistent opposition might very likely be the reason for the comparatively low number of agricultural lessons at elementary schools in the Littoral. Less than ten percent of the schools offered agricultural lessons, such as orcharding, silkworm breeding or general agricultural lessons³². In other words, the «societal claim for education» as outlined by Engelbrecht not only had less to no meaning for Istrian peasantry but also excluded any external attempt to improve agricultural production³³. Furthermore, the extremely low share of agricultural lessons in a rural region confirms the significance of the rural world as an untouchable institution where lifestyle, culture and traditions were passed on from one generation to the next as a legacy – something that 'external doctrines' could not outweigh, but by contrast rather thwart.

The extent to which education was considered an intruder varied according to the degree of the traditionality and economic status of the peasantry which was, in economically more advanced regions near to urban spaces where private space was even opened to foreigners when houses were rent to finance school visits, lower than in the hinterland³⁴. Therefore, urban vicinity had the potential to change attitudes, not least because of the peasantry's economic dependency on urban markets and their potency in boosting agricultural improvements to meet the sales market's need. Indeed, contemporary agronomists such as Hugues point to the «stimulating effect» of Trieste on the agriculture from «Muggia to Salvore»³⁵. This in turn demonstrates that the rejection of education was not only the result of parental educational status but also of the economic development of the respective household. In fact, an analysis of so-called certificates of

³⁰ G. Strakosch-Grassmann, *Geschichte des österreichischen Unterrichtswesens*, Vienna, Pichler's, 1905, p. 310; A. Filipuzzi, *Istruzione pubblica*, in *I problemi dell'amministrazione austriaca nel Lombardo-Veneto. Atti del convegno di Conegliano organizzato in collaborazione con l'Associazione Italia-Austria. 20-23 Settembre 1979*, Comune di Conegliano, 1981, p. 215.

³¹ DAR, Holding, Kotarsko školsko nadzorništvo Kastav, Opća dokumentacija, 1861, HR-DARI- 890, box nr. JU -221, signature: 127, 24.05.1861.

³² Der landwirthschaftliche Unterricht an Volksschulen und die landwirthschaftlichen Fortbildungsschulen. Nach dem Stande zu Ende März 1875, Vienna, Gerold, 1876, p. 14.

³³ H. Engelbrecht, *Geschichte des österreichischen Bildungswesens: Erziehung und Unterricht auf dem Boden Österreichs*, Vol. 4: *Von 1848 bis zum Ende der Monarchie*, Vienna, Österreichischer Bundesverlag, 1986, p. 20.

³⁴ Državni Arhiv u Rijeci (DAR), Zemaljski sabor Markgrofovije Istre (fond), Klasifikacija 1869-1916, VIII. ŠKOLE I CRKVE, 1. Odbori i gradnje, Kutija 120, VIII 1, Opći spisi, Sign. 4586, 14.12.1874.

³⁵ Hugues, *L'Economia Agraria*, cit., p. 21.

poverty, which were necessary to receive a public grant, reveals that applicants proximate to urban spaces recognised the importance of education for a more prosperous future to «become one day a brilliant member of the town»³⁶. Such a development was also discernible in other regions. In Lombardia, for instance, the census in 1861 revealed the lowest illiteracy rate in Lombardia of Veneto and the national mean with only 42 percent. Filipuzzi traces the reasons for this in the more rational agriculture as well as the upcoming industry, which positively affected Lombardian society in contrast to Venezia/Veneto, where the «reserved and selfish» peasants opposed education³⁷. In Istria, the fear of rural exodus to urban spaces due to the pulling effect of education in particular influenced peasantry's rejection of education in remote areas.

2. Rural Illiteracy and its Root Causes

The basis of the education of the rural population was the primary education, which was divided into two periods, that one of the general schooling act (*Allgemeine Schulordnung*) from 1774 and the political schooling constitution from 1805. The latter finally led to the *Reichsvolksschulgesetz* of 1869 which defined the relations of the school to the church³⁸. This last step was the starting point for the reformation of the educational system in the Monarchy. Primary schools were now free of charge and organised by the parish³⁹. This development, which limited the church's former influence on public education, eventually led to its resistance⁴⁰. However, not only the church but the parishes too struggled with their new responsibilities, specifically in terms of the financing of school buildings; notably, Istria could not impose new taxes for educational purposes due to the poverty of the population⁴¹. This hit the primarily rural (Slav) population because, as the Austrian historian Wiggermann correctly states, the upper classes of Croats paid «for Italian education», or in other words they paid for being educated in Italian language and culture rather than in Croatian ones⁴². The re-organisation of the primary school system in the Monarchy led to an increase of school attendance in all crownlands not least because of a

³⁶ See for instance: Državni Arhiv u Rijeci (DAR), Zemaljski sabor Markgrofovije Istre (fond), Klasifikacija 1869-1916, VIII. ŠKOLE I CRKVE, 1. Odbori i gradnje, Kutija 120, VIII 1, Opći spisi, Sign. 4586, 14.12.1874.

³⁷ Filipuzzi, *Istruzione pubblica*, cit., pp. 214-215.

³⁸ R. Leitner, *Die Entwicklung des landwirtschaftlichen Ausbildungswesens im Herzogtum Kärnten*, Master Thesis, Department of History (Supervisor: unknown), University of Graz, Academic Year 2002, p. 3.

³⁹ Sabladowski, *Zur Geschichte des Schulwesens*, cit., pp. 5-6.

⁴⁰ De Rosa, *Maestri*, cit., p. 236.

⁴¹ Id., *Maestri*, cit., p. 188; Wiggermann, *K.u.k. Kriegsmarine*, cit., p. 125.

⁴² *Ibid.*

stricter surveillance of the attendance rate by means of school inspectors than ever before⁴³. Even in Istria, the number of pupils who attended school regularly had increased already between 1869 and 1870 by 13 percent, and the overall attendance rate of the Littoral climbed by almost thirty percent⁴⁴. Nevertheless, the illiteracy rate remained high, with more than half of the Istrian population unable to read and write⁴⁵.

Illiteracy thus characterised nineteenth century-Istria and there is reason to assume that neither peasantry nor political decision-makers exerted themselves effectively to alter this situation. By contrast, for peasantry, as has been shown in the previous chapter, the principal grounds for refusal of education had always been linked to economic necessity⁴⁶. Both child labour and lacking parental care may easily be attributed to the primacy farming enjoyed compared to interpersonal relationships. This parental approach to education in terms of the lower classes has been discussed by Hanisch and likeminded scholars, who argue that the reduced importance of education within these social groups is the result of the missing promotion prospects⁴⁷. In addition, historians such as Vivier have highlighted the fact that it was not only parents but conservative landowners too who opposed changes in rural education because they wanted children to learn by practice in the fields and not in schools⁴⁸. Given the general economic situation in nineteenth century-Istria, such opposition is comprehensible, particularly as education would have encouraged children to think independently, thus threatening their acceptance of the traditional values and way of life. However, labour modified children's idea of the function of school as an institution where they could escape farm duties. Papathanassiou therefore convincingly claims that the idea that the enforcement of schooling would lead to an overload of the children can even be expanded, since children had already reached their performance limit long before the implementation of the *Reichvolksschulgesetz* in 1869⁴⁹.

Secondly, illiteracy was the result of political decision-making and responsibilities. The interpretation of and compliance with existing laws, particularly the establishment of new schools, the salary of teachers, and the language of instruction led to a lack of schools and advanced the nationality

⁴³ C. Donnermair, *Die staatliche Übernahme des Primarschulwesens im 19. Jahrhundert: Maßnahmen und Intentionen. Vergleich Frankreich – Österreich*, Doctoral Dissertation, Master Thesis, Department of History (Supervisor: Wolfgang Schmale), University of Vienna, Academic Year 2010, p. 212.

⁴⁴ Strakosch-Grassmann, *Geschichte des österreichischen Unterrichtswesens*, cit., p. 312.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

⁴⁶ Cf. for instance footnote 19, 20, p. 4.

⁴⁷ E. Hanisch, *Arbeiterkindheit in Österreich vor dem Ersten Weltkrieg*, «Internationales Archiv für Sozialgeschichte der deutschen Literatur», n. 7, 1982, pp. 109-147.

⁴⁸ Vivier, *The State and Rural Societies*, cit., p. 27.

⁴⁹ Papathanassiou, *Ökonomische Funktion*, cit., p. 256.

conflict in Istria⁵⁰. These conflicts in terms of the language of instruction and the children's right to be taught in their mother tongue led to several interpellations and political disputes. Educational policy was, as Wiggermann rightly argued, «power politics»⁵¹. In other words, the weaker the respective population group in terms of representation and economic influence was, the more they failed to enforce their rights. The Croatian peasantry, furthermore, was not 'greedy' for education nor politically sufficiently active to recognise the stabilising effect of mother tongue lessons on the Croatian nationality building process, due to its general living conditions. In fact, specifically in different Croatian regions of the Littoral, the number of Croatian speaking teachers was insufficient to meet the actual need, which was the result of the poor education of teachers. Until 1917, there was only one private Croatian-speaking college of education in Pazin⁵². Therefore, because of the lack of Croatian-speaking examined teachers, Croatian pupils were forced to attend Italian- or German-speaking schools, where they were frequently unable to follow the lessons due to lacking language skills. Local politicians were aware of the tense situation and permitted school leaving examinations at colleges of education⁵³. Contemporary discussions of authors on the significance and the quality of language education among teachers, however, did clearly differentiate between pupils who were prepared to progress to high schools and those who «were drilled to become a peasant»⁵⁴. Such an attitude not only mirrors the general stance of the 'educated elite' towards peasantry but also demonstrates the divided idea of education. However, peasants themselves contributed to such a division by their hostile stance towards progress in general and education in particular. Indeed, evidence reveals that, for instance, Slavic parents themselves were frequently unable to agree on the language of instruction when it came to the voting at the school committee, even though the 'language of use' was a Slavic one⁵⁵. Put differently, rural disagreement on basic issues of education and consequently the self-awareness of the own class did make the peasantry prey to societal ignorance.

Finally and less surprisingly, the landowners, the most powerful societal group in Istria due to their entanglement in both the economic and political spheres, opposed the education of the peasantry, however, there is little evidence that their influence was strong enough to prevent the broader literacy of rural population. In a 1909 report on the colonate question, the General Secretary

⁵⁰ Wiggermann, *K.u.k. Kriegsmarine*, cit., pp. 123-125.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p. 122.

⁵² ÖStA, Privat LBA in Mitterburg, box 2895, AVA, Unterricht allg. (1848-1940), VS und HS: Bukowina, Dalmatien, Krain, Küstenland, Lombardei, Schlesien, Ungarn, Militärgrenze, 13-B2, document nr. 627/3-17, 26.07.1917/30.07.1917.

⁵³ *Ibid.*

⁵⁴ Unknown, *Zur Lage*, «Österreichische Lehrerzeitung», vol. 7, 1895, p. 13.

⁵⁵ Wiggermann, *K.u.k. Kriegsmarine*, cit., p. 125.

of the Federation of Agricultural Cooperatives, Pius Meyer, even outlined that the landowner would prohibit rural children's school attendance because, according to them, «[they] do not need educated peasants»⁵⁶. However, not only was the Federation's principal interest to offer peasantry a shield against usury and loan providers and its bias therefore evident, but also Meyer did not provide the reader with a more nuanced idea of the number of landowners who shared this opinion. Hence, there is no knowledge of whether this is a single or collective view, which makes the weighting of this judgement impossible. Nevertheless, there is hard evidence that underlines the landowners' role of the education's poor development because of their stance to provide their own children with private lessons instead of financing public schools with their tax payments. Some historians have even suggested this attitude as the principal reason for the high illiteracy rate in rural areas which, however, must be doubted because existing evidence rather points to the interplay of different aspects⁵⁷. In particular, the wait-and-see-attitude of the authorities did not support a broad public education. If penalties for non-attendance had been enforced more efficiently and if authorities had not waited for the rural population's understanding of the significance of education, the situation would have been much more in favour of the rural youth⁵⁸.

Conclusion

In the decades immediately prior to the First World War, more than seventy percent of Istrians were in agriculture, and the significance of this economic sector for the crownland should not be underestimated⁵⁹. However, due to the partly existing old-fashioned and archaic lease system (colonate), along with ecological conditions, the crownland's agriculture became largely unprofitable and neither modernisation nor the development of this sector occurred as required. At the centre of the negative aspects that damaged Istrian agriculture was the illiteracy of the peasantry as a result of the traditional society's rejection of external stimuli on their living world.

This paper has examined the topic of the significance of rural social living worlds in economically backward crownlands in the late Habsburg Monarchy on education. Through the example of the Istrian peasantry's attitude to external influence on their closed existence, it has been demonstrated how their established social order was able to determine the attendance rate and

⁵⁶ Meyer, *Kolonatsfrage*, cit., p. 13.

⁵⁷ Filipuzzi, *Istruzione pubblica*, cit., p. 216.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 214.

⁵⁹ N. del Bello, *La Provincia dell'Istria. Studi economici*, Capodistria, Cobol & Priora, p. 13.

finally the crownland's literacy. By analysing the Istrian peasantry from their perspective and by examining the role of different stakeholder groups, namely peasants, (Istrian) political decision-makers and landowners, it became evident that, strictly speaking, the illiteracy was the result of the rural socioeconomic responsibility towards the entire community they belonged to. To put it differently, the impermeability of this society, which resulted from the common dependency and 'bondage' on traditions, shaped the general view on education. The 'traditional law' undermined a broader literacy and subsequently the modernisation of agriculture. The potential of the methodological approach of living worlds to reveal the peasantry's seclusion from the external world and the creation of bogymen such as education, which was perceived to have the potential to thin out their class by offering new perspectives outside of traditional society, should not be underestimated for future research. Thus, this paper has been able to contribute to existing findings by de Rosa and others, who have already pointed to the hostile stance of peasantry towards education, by offering a more nuanced idea of their underlying motivations.

Personal maturation through learning

Upbringing and early education in the selected 19th Century Croatian memoirs*

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ABSTRACT: The idea that the memoirs and autobiographies provide us with a specific point of view and therefore present unique types of historical sources has long been debated. As they present first-person narratives on someone's past, investigating them can clarify and fill in the often colourless variety of historical data. The basis for the research at hand are five narratives dealing with this subject, namely by Imbro Tkalac, Juraj Matija Šporer, Mijat Stojanović, Ljudevit Gaj and Dragojla Jarnević. Although the accounts here investigated should be handled with great care, since they are almost always intertwined with the authors' ideals, aspirations and other characteristic first-person data, a sound comparative approach can yield important results and provide a closer perspective of the life of children and youth in the first half of the 19th century.

EET/TEE ABSTRACT: History of education; Memoirs; Comparative approach; Croatia; XIXth Century.

Introduction. Reading the Memoirs

Human memory is not a narrative. The events we live through and experience remain in our self-consciousness only in disconnected traces. Evoking these is a process of shaping a story based on individual pieces of memory, which need to be rearranged in a logical temporal order and located precisely in space. As it is often impossible to reconstruct what happened a day ago, or even pinpoint the exact time the rain started today, so it is even harder to describe one's life in form of a memoir. The form of narrations, which we will encounter in this paper, are «first-person life accounts in letters, diaries, personal journals, memoirs and

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autobiographies which report and comment on experience, ventilate feeling, and express self-knowledge»¹. In terms of autobiographical accounts, early life seems particularly difficult to convey to the listeners or readers of the narrative. However, story-telling about one's own childhood and youth is not as problematic as understanding what was modified, embellished and invented. Even more, these alterations in the self-narratives often occur unconsciously, implying layers of truthful, partially truthful and false information.

Our interest in memoirs here, those of Croatian intellectuals who lived through their childhood in the first half of the 19th century, lays primarily in extracting those individual experiences and, somewhat similar to memoir-writing process itself, reorder them; compare and evaluate information in an attempt to create a clearer picture of children's life and education of the period. Each of the memoirs here investigated presents us with a variety of recollections dealing with children's everyday activities and early education, often sharing similar descriptions and comments on these *topoi*. This fact stems from the common environment which the authors shared and which constitutes the basis of these narratives. On the other hand, the aesthetic (genre conventions) or ethical (social norms) reasons, apart from actual differences in the authors' childhoods, condition the manner in which they conveyed their experience to the audience². Furthermore, the visual and emotional character of childhood memories necessarily stands somewhat in tension with language, which works as a barrier for transmitting these early individual experiences³. Yet another notion needs introduction here, as memories necessarily stem from personal experience, making them susceptible to psychological processes which filter and alter what the individual perceives as his own memory. This is especially true of memories of childhood. These alterations happen usually in adolescence, and are connected to prevailing cultural norms, and, more importantly, to popular knowledge of the period in which the childhood was set⁴. In other words, historical events are often present in one's memory as a guiding narrative, although the political situation, economic or cultural developments mattered little for the young person, whose life we are reading or listening about.

¹ G.J. Clifford, *Home and School in 19th Century America: Some Personal-History Reports from the United States*, «History of Education Quarterly», vol. 18, n. 1, 1978, p. 4.

² F. Hameršak, *Tamna strana Marsa. Hrvatska autobiografija i Prvi svjetski rat*, Zagreb, Naklada Ljevak, 2013, p. 100. Although Hameršak focuses on the autobiographical accounts of the First World War, his theoretical basis covers most of the literary theory, making his work interdisciplinary in full sense, and practicly unavoidable when dealing with this form of literature.

³ M. Hernández, *A Childhood Memory: Time, Place and Subjective Experience*, «MLN», vol. 105, n. 2, 1990, pp. 321-322.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 321, 323-324. The author aims (quite successfully) to incorporate Freud's psychoanalytical approach into historiographical research. Although of importance for this paper and reading of memoirs, such interdisciplinary approach falls out of scope, and should only be taken into consideration.

After these basic remarks on the character of memory and autobiographic accounts, and before we endeavour to read the memoirs at hand as historical sources, a historian's view on the subject should be outlined. Writing of his own childhood and youth, a historian remarked:

It is impossible to collect the scattered memories. Many of them have slipped into invisible hideouts of brain's 'corner of memory', escaping forever from uncomfortable and merciless reality. Some have drowned in a swamp of forgetfulness, some evaporated in the mist of life. Death of memories is one of numerous *deaths/disappearances* which affect a man before he disappears himself⁵.

The elusive character of memory and the writings based on it, should by no means discourage historiographical research. On the contrary, some attempts have been made in Croatian historiographic community at utilizing them in order to further our understanding of the school system and child's experience of it. This practice is particularly necessary in cases like the Croatian one, since informal and individual education played a major role in early schooling until the second half of the 19th century⁶. As we shall see, these autobiographic accounts can elucidate aspects of human life, particularly education and private life of young individuals, which, as a rule, take up virtually no space in official administrative documentation.

In autobiographical accounts, which will be our focus, the authors deliver their childhood experiences and views on early education. The common denominator for these accounts is the period in which they occurred, namely the first three decades of the 19th century, and a common milieu and educational framework. Although still a preindustrial environment, Croatian lands within the Habsburg Monarchy experienced implementation of compulsory schooling already in the second half of the 18th century, making it an unavoidable part of memoir content. Formal schooling, as envisioned through the educational policies of the Habsburg Monarchy, was obligatory for all children⁷. This

⁵ M. Bertoša, *Kruh, mašta & mast: prizori i memorabilije o staroj Puli 1947-1957*, Zagreb, Durieux, 2007, p. 11.

⁶ The poor economic conditions of the educational staff and an underdeveloped school system were the prime reasons for the intense presence of various forms of private education. An example of research on this topic with focus on autobiographical accounts is: V. Švoger, *On the role of informal education in 19th century Croatia*, «Review of Croatian History», vol. 13, n. 1, 2017, pp. 79-102.

⁷ See: I. Horbec, V. Švoger, *Školstvo kao politicum: Opći školski red iz 1774.*, «Anali za povijest odgoja», vol. 9, 2010, pp. 5-47. The authors emphasise the secular character which compulsory education takes in this period, rather than ecclesiastical, although the state aimed to provide an elementary school for each parish – an ecclesiastical administrative unit. As a result, education was focused on practical knowledge, rather than moral philosophy; instead of Latin, living languages were preferred as subjects. This topic is also covered by: M. Ivanković, *O obrazovanju i odgoju na području Banske Hrvatske na temelju narativnih izvora iz druge polovine XVIII. i početkom XIX. stoljeća*, «Anali za povijest odgoja», vol. 10, 2011, pp. 71-81. See also: J. Van Horn Melton, *Absolutism and the Eighteenth-Century Origins of Compulsory Schooling in Prussia and Austria*,

educational system highly varied in quality and depended on many factors, primarily of a material nature. For instance, many children in – still prevailing – rural areas, were engaged in seasonal agricultural works, rather than attending school. Nevertheless, the school system provided the pupils with a certain sense of common belonging, identity and values, which often harmonized their view on experiences from the earliest days of school.

Imbro Ignjatijević Tkalac (1824-1912) is the author of probably the most elaborate autobiography among those we will here investigate. Titled *Youth Reminiscences from Croatia*⁸, it covers the period before his birth, which presents a family history of sorts. Then he covers his early days as a school boy and the years he spent in Croatia thereafter. By the time he finished his autobiography in 1894 (originally in the German language and entitled *Jugenderinnerungen aus Kroatien*), Tkalac was renowned as a polyglot, publisher, and a liberal. In this last sense he experienced first-hand frictions with the Habsburg regime. Once he had taught himself to read, Tkalac spent his early days mostly in the company of books; «Self-confident Tkalac never fails to remind us that his knowledge was a product of his own talents, interests and efforts»⁹ – already showing the loose character of education and, more importantly, a strong hint to what he may have added to his childhood experiences afterwards.

Perhaps the most interesting and sincere personal accounts are those of Dragojla Jarnević (1812-1875), contained in her *Diary*¹⁰. Jarnević had industriously kept record of her everyday activities, emotions and thoughts for over four decades, and decided to keep them away from public eyes for ten years after her death¹¹. The diary itself is not in focus of our interest, but the foreword by the author is, since it is a form of memoir, dealing primarily with her adolescence; i.e. a time prior to the writing of diary. The fact that the *Diary* was confidential, makes the memories in it untainted by any forms of censorship or satisfaction of social norms. The reader is presented with the first-hand experience of an emotionally sophisticated and intellectually capable

Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1988, p. XIII. The author argues that Central European educational practices (in the Habsburg Monarchy and Prussia) predated those in Western Europe in terms of compulsory education being implemented long before industrialization processes. For the legislative and administrative sources see: A. Cuvaj, *Grada za povijest školstva*, Zagreb, Tisak Kraljevske zemaljske tiskare, 1910, Vol. 2; I. Horbec, M. Matasović, V. Švoger (edd.), *Zakonodavni okvir stvaranja modernog školstva u Hrvatskoj (18. i 19. stoljeće)*, Zagreb, Hrvatski institut za povijest, 2017. For elementary schools of the period of interest see: Cuvaj, *Grada za povijest školstva*, cit., pp. 160-192, 212-315.

⁸ I. Ignjatijević Tkalac, *Uspomene iz Hrvatske (1749.-1823., 1824.-1843.)*, Zagreb, Matica hrvatska, 1945.

⁹ A. Feldman, *Imbro Ignjatijević Tkalac: Europsko iskustvo hrvatskog liberala 1824-1912*, Zagreb, Antibarbarus, 2012, p. 35.

¹⁰ D. Jarnević, *Dnevnik*, Karlovac, Matica hrvatska, 2000.

¹¹ D. Detoni-Dujmić, *Dragojla Jarnević ili diskurs o tuzi*, «Radovi Leksikografskog zavoda "Miroslav Krleža". Razdio za društvene i humanističke znanosti», vol. 4, 1995, pp. 152-153.

woman – certainly scandalous literature for the conservative, patriarchal males of the Croatian 19th century!

*Adventures and Troubles of My Life*¹², an autobiography by Mijat Stojanović (1818-1881), was written in the 1860's, and was published as a monograph with critical introduction and historical commentary in 2015. His background is of importance for understanding the character of his writings, since he was born to a poor family, unlike the other four authors in our focus. In this sense it will provide us with a perspective from the lower strata of the society, which will allow us to compare his childhood experience with those of the other authors, through which we will get a sense of the manner in which social differences reflected on education and upbringing. His autobiography presents «material usable by historians investigating oral history, educational history, history of literature, [...] history of reading, history of family, childhood history, history of emotions, history of remembering»¹³.

The remaining two memoirs which will be analysed in this paper, were published in a monograph by Vinko Brešić, *The Autobiographies of Croatian Writers*¹⁴. The first of these I will address is by Ljudevit Gaj (1809-1872), under the title *My Historical Abstract*, and written in 1851-1852¹⁵. Being the father of the Illyrian movement, a prolific writer and reformer of the Croatian alphabetic system, Gaj was a public and political person of great influence. This, however, only hindered his capability to think and write of his own past, especially as he was often thought to be both a narcissistic and very charismatic person. Antun Mažuranić, Croatian linguist, writer, grammarian and Gaj's contemporary, attributed him with «unspeakable desire for glory and greatness»¹⁶. Therefore, his autobiography should be treated with particular caution.

Finally, Juraj Matija Šporer's (1795-1884) autobiography, *Echo from the Past*, was written in 1863¹⁷, and to a larger extent deals with his youth reminiscences. As a physician in his later life, he abstained from political activity, although he acted in the line of Croatian national awakening in his earlier life, aiming to publish the first newspaper in the national language in 1818, under the title *Oglasnik Ilirski* (Illyrian Herald)¹⁸. Apart from being valuable for our analysis in terms of covering the topic at hand, his autobiography contains a self-conscious commentary on the character of memoirs, providing us with a sense of contemporary view on this literary form. At the beginning of his writing, Šporer states that «Autobiographies are mirrors, so we can reflect on

¹² M. Stojanović, *Sgode i nesgode moga života*, Slavonski Brod, Hrvatski institut za povijest – Podružnica za povijest Slavonije, Srijema i Baranje, 2015.

¹³ D. Župan, *Stojanovićeve „Zgode i nezgode“*, in Stojanović, *Sgode i nesgode moga života*, cit., p. XI.

¹⁴ V. Brešić, *Autobiografije hrvatskih pisaca*, Zagreb, AGM, 1997.

¹⁵ Lj. Gaj, *Vjekopisni moj nacrtak*, in Brešić, *Autobiografije hrvatskih pisaca*, cit., pp. 130-141.

¹⁶ M. Šicel, *Ljudevit Gaj, književnik: da ili ne?*, «Hrvatsko Zagorje», vol. 5, n. 2, 1999, p. 26.

¹⁷ J.M. Šporer, *Odziv iz prošlosti*, in Brešić, *Autobiografije hrvatskih pisaca*, cit., pp. 25-128.

¹⁸ Z. Črnja, *Kulturna povijest Hrvatske*, Opatija, Otokar Krešovani, 1988, p. 60.

ourselves, and make sure that something is improved and adorned, or that some stains are mopped»¹⁹. This individual understanding of self-reflecting accounts is a unique acknowledgement of one's limits and intentional or unintentional interventions in the memoir-writing process.

1. *Images of Childhood and Early Education*

The authors of the above-introduced memoirs belonged to the same – loosely defined – generation, growing up and gaining their first educational experiences in the continental parts of the Croatian lands. The geographical and chronological key here should serve to provide us with a basis for a comparative approach to these autobiographies, but, more importantly, the *topoi* they touch upon are frequent confirmation of their shared cultural and social environment. Far from being uniform, the educational system sometimes produced contradictory commentary. Nevertheless it is more common that we witness synchronized negative attitudes towards certain elements of the system. Such is the case with school teachers and educational staff.

As we have seen earlier, living languages became an important part of modernizing the school system; a pupil was expected to learn primarily the German language in order to become a functioning link in the state apparatus. However, the situation in schools and among the teaching staff, and this was the case especially in the periphery, left a lot to be desired. Perhaps the most obvious example of this issue comes from Tkalac's memory of his early education, which was, fortunately for him, mostly private. He was taught German by an army officer at first, and later by an educated private gardener, who took to teaching Tkalac irregular verbs even before the child had experienced his first days of school. Tkalac however, always eager to emphasize his thirst for knowledge, did not regret this early education. On the contrary, he ironically recollects upon the German language teachers in school, whose knowledge of the language did not include what he had already grasped: «All these are things [German grammar] I would have never learned later in school, because my teachers knew virtually nothing on the subject»²⁰.

Not everyone was so fortunate as to have private teachers. Stojanović, for instance, was of poor descent, and his pre-school days were not enriched by strivings for early education. As he started attending school, he felt the full weight of the teachers' incompetence and unenviable knowledge of pedagogical methods. Apart from the poor state of the school building and classrooms themselves, a fact which is a recurring trope in these autobiographies, teachers

¹⁹ Šporer, *Odziv iz prošlosti*, cit., p. 25.

²⁰ Tkalac, *Uspomene iz Hrvatske*, cit., pp. 87-89.

were «foreigners, real punishers. The youth was raised and educated by a rod and fist»²¹. As the teaching staff often refused to communicate in the mother tongue of the children, we can only assume the effectiveness of the curriculum. Jarnević confirms these notions almost to the letter: «The state of classrooms was at the time still poor, and what was taught, was in German language»²². All of the curriculum materials were left unexplained and, what was the usual case among those who could afford it or find the time, were covered in private environment or self-education. As his teacher treated Stojanović particularly badly, which caused young Mijat to tremble with fear in his presence, he again felt the worst aspects of the educational system. The teacher's methods resulted in a poor level of education and caused the following: «attending the school for three years, I still could not read, let alone calculate, my handwriting was nasty and sloppy for awe and hearsay»²³. It would be wrong to assume that this teacher's skills equipped Stojanović's colleagues with a notably better education.

For those who possessed the means of decent teaching – meaning if they grasped basic content knowledge through channels other than the official school system – it became a rule to utilize this knowledge in the classroom. Therefore, it would be wrong to assume that Gaj spoke only Croatian until well into the first years of elementary school, as he claims in his autobiography²⁴. This assertion of speaking the mother tongue obviously stems from his political orientation at the time he wrote his memoirs. Furthermore, Gaj's family did not originate in Hrvatsko Zagorje, where he was born. Rather, his mother was an ethnic German²⁵. Therefore, the idea of young Ljudevit's patriotic upbringing was probably a product of his political thought later in life. Furthermore, what makes Gaj's claims highly improbable, is the poor state and non-uniformity of the Croatian language in the period – a fact which would certainly discourage his parents from insisting on its exclusive practice. Šporer addresses this topic in his autobiography, and, apart from giving similar remarks on the quality of public education, adds that the language spoken among the people of Croatia was a mixture of German, Hungarian and Slavic languages²⁶. The state intervention in education had, therefore, an important task in unifying not only the system of practical knowledge for its subjects, but also the language spoken among them. Speaking in short terms, it failed; not only did the pupils, after learning German in elementary school, arrive in gymnasiums or other types of

²¹ M. Stojanović, *Sgode i nesgode moga života*, in Brešić, *Autobiografije hrvatskih pisaca*, cit., p. 154.

²² Jarnević, *Dnevnik*, cit., p. 9.

²³ Stojanović, *Sgode i nesgode moga života*, cit., p. 49.

²⁴ Gaj, *Vjekopisni moj nacrtak*, cit., p. 133.

²⁵ E. Murray Despalatović, *Ljudevit Gaj and the Illyrian Movement*, New York-London, Columbia University Press, 1975, p. 31.

²⁶ Šporer, *Odziv iz prošlosti*, cit., pp. 28-29.

high schools with little or no knowledge of the language²⁷, they were also the targets of teacher's frustrations, poor pedagogical skills and lack of educational means, making private forms of education a much more desirable option.

The scope of the problem of implementing secular state education system becomes visible when we examine the role of the Church in schooling. At the end of the 18th century the composition of the teachers' cadre consisted almost exclusively of the clergy, which retained its important position in public and private education, even after the intense secular politics of the contemporary Habsburg court. This situation had a strong influence on Šporer's memories of his childhood, and reflections upon clerical pedagogy and teaching often occur in his autobiography. As a part of young Matija's life, holy confession was an obligatory practice for him and his colleagues, which, as he vividly narrates, often spurred anxiety for him personally. In his view as an adult, this practice presented a form of a violent intrusion into a child's privacy²⁸. It is interesting to note that in presenting us with these emotional reminiscences, Šporer probably incorporated his later psychological frictions regarding the issue of the holy confession into the memories of his early school days, as he practiced confession on a regular basis even as he grew up. Namely, at an age of twelve, he fell sick and was treated by a young girl, to whom he was attracted to and developed feelings for²⁹. Perhaps his notion of priestly injustice stems from this experience, for which he felt the need to confess and in fact did confess, rather than the earlier years of his childhood.

First encounters with educational practice outside of parental upbringing were also mediated by clergy for Imbro Tkalac. He attended the school governed by the Franciscans in Karlovac, confirming in his memoirs that the role of the clergy was essential for the functioning of the whole educational system. The method used by these clerical teachers, however, is again described as backward, their knowledge poor and based on Latin language to a great extent, which again caused a lack of communication in the classrooms. On the other hand, Tkalac's often ironical narrative was sometimes aimed at the clergy. At this point he does not ascribe very pejorative characteristics to it, at least no more than he ascribes to the capability of secular teachers³⁰. For Ljudevit Gaj experiences gained through communication with priests and friars of the Franciscan monastery in Krapina, also present the first educational practices he encountered. In his short narrative, lacking in many details of his childhood memories, Gaj introduces his first teacher, a priest, by the name of Evgenije Rebić. Furthermore, the emphasis on the clerical role in transmitting

²⁷ Tkalac, *Uspomene iz Hrvatske*, cit., p. 158.

²⁸ Šporer, *Odziv iz prošlosti*, cit., pp. 27-28.

²⁹ *Ibid.* On the notion of memory formation during the adolescence, primarily referring to Sigmund Freud's work, see: Hernández, *A Childhood Memory: Time, Place and Subjective Experience*, cit., pp. 323-324.

³⁰ Tkalac, *Upomene iz Hrvatske*, cit., pp. 142-146.

knowledge in a broader sense comes from the episode of Gaj's memoir that describes his orderly visits to the Franciscan monastery in his home town. He spent time there in order to visit the monastery's library and investigate the 'real' history behind the legends he listened to as a little child³¹.

These stories and legends of ancient Slavic heroes, which were told by an old servant of Gaj's family, by the name Mateuš³², represent a part of his familial upbringing, which is an aspect of childhood exclusively described in a positive light by all the authors whose memoirs we are examining here. Dragojla Jarnević describes her upbringing as being endowed with the virtues of «patriotism, honesty and love for one's neighbour»³³. The phrase from Biblical motive «Love thy neighbour» obviously indicates firm Christian identity which Dragojla's family cherished, and which apparently remained a part of her own psychological profile in later life. Šporer states that his upbringing was «remarkable and full of love, but also surrounded with many-a-prejudice»³⁴. In a very similar fashion, but elaborating a little longer, Stojanović cherishes a memory of a loving mother, but also indicates the poor intellectual state of his parents:

I was raised very simply. Nor did my parents know how, nor did they have the time to develop my intellect uprightly, ennoble my heart and will, as it should be, nor did they know how to teach me of things which surrounded me [...]. Only did my mother by word and example implant fear of God into my young heart³⁵.

These, usually somewhat idealized memories of childhood are present in Tkalac's recollections as well; he claims his mother nursed and raised his brother in accordance to principles introduced by J.J. Rousseau. His governess taught him Italian and French languages utilizing modern educational methods, and as a young boy he was equipped with many books and taught by two private writing teachers – all before he attended elementary school³⁶.

2. *Children before Childhood*

With images of early education and upbringing introduced in the previous chapter, here we will discuss a notion of sensibility towards children – the way a child was viewed by the adults in the preindustrial community of early 19th-

³¹ Gaj, *Vjekopisni moj nacrtak*, cit., pp. 133-134.

³² *Ibid.*, pp. 131-132.

³³ Jarnević, *Dnevnik*, cit., p. 9.

³⁴ Šporer, *Odziv iz prošlosti*, cit., p. 27.

³⁵ Stojanović, *Sgode i nesgode moga života*, cit., p. 51.

³⁶ Tkalac, *Uspomene iz Hrvatske*, cit., pp. 46, 61-65.

century Croatia. Philippe Aries' book, *Centuries of Childhood*³⁷, deals with these issues following the evolution of childhood images and adults' perception of children themselves since the medieval period. It is in preindustrial European societies that the notion of childhood consisted of vague understandings of child behaviour and its basic needs. The duration of childhood was defined by entering the world of adulthood through education³⁸. It was at this point that a *child* started on the road to becoming a fully adult *person*. However, years before that still remained of little interest for adults aside the child's parents.

Although there is hardly any doubt that parents took great care to raise their children as best as they could, provide them with necessities and protect them from any harm, an inevitable fact of high infant mortality conditioned sensibility which may strike us as cruel or indifferent. A demographic study of 19th-century England shows that parents may have consciously neglected their children, which drastically influenced their safety. That this practice took place reveals the poor state of family life among the poorer strata of society. In fact, historians presume that infanticide by suffocation in bed often occurred. Accidental suffocation is highly implausible after all³⁹. The attitude towards children was, therefore, necessarily deprived of emotions. «The general feeling was, and for a long time remained, that one had several children in order to keep just a few. [...] Nobody thought, as we ordinarily think today, that every child already contained a man's personality. Too many of them died»⁴⁰.

The images of death in young age occur also in the memoirs at hand; both of Tkalac's two sisters died at a very young age⁴¹, and most of the authors describe episodes of close-to-death encounters from their youth. While riding a horse as a young boy, which was his favourite activity before he started attending school, Tkalac was caught in a heavy thunderstorm. Frightened by thunder, his horse knocked him off the saddle, throwing the boy on the ground. Being absent from home and barely conscious, a search was organized and Tkalac was fortunately found, although in a condition of terrible health. Consequently, he suffered from an illness that almost cost him his life⁴². Particularly striking is Stojanović's memory of two such incidents; as he was wandering the fields around the age of five, playing an improvised instrument, he was attacked by two wild dogs, annoyed by the whistling sounds he produced. His father, who heard the boy's screams, rescued him, but by that time he was covered with blood, barely alive⁴³. On another occasion, at the age of four, young Mijat

³⁷ P. Aries, *Centuries of Childhood*, New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 1962.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 238-239.

³⁹ E. de G.R. Hansen, «Overlaying» in *19th-Century England: Infant Mortality or Infanticide?*, «Human Ecology», vol. 7, n. 4, 1979, pp. 335-336, 342.

⁴⁰ Aries, *Centuries of Childhood*, cit., pp. 38-39.

⁴¹ Feldman, *Imbro Ignjatijević Tkalac: Europsko iskustvo hrvatskog liberala 1824-1912*, cit., p. 34.

⁴² Tkalac, *Uspomene iz Hrvatske*, cit., pp. 90-95.

⁴³ Stojanović, *Sgode i nesgode moga života*, cit., p. 49.

was left to sit alone on a horse-drawn cart for a brief moment, at which point the horses ran amok. By the time the horses stopped, entangled in a hedgerow, the boy was badly hit all over his body and bled from deep scratches so that «everyone thought of me that I am already deceased, dead»⁴⁴. Even as children grew up and developed immunity to disease or general body stamina, the risk of falling seriously ill or becoming injured with possible fatal results was still present in their lives. Šporer witnessed a most unusual episode when he was a schoolboy in Zagreb. A bizarre event occurred when his teacher, dressed as Saint Nicholas, and followed by a strong student dressed as Krampusz, entered Juraj Matija's lodging, and made him repent for his alleged sins by carrying him to the Sava river in a basket, half naked and in the middle of winter. The episode ends with the young boy passing out, while the pranksters ran away abandoning their prey. Šporer fell sick with heavy fever for three days⁴⁵. While not withholding his own decadent behaviour in memoirs – at the age of twelve he was involved in gambling and playing cards, he visited dancing places of questionable repute, drank brandy and crashed public lights – we can assume that he was not completely innocent of the wrongdoings for which he was punished by his teacher. Apart from again indicating the fragile nature of childhood, this event also sheds light on topics discussed in previous chapter – those of contemporary teachers' competence.

Jarnević's *Diary* is a historical source of great value, and was, as already mentioned, private, made public only ten years after her death. Reading through her writings, we encounter detailed emotional struggles, intellectual strivings and reflections, well ahead of the society which surrounded her, which make it impossible to doubt that the author was endowed with not only a basic grasp of emotional intelligence, but with a sophisticated plethora of feelings and ethical norms – which makes the episode we encounter even stranger. Young Dragojla acted as a nursemaid for two of her nephews, her sister's sons, who perished before they learned to walk. With the birth of the first child, she could no longer dedicate as much time to reading, but «at this time my sister's firstborn died, and I was relieved for at least a couple of months, because another one was making its way»⁴⁶. Her free time and 'inner peace,' as the author herself puts it, was again consumed by the arrival of a new child: «Meanwhile, I learned to play the zither, and I often sang along the sound of its strings, until horrible crying interrupted the dance and play [...] The other son of my sister also died to my joy, and I was relieved»⁴⁷. To clarify, Jarnević writes of these things without shame or regret. To expect from her to express at least sympathy for her sister would again be futile, since it seems plausible that

⁴⁴ Id., *Sgode i nesgode moga života*, cit., p. 48.

⁴⁵ Šporer, *Odziv iz prošlosti*, cit., pp. 29-31.

⁴⁶ Jarnević, *Dnevnik*, cit., p. 10.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 10.

no great sorrow affected her either, giving birth to a new child so soon after the first one perished. This fragile nature of children's lives obviously further rendered childhood incomprehensible in the eyes of adults; this category was simply not an important part of human life.

Conclusion

What we aim to understand about childhood and early experiences of school, presented in autobiographical accounts, unavoidably meets with barriers of individual memory and subjective thinking. However, these memoirs, written by authors whose backgrounds provide us with a critical point of view, when comparatively investigated, point to some emotionally and intellectually shared *topoi*. Further research might indicate many more differences between the authors' reminiscences of childhood and add many more individual layers to the experiences of the official educational system. This analysis hopefully serves to bring forward the notion that specific memories, compared in this manner and incorporated into a wider framework, can serve as a window into a reality otherwise absent in source material. As it is obvious from, for instance, the authors' romanticized recollections of their early childhood, this approach still runs up against the issue of the generally subjective character of human memory and its transference, still blinding us to the genuine child's point of view.

After witnessing Jarnević's somewhat unpleasant and disturbing memories, we can only confirm that the notion of childhood transcended from an unimportant category, expendable in its content, to a cherished and almost consecrated part of human life. This shift provides us with much more attainable data on children's lives today, which stems from the newly awakened interest of adults. However, in order to account for the child's own point of view before this shift occurred – what did the boy Imbro really think of his teachers, how did Juraj Matija feel after his first confession, was Dragojla truly indifferent to the death of her nephews, or did the flow of time erase her memories of grief? – will require further reading, comparison and, perhaps a very innovative, new interdisciplinary approach. The Madeleine cakes which would evoke our own personal reminiscences in a clear and conveyable way are regrettably unattainable when investigating memories of other people. Still, the experiences provided by the authors of memoirs reach as close as possible to understanding the 19th century child's mentality, its view on the schooldays, teachers and ever-pressing rules of behaviour; its love for parents, feelings, fears and hopes.

Young ladies at the piano. The role of music in the upbringing and education of girls in Novi Sad in the Nineteenth Century

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ABSTRACT: With the decree of the Austrian Empress Maria Theresa, from 1 February 1748, Novi Sad was given the status of a free royal city in the Habsburg Monarchy, and closeness and connections with Vienna and Budapest significantly contributed to the dynamic cultural life of the city. This paper points to the role of music in the upbringing and education of young girls from the most prominent, middle class families of Novi Sad, in the 19th century. The way music was integrated into the education system is best seen in the case of teaching the piano, as the most representative symbol of wealth and civic education. Musical education was not used only for the purpose of social presentation, but was in close connection with the formation of the female character. General, as well as musical education of young girls from respectable families in Novi Sad was entrusted to Alexander Morfidis Nisis, who came to Novi Sad from Vienna in 1838. Among his piano students, a special place belongs to Julija Velisavljević, who, in addition to playing the piano, was also involved in composing.

EET/TEE KEYWORDS: History of education; Musical education; Female education, Serbia; XIXth Century.

Introduction

By the decree of Empress Maria Theresa, on 1 February 1748, Novi Sad became a free royal city in the Habsburg Monarchy. This way, the city was given a right to judicial, legislative and executive power, as well as to tax collection,

which contributed to the accelerated economic development¹. According to data from 1843, Novi Sad had 17, 332 inhabitants. The largest ethnic groups were Serbs, and then the Germans. Thanks to the economic progress, the conditions for the development of education and culture were met, and the proximity to Vienna and Budapest, as well as the connection with these two gave a considerable impulse to the dynamics of cultural life of the city. By the mid-nineteenth century Novi Sad had two grammar schools (Orthodox and Catholic) and a few elementary schools (three Catholic and three Orthodox), while in the city, as well, operated three printing offices². Foundation of the institutions such as: the Flying Dilettante Theatre (1838-1839), the Hungarian Reading Room (1844), the Serbian Reading Room (1845), and the Serbian National Theatre (1861) was also of great importance for the development of culture³. In addition, the transfer of Matica Srpska from Pest to Novi Sad (1864) contributed to the cultural and educational advancement of the city. In the homes of wealthy citizenry of Novi Sad, playing music at home was widespread, while owning the piano, a private music teacher, as well as a private collection of published musical scores, were indicators of a social status. How music was integrated into the educational system will be demonstrated, above all, on the example of teaching the piano, as the most representative civic symbol of wealth and education.

1. *Young Ladies at the Piano: 'Decorative' Education*

In the 19th century, it was believed that a woman was by nature emotional and passive being, destined for a limited home life, predisposed from birth to be a mother and a wife, while man represented the embodiment of a rational and active element, and as such, was destined for public life. With these gender-specific definitions of a character, the concept of education was formed. Unlike boys, girls were rarely included in the official academic systems. During the course of their education, they were «taught to become good mothers, good wives and pleasant women». While boys were brought up to be «dominant in every sense», from well upbrought girls there were expected «diligence, modesty, humbleness, piety, obedience, patience and honesty»⁴. On ideological

¹ В. Стајић, *Грађа за политичку историју Новог Сада*, Нови Сад, Матица српска, 1951, р. 22.

² Т. Милитар, *Нови Сад на раскрићу минулог и садањег века*, Нови Сад, Градска библиотека, 2000, р. 121.

³ М. Цепина, *Друштвени и забавни живот старих Новосађана*, Нови Сад, Музеј града Новог Сада, 1982, р. 7; Д. Ј. Поповић, *Срби у Војводини. Од Темишварског сабора 1790. до Благовештанског сабора 1861*, Нови Сад, Матица српска, 1990, Vol. 3, pp. 126-127.

⁴ В. Симић, *Свет детета и његова слика у српској уметности 19. века*, in А. Столић, Н. Макуљевић (edd.), *Приватни живот Срба у деветнаестом веку*, Београд, Clio, 2006, р. 150.

grounds – where not education, but the upbringing was dominant – there was formed the educational system aimed for women. In the programs of girls' institutes, which existed in Vojvodina in the discussed period, as well as in private tutoring, the emphasis was on learning an instrument (mostly piano), handicrafts and dance classes. The primacy within a general education was in learning foreign languages (German, French), aesthetics⁵, mythology and literature. It could be said that the education of girls had a «decorative character that prevailed in Europe until the advent of the industrial age»⁶. It was implied that educated girls played the piano and spoke foreign languages. This was also one of the 'conditions' for a good marriage (aesthetic dowry)⁷, which was very important for the families who wished to improve their status in the society or keep the existing one⁸.

Why was the piano so popular? First of all, no other instrument was so suitable in highlighting the status symbols of citizenry, wealth and education, in a perfect unity. It is not hard to explain the mechanism of how certain items under the conditions of capitalist commodity market become status symbols: the more expensive the item in a purchase, the more exclusive its character, because the increase of purchase price reduces the range of potential customers. If it is, at the same time, a luxury item, by its possession, the aimed social category is even higher. The piano was «the most valuable inventory at home, a symbol of wealth and ownership»⁹, situated at the most representative place, in the salon, from where it could emit its symbolic power. To learn the piano, besides the instrument itself, it was necessary to provide money for musical scores, as well as for a teacher, which also represented an indicator of wealth. In addition to wealth, in the 19th century, the education as well was a magic formula for the prestige in society. In that sense, the piano played an important social role. It was not just positioned in the center of the salon to be admired for its splendour as a piece of furniture, but being already there «it had to be used, as well»¹⁰. In the well-off families, the attention was paid that children played an instrument, usually the piano. Therefore, music education represented a kind of 'social education', which was a «ticket to high society». Most parents complied with the dictates of fashion to afford their children music lessons.

⁵ Young ladies were instructed to read Christian Oeser's book *Briefe an eine Jungfrau über die Hauptgegenstände der Aesthetik*, Leipzig, F. Brandstetter, 1857.

⁶ Симић, *Свет детета и његова слика у српској уметности 19. века*, cit., p. 152.

⁷ А. Корбен, *Тајне индивидуе*, in Ф. Аријес, Ж. Диби (edd.), *Историја приватног живота*, Beograd, Clio, 2003, Vol. 4, p. 392.

⁸ М. Кокановић Марковић, *Друштвена улога салонске музике у животу и систему вредности српског грађанства у 19. веку*, Београд, Музиколошки институт Српске академије наука и уметности, 2014, pp. 116-121.

⁹ A. Ballstaedt, T. Widmaier, *Salonmusik – zur Geschichte und Funktion einer bürgerlichen Musikpraxis*, Wiesbaden-Stuttgart, Steiner, 1989, p. 191.

¹⁰ E. Rocco, *Der Umgang in und mit der Gesellschaft. Ein Handbuch des guten Tons*, Halle, Druck und Verlag von Otto Hendel, 1881, p. 164.

This particularly referred to daughters, of which there are many interesting testimonies in the literature of this period, as well. Writing *Pokondirena tikva* [Shoddy], Jovan Sterija Popović noted in 1830 in Vršac that the fortepiano «had already been long popular» and that it was a shame for a lady from a respectable family if she had not been a virtuoso on the fortepiano¹¹, while Stevan Sremac in his comedy *Pop Ćira i pop Spira* [The Priest Ćira and the Priest Spira] humorously comments that the main virtues of girls are «piano, crocheting, waltz and German»!¹² Through piano lessons, ladies also practiced discipline and respect for male authority. They had fixed hours during the day for piano studying. Handcrafting had a similar function. Several hours a day, ladies were busy knitting, crocheting and embroidering, which, among other things, had a function to discipline mind and body. That way not only a typical female talent was being developed and exercised, but also a body control (sitting still and posture) and self-discipline¹³.

Ladies from Novi Sad civic families usually received their music education from private teachers of music, but also in the girls' institutes. Since 1838, when he moved from Vienna to Novi Sad, general and music education of girls from respectable families in Novi Sad were entrusted to Aleksandar Morfidis Nisis (1803-1878)¹⁴, who, until his death, was the *spiritus movens* of the musical life of the town: as a music teacher in the Serbian Grammar School, a private piano teacher, a choir leader, a composer, and organizer of musical life. He composed mainly works for piano, in the salon biedermeier style, which were performed by his students, as well as the church pieces for choir which he sang in the Church of St. George¹⁵. Nisis composed for the needs of the milieu in which he lived and acted¹⁶. With his students he organized concerts, which were reported regularly by the press of that period.

¹¹ J. Стерија Поповић, *Покондирена тиква*, in М. Токин (ed.), *Комедије*, Нови Сад, Београд, Матица српска, Српска књижевна задруга, 1970, p. 168.

¹² С. Сремац, *Поп Ћира и поп Спира*, Београд, Нолит, 1989, p. 97.

¹³ Кокановић Марковић, *Друштвена улога*, cit., pp. 110-115.

¹⁴ Regarding his origin, there are no reliable data. Nisis spent his childhood in Vienna. He studied medicine but did not graduate because he was more attracted to music. He was a gifted singer (bass). After his mother's death, he came to Novi Sad with merchants. He briefly left the town and went to Vršac, Temišvar, Osijek and Rijeka. In Osijek, Nisis worked as a professor of Latin and Greek in Grammar School. During the uprising in 1848, he shortly quit musical and pedagogical activity in Novi Sad and took refuge in Rijeka. He lived a turbulent bohemian life and died in hospital of apoplexy. В. Р. Ђорђевић, *Прилози биографском речнику српских музичара*, Београд Научна књига, 1950, pp. 34-37; А. Влашкалин, *Др Јован Пачу и његов круг*, Београд, Нови Сад, Библиотека града Београда, Матица српска, 1996, pp. 88-97, 131.

¹⁵ According to former findings, only two Nisis' compositions were published: *Pozdrav srbskim dejavama* [A Greeting to the Serbian Maiden], Op. 1 waltz (1841); *Jelačić marš* [Jelacich Marsch] für das Pianoforte (1849, Tobias Haslinger, Vienna).

¹⁶ Manuscript collections of Aleksandar Morfidis Nisis' piano compositions are kept at the Matica Srpska Library in Novi Sad.

Morfidis' students came from the most prominent families in Novi Sad. For instance: Julija Velisavljević was a daughter of a respected physician Aleksandar Velisavljević who graduated Medicine in Pest; Jelisaveta Eliza Biga, a daughter of the Austro-Hungarian general Petar Biga, who was also an honorary citizen of Karlovac and Pančevo; Ljubica Medaković was a daughter of a prominent politician, historian, journalist and publisher Danilo Medaković. Nisis' primary role was related, above all, to the music education. In teaching the piano, he followed the method of Friedrich Wilhelm Kalkbrenner, while he encouraged his more gifted students to compose simple pieces for piano. In addition to piano lessons, Nisis was also entrusted with general education of his students. The classes included lessons in aesthetics, geography, ancient mythology, while a special attention was paid to learning German and French. Nisis' students were taught aesthetics by Christian Oeser's book *Briefe an eine Jungfrau über die Hauptgegenstände der Aesthetik*. Geography was taught by Friedrich Rösselt's book *Handbuch der Geographie für Töchterschulen und die Gebildeten des weiblichen Geschlechts* (Leipzig, 1851). Another subject, Ancient Mythology as a Means of Humanistic and Classical Education, as well, was taught by the same author: *Lehrbuch der griechischen und römischen Mythologie* (Leipzig, 1864). In addition, Nisis required from his students to learn by heart as many poems as possible, primarily those of the contemporary Serbian poets¹⁷.

Since Nisis' favorite disciple was Julija Velisavljević (1851–1920), she has been chosen as a paradigmatic example of an insight into the upbringing and education of young ladies from a Novi Sad civic family in the discussed period. In her early childhood she learned German, which was common in civic families in Novi Sad. In higher classes, speaking German instead of a simple vernacular was considered noble. Her music and general education was entrusted to Aleksandar Morfidis Nisis. Julija's mother requested that special attention should be paid to learning the grammar and spelling of German and French, so Julija excellently mastered both languages. For the purpose of learning, Nisis requested from his students to tirelessly memorize German and French aphorisms. For example: «Differentiate well between envy and competition, one dishonors, another celebrates, one is the poison for the heart and another is food for a genius»; «All the passions fade away with aging», etc.¹⁸ Julija studied aesthetics, geography and ancient mythology from the previously mentioned books. Like other Nisis' students, she learned by heart the poems of the contemporary poets (Petar Preradović, Stevan Vladislav Kačanski, Jovan Jovanović Zmaj, Laza Kostić, Miloljub Đ. Bugarski, etc), which she often recited in public. She studied piano by Kalkbrenner's method, but also by the excerpts from Hummel's (Johann Nepomuk Hummel, 1778-1837) school-

¹⁷ Влашкалин, *Др Јован Пачу и његов круг*, cit., pp. 90-95.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 94.

book¹⁹. In addition to the salon pieces composed by A. M. Nisis, and other, today less well-known, primarily German and Austrian composers of salon music, it is known that she played the *Well Tempered Piano* by J. S. Bach, as well as the pieces by W. A. Mozart and S. Thalberg. Since Nisis also encouraged his students to compose, Julija even published one of her compositions. It is the French polka *Leptir* [Butterfly]²⁰. Nisis gave this polka to be published by the Wessely company in Vienna in 1865. There is Julija's medallion photo on its cover and the title of the polka is in Serbian and French²¹. This gift for his favorite student was followed by Nisis' letter in which he compared her to then famous pianist Clara W. Schumann²², married to Robert Schumann:

Noble Lady! Dear Student! Serbian Fairy overwhelmed by your spiritual and physical beauty nurtured you carefully when you were young, endowing your young soul with tender buds of art; and when you first enchanted your curious listeners with your piano skills, she spilled joyous tears and gave you an everlasting wreath before delighted Serbian people; and now I am listening to the appropriate harmony of your miraculous piece; delighted, it flies around the world, announcing to all Slavic people that in the artistic sky there is one star, growing brighter every minute, which will be the pride of Serbia, just like Clara Germano! – I wish for this wonderful news to come true, by giving you this brilliant piece of yours I wish from all my heart that God Almighty blesses just wishes of your heart and lifts you like a butterfly from the dust to the skies [...] ²³.

It was not by chance that Morfidis compared his student to the famous pianist. Nisis admired the Schumanns as a unique artistic couple of a pianist and a composer. While seeing Julija as the Serbian Clara Schumann, even encouraging her to compose, he himself tried in his composing to imitate the schemes of R. Schumann's piano pieces. Nisis' waltz for piano *Pozdrav srbskim djevama* [A Greeting to the Serbian Maidens] was modeled on Schumann's *Abegg Variationen* for piano²⁴. For both of the composers this was the Opus No.1. Schumann's piece was published in 1831, while Nisis' ten years later. Nisis diligently followed the career and the repertoire of Clara Schumann. Thus, in 1866, he gave to Julija Velisavljević, as a New Year's gift, *Three Nocturnes* Op. 21 by S. Thalberg and wrote on the scores in his own handwriting in French: «Miss! Famous Clara Wieck practiced this piece with a great zeal and

¹⁹ In 1828, J.N. Hummel published his three-volume book *Ausführliche theoretisch-practische Anweisung zum Piano-Forte-Spiel*, Vienna, Tobias Hasslinger.

²⁰ Кокановић Марковић, *Друштвена улога*, cit., pp. 95, 119.

²¹ *Leptir - Le Papillon*. Polka française pour le Piano, composée par Mademoiselle Sidi Velisavljevits. Publiée par son maitre de musique. Propriété de l'Editeur Vienne, chez Fr. Wessely. ci-devant H. F. Müller V. Kohlmarkt 3. Lith. De G. Wegelein, Vienne.

²² Clara Wieck Schumann (1819-1896), since the age of thirteen performed in public with a great success, and in 1838 she won the title of the court chamber virtuosa in Vienna. In 1840 she married Robert Schumann.

²³ Cited as in Влашкалин, *Др Јован Пачу и његов круг*, cit., pp. 91-92.

²⁴ М. Кокановић, *Из музичког живота Новог Сада у 19. веку. Александар Морфидис Нусис а Ја Роберт Шуман*, «Свеске Матице српске», vol. 48, 2008, pp. 105-113.

the unflagging attention. Is there a need for a better recommendation?»²⁵. In addition to Thalberg's nocturnes, Julija also got from her teacher *Musikalisches Conversations-Lexikon Encyklopädie der gesamten Musik-Wissenschaft für Künstler, Kunstfreunde und Gebildete*, revised by August Gathy (Hamburg 1840), in which, before the preface, was a photo of Clara and Robert Schumann²⁶. This book, as well, contains Morfidis's dedication in French:

My dear student! Nature has endowed you with the same spirit and the same grace as the divine Clare. Let the same zeal and the same diligence enable you to gain the abundance of knowledge to which this book takes you; this is what he wants, your friend and a teacher²⁷.

2. From Concert Halls and Ballrooms to the Intimacy of the Salons

Nisis' students could show their progress in piano playing and other 'skills' in the concerts organized by their teacher several times a year, which were usually held in the Serbian National Theater, along with printed and luxurious invitations. The programs mostly had a mixed concept. The music part of the program was usually performed by Nisis' students playing his works or the works of others, nowadays almost unknown, salon composers, while sometimes, the first and the last piece were performed by the choir conducted by Nisis. Together with his students, Nisis often performed piano pieces for four hands. In addition to the music part of the program, the poetry was recited, as well. After the completion of the program, there followed a ball at which were performed international and national dances. That kind of public presentation was of a crucial importance for the affirmation of Nisis, who in that way presented and at the same time recommended himself as: a composer, a performer (pianist and conductor), and above all, as an educator. On the other hand, with a public performance and presentation of their skills to the citizenry, Nisis' students represented their families, as well. The concerts were sometimes organized for a charitable purpose, so everything often had an emphasized and a specific social connotation, whether it had a national or any other aspect. For example, in Novi Sad, in honor of laying the foundation stone of the Czech Theater in Prague on 4 May 1866, a banquet was organized where Nisis' students Julija Velisavljević and Mileva Isaković performed. On that occasion, a telegram was sent to Prague with a «fraternal greeting» and a message that «the Slavic people

²⁵ Cited as in Влашкалин, *Др Јован Пачу и његов круг*, cit., p. 132.

²⁶ For that occasion, the book was sheathed in a green leather cover, and today is the legacy of the Paču family.

²⁷ Cited as in Влашкалин, *Др Јован Пачу и његов круг*, cit., p. 132.

enter the stage of the world history». The Novi Sad press regularly covered the concerts of Nisis' students²⁸.

However, in addition to their appearance in concerts, the other important aspects of presenting young ladies were on a ballroom floor and in the salons. The children from the prominent families had obligatory dance lessons. In Novi Sad, in public places there were organized balls for children (Kinderball), at which they were taught dancing and social behavior. In the Novi Sad journal «Sedmica» [«Seven»], Jovan Sterija Popović gave a critical review on this kind of entertainment for children:

Ah, look at those little, gentle, innocent children. The very innocence blossoms on their cheeks which could not be better embellished even by the nature itself. Only their mothers think that it is not yet enough and dress them up in the most colorful outfits [...] and a gentle girl like a little monkey comes to the ball. Even at home, her elder sister taught her how she should direct her eyes, how to stand and hold her mouth [...] ²⁹.

Girls old enough to get married came to the balls or private dance evenings, to meet their potential future spouse. For those occasions, they wore long ball gowns in bright colors, because white represented a symbol of moral purity, while they had a flower (usually camellia) in the hair, as a symbol of chastity. Being introduced to the public, «she was no longer a child, but a girl who represented the virtues – honesty, charm and gentleness»³⁰. The titles of numerous, very popular, salon compositions for piano reveal dreamy reminders of the ballroom delights: J. Löw, *Ballnachtszauber* [Magic of the ballroom night]; *Ein Walzer ist mein Leben* [Waltz is my life]; W. Fink, *Klänge aus dem Ballsaal* [Sounds from the ballroom]; Kornelije Stanković The Slovenian *Quadrille: Slaven-Ball-Klänge* [Sounds of the Slovenian ball]. The fact is that even in salons, if they were suitable for that, it was danced eagerly to the sounds of the piano, which contributed to the popularity of the dances in piano literature. The international salon dances make about one third of the salon music repertoire for piano. Among the pieces for piano, which he actually composed for his students who performed them in public, Nisis most frequently composed international salon dances: waltzes, polkas, polka mazurkas, quadrilles, cotillions, polonaises and marches. His students also published two polkas for piano: Julija Velisavljević published the already mentioned French *Butterfly polka* and Ljubica Medaković a *Violet polka*. It is a fact that the polka was the most widespread dance genre in the Serbian piano literature of the discussed period³¹.

²⁸ Кокановић, *Из музичког живота Новог Сада*, cit., pp. 105-113.

²⁹ Ј. Стерија Поповић, *Дечини балови*, «Седмица», vol. 4, 1855, p. 28.

³⁰ Honesty and innocence were pointed out as the main virtues of a female child, and were also symbolically represented on portraits with a flower the girls held in their hands. Such rhetoric was characteristic of the entire 19th century. Симић, *Свет детета*, cit., p. 153.

³¹ Кокановић Марковић, *Друштвена улога*, cit., pp. 127-134.

Not less important was the presentation of the ladies in the salon. It was considered noble for ladies to sing, play the piano or any other instrument in the salon. As well as at the balls, they could also meet their future husband in salons, while there were established rules of behavior. It was not appropriate for a girl to approach a man and start a conversation. However, a man could talk with a girl after the 'concert', to congratulate her, where the topic about music was an excellent occasion for a talk. If the lady would fall in love, it was absolutely inappropriate to express it in words to the one she had chosen: «A young girl should not talk with a gentleman about feelings and this kind of conversation between the two is absolutely excluded»³². In solving this 'problem', the young were guided by the then widespread notions about the effects of music, which could be found in the then very popular aesthetics by Christian Oeser *Briefe an eine Jungfrau über die Hauptgegenstände der Aesthetik*, from which even Nisis' students studied aesthetics. According to Oeser, «the language of sounds» could express «the most hidden actions of our feelings, whose inner life could not be described in words [...] when we are speechless, because the affect is too strong, too deep or intimate»³³. Oeser's aesthetics, designed particularly for young ladies and women, in 1878 reached its twenty first edition! It is interesting that in the Novi Sad journal «Javor» («Maple») and later even in *Ženski svet* (Women's World) some parts of this book were translated in Serbian and published³⁴. How close Oeser's principles were to Nisis' was also witnessed by his handwritten verses in German, which he handed over to his student Julija after her engagement to Dimitrije Paču³⁵ in 1876:

When the eternal night forever casts its veil on my eyes, when my ear forever be closed for the magical sounds of music, when my heart stops beating for art, it is then that I would want for my melodies to reveal to you my thoughts and feelings, which I nurtured for you in those happy days, and which the muses destined for me to build up your spirit³⁶.

If the prospective groom was allowed to visit a girlfriend, they were allowed to spend time at the piano, which provided an opportunity for the exchange of looks or possibly touches. The young ones could even perform a piece with a symbolic title, which conveyed a message. Numerous salon pieces offer a

³² F. Ebhardt, *Der gute Ton in allen Lebenslagen*, Berlin, Verlag Ebhardt, 1878, p. 302. According to: A. Ballstaedt, T. Widmaier, *Salonmusik – zur Geschichte und Funktion einer bürgerlichen Musikpraxis*, Wiesbaden-Stuttgart, Steiner, 1989, p. 227.

³³ Ch. Oeser, *Briefe an eine Jungfrau über die Hauptgegenstände der Aesthetik. Ein Weihgeschenk für Frauen und Jungfrauen*, Leipzig, F. Brandstetter, 1857, p. 234.

³⁴ Влашкин, *Др Јован Пачу и његов круг*, cit., pp. 93-94.

³⁵ J. Velisavljević was engaged in 1876 to a pharmacist Dimitrije Paču, brother of a composer and pianist Jovan Paču, and that same year Nisis gave her his handwritten poetry in German. Кокановић, *Из музичког живота Новог Сада*, cit., pp. 105-113.

³⁶ Влашкин, *Др Јован Пачу и његов круг*, cit., p. 95.

range of titles which point to that fact. In the piano oeuvre of Aleksandar Morfidis Nisis a series of compositions with characteristic titles could be found: *Mislim samo na tebe* [I think only of you], *Najlepši dan mog života* [The most beautiful day of my life], *Ah, kakva ljupkost* [Ah, what a loveliness]. The mutual affection and liking could also have been expressed through the language of flowers. As a small token of appreciation, a young man would give flowers and in return, a girl could play a piece with a 'flower-like' title. Here are some typical titles of salon pieces which ascertain hidden messages: F. Behr, *Schneeglöckchen* [Snowdrop] – «first love and gentle desires you woke up in my chests»; F. Spindler, *Nelkenstrauß* [Carnations] – «a longing for you grows in my chests»³⁷. The flower-like titles of the compositions could be found among the composers from Novi Sad, as well: A. Morfidis Nisis, *Ti si dušo lepo cveće* [My darling, you are beautiful flowers], waltzes; Isidor Bajić, *Majski cvet* [The May flower], a fast polka for piano and *Spomenak* [Forget-Me-Not], mazurka; Ljubica Medaković, *Ljubičica* [Violet], polka. On the other hand, a flower represented a symbol of a girl, who, «during a girlhood and in the light of first love underwent a metamorphosis from a bud to a flower (on which a butterfly lands or which attracts a butterfly)»³⁸. The echo of such a symbolism could be found in the titles of the salon plays, as well: F. Spindler, *Träumende Knospen* [Dreaming buds]; *Blumen und Schmetterling* [Flowers and butterfly]. As it has been mentioned before, Aleksandar Morfidis Nisis published in Vienna a *Butterfly polka* of Julija Velisavljević³⁹. Given that he often compared Julija to Clara Schumann, and he himself trying to compose imitating R. Schumann, it is possible that the title of the aforementioned polka alludes to Schumann's Op. 2 – *Butterflies*. Even more indicative is the Nisis' text, written in Julija Velisavljević's notebook: «Ladies should be like flowers, pure and gentle, yet, unlike flowers, they should keep butterflies away from them»⁴⁰.

Conclusion

After marrying, women usually neglected practicing the piano and public appearances. Julija Velisavljević, for example, withdrew from performing in public after her marriage. She played only on special occasions, mostly at the charitable events. Of course, women, being mothers and wives, still played for their own pleasure, but mostly within a family or on some important occasions. It was common that a daughter takes over musical obligations from her mother.

³⁷ W. Spemann (ed.), *Spemanns Schatzkästlein des guten Rats*, Stuttgart, Union Deutsche Verlagsgesellschaft, 1892, pp. 753-757.

³⁸ Ballstaedt, Widmaier, *Salonmusik*, cit., p. 229.

³⁹ Кокановић Марковић, *Друштвена улога*, cit., pp. 135-138.

⁴⁰ Влашкалин, *Др Јован Пачу и његов круг*, cit., p. 95.

A mother represented the most important figure in the process of growing up, so she was also entrusted with the upbringing of children. Children often received their first music lessons from their mothers, and a mother had a significant role in the development and nurturing the love towards music in their children. In the early 20th century, the usual concept of the acceptable upbringing and education of young ladies in the civic families gradually changed. This change suppressed «one of the most unfortunate ideas that a young lady in her education has to master playing the piano, regardless of her talent»⁴¹. While in the past, the activity of young ladies was narrowed down to the households, «while they had a pale complexion and a posture limited by rigid corsets», which corresponded to the ideal of beauty of the period, at the end of the 19th century, the possibility of practicing sport brought a significant change⁴². In the 1890s, the cycling was widespread, which opened new experiential worlds to the young ladies and soothed the previous rigid conventions, which reflected in the typically female professions. In addition, a significant change occurred, as well, in the field of education of women. A long led battle for the improvement of the educational opportunities for young ladies, showed in the late 19th century a significant success, which caused a social ‘pro’ and ‘against’ controversy. On one hand, there was a disapproval of women who studied. It was indicated that they would lose their femininity and sexual function. However, there were other opinions, as well, where it was ironically pointed to the past practices in the education of young ladies:

reading, endless handcrafting, visiting concerts and theater, socializing with countless friends, [...] the interest for the outfits, playing the piano for hours etc, and – waiting for someone to marry such a dawdle⁴³.

In the article *Ženske kao glazbotvorke* [Women as music makers] published in the Novi Sad journal *Javor* [Maple] in 1889, Dragutin Blažek pointed to the importance of the music education of young ladies, specifying at the end that it was unfortunate «for our ladies not to be engaged in the severe study of composing, so that they could also excel in this field»⁴⁴. Emphasizing that until then «it had not been written much in both international and national papers» on that subject, he mentioned about forty European women composers (mostly Austrian, Italian and French), who composed from the 16th to the 19th century. Pointing to the most important pieces and the education of these women artists, the author at the end, among the women composers of «the new age», sorted

⁴¹ I. von Lütt, *Die elegante Frau. Mitteilungen für junge Hauswesen*, Stuttgart, Deutsche Verlagsanstalt, 1900, p. 343.

⁴² Ballstaedt, Widmaier, *Salonmusik*, cit., p. 354.

⁴³ O. Marschner, *Takt und Ton. Plaudereien über den feinen Takt und guten Ton im geselligen Verkehr*, Berlin, Neufeld & Henius, 1907, p. 453. According to: Ballstaedt, Widmaier, *Salonmusik*, cit., p. 356.

⁴⁴ D. Blažek, *Ženske kao glazbotvorke*, «Javor», vol. 28, 1889, pp. 441–443.

out Clara Schumann and Tekla Bądarzewska, and among the Serbian ones Slava Atanasijević and Julka Tajčević. In this article, a progressive one for its time, Blažek, in the 'sunset' of the 19th century publicly raises a question of music education in a musically still underdeveloped milieu.

The role of music in the upbringing and education of young ladies in Novi Sad in the 19th century corresponds to the usual practice in the Habsburg Monarchy at that time. A comparison with Stefan Zweig's conclusions is inevitable. In a critical review of the upbringing and education of girls in the Habsburg Monarchy in the given period, he indicates that the purist morality of Austrian society was hypocritical, emphasizing the polarity between man and woman. Describing the life of the girls in Vienna, Zweig points out that a girl of a good family had to live in a completely sterilized atmosphere from birth to the day she and her husband left the wedding altar. They had to practice the piano, learn singing, drawing, foreign languages, and the history of art and literature. Zweig concludes that young women were «the artfully tended product of a definite education and culture»⁴⁵.

⁴⁵ Ш. Цвајг, *Јучерашњи свет, сећања једног Европејца*, Нови Сад, Матица српска, 1952, pp. 79-84.

How to turn female students into good mothers, wives and housewives. The construction of female identity in pedagogical discourses in Croatia in the second half of the 19th Century

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ABSTRACT: By analysing the position of female students in the Croatian educational system in the second half of the 19th century, the author researches the discourse of school journals and pedagogical books in Croatia in the second half of the 19th century when the *education of women* became one of the central topics in the discussions of Croatian pedagogues and professors. They constructed desirable female identities in their books and articles and recommended ways in which those identities were supposed to be formed within the Croatian educational system. According to the opinions of the then educational authorities, the aim of the school system was to turn the female students into good mothers, wives and housewives.

EET/TEE KEYWORDS: History of education; Education of women; Female identity; Croatia; XIXth Century.

Introduction

During the second half of the 19th century the “education of women” became one of the central topics in the discussions of Croatian pedagogues and professors. They constructed desirable female identities in their books and articles and recommended ways in which those identities were supposed to be formed within the Croatian educational system¹. The aim of this paper

¹ The research was conducted within the project *From Proto-Modernisation to Modernisation*

is presentation and analysis of the then dominant pedagogical discourse on female education. The authors of the pedagogical discussions that were focusing on female education were mostly school principals, professors at Zagreb University, pedagogues, instructors in teacher training schools and teachers in primary schools².

During the 19th century, the school system was built on the idea that Foucault calls the «regime» of truth. Michel Foucault showed that each society has its «regime» of truth, its general politics of truth, the types of discourse which it accepts and makes function as true³. «Regimes» of truth are the result of scientific discourse and institutions, and are reinforced constantly through the educational system, the media, and the flux of political and economic ideologies. Power is also a major source of social discipline. Foucault pointed to a new kind of disciplinary power that could be observed in the administrative systems and social services, such as prisons, mental hospitals and schools⁴. The hegemonic discourse is constantly reproduced through the educational system and it is creating its own hierarchy of knowledge. This hierarchy of knowledge excluded women from higher education in many European countries until the end of the 19th century. The teaching programmes in the 19th century prove that power and knowledge were mutually connected and that the educational system used those programmes to influence the cultural construction of male and female identities⁵.

School gender policy in the 19th century in Europe was primarily based on constructing desirable gender identities. The pedagogical discourse at the time completely supported and reproduced that kind of policy constructing

of Croatia's School System financed by the Croatian Science Foundation. For the issues in the domain of female education in Croatia in the 19th and 20th centuries, see the following: M. Hays, *Valjane majke i Blage kćeri – Odgoj i izobrazba žena u nacionalnom duhu u Hrvatskoj 19. stoljeća*, «Otivm», vol. 4, n. 1-2, 1996, pp. 89-95; T. Luetić, *Prve studentice Mudroslovnog fakulteta kr. Sveučilišta Franje Josipa I. u Zagrebu*, «Povijesni prilozi», n. 22, 2002, pp. 167-208; I. Ograjšek Gorenjak, *Otvaranje ženskog liceja u Zagrebu*, «Povijest u nastavi», vol. 4, n. 8, 2006, pp. 147-176; D. Župan, *Mentalni korzet. Spolna politika obrazovanja žena u Bansknoj Hrvatskoj 1868-1918*, Osijek, Fakultet za odgojne i obrazovne znanosti, 2013.

² The paper analyses the pedagogical discourses in Croatia in the second half of the 19th century on the basis of following books: G. Šimončić, *Tjeloslovje*, Zagreb, Hrvatski Pedagogijski-književni sbor, 1873; D. Trstenjak, *Dobra kućanica*, Zagreb, Hrvatski Pedagogijski-književni sbor, 1880; J. Gall, *Uzor-djevojka ili kako da djevojka omili Bogu i ljudem*, Zagreb, Hrvatski Pedagogijski-književni sbor, 1881 and B. Lorković, *Žena u kući i društvu*, Zagreb, Matica hrvatska, 1883.

³ M. Foucault, *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings 1972-1977*, C. Gordon (ed.), New York, Pantheon Books, 1980, pp. 109-133.

⁴ M. Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, New York, Pantheon Books, 1978, p. 139.

⁵ For the issues of constructing female identity, see these books: S.J. Ball (ed.), *Foucault and education: Disciplines and knowledge*, London, Routledge, 2010; T.S. Popkewitz, M. Brennan (edd.), *Foucault's Challenge: Discourse, Knowledge and Power in Education*, London, Teachers College, 1998 and M. Tamboukou, *Women, Education and the Self: A Foucauldian Perspective*, Hampshire, Palgrave Macmillan, 2003.

‘natural’ female characteristics⁶. Pedagogues Davorin Trstenjak and Josip Gall determined in their numerous discussions what femininity and masculinity were, and with respect to that, also determined different forms of education for women and men⁷. According to the opinions of the then educational authorities, the aim of the school system was to turn female students into good mothers, wives and housewives. These constructions of gender identities were founded on general belief in the principle that man and women were naturally different – not just biologically, but also in terms of their inherent personality.

Elements characteristic to the policy of women’s education were obvious in Croatia even in the second half of the 18th century during the Theresian school reform. However, the policy of women’s education in Croatia had manifested in its fullest form only in the second half of the 19th century as a response of the state to the rise in the number of public girls’ schools. Public girls’ schools were actually the places where future brides were supposed to get their education since the main ‘educational’ objective of those schools was to prepare the girls for prosperous marriage. While in the 1850s and 1860s the main force in educating women were monastery and public girls’ schools, the 1870s open a new era in female education since the state started to organize its own school system in the form of a series of higher primary schools for girls as well as a female teacher training school. The first higher primary school for girls was founded in Zagreb in 1868, so this year can be taken as the beginning of the state involvement into female education. From 1873 to 1882 several higher primary schools for girls were opened (Karlovac, Varaždin, Požega, Đakovo and Osijek), and in 1892, a female lyceum was founded in Zagreb, the first female gymnasium in Croatia⁸. In the Croatian educational system in the second half of the 19th century, higher primary schools for girls and female vocational schools were the main places for the formation of the desirable female identities. A great number of female pupils in female vocational schools and female participants in vocational courses at the end of the 19th and the 20th centuries points to certain value shifts in the civil society at the time that no longer expected of young girls only to be superficially educated, but also to be more skilful. That, among other things, made possible for young girls to marry ‘better’ because the domestic economy in this way could be brought to a higher level. After some interventions into the school curriculum at the beginning of the 1880s, the school authorities envisioned higher primary schools for girls as places that educate ‘good housewives’. Pedagogical discourses of the 19th century were the main cornerstones of the discursive production of gender identities within the school system. Pedagogues, in their numerous discussions, determined what womanhood and manhood actually were and consequently determined

⁶ Župan, *Mentalni korzet*, cit., p. 59.

⁷ Trstenjak, *Dobra kućanica*, cit., and Gall, *Uzor-djevojka*, cit.

⁸ Župan, *Mentalni korzet*, cit., pp. 79-81.

different forms of education for women and men. From the viewpoint of the pedagogues, medical doctors and psychologist at the time, the educational system fulfilled its purpose if it turned female pupils into future good mothers, wives and housewives. A 'real' woman was only the one that completely fulfilled her obligations as a mother, wife and housewife. This strategy of determining a 'real' woman had a very concrete goal in mind, and that was keeping women in a subordinate position in relation to men. The most obvious discrimination of women in the Croatian educational system was the ban for girls to be educated in classical gymnasiums and at the University of Zagreb. Not until the beginning of the 20th century were women allowed to enrol to Zagreb University, first to the Faculty of Philosophy and then, from 1918, to the Faculty of Law, too⁹. The possibility of higher education was almost totally determined by the social status of the pupils. Peasant girls who, until the end of the 19th century, made more than 90 percent of the total number of female students in Inner Croatia very rarely continued their education beyond lower primary school, and their lower primary school attendance was much less than the school attendance of their urban peers¹⁰.

A woman in the 19th century was supposed to be completely determined by her family life. Her role was reduced to the private sphere in which she was supposed to submit her life to the interest of her husband. The cultural division into the private and public domain was depicted in many pedagogical discussions as natural and immutable. The security of family life was the priority, and women were supposed to be educated only in the function of reproducing family values, which was also emphasised in the pedagogical discussions at the time. The positioning of women into the privacy of a household and family circle was characterized as a necessity that ensued from the natural determination of women, and the whole female education was supposed to be tied to family and household. In order to keep women attached exclusively to the household, the layers at the time clearly demarcated the boundaries of female professions that primarily were supposed to be subservient to marriage and family duties. «If a calling is such as a woman answering it wholeheartedly would betray her real calling, namely marriage, such a calling is not meant for the woman and she should not be entrusted with it»¹¹.

Since women could affirm themselves only within family, marrying girls was one of the main goals of family economy in the 19th century. Even the fashionable education of the girls belonging to the middle and upper classes

⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 106-107.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 79.

¹¹ Lorković, *Žena u kući i društvu*, cit., p. 28. Blaž Lorković (1839-1892), was a professor of political economy at the Faculty of Philosophy, University of Zagreb, and in producing his book, he made use of two books by Lorenz Stein (1815-1890), professor of political economy at Vienna University. See L. Stein, *Die Frau auf dem Gebiete der Nationalökonomie*, Stuttgart, 1875 and L. Stein, *Die Frau auf dem socialen Gebiete*, Stuttgart, 1880.

in public schools was subservient to the demands of the «marriage market» at the time. A great number of public schools in Zagreb in the middle of the 19th century is a clear indication of it, as well as a great number of hired French, German and English governesses in wealthy families. The trend of opening public schools in Croatia from the middle of the 19th century onwards followed a similar European trend of educating girls for the «marriage market»¹². Public schools were actually the places where future brides were educated since the main 'educational' objective of those schools was to prepare the girls for a prosperous marriage. In those schools girls mostly learnt French, piano playing, dancing and salon manners¹³. The dominant position of males, among other things, was based on the economic dependence of women. Male, as the «family provider», handled almost all assets and income while most middle-class and upper-class women did not have their own income.

1. *The Construction of Female Identity in School Journals and Pedagogical Books*

The existing biological differences between men and women was employed for a different education of men and women, and it was done in such a way that male medical doctors, psychologists and lawyers interpreted those differences in a way that, on the basis of them, women were denied the equal treatment in education. Scientific discourses legalized the non-discursive practices of power that gained prominence within civil patriarchal society. The construed knowledge on the female and male body and character became an argument for justifying male power over females, the power that was also based, among other things, on the unequal education of men and women. In the 19th century, it was generally believed that women had smaller brains and that the female power of thinking was inferior to that of men¹⁴. That was one of the main

¹² «The assumption that women were destined for the domestic sphere was similarly reflected in the education of middle-class girls during this period. Unlike their male counterparts, these girls were largely educated for the marriage market, with the emphasis on social accomplishments before any sort of intellectual activity». J. Martin, *Women and the Politics of Schooling in Victorian and Edwardian England*, London, Leicester University Press, 1999, p. 73.

¹³ «Rather than learning domestic skills from her mother, the genteel girl of the 1830s and beyond was to acquire a set of accomplishments which included the ability to speak French and perhaps Italian, play the piano, dance and show a proficiency in her place in her parents' social circle, using her carefully acquired sophistication as bait to land a husband from the pool of available young men». K. Hughes, *The Victorian Governess*, London, Hambledon, 2001, p. 17.

¹⁴ «It was almost universally believed that a woman's brain was smaller in capacity and therefore inferior in quality to that of a man». E. Flexner, E. Fitzpatrick, *Century of Struggle: The Woman's Rights Movement in the United States*, Cambridge Mass., Harvard University Press, 1996, p. 22.

arguments for a different education of men and women, that is for denying women the possibility of higher education. Many medical doctors, psychologists and pedagogues contributed to the making of such knowledge.

The pedagogical discourses throughout the 19th century were producing a whole array of features that allegedly were characteristic only of women¹⁵. In constructing this desirable femininity, the school system was supposed to play the key role, because it was supposed to be the locus where the knowledge of femininity, characterized by a whole array of allegedly female features, was to be reproduced. By means of these characteristics female conduct was also supposed to be regulated in accordance with the desirable image of a woman. The construction of male and female identity was mostly created on the basis of the knowledge of bodily differences and psychological profiles established by the science at the time, while the production of that knowledge was predetermined by gender prejudices of the then absolutely predominant male scientists. They overemphasized the one-sided binary logic because man was the measure for every research of gender differences. In this way, the existing social power was also reproduced through the then dominant scientific insights. Concrete gender domination and discrimination was the basis for creating and forming the knowledge that only supported the existing gender matrix of power. That kind of knowledge was also reproduced in various school and pedagogical journals, including school handbooks. So, the attendants of the teacher training school in Zagreb could learn the following facts about gender differences from the book *Tjeloslovlje* [Knowledge of the Body].

The male has a broad and strong upper back, the legs thin in thighs, and so he can run away easier and speedier, and can do heavy work; woman has smaller upper back, so it does not become to her to run away or fight or wield a sword, for she is not born to make war, but to comply. Woman is selfish, and man works more for the benefit of others. Woman should be beautiful, calm, complying, patient, caring, home-oriented, loving, chaste, honest and shy, and man should be strong, bold and courageous¹⁶.

Such construed physical and psychological characteristics were used as a basis for determining man and woman, that is a desirable image of man and woman was created.

The desirable characteristics of woman (beautiful, calm, complying, patient, caring, home-oriented, loving, chaste, honest and shy) described in the booklet *Knowledge of the Body* (1873) were present in most books, discussions and articles dealing with female education during the second half of the 19th century in Croatia. Special attention will be devoted to two pedagogical books *Uzor-djevojka* [The Role Model Girl] written by Josip Gall, principal of the higher

¹⁵ Župan, *Mentalni korzet*, cit., pp. 57-59.

¹⁶ Šimončić, *Tjeloslovlje*, cit., pp. 40-41. Gjuro Šimončić lectured on upbringing at the Teacher Training School in Zagreb. *Knowledge of the Body* (*Tjeloslovlje*) referred to somatology.

primary school for girls in Zagreb, and *Dobra kućanica* [A Good Housewife], written by Davorin Trstenjak, principal of the higher primary school for girls in Karlovac. Higher primary schools for girls were supposed to be the places for producing the desirable female identities, and the main features that female pupils were supposed to affirm through education in higher primary schools for girls were the following: shyness, religiousness, quietness, simple-mindedness, humbleness, chastity and meekness¹⁷. School upbringing was used to instigate a constant sense of shame into the girls, which was supposed to be the main regulator of the desirable female conduct.

That is why a girl, from her earliest childhood, should develop a habit to put herself to shame with all her heart... Since the world judges according to one's appearance, a girl should be careful about what she says and does, about each and every gaze she casts and move she makes... let her think through every step she makes¹⁸.

By installing the sense of shame into them, a sense of guilt was imposed onto the girls, and the inner inhibitions that ensued from it were supposed to control their every thought, gaze and move. The female sense of guilt was developed on the basis of the female body as a body totally infused with sexuality, which had its roots in St Augustine's interpretations of the first sin. The disciplinarians of female behaviour saw the best form of control in self-control. An attempt was made to build a very strong 'character armour' in girls and it was supposed to be founded on a whole array of inhibitions. The regulation of behaviour was supposed to be achieved by constant paying attention to even the slightest of details: «she should be controlling every gaze and every move, she should be gazing down shyly, as it is becoming to a shy girl»¹⁹. A permanent sense of shame was supposed to discipline female behaviour totally; it was supposed to be a guarantee that would keep women subservient.

Let her not have fun or talk about things which a girl should not be talking about. Whenever you are saying something, doing something, whenever you are thinking or listening, you should always clearly show that you are a shy girl²⁰.

Girls were supposed to be ashamed of her body and behaviour, which also got reflected on the increased control of female sexuality. Some psychologists towards the end of the 19th century saw in this controlled upbringing the main cause of the psychological problems that young girls had. In Vienna, this kind of upbringing was especially stern, so it is no surprise that it was the city where Sigmund Freud developed his psychoanalytical theory. Girls from the upper class were under constant supervision, while totally different rules

¹⁷ Gall, *Uzor-djevojka*, cit., pp. 13-27.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 15.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 26.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 27.

were applied to boys. Girls from good families were so well protected that they rarely went out of the house unaccompanied, in rich families, the company was usually provided by French or English governesses, whose duty was also to make conversation in those languages. Girls were forced, through the entire upbringing, to comply with a whole array of suppressions only to be proclaimed neurotic and hysterical by male psychologists. The desirable shyness and neurosis were circling in a magical loop constructed by men. Those procedures by which female bodies and character were disciplined and regulated Foucault describes as a strategy of *hysterization of women's bodies*.

A hysterization of women's bodies: a threefold process whereby the feminine body was analyzed – qualified and disqualified – as being thoroughly saturated with sexuality; whereby it was integrated into the sphere of medical practices, finally, it was placed in organic communication with the social body, the family space (of which it had to be a substantial and functional element) and the life of children (which it produced and had to guarantee, by virtue of biologico-moral responsibility lasting through the entire period of the children's education)²¹.

One of the main features that female pupils were supposed to acquire through education in lower and higher primary schools was piousness. Piousness was supposed to have an important role in educating females: «Discipline should be brought into the girls' schools, and it should not be bent for anyone. The girls should be taught to fear God»²². A great preoccupation with the religious education of woman was not only typical of monastery schools, but also of state schools that after the School Act of 1874 went through some level of secularization. The School Act of 1874 limited the influence of the Catholic Church on the primary education that it was given to it by the Concordat of 1855. However, the new School Act did not put into question the religious character of the school although the modernizing reform effectuated the functional differentiation of society, as it is evident from the first stipulation in the School Act of 1874: «The primary school's task is to impart religious and moral education to children, develop their mental and physical powers, and give the general knowledge necessary for living in civil society»²³. Catechism had an important place in the school curriculum of girls' primary schools, and religious education fitted well into the existing gender policy of education. «Only in faith a woman can find her true being, can find herself as God's creature,

²¹ M. Foucault, *The History of Sexuality. Volume I: An Introduction*, New York, Vintage Books, 1990, p. 104.

²² *Zablude djevojačkoga odgoja*, «Hrvatski učitelj», n. 21, 1879, p. 326. Books like *Dobra kršćanska majka* (Đakovo, 1882) written by Izidor Paulić employed Catholic discourse about the role of woman that fitted perfectly into the general strategy of disciplining female behaviour at the time.

²³ A. Cuvaj, *Građa za povijest školstva Kraljevina Hrvatske i Slavonije*, Zagreb, Odjel za bogoštovlje i nastavu, 1911, Vol. VI, p. 435.

moral and pure, and ready to make any sacrifice that duty and honesty ask of her»²⁴. Piousness was also supposed to be the main characteristic of every good housewife, and even the least form of impiousness was described as the negation of female identity because piousness was simply inseparable from femininity. «Piousness is required from a mistress, for without God, she is nothing... An impious woman is the last creature on earth and she cannot be happy or blessed, she is worse than a mute animal»²⁵. Female piousness was supposed to fully occupy female spiritual life and exclude every form of perfecting and affirming herself on the intellectual level. «The purpose of education in girls' schools must be: make them not so much wise as pious girls infused with Christian thinking. We do not need talkative female philosophers, but pious and virtuous girls»²⁶.

Public speaking as a main form of acting in public was supposed to be reserved for men only. «Generally speaking, a married woman, and especially a girl, should talk less and listen more when socializing»²⁷. In the public domain, female speech was suppressed in such a way as to instigate a sense of not knowing 'essential stuff' about which only men could discuss properly. «So, beware you girl, of too much fervour, for what is it that you are supposed to speak about»²⁸. Josip Gall based his argumentation on Fénelon, who, in his discussions on the upbringing of women, demanded that «girls should be taught how to speak shortly and accurately»²⁹. Knowledge, as cultural capital, was supposed to be possessed only by men, and only they were supposed to know the code of its usage. By reproducing such a cultural matrix, men were maintaining the power that kept women away from the realm of knowledge, and knowledge was supposed to keep its male gender forever. «A girl should remember well that she would look ridiculous, made herself obnoxious, if she stood out by virtue of her knowledge»³⁰. A knowledgeable woman was presented in many pedagogical discussions as a «caricature», as an «unnatural» phenomenon, as a negation of femininity that is essentially determined by quietude, since woman was supposed only to be quiet and listen. A woman was supposed to be simple-minded since she, as a mother, wife and housewife, had to take care of her family in a modest and harmless way, and all her knowledge was supposed to be limited to that sphere. Nothing was supposed to jeopardize her modesty, harmlessness and naivety, so special attention in the upbringing of girls was paid to the supervision and control of their free time, and that control entailed supervised socializing, walking, reading, talking and putting

²⁴ *Uzgojivanje žene*, «Napredak», n. 29, 1873, p. 450.

²⁵ Trstenjak, *Dobra kućanica*, cit., p. 11.

²⁶ *Učiteljice i socijalno pitanje*, author unknown, «Kršćanska škola», n. 6, 1898, p. 88.

²⁷ Gall, *Uzor-djevojka*, cit., p. 27.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 46.

²⁹ Fénelon's book *Ob uzgoju djevojaka* was published in 1881 in Bakar, and it was translated by Ivan Širola.

³⁰ Gall, *Uzor-djevojka*, cit., p. 13.

clothes on, that is all the acts that, without control, could jeopardize the desired simple-mindedness and chastity. Absolute obedience and subservience to male authority at home was also expected from a 'good' girl, wife and housewife. Every form of individual aspirations and expressions of their own interests in women was presented as a form of arrogance. A woman, according to the then dominant pedagogical discourse was not supposed to transcend the family frames within which she was supposed to fulfil all her duties as a wife, mother and housewife with compliance and permissiveness. The disciplinarians of pupils' behaviour especially objected to the 'pride' and 'stubbornness', or every form of expressing individual resistance to the desired behaviour. Female and male pupils were expected to be absolutely obedient and subservient, and that desired obedience was also supposed to be achieved by religious education.

It is imperative, therefore, that pride should be crushed early on in every child, as well as stubbornness and disobedience, and obedience and Christian contrition should be installed into its heart. Faith is necessary for everybody, and especially for woman, since her special calling demands that she should forget about herself and live only for others without being discouraged even if her work is not recognized. Her submissive position will be pleasant to her by faith when she gets to know that every authority has its origin in God's almightiness, that God is the One who orders it, and that God is to be heard in man. And a female teacher should, therefore, beware of that command regarding the female gender and so work tirelessly to install the spirit of obedience into the hearts of her female pupils in order to make obedience sweet and easy for them³¹.

In the genesis and maintenance of the determination of woman as a housewife, books like *A Good Housewife* [Dobra kućanica, 1880] written by Davorin Trstenjak played a prominent role³². While the book *A Role Model Girl* [Uzor-djevojka, 1881] was first and foremost intended for the girls attending higher primary schools for girls in the cities to shape their behaviour, the book *A Good Housewife* was intended for all girls, and especially for the «peasant female youth»³³. The book gives a handful of advice in various spheres of life that every 'good' housewife should acquire (how bedbugs are exterminated, which kitchen utensils are the healthiest, how greasy spots are to be cleaned, how to feed spring chickens etc), but the dominant male discourse is running through it and is grooving woman into its ruling order of power. The booklet was actually supposed to form the desirable designation of woman as a housewife within a patriarchal society. The disciplining of female behaviour was supposed to be achieved by a strategy of creating a whole array of 'female' household jobs that were supposed to be acquired by each woman if she wanted to be a 'good' woman. In producing such a female subjectivity, national, religious and social

³¹ *Učiteljice i socijalno pitanje*, «Kršćanska škola», n. 6, 1898, p. 108.

³² Davorin Trstenjak was the first principal of the higher primary schools for girls in Karlovac. While writing the book, he made use of the Slovakian book *Malý gazdina* written by Daniel Lichard.

³³ A review of the book *Dobra kućanica*, «Napredak», n. 20, 1880, p. 318.

identities got intertwined. A girl was supposed to be educated in such a way as to: «get used to every female job, order, cleanliness and integrity, only to become one day an honest and good mistress, a good Croatian woman [...] to try to become one day from an early age a good wife and mistress is something God is asking, something motherland is asking of her»³⁴. Under the pretext that it was about improving the position of woman, there was an attempt to construct an ideal housewife and wife from the viewpoint of man through the educational system, and her principal goal was the ‘satisfaction’ of the husband, and all of that was legitimized even by patriotism.

The one who really has love for the motherland in his heart [...] he should try to return the service to the nation and motherland by spreading better educational principles for the people, into the middle classes, so that the nation can get as many intelligently and righteously educated mothers that will be looking for their happiness in the satisfaction of their husbands, in the healthy and honestly brought-up children, in the well-being and progress of their families, and not in the profanely transient vanities³⁵.

Throughout the book *A Good Housewife* many proverbs were used that were supposed to confirm the righteousness of the desirable female identity as a continuation of the tradition («Men make houses, women make homes», «A woman’s place is in a home» and «A woman’s work is never done»). By enumerating various desirable female characteristics, that book too highlighted the picture of a woman that the pedagogues and teachers at the time wanted to distribute within the educational system. «The most important features of a good and righteous mistress are: diligence, frugality, cleanliness, tidiness, piousness and gentleness»³⁶. A string of useful information in a book dealing with various issues in running a household was supposed to improve everyday life by some enlightening advice, too. However, as any enlightening attempt, that one also had a will for domination built into it. Behind the knowledge of a «good housewife» there was a will to position woman in accordance with the ruling order of power. The contents of Trstenjak’s book was well-fitted into the gender policy of the school authorities as it is evident in the injunction issued by the Government in 1881 by which the book *A Good Housewife* was proclaimed a handbook in the girls’ rehearsing schools, and it was recommended as a reward for successful pupils in lower primary school for girls. Before the second edition was released the school authorities notified the public in the «Official Bulletin» [«Službeni glasnik»] that the second revised edition of *A Good Housewife* would be published again, and that the book would be in use at higher primary schools and vocational schools³⁷. The

³⁴ Trstenjak, *Dobra kućanica*, cit., pp. 5-6.

³⁵ Ivan Filipović, a review of Fenelon’s book *Ob uzgoju djevojaka*, «Napredak», n. 32, 1880, p. 510.

³⁶ Trstenjak, *Dobra kućanica*, cit., p. 9.

³⁷ «Službeni glasnik odjela za bogoštovje i nastavu», official journal published by Kraljevska

extent to which the book *A Good Housewife* was a huge success is evident in the fact that the book had five editions (1880, 1886, 1890, 1897 and 1906). The main features of a good housewife were augmented by the author in the fourth edition by the additional three: patience, loveliness and progressiveness, by which Trstenjak meant reading books on running a household. Following the Croatian government, the Sarajevo Government also introduced *A Good Housewife* as an obligatory reading into the primary and rehearsing schools in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

The policy of female education within the Croatian school system remained consistent to its primary strategy until the beginning of the 20th century and it was based on educating future «virtuous wives», «good housewives» and «caring mothers». Shyness, piousness, quietude, simple-mindedness, chastity, meekness, submissiveness, homeliness and diligence were only a small part of the construed female characteristics that were distributed and reproduced through numerous pedagogical and school books, brochures and magazines. At the beginning of the 20th century, the characteristics that male psychologists, medical doctors and characterologists attributed to women were criticized by the Austrian feminist Rose Mayreder who, following in the footsteps of John Stewart Mill, resolutely objected to the cultural construction of female nature. Mayreder characterized the male constructions of femininity as a subjective fetish that men invented to flatter themselves. The male fantasy of *perennial femininity* is just a mere phantasm³⁸. The essentialist understanding of ‘nature’ was present in all pedagogical discussions, and nature was a necessity that was never put into question. «First and foremost, therefore, a woman is determined by her nature, to be a wife and mother, for this status is the most appropriate for her nature, if not totally necessary»³⁹. A great part of the strategy of gender policy in education was based on a construed female and male nature that was presented as an eternal and non-historical category. It is exactly in the discussion of such discourses that Foucault’s theory of power discloses the origin of the discursive construction of such determinants. From the viewpoint of the pedagogues, teachers and psychologist at that time, an educational system fulfilled its purpose if it turned female pupils into future good mothers, wives and housewives. «That is the reason why education is supposed to turn a woman into what she should be, namely a chaste, diligent housewife, loving wife and happy mother»⁴⁰. Almost all pedagogical discussions on ‘female education’ were totally dominated by those three determinants, and education was supposed to secure that girls embraced them as their ‘natural’

hrvatsko-slavonska-dalmatinska zemaljska vlada, 1886. The book *A Good Housewife* was being sold for 60 pennies.

³⁸ The criticism of the then desirable femininity was offered by Rose Mayreder in her book *Zur Kritik der Weiblichkeit* [Criticism of Femininity], Jena, 1905.

³⁹ D. Jarnević, *Uzgojivanje žena*, «Napredak», n. 28, 1873, p. 432.

⁴⁰ Gall, *Uzor-djevojka*, cit., p. 4.

determination. «It is naturally determined that man should be a good father, wise provider and reasonable householder; woman, on the other hand, a tender and loving mother, a reasonable housewife and wise provider»⁴¹. Every attempt at transcending the limitations between culturally determined gender identities was represented as an unnatural and dangerous act, the one that removed both men and women from their 'real' identity.

That there is a difference between woman and man is even evident in the fact that woman, after she removed herself from her female character by her body, thinking, feeling and behaviour, and so came closer to man, is ridiculous and obnoxious. Such unnatural manly women are not liked by anyone, as well as a man who became feminine. A woman is the dearest, the most beautiful and the most perfect when she remains a woman, that is when she develops and perfects, as much as she can, her natural female features, as well as a man. A man likes most a woman who resembles her task and purpose most: the one that is healthy, beautiful, and full of tenderness, loveliness, dignity, poetical rapture, maternal and patriotic sentiment, morality, spirit and other virtues. And a woman likes most a man who is strong, handsome, a hero in his heart and spirit, ready for any noble battle, fearless guardian of all national values and rights, fighter for all human ideals. In short: a man likes most the real woman, and a woman the real man⁴².

The 'real' woman was only the one who totally fulfilled all the duties she had as a mother, wife and housewife, or the one who was: humble, submissive, diligent, lovely, hard-working, pious, simple-minded, quiet, shy, meek, silent and patient. The strategy of gender policy that insisted on determining the 'real' woman had a very concrete goal, and that was keeping women in the subordinate position in relation to men. Nira Yuval-Davis lucidly noticed that stern cultural codes on what it means to be a real woman often came into existence in order to keep women in that weaker position⁴³. However, the culturally construed characterizations of women were not specific only for Croatia or the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy. In almost all European countries almost identical psychological characteristics that were attributed to women and considered inborn were appearing during the 19th century in medical, religious, sociological, psychological and pedagogical discourses. In Victorian England, for example, it was considered, on the basis of the social and religious beliefs and the then widespread medical and scientific insights, that men and women were naturally different, and not so only physically, but also psychologically owing to the inborn differences in the male and female brains. Female identity was essentially determined by hard 'female' characteristics, which were very similar to the characteristics enumerated in the Croatian books and magazines during the 19th century, and those inborn characteristics were: humbleness,

⁴¹ A. Pechan, *Naobrazba ženskog spola najpreča je potreba naroda našega*, «Napredak», n. 16, 1871, p. 122.

⁴² D. Trstenjak, *Djevojački uzgoj*, «Napredak», n. 34, 1897, p. 530.

⁴³ Cf. N. Yuval-Davis, *Gender and Nation*, London, Sage Publications, 1997.

modesty, goodness, compassion, chastity, politeness, simplicity, morality, patience, sensitivity and empathy⁴⁴. Only rare intellectuals during the 19th centuries were trying to prove that the construction of female and male nature, or femininity and maleness, were actually the result of socialization and the impact of culture and society. One such intellectual was John Stewart Mill who was among the first people advocating an analytical investigation of the impact of external circumstances on character. Mill tried to prove that even the most obvious differences between women and men were the product of external circumstances. Namely, what we call male and female nature is actually the result of external influences, culture and society⁴⁵.

What the strategic priorities of the policy of educating women actually were at the beginning of the 1890s can be seen in the alterations of the school curriculum for higher primary schools for girls. The then dominant image of woman as a simple-minded, submissive and diligent housewife came to the forefront even in the criticism of the educational basis for higher primary school for girls from 1875. That educational basis was criticized as being inappropriate for the nature of female pupils and their future determination of becoming housewives. That was the reason why a public debate was instigated at the end of the 1870s and the beginning of the 1880s to change that educational basis, subsequently resulting in a new school curriculum in 1883. The main objection to the old curriculum was that it «heavily overburdens girls, alienating them from home and their primary task»⁴⁶. At the teachers' conventions preceding the new curriculum for higher primary schools for girls there were discussions on improving the education of girls, and some of the conclusions that were seconded by the participants were supposed to turn the educational system totally in the direction of producing future good housewives. Besides the civil patriarchal discourse, the medical discourse at the time also influenced the creation of the school curricula for higher primary schools for girls. As stated earlier, according to the opinion of the then influential medical doctors and psychologists, the physiological constitution of woman was not capable of the same mental efforts as that of males, so an adaptation of the school programmes was demanded to comply with the scientific insights. Therefore, in the new curriculum for higher primary schools for girls, the number of math classes, science classes, Croatian language classes, history and geography classes were reduced, and a new school subject was introduced – domestic skills. «Female needlework» still took the most classes. The new school curriculum for higher primary schools for girls became official in the school year 1883/1884, and female pupils were supposed to be relieved from the 'unnecessary' knowledge

⁴⁴ Martin, *Women and the politics of schooling in Victorian and Edwardian England*, cit., p. 14.

⁴⁵ Cf. J.S. Mill, *The Subjection of Women*, New York, Prometheus Books, 1986.

⁴⁶ A. Cuvaj, *Građa za povijest školstva*, Zagreb, Kraljevska zemaljska tiskara, 1911, Vol. VII, p. 20.

and it direct them even more towards the desirable determination of becoming a housewife. According to the new curriculum, the weekly math classes were reduced by one class in the fifth and eighth forms, which went hand in hand with the then ubiquitous concept of women having weaker intellectual abilities, and so more complex theoretical learning material was supposed to be excluded from all school subjects in higher primary schools for girls.

One-sided education of reason would turn a girl into a caricature [...]. A total ignorance of the female nature and female calling would come to surface if we wanted these subjects (psychology, higher mathematics) to be part of the educational basis for higher primary schools for girls. Girls should become priestesses of the home hearth, noble, reasonable wives, wise housewives and educated, but not overeducated mothers⁴⁷.

The generally accepted male image of the female simple-minded 'nature' obviously influenced the gender biased distribution of knowledge within the learning material for higher primary schools for girls. The extent to which the knowledge was supposed to be gender determined at the time is evident in numerous discussions on the difference between female and male schools in view of the 'natural' differences between women and men. «Knowledge should also be presented in all its truthfulness and seriousness; only science per se, scientific discussion and systematization is not justified in the higher primary schools for girls, since it contradicts female nature»⁴⁸. However, it was not only gender that determined the quantity of knowledge that female pupils were supposed to get in school, but social status was also an element that significantly determined the distribution of desirable knowledge. So, female pupils of different social background had to acquire different forms of knowledge. Since the majority in higher primary schools for girls was made from girls coming from the middle classes, the entire school curriculum was adapted to educate those girls.

The learning material is divided in such a way that a girl, during her four-year stay in the classroom, must get foundational, well-rounded knowledge that, although elementary, can entirely respond to the demands of these classes that make most of the contingent of higher primary schools for girls⁴⁹.

Every attempt to overcome one's own social position was an enormous obstacle for women, because it was in no way expected of a woman to be

⁴⁷ K. Ferbers, *Zadatak višje djevojačke škole u razlici od mužke*, «Hrvatski učitelj», n. 5, 1886, p. 67.

⁴⁸ K. Cvetišić, *Godišnji izvještaj više djevojačke škole u Osijeku 1885/6*, Osijek, 1886, p. 9. «Higher primary schools for girls is not supposed to prepare girls either for academic kind of sciences or for practical general purposes. Just as gymnasiums and comprehensive schools are supposed to give general education to their pupils, so the purpose of all higher primary schools for girls is to give them general education, but with a difference of paying close attention in educating females according to the nature and social life of the female gender». *Ibid.*, p. 7.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 10.

prone to vertical mobility, but to be static and accept her social position. Such messages were also sent to women through the pedagogical discourse on female education. «A woman that transcends the boundaries of her social position with her education, the one that thinks more than she does, and even thinks on things that are supposed to be quite alien to her, will not reach the true family happiness»⁵⁰. The primary strategy of the female education policy was based on the production of female identity as that of a housewife, wife and mother. This strategy can be noticed in almost all pedagogical and school discussions in which the education of women was the main topic during the second half of the 19th century.

Girls are educated mostly for the home, family circle, which is their field of action. For the most part, it is their task in life, to be a diligent home keeper and tender mother: she has to be an intelligent, polite and faithful mistress in her family and her home. These are her preoccupations, these are the virtues, and her glory too⁵¹.

Conclusion

School gender policy in the 19th century in Croatia was primarily based on constructing desirable gender identities. The pedagogical discourse of that time completely supported and reproduced that kind of policy constructing 'natural' female characteristics. Pedagogues determined, in their numerous discussions, what femininity and masculinity were, and with respect to that, also determined different forms of education for women and men. According to the opinions of the then educational authorities, the aim of the school system was to turn the female students into good mothers, wives and housewives. These constructions of gender identities were founded on general belief in the principle that men and women were naturally different – not just biologically, but in terms of their inherent personality. «The real woman» was only the one who completely fulfilled her duties as a mother, wife and housewife. The strategy of determining “the real woman” had only one aim, and it was keeping women in the subordinate position in relation to men. During the 19th century, the school system was built on the idea that Foucault calls the «regime» of truth. Michel Foucault showed that each society has its «regime» of truth, its general politics of truth, the types of discourse which it accepts and makes function as true. This discourse is constantly reproduced through the educational system and is creating its own hierarchy of knowledge. This hierarchy of knowledge excluded women from higher education in many European countries until the

⁵⁰ Gall, *Uzor-djevojka*, cit., p. 3.

⁵¹ *Učiteljice u obćih pučkih škola*, «Napredak», n. 20, 1883, p. 311.

end of the 19th century. The educational system of the 19th century produced the so called 'natural' categories of femininity and masculinity, which was visible in the teaching programmes and school regulations, as well as in the organisation of the school itself, especially when it comes to higher primary schools for girls and female vocational schools. The teaching programmes in the 19th century prove that power and knowledge were mutually connected and that the educational system used those programmes to influence the cultural construction of male and female identities. In the Croatian educational system during the second half of the 19th century, higher primary schools for girls and female vocational schools were the main institutions where desirable female identities were formed. The pedagogical discussions on the education of women designated precisely those schools as the central locus of the production of the future good housewives, wives and mothers. After the interventions into the school curricula at the beginning of the 1880s, the school authorities envisioned higher primary schools for girls as places for educating «good housewives». The production of «good housewives» within the school system can be highlighted as one of the main goals of the policy determining female education at the time. Therefore, one of the primary strategies of the school system of that time was the educational construction of the female identity as that of a housewife. This construction was supported by many discussions that can be found in pedagogical books and treatises.

Claiming adolescent spaces: education and power in Austro-Hungarian Bosnia and Hercegovina

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ABSTRACT: This paper outlines the educational mission of the Austro-Hungarian administration in Bosnia, with special focus on how power was executed in educational spaces. In the late nineteenth century, the integration and disintegration of education was a determining factor for the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy's future. On the one hand, an educational system could indeed stimulate a sense of belonging; on the other hand, it was likely that students belonging to minority cultures would realize at school how their language and culture were oppressed. Subsequently, they could develop ideas and methods for opposition. The paper concludes that the Austro-Hungarian educational policy in Bosnia indeed had both expected and unexpected consequences. Most importantly, the creation of a formal educational space for learning led to the creation of different types of new informal and non-formal educational spaces, which facilitated and shaped a cultural transfer of the widespread European phenomenon of modern adolescence as a political force.

EET/TEE KEYWORDS: Education; Educational spaces; Austro-Hungarian Monarchy's; Bosnia; Hercegovina; XIXth-XXth Centuries.

1. *Adolescence and modernity*

There is consensus among psychologists and historians that modernity is closely associated with the theme of adolescence. In the late 19th and early 20th century, the idea of adolescence was transformed into a political force. In the emerging liberal capitalist industrial societies of the 19th century, a gap was developed between the traditional social environment of the family and the social environment of work. Especially in rural societies, the family for ages had been the dominant point of identification. The roles of children and parents had been fixed in norms and schemas; it was clear what a person was supposed

to be like during each age period. The rules of interpersonal relations were also understood in age-related frames. In contrast, in modern society the phase between childhood and adulthood had turned from a simple transition from child to adult, possibly ritualized in *rites de passage*, into a period of reflection, wandering, and searching for identity, which is to say a sense of self and a role in society. After the self-evident identification with the family was formed and reinforced in the early years of life, the adolescent had to find an identification with society, too, in the form of a job, a function, or an ideal. This in-between state could temporarily be solved by identifying neither with the family nor with society as a whole, but with people experiencing the same in-between situation. So, during modernization processes, “youth” became a social identification.

The rise of national movements went hand in hand with social developments. Hence, in the field of nationalism studies it is an accepted notion that this relatively modern type of adolescence was closely linked to the “national awakening” of communities in not only the Eastern part of Europe, but also in the West, as well as in the non-Western world. “Young” became a strong and convincing adjective for social and political movements that planned to overthrow existing orders. One could think of a wide variety of groups and movements such as the Young Turks, Young Bosnians, Young Czechs, Young Poles, Young Frisians, and – in the colonies, the Young Javanese, the Young Indians, etc. Most of these movements had taken inspiration of the first outspoken young movement, Giuseppe Mazzini’s *Young Italy*¹.

Young Italy was indeed a ‘young’ movement, but it was also known as a discourse practice of scheming and plotting, secret societies meeting in dark attics, using nick-names, signs and passwords, initiation rituals, and other cloak-and-dagger practices. Mazzini’s political *youthfulness* was a concept, yes indeed a discourse, and it had successfully crossed borders². After the short-lived collaboration of the Young Germans, Italians and Poles in *Young Europe* (1834), and after the failed revolutions of 1848/49, again some ‘young’ movements appeared in the late 19th century. In Belgium a group of poets published the periodical *Young Belgium* to disseminate their realistic and modernist poems. In the Polish lands under Austrian rule a group of artists presented themselves as *Young Poland*, echoing the “other” Young Poland of the early 19th century. In Germany, the magazine «Jugend» [«Youth»] became popular among urban intellectual elites and its style and design became known as *Jugendstil* [Youth style]. What mattered around 1900 was not to become adult as soon as possible but rather to stay young as long as possible³.

¹ E.E.Y. Hales, *Mazzini and the Secret Societies: The Making of a Myth*, London, Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1956, pp. 61-62.

² R. Sarti, *Giuseppe Mazzini and Young Europe*, in C.A. Bayly, E. Biagini (edd.), *Giuseppe Mazzini and the Globalisation of Democratic Nationalism*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2008, p. 278.

³ J. Neubauer, *The Fin-De-Siècle Culture of Adolescence*, New Haven, Yale University Press,

The concept of being young was, in this context, both a consequence of political and economic industrialization, as it was a new phenomenon in cultural imagination, very much colored by the same sentiments that inspired modernism in Europe.

2. *The case of Austro-Hungarian Bosnia and Hercegovina*

Taking this modern “political” adolescence as a point of departure, I aim to research and possibly locate the “adolescent space” in the educational realm of Bosnia and Hercegovina during the times of the Austro-Hungarian occupation (1878-1918).

The case of Bosnia and Hercegovina is interesting for a variety of reasons. First, formal, state-regulated education arrived rather late in this part of the empire. Until the Austrian authorities in 1878 took *de facto* political control over the two former Ottoman peripheral provinces, the level of formal education in these mountainous, remote regions was low. This makes up for a good case to analyze the impact of frontrunners and pioneers in education. Two, the Austro-Hungarian annexation of the culturally and socially very diverse Bosnian territories took place in a time when societies in both Western and Eastern Europe were experiencing waves of radical and progressive nationalism. Both the Austro-Hungarian Empire (top-down) and the various national communities in that same empire (bottom-up) were much aware of the power of modern education to indoctrinate the brightest representatives of younger generations. Three, this article will provide context to the history of the Young Bosnian activists who participated in the Sarajevo assassination plot against Franz Ferdinand, the Austro-Hungarian heir to the throne. Besides a few exceptions, these activists were all students, who were educated in the newly established schools of the Austro-Hungarian administration.

Throughout the nineteenth century, governments discovered the unprecedented possibilities of public education to forge a nation. Citizens were disciplined and even conditioned to learn about and obey the laws, follow the conventions of the society, and show loyalty to the state. The ultimate space for expressing this disciplinary power by means of modern education became the formal classroom. Schools are social spaces too, imbued with meanings, narratives, and emotional and psychological attachments. One who observes the classroom (or school) as a “container” in which learning and education takes place, ignores that the school itself also has a formative effect on the

people in it. Burke and Grosvenor conclude in the introduction to their book *School* that the building also must be perceived *as an active agent*, «shaping the experience of training and promoting and equally pioneering a certain understanding of education»⁴. Metaphorically, the classroom is therefore not only a “container”, but a “nexus”, or a network too⁵. In the field of youth studies and subculture studies, it is common to see networks in daily practice as very much “imagined”, some even speak of a “myth”⁶. Youth subcultures, with all its political and cultural meaning, are very much constructed and created in language. Shane Blackman concluded this as follows: «[...] youth subculture possesses immense semiotic power for communication. As an intellectual field, subculture promotes sameness of identity through consumption but also holds the potential to critically and politically impact on consciousness»⁷. John Neubauer has argued that the imagining of adolescence did not only reflect its emergence as a middle-class phenomenon but also helped to *shape* its construction⁸. In short: Life imitated art/text. The network, then, is a creative force that is enveloped in style («lifestyle»), symbols, and rituals.

In what follows I will contextualize the modern political force of adolescence in the educational spaces of Austro-Hungarian Bosnia and Hercegovina. This will be done systematically by looking at a number of formal, informal, and non-formal educational spaces, such as classrooms, reading rooms, student rooms and dormitories. The article aims to contribute both to scholarship into education of Bosnia and Hercegovina, and the spatial turn in youth studies.

3. Formal spaces: The classroom

In 1878, when the Austrian armies occupied Bosnia, the state of the Bosnian education system was poor. Granted, there had been schools in Ottoman times, mostly Islamic primary schools, Quran-schools (*mektebi*), and lower secondary schools (*medrese*). But the children who graduated from these schools could do little more than recite a few surahs from the Quran⁹. There were other

⁴ C. Burke, I. Grosvenor, *School*, London, Reaction Books, 2008, p. 10.

⁵ K.M. Leander *et alii*, *The Changing Social Spaces of Learning: Mapping New Mobilities*, «Review of Research in Education», vol. 34, 2010, p. 332.

⁶ See, for example: P. Meyer Spacks, *The Adolescent Idea: Myths of Youth and the Adult Imagination*, London, Faber & Faber, 1982, p. 228; M. Brake, *The Sociology of Youth Culture and Youth Subcultures*, London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1980, pp. 16-18; D. Hebdige, *Subculture: The Meaning of Style*, London and New York, Methuen, 1979, p. 136.

⁷ S. Blackman, *Youth Subcultural Theory: A Critical Engagement with the Concept, its Origins and Politics, from the Chicago School to Postmodernism*, «Journal of Youth Studies», vol. 8, n. 1, 2005, p. 2.

⁸ Neubauer, *The Fin-de-Siècle Culture of Adolescence*, cit., pp. 204-209.

⁹ The issue is discussed in more detail in H. Čurić, *Muslimansko školstvo u u Bosni i Hercegovini*

confessional schools, organized by the Catholic and Orthodox clergy. Franciscan and Dominican orders had played a role in spreading knowledge in remote areas of Bosnia, while most Orthodox teachers came from independent Serbia, or from the more developed regions in the vicinity of the Austrian-Hungarian Empire¹⁰.

The Austrians favored the introduction of a public, multi-confessional school system for Bosnia, while the Hungarians spoke out against it. In the end – as was often the case in the Dual Monarchy – a compromise was found: Finance Minister Benjamin Kállay introduced a public school system, complete with textbooks and skilled teachers, while the existing confessional schools continued to be tolerated but were brought under control of the joint ministry of finance. Schools soon became laboratories for nationalism and colonialism. Miroslav Hroch stressed that the schooling mission of multinational empires such as the Austrian-Hungarian were often focused on the monarch rather than the “homeland”¹¹. So it was in Bosnia. The students began each school day by singing the imperial anthem honoring Franz Joseph. Birthdays in the imperial family were celebrated as official holidays, and students participated in parades, waving the black and yellow flag of the Habsburgs¹².

Benjamin Kállay, this Austro-Hungarian minister of Finance, introduced *gymnasiums* and high schools, and arranged a system of stipends for children of poorer Bosnians to help them in their education, and thus make their upward social mobility at least possible. One of the new types of public schools in Austro-Hungarian Bosnia was the Merchant School. The Austrians wanted to create a middle class by training children for jobs in the mercantile center of Sarajevo (the *Čaršija*). In these Merchant Schools the students were taught in languages and particularly mathematics, with a special focus on accounting. We can find more information about the weekly schedule in the yearbooks of the merchant schools. In 1908, for example, a first-year pupil spent two hours per week in religion class. There were teachers for all the five confessional groups: Serbian Orthodox (initially this was called «Greek-Oriental»), Catholic, Islamic, Sephardic Jewish, and Ashkenazi Jewish. The students spent five hours per week in Bosnian and German language classes. Optionally they could choose Hungarian instead of German, but at least one of the two imperial languages was to be learned¹³.

do 1918. godine, Sarajevo, Veselin Masleša, 1983, p. 29.

¹⁰ Đ. Pejanović, *Srednje i stručne škole u Bosni i Hercegovini*, Sarajevo, Svjetlost, 1953, pp. 8-9. Many pioneers of Bosnian literary culture came from Vojvodina, see: M. Bikicki, *Bosanska Vila i njeni saradnici iz Vojvodine*, in S. Peković (ed.), *Tradicionalno i moderno u srpskim časopisima na početku veka 1895-1914*, Novi Sad, Matica Srpska, 1992, pp. 309-316.

¹¹ M. Hroch, *Das Europa der Nationen*, Göttingen, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2005, p. 100.

¹² R.J. Donia, *Sarajevo: A Biography*, London, Hurst & Company, 2009, pp. 81-82.

¹³ *Četrnaesti godišnji izveštaj Trgovačke škole u Sarajevu za školsku godinu 1907/1908*, Sarajevo, 1908, p. 22.

The yearbooks include the names of the students per year and give some insight into the confessional variety of the school population. I took a random sample of the first-year enrollment at the Merchant School in 1908-1909: 39 Catholic students, 37 Serbian Orthodox, 29 Sephardic Jewish («Seph. Israelites»), 6 Ashkenazi («Austrian Jewish»), 12 Muslims, and 4 students whose religious affiliation was not given. Most of the students (67) lived in Sarajevo, 33 came from other Bosnian towns, 12 were from the countryside, and 5 came from «abroad», which is to say from other districts, regions, and countries in the Empire¹⁴.

What we can learn from these data is, first of all, that the population of this merchant school was diverse. Most were from the mercantile Christian and Jewish elite of Sarajevo. The Muslims were a minority presence, and understandably so, since rich Muslims tended to belong to the landowning class, and most poor Muslims were free tenants. The many German, Slovak, Polish, Czech, and Hungarian names confirm the assumption that many pupils were children of *Kuferaši*, either expatriates from other parts of the Empire who sought their fortune in the province, or Habsburg officials working in Kállay's administration. The majority of these Central European migrants were Catholic.

In addition to the pedagogical school and merchant schools, the Austrians also founded schools according to the classical model of the *gymnasium*. The difference between these schools is best described by a classmate of Gavrilko Princip, who recalled:

In those times the merchant school was not respected among the students. Those who failed in *gymnasium* went to the merchant school to become one of the best students there. Princip was intelligent and very ambitious, so he couldn't bear the fact he was a student at such a weak school. So he passed the exams of a *gymnasium* in Tuzla, and he then enrolled in the Sarajevo *gymnasium*¹⁵.

This gymnasium was key in the construction and establishment of a new, 20th century-styled intelligentsia in Bosnia-Herzegovina. In Bosnia, until the Habsburg occupation, the few educated men were mostly in the clergy. In his thorough study of the intelligentsia, Džaja mentions and provides figures for bona fide *intellectuals* in Bosnia and Herzegovina during the period 1840-1878. He records that there were 10 bishops and other higher clergy, 95 schoolteachers, 60 writers, 56 editors of magazines and periodicals, and another 25 educated academics who were not part of the Ottoman bureaucracy¹⁶. Džaja uses a quite

¹⁴ Petnaesti godišnji izveštaj Trgovačke stručne škole u Sarajevu za školsku godinu 1908/1909, Sarajevo, Štamparija Riste J. Savića, 1909, pp. 40-44.

¹⁵ I. Kranjčević, *Uspomene jednog učesnika u sarajevskom atentatu*, Sarajevo, Svjetlost, 1964, pp. 26-27.

¹⁶ S. Džaja, *Bosnien-Herzegowina in der österreichisch-ungarischen Epoche 1878-1918. Die Intelligentsia zwischen Tradition und Ideologie*, Munich, Oldenbourg, 1994, p. 15.

broad definition of an intellectual: a person who needs to write and read for work.

Some of these intellectuals played a role in the national movements of Serbs and Croats in the region, especially in the emancipation of confessional (Catholic, Orthodox) schools¹⁷. Others were simply isolated figures in remote villages: «lone readers», not positioned to share their knowledge with the illiterate peasant population. In the twenty years after 1878, when the Austrian school reforms were slowly being implemented, no great changes could be observed. In his famous novel *The Bridge on the Drina*, Ivo Andrić describes how very few of the young, bright boys of Bosnia left their homes to receive some education in Central Europe; and if these students graduated, they would end up in the «gray and countless ranks of state bureaucracy»¹⁸. It took several decades for Bosnia to experience the full impact of the Austrian education system.

In Western and Central Europe, the rise of a class (or a group) of *intellectuals* had resulted, long before, in interesting social dynamics. Hence at first the Joint Ministry of Finance governing Bosnia feared encouraging the education of Bosnians who might possibly be transformed into vocal and perhaps subversive critics of the regime, state, church, and monarchy. Kállay nevertheless supported the founding of a *gymnasium* in Sarajevo for the brightest minds, because Bosnia could obviously not do without it. He would keep a close eye on the students' development.

The first yearbook (1878-1879) of the K. K. Realgymnasium of Sarajevo reveals the problems hampering educational efforts in Bosnia:

Our aspirations have met serious obstacles. These provinces did not have any organization for proper education in elementary schools, so a large part of the intelligent, inquisitive youth population could perhaps gain some knowledge but was not able to write nor read in his native language. Therefore it is necessary that the youth first learn how to write and read, before they enroll in a secondary school. [...] Until now, we could not find a sufficient number of students for a *gymnasium*¹⁹.

But things would change. The yearbook promises:

We start with little, but we will have significant successes. The students will be enriched not only with the knowledge that every educated person must acquire today, but they will also strengthen their moral capability and character, which is needed for them to become men of the nation, who reach for glory and will shine like role models for others.

¹⁷ B. Madžar, *Pokret Srba Bosne i Hercegovine za vjersko-prosvjetnu samoupravu*, Sarajevo, Veselin Masleša, 1982; M. Papić, *Istorija srpskih škola u Bosni i Hercegovini*, Sarajevo, Veselin Masleša, 1978; P. Slijepčević (ed.), *Napor Bosne i Hercegovina za oslobođenje i ujedinjenje*, Sarajevo, Narodna odbrana, 1929, pp. 79-107, 107-167.

¹⁸ I. Andrić, *The Bridge on the Drina*, New York, Macmillan, 1959, transl. by L.F. Edwards. Phoenix Edition E-book (last access: 17.11.19).

¹⁹ *Jahrbericht des K.K. Realgymnasiums in Sarajevo 1878/1879*, Sarajevo, 1880.

The first group of Sarajevo *gymnasium* students consisted of approximately 26 Catholics, 19 Serbian Orthodox, 13 Muslims, 22 Jews, and 2 Protestants²⁰. The appointed director was Ivan Zoch, an enthusiastic Protestant Slovak sent – or exiled – to the Balkans by Hungarian authorities, who deemed him a Pan-Slavic danger. His naïve idealism is illustrated by the anecdote that in 1880 he went from door to door in the city to explain to parents why it would be a good idea to send children to school²¹. The percentage breakdown of the 723 students who graduated in the period between 1887 and 1918 runs as follows: 43% Catholic, 30% Serbian Orthodox, 14% Muslim, 11% Jewish (and 2% from other confessional backgrounds)²².

Because of the confessional diversity in the classroom, the students, naturally, began to think about their identity. Categorizing these students as Orthodox, Muslim, or Catholic also *made* them Orthodox, Muslim, or Catholic²³. These classrooms thus became «spaces of difference». An anecdote told by a classmate of Gavrilo Princip shows how these differences were sometimes experienced in the *gymnasium* classrooms. Ivo Kranjčević, labeled a Catholic, once helped Princip, labeled an Orthodox, when he was having difficulties with their teacher:

I stood up and testified that I had visited Princip the day before and saw him there in bed because of a fever, so he could not study. The teacher believed my story, and accepted Gavrilo's pretext. During the break Gavrilo came to me to thank me for the friendly help, which had puzzled him, because I was a Croat, and his Serbian classmates had laughed at him and had not done anything to help him²⁴.

Besides confessional diversity, there was remarkable social diversity in the classrooms. This was a new experience for some Austro-Hungarian teachers, who were familiar mostly with the strict hierarchical structures of Prussia and Austria. Some complained about the despicable manners of lower-class students. Therefore, the local authorities set many rules for the students, including regulations about doing homework, how to appeal to teachers, what kind of bars they were allowed to visit, and whether they were allowed to spit on the ground²⁵. The Austrian military officer Oskar Potiorek, appointed *Landesschef*

²⁰ Calculated from the yearbook, *ibid.*

²¹ M. Papić, *Školstvo u Bosni i Hercegovini za vrijeme Austro-Ugarske okupacije*, Sarajevo, Veselin Masleša, 1972, p. 104.

²² Džaja, *Bosnien-Herzegowina*, cit., pp. 140-143.

²³ The relations among identity, language, and power are discussed in A. Gingrich, *Conceptualising Identities: Anthropological Alternatives to Essentialising Difference and Moralizing about Othering*, in G. Baumann, A. Gingrich (edd.), *Grammars of Identity/Alterity: A Structural Approach*, New York, Berghahn, 2004, pp. 3-17; G. Baumann, *Grammars of Identity/Alterity: A Structural Approach*, in *ibid.*, pp. 18-50.

²⁴ I. Kranjčević, *Uspomene jednog učesnika u sarajevskom atentatu*, Sarajevo, Svjetlost, 1964, pp. 26-27.

²⁵ *Školski glasnik: školski službeni list Zemaljske vlade za Bosnu i Hercegovinu*, vol. 1/1, 1910, p. 34.

of Bosnia, was astonished about the social variety in Bosnia's secondary schools and, as a result, the lack of good manners to be found there:

Whereas schools in other regions of the Empire take children from upper society, who have enjoyed a proper domestic education and who are familiar with our good civil traditions, [...] here almost everyone can simply intrude upon the *Gymnasium*, and other high schools. The son of the peasant and the son of the grocer, and even the mentally less gifted: they all wish to become "educated sirs" just like the son of the lawyer, the state official, or the landowner²⁶.

Indeed, members of the lower classes in Bosnia were given opportunities to climb the social ladder through their high-school education. Kállay's ideas about equality were also implemented in educational policy. A well-developed stipend system made it possible for poorer pupils to apply for money for schooling and thus gain better future prospects. In a country with such a small elite, almost no bourgeoisie, and a large percentage of poor people, the Austrian education system, as one would expect, resulted in some important social changes. The prospect of a career based on learning, education, and reading softened some of the differences in the students' social backgrounds. The shared idea that they could all climb the social ladder because of their ability to learn, rather than because of family ties or class privilege, promoted a sense of solidarity among them. Hence the *gymnasium* created new points of identification, and the students became their own group. A memoir of a schoolmate of Gavrilo Princip describes the appearance of the archetypical *gymnasium* student:

You could recognize the students by their black capes, made of the cheapest material, covering the holes in their suits. Many wore black hats on their heads, with slits on the sides. These hats were called «radikalskis», a name that most probably originated from Serbia. By wearing a stiff collar and a tie, tied up in a knot at the top button of their shirts, they showed that the boys had become adolescents²⁷.

This passage cited above shows that the "students" were seen as part of a new subculture: they communicated with one another and identified themselves through newly introduced dress codes, rituals, and symbols. The students were, or at least felt they were a new segment in society. Several reasons for this can be identified. First, they consciously identified with the great calling of learning, and were the alleged «flower of the nation». Second, students also became a social group that felt and was explicitly adolescent in character. The idea of being "young", of moving through a defining phase between childhood and adulthood, became a point of identification and recognition²⁸. In return,

²⁶ Cited in Džaja, *Bosnien-Herzegowina*, cit., p. 138.

²⁷ D. Ljubibratić, *Mlada Bosna i sarajevski atentat*, Sarajevo, Muzej Grada Sarajeva, 1964, p. 62.

²⁸ This 'identification' with peers of the same age is a process analyzed by sociologists. M. Brake, *Comparative Youth Culture: The Sociology of Youth Cultures and Youth Subcultures in*

citizens which were not consciously young started to recognize the students as a new culture, a new group in society.

4. *Informal Spaces: Reading Room*

After Kállay began to realize that it was impossible to turn the Bosnians into docile citizens, he became more pragmatic. Shortly before he died in 1903, he yielded to requests for the establishment of cultural institutions serving the confessional communities of Bosnia. He granted the Serbs permission to found the cultural institute *Prosvjeta* (Enlightenment, founded 1902), and ensured there would be analogous institutions for the Croats (*Napredak*, Progress, founded 1904) and the Bosnian Muslims (*Gajret*, Zeal, founded 1903)²⁹. An institution for Sephardic Jews, *La Benevolencia* (Benevolence), had been founded a few years before. Since the Jewish community kept aloof from national struggle, this institution posed no threat to the Austrian administration.

In these cultural institutions poor Bosnian students could apply for scholarships for secondary and university education. From this small task, the organization's activities expanded to include the organizing of cultural and social events, ranging from literary courses and classical-music concerts to gymnastics hours and agricultural campaigns. In fact, most of these events gave cover for the underlying aims of the institutions. Within a few years of the death of Kállay in 1903, these cultural centers were transformed into political organizations with a national agenda. *Prosvjeta*, the Serbian cultural institute, was the most active and perhaps the most coherent institution, helped by the Serbs having a cultural, economic and political (and revolutionary) patron in the neighboring country of Serbia. Another reason for *Prosvjeta*'s success was the success of some Serb merchants in the city and their acquisition of significant capital.

Prosvjeta developed a variety of tasks to enlighten the population. Reading was a priority. *Prosvjeta* spread knowledge among the Bosnian Serb community by founding reading rooms in many towns and villages. By its tenth year, *Prosvjeta* was coordinating a network of 36 reading rooms, where 2,240 members could read around 10,000 books³⁰. Another core business of

America, Britain, and Canada, London, Routledge & K. Paul, 1985, Chapter 1; P. Abrams, *Rites de Passage: The Conflict of Generations in Industrial Society*, «Journal of Contemporary History», vol. 5, n. 1, 1970, p. 186.

²⁹ T. Išek, *Mjesto i uloga HKD Napredak u kulturnom životu Hrvata Bosne i Hercegovine (1902-1918)*, Sarajevo, Institut za Istoriju Sarajeva, 2002; I. Kemura, *Uloga 'Gajreta' u društvenom životu Muslimana Bosne i Hercegovine 1903-1941*, Sarajevo, Veselin Masleša, 1986; B. Madžar, *Prosvjeta. Srpsko prosvjetno i kulturno društvo 1902-1949*, Sarajevo, Akademija Nauke RS, 2002.

³⁰ *Spomenica desetgodišnjice Prosvjete*, Sarajevo, Prosvjeta, 1912, pp. 107-108.

Prosvjeta was the support of Serbian choirs in Bosnia. Besides the very popular choirs *Gusle* from Mostar and *Sloga* from Sarajevo, there were 26 other singing societies in Bosnia, scattered all around the countryside³¹. The temperance societies (*Pobratimstvo*) were also monitored by *Prosvjeta*, as were the fitness societies (*Sokol*). The Sokols in particular were deemed very dangerous by Austrian authorities because of their fierce nationalist atmosphere and the masculine, muscular appearance of their members. Kállay's successor, the Hungarian István Baron Burian von Rajecz, who took office in 1903, saw it as his duty to curb the power of *Prosvjeta*. But he soon realized this was a fight against the odds. Important Serbian newspapers such as *Srpska Rije* (Serb Word, a radical nationalist daily) and *Narod* (People), incited the already stirred-up Bosnian Serbs against the Austrians.

Prosvjeta's major task remained the providing of student stipends. It subsidized many successful Bosnian students who would become the most active representatives of a new, radical Bosnian Serb generation, including Vladimir Gaćinović, Dimitrije Mitrinović, Petar Kočić, Bogdan Žerajić, and later Danilo Ilić and Gavriilo Princip. Obviously those stipends were not to be granted for nothing; *Prosvjeta* expected something in return from this younger generation. With help from *Prosvjeta* the network of the most talented and radical young Bosnian students was reinforced, so that they could mobilize themselves.

When *Prosvjeta* was founded in 1902 there were only 35 Bosnian Serbs who had graduated from a university³². This is not much larger than a group of students who could fit in one classroom. They all must have known one another personally; the (higher) educational network of the Bosnian Serbs was a very "small world" with close ties. These ties however were linked with others, outside the classroom.

If we follow the concept of Benedict Anderson's *Imagined Communities*, it is obvious that globalization (or at least Europeanization) and the development of infrastructure in education, technology, and print media (plus print capitalism) enhanced the shared or imagined feelings of identity in the previously backward milieu of peripheral Bosnia, particularly by means of periodicals and books³³. Literary scholar Palavestra describes the importance of the Mostar-based modernist periodical *Zora* with a sense of pathos: «In the small Herzegovian town, in the periphery of Europe, deep in the province that was recently wrenched from the oriental Turks, on the cobblestones, in small shops, new

³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 106.

³² J. Milojković-Djurić, *The Eastern Question and the Voices of Reason: Austro-Hungary, Russia and the Balkan States 1875-1908*, New York, Boulder, 2002, p. 163.

³³ See chapter 3 («The Origins of National Consciousness») in B. Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, London/New York, Verso, 2006, pp. 37-46.

literary work was born, and writers appeared without whom we could not imagine modern Serbian literature»³⁴.

Anderson's model, however, needs to be supplemented with an awareness that journals alone do not connect people or forge intellectual networks: this requires a readership. For this, the Austrians allowed the opening of several «reading rooms» (*čitaonice*), where members of reading societies could read newspapers and other periodicals from within Bosnia and from abroad. In alignment with the confessional pillars of Bosnian society, there were Catholic, Serbian Orthodox, and Muslim reading rooms. Newspapers were read there, and these *čitaonice* became spaces of communication and identification. In the reading rooms more Bosnians became involved in the intellectual developments going on around them – and elsewhere. In today's age of global news networks on the internet, of blogging, streaming, and podcasts, having a glance at foreign media seems banal, but for those in Mostar in 1900, this was a staggering experience. In 1866 there had been only two printers in all of Bosnia; by 1918 there were forty³⁵. Shortly after 1878 the authorities financed and supported the circulation of pro-Austrian Bosnian newspapers and other periodicals, aimed especially at constructing a sense of secular Bosnian nationhood (*Bošnjaštvo*)³⁶. The strictness of late-nineteenth-century Austrian censorship eventually proved to be counterproductive, so after 1900 ever more nationalist newspapers were tolerated, especially after Kállay's death in 1903. The first outspoken Bosnian Serb and anti-Austrian newspaper from Mostar, *Srpski Vjesnik*, began its run in 1897 and was printed where *Zora* was printed³⁷. In response, Bosnian Muslims and Bosnian Croats were allowed to publish their more nationalist periodicals. At the *gymnasium*, the atmosphere was tense and the school authorities had been excluding many students from classes. Bosnian Muslims were, just like the Bosnian Serbs, advocating religious education, but, in addition, they also petitioned and stood up against many other grievances they experienced under Austrian rule³⁸. In 1898 the 'Muslim-Serb' Osman Đikić was expelled from the Mostar *gymnasium*, and the authorities kept a close eye on other students from all confessional backgrounds. The students who stayed sympathized with those who had been thrown out.

³⁴ P. Palavestra, *Književnost Mlade Bosne*, Sarajevo, Svjetlost, 1965, Vol. I, p. 33.

³⁵ Džaja, *Bosnien-Herzegowina*, cit., p. 85.

³⁶ T. Kraljačić, *Kalajev Režim u Bosni i Hercegovini 1882-1903*, Sarajevo, Veselin Masleša, 1987, pp. 188-189; Džaja, *Bosnien-Herzegowina*, cit., p. 89.

³⁷ Kraljačić, *Kalajev Režim*, cit., pp. 173-74; J. Vega, *Das architektonische Erbe Mostars aus der Zeit der österreichisch-ungarischen Verwaltung: Das architektonische Programm im Dienste der Durchführung des politischen Programms der Habsburger Monarchie von 1878 bis 1918*, Graz, Verlag der TU Graz, 2006, pp. 77-81; R. Popović, *Književna kritika u Narodu i Srpskom Vjesniku*, in S. Peković (ed.), *Tradicionalno i moderno u srpskim časopisima*, cit., pp. 272-276.

³⁸ R.J. Donia, *Islam Under the Double Eagle: The Muslims of Bosnia and Hercegovina, 1878-1914*, Boulder, East European Monographs, 1981, pp. 181-190.

Pero Slijepčević reported the founding of the literary forum *Matica* (Mainstream) in 1904³⁹. Although it was officially forbidden to gather in groups discussing poetry and literature (or politics!), *Matica* was quite successful – maybe because it was a secret society. Each week students met in private apartments to read stories and papers, and to contemplate poetry and the epic tradition⁴⁰. One of the other students in Mostar, a young man named Dimitrije Mitrinović, coordinated the reading sessions in a small reading room where this clique of literary students could read modern German, French, and Serbian literature⁴¹. The group's members stimulated one another in writing, translating, and publishing. As a result, Gaćinović began writing literary criticism and poems for various Serbian periodicals in Bosnia. In these articles he expressed, in or between the lines, a strong adoration for Petar Kočić. Obviously he imitated Kočić's sarcastic observations of a degraded society, in which the peasant was nothing but a defenseless victim of evil Austrian colonizers. Additionally, his writings exuded the youthful bravado of an adolescent poet, wanting to bring down the old, conservative order. His first article in *Srpska Riječ* contained the following passage:

Witnessing the transitional stage of our dumbfounded society, emphasizing a surge of modern ideas, discerning a wide-ranging evolution of our life, sensing the depatriarchalization of the common man, we can see that our short story is blinkered and stunted, that not even amidst so many publications we do have the portrayal of social misery and destitution, of the complicated struggle of social elements and groups, of the wretched husbandman squealing and crying amidst his misery and poverty⁴².

The critical essays of Gaćinović demonstrate an interesting mix of political and literary idealism. His radical nationalism and modernist mode of literary criticism was combined with social idealism in a very Kočić-ian way. In addition to *Matica* and the students' reading room (*Mala Biblioteka*), a political forum was founded by the Mostar circle. This forum, called *Sloboda* (Freedom), was set up by an older Mostar student named Bogdan Žerajić – a close friend of Gaćinović. The people behind this forum organized debates on international politics, economy, and Serbian or South-Slavic integration⁴³. The networks of *Matica*, the students' reading room, and *Sloboda* overlapped, and individuals such as Gaćinović and Žerajić were involved in all initiatives⁴⁴. The literary and political goals of the forums therefore merged into a single aim: in their

³⁹ D. Ljubibratić, *Vladimir Gaćinović*, Belgrade, Nolit/Prosveta, 1961, p. 35.

⁴⁰ Ljubibratić, *Mlada Bosna*, cit., p. 49.

⁴¹ P. Palavestra, *Dogma i utopija Dimitrija Mitrinovića*, Belgrade, Zavod za udžbenike, 2003, pp. 11-12.

⁴² V. Gaćinović, *Pripovjetke Petra Kočića*, in P. Palavestra, *Ogledi i Pisma*, Sarajevo, Svjetlost, 1956, pp. 23-27.

⁴³ Palavestra, *Dogma i utopija*, cit., p. 14.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 13-14; V. Dedijer, *Sarajevo 1914: Book I*, Belgrade, Prosveta, 1978, p. 225.

view, literature could not flourish without freedom, while freedom could not be achieved without literature. This is illustrated by some lines in a letter of Gaćinović to a friend, in which he calls himself both a «Garibaldist» and a «Kočićist» in one sentence: a fighter and a writer⁴⁵.

5. Reclaiming the space: *Hochschulinstitut Wien* and the student societies

Benjamin Kállay never seriously considered founding a University in Bosnia. He feared that the growth of a local student population would foster anti-Austrian feelings. Similar arguments were still used in the last years before the outbreak of the First World War. In 1913, Governor Biliński suggested *Landesschef* Potiorek to open a university in Sarajevo, in order to keep the students under control, and prevent them from going to cities of potential politicization, such as Belgrade, and Prague⁴⁶. Potiorek, the strict general, replied with three arguments. First, he thought it would not be wise to train too many people for an administrative job. In other words, he was afraid of a large bureaucratic class in Bosnia, especially when they would be unemployed, and, consequently, bored. Second, he presumed it would be impossible in Bosnia to reach the academic level of the Universities of Vienna and Budapest. His most interesting third argument was that the Bosnian students should not attend any University in Sarajevo, because «the mental ties to the Monarchy were not strong enough»⁴⁷. In fact, Potiorek thought wrongly that studying in Vienna would fill the hearts of the students with patriotic love for the Emperor and the Monarchy.

Kállay, Potiorek's illustrious predecessor, had had other impressions. Already before the turn of the century, the politicization of the Bosnian youth had come to the surface. In order to counter the influence of Young Czechs, Young Slovaks, Young Poles and other potential anti-Austrian movements, Kállay ordered to construct a dormitory, a Bosnian Institute in Vienna (*Hochschulinstitut Wien*), where the students from the newest province were supposed to live and work⁴⁸. This dormitory was to prevent the rise of a «malkontentes Geistesproletariat»:

⁴⁵ Letter of Vladimir Gaćinović to Milan Karanović, June 1908, cited in Ljubibratić, *Mlada Bosna*, cit., p. 50. Connections to the Garibaldini went back to the 1875 Bosnian uprisings, as many Italian volunteers fought alongside the Bosnian peasant gangs: E.R. Terzuolo, *The Garibaldini in the Balkans, 1875-1876*, «The International History Review», vol. 4, n. 1, 1982, pp. 111-126. The international shadow of Garibaldi is discussed in L. Riall, *Charisma and the cult of the hero in Risorgimento Italy*, in V. Ibrahim, M. Wunsch (edd.), *Political Leadership, Nations and Charisma*, London, Routledge, 2012, pp. 65-79.

⁴⁶ Arhiv BiH - Zajedničko Ministarstvo Finansija (ZMF), Pr. BH, Pr. Reg. 20/1913 and 718/1913.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*

⁴⁸ Madžar, *Prosvjeta*, cit., pp. 33-35.

educated but politicized and unemployed citizens, forming potential threats to the hegemonic powers⁴⁹. The Hungarian official Lajos Thálloczy, a close collaborator and colleague of Kállay, wrote in 1904 that the Bosnian youth acquired western culture, but did not absorb the «inner spirit». Hence, as a half-educated caste, they could feel «easy prey to nationalist ideologies»⁵⁰.

The *Hochschulinstitut Wien* was closed in 1911, since it had not sufficiently countered the politicization of the Bosnian youths and the reactions, especially in Bosnia, were outspokenly negative. It had been unpopular foremost among the Bosnian youths and it is likely it had not prevented but *fostered* anti-Austrian feelings. Some students who had lived there later called it the «Mameluke factory»; a place where they were transformed into willing slaves of the Austro-Hungarian system⁵¹. Perhaps in reaction to Kállay's Bosnian dormitories, several Serb, Croat and Muslim associations were prospering at the Vienna universities. The oldest was the already mentioned association *Zora*, for Serbian students⁵². Its members gathered in Viennese bars or restaurants to discuss literature, art, science, and poetry. Although these societies were strictly censored and controlled, they were still political.

The Croats and Muslims also founded their student societies in Vienna. Alterations in the statutes can still be found in the Archive of the University of Vienna. They shed some light on the power struggle between associations and the University *Rektorat*. Between 1910 and 1912 both Croat *Zvonimir* and Muslim *Zvijezda* were summoned to include an extra paragraph in their statutes, stating that members were obliged to «respect the rules of academic peace» and that those violating this rule were supposed to be «expelled from the society»⁵³. Between the lines of the statutes one can read the crucial problems the Austrian authorities had with these associations. For example, both organizations stressed that their aims were strictly cultural, and that their main occupation included harmless activities such as singing, discussing poetry and playing the *tamburica* (mandolin): «Jede Politik ist aus dem Vereine ausgeschlossen»⁵⁴. But, at the same time, these same statutes indicated how the national flags and banners were supposed to look like, and, in the case of

⁴⁹ O. Paul, *Bericht über die Tätigkeit des Institutes für bosnisch-herzegowinische Hochschüler in Wien in den ersten zehn Jahren seines Bestandes*, Vienna, Holzhausen, 1910, p. 7, cited in Džaja, *Bosnien-Herzegowina*, cit., p. 163.

⁵⁰ Thálloczy's report of the Bosnian education from 1904 (in Arhiv BiH - ZMF, Pr. BH 1282/1904), as cited in R. Okey, *Taming Balkan Nationalism*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2007, p. 136.

⁵¹ Madžar, *Prosvjeta*, cit., p. 34; *Bosnien-Herzegowina*, cit., p. 164.

⁵² This association must not be confused with the periodical from Mostar. A monograph about *Zora* was written by V. Ćorović, *Istorija srpskoga akademskog društva 'Zore' u Beču*, Ruma, Štamparija Đ. Petrovića, 1905.

⁵³ Wien University Archive (AUW); «Zvonimir» – Kroat. Acad. Studentenverein, S165.304; Islamitisch Akad. Vereinigung «Zvijezda», S165.306.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, «Zvonimir», S165.304.

Zvonimir, how the members were related to the Croatian nation. Nationalism was strictly forbidden, and socialist sentiments were to be kept at bay. But often they went hand in hand. In 1905, Bosnian-Serb students in Vienna founded the more socialist-oriented association *Rad* (Labor)⁵⁵. The association had a reading room, where ‘economic’ leaflets and books could be read: «The aim of the association is the economic scientific education of the members by means of lectures and debates»⁵⁶. In the alterations of the statutes of *Rad* we can read that, in case of a dissolution of the association, all leftover money will be transferred to *Prosvjeta*, in Sarajevo⁵⁷. It shows how these Viennese student associations were not less, but more connected to Bosnia, thanks to the cultural institutions in Sarajevo. This is exactly what Kállay, and later Potiorek, had tried to prevent. But after 1902 cultural institutes like *Prosvjeta* in Sarajevo became increasingly important for spreading political and national ideas, meanwhile cultivating nationalism of South Slav students in Vienna. The money was spent with the hope and belief that the students would come back from Vienna as leading intellectuals, maybe future politicians, realizing prosperity and autonomy.

6. Non-Formal spaces: Attics and alleys

In the previous sections I identified different typologies of spaces of education. The first space was the classroom, where the Austro-Hungarian imperial and colonial mission in Bosnia was supposedly realized. These classrooms brought together into one class teenagers from different confessional backgrounds. Paradoxically, against the background of this categorization of confessional diversity, teachers from different parts of the empire, such as Slovakia or Austria, were sent to these classrooms to, say, “mold” the kinds into rather standardized citizens.

The important outcome of the imperial educational mission of Austro-Hungary is that at least *any* space was created where one could collectively feel “young” and “promising”. This “space” the Austrian created brought about two results. First, because this was the firstly established educational network (“space”) of Bosnia, it could more easily be connected to the educational networks of the neighboring countries. Serb and Croat nationalist activists in neighboring regions and countries had access to more sophisticated educational networks in Europe, e.g. the universities of the Austro-Hungarian Empire or those in other European countries, such as France, Switzerland, and sometimes

⁵⁵ More details about the activities of Bosnian-Serbs in *Rad* are mentioned in a letter of Pero Slijepčević to Vojislav Bogićević, in Bogićević, *Sarajevski Atentat: Pisma i Saopštenje*, cit., pp. 24-25.

⁵⁶ AUW, Akademischer Verein der Serben aus Bosnien und der Hercegovina «Rad», S 165.208.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*

Russia⁵⁸. Nationalist propaganda could be easier spread through the newly created educational infrastructure in Austro-Hungarian Bosnia. Second, in the local Bosnian context the educational space gave school pupils the opportunity to identify and sympathize as a specific social group of youngsters. These school pupils were teenagers, though educated teenagers, who had, unlike their counterparts on the countryside, the time and opportunity to think about their position in life and society. Hence, they started to identify as this previously explained modern type of adolescents.

The space of adolescence was, however, not created in the surroundings of the “formal” classroom. The model of a future «adolescent space» was born in the format of the reading room. The diverse nationalist propagandists from Serb, Croat and later of Bosniak-background could regain power over the minds of the Bosnians by establishing a sort-of educational network, which was not entirely monopolized by the Austro-Hungarian educational mission. Cultural institutions, such as *Prosvjeta* and *Napredak*, copied the concept of the formal classroom and turned them into informal (though not non-formal) educational spaces, which could be instrumentalized in the mission of a «national upbringing». The hegemonic suggestion of a Hochschuleinstitut and the subsequent alternative of a student society in the imperial capital, shows how the Austro-Hungarian rule wanted to reclaim power over the “lost” intellectual space of the Bosnian-Serb or Croat reading rooms. The brightest “sons” of the Bosnian lands were in their eyes supposed to be re-modelled in Vienna. This repressive atmosphere turned out to be counter-productive. Many of the students needed more space to develop themselves, culturally, intellectually, and socially, and they went out to establish them.

What does one do if one feels locked up? One can break out, or one can take exit in dreams, stories and narratives. Hence, the next step in this social powerplay in the realm of intellectual spaces, where hegemonic discourses and rebellious youthfulness meet with nationalist propaganda and agitation, was something that I would call the narrative construction. John Neubauer already wrote about this «adolescent spaces» and deemed the “room” as one of the most important ones⁵⁹. In this context, it can be fruitful to look into some memoirs of the representatives of the politicized young movements that would play such an enormous though unforeseen role in the future development of Bosnia and Hercegovina (and the rest of Europe). Surprisingly, most of the protagonists of the young Bosnian movement reflected back on the days of political youthfulness by sharing anecdotes of meetings in attics, alleys, and other non-formal spaces. These stories were very much inspired by the Russian

⁵⁸ Lj. Trgovčević, *Die ersten im Ausland ausgebildeten Belgrader Professoren*, in R.G. Plaschka, K. Mack (edd.), *Wegenetz europäischen Geistes, Band II: Universitäten und Studenten*, Munich, Oldenbourg, 1987, p. 106.

⁵⁹ Neubauer, *The Fin-de-Siècle Culture*, cit., pp. 67-71.

novels they had found and read during their modern educational upbringing, both in and especially outside of the formal and informal spaces of learning. Take, for example, Borivoje Jevtić's portrayal of a meeting of students in Sarajevo. He obviously seems inspired by the stories of Dostoevsky, and the illustrious nihilists as depicted in *Demons* and *Notes from the Underground*:

I will never forget our nightly meetings in a room where Gaćinović was living – in a small, narrow attic with wooden beams. He would read 'The Dream of Mandušić' by Vuk Stefanović or a text by [Jean Marie] Guyeu [...]. Danilo Ilić, who usually sat beside Gaćinović, taught us about the 'Seven who were hanged' by Leonid Andreyev [...] Everyone was smoking. There was vigorous debate, with great belief. Gaćinović was speaking [...] and Ilić was forging plans. In his imagination we destroyed rail constructions, we let tunnels explode with dynamite, and people were jumping on barricades. But in each of his words we could trace a sense of irony... Shortly before Gaćinović would go back to Belgrade, two immature boys would join this group, they were actually still children. They were Gavriilo Princip and Dragutin Mras. They sat on the side and were silent all the time. They saw Gaćinović as some kind of deity⁶⁰.

In this story, we can identify contours of the «extraordinary man» Rakhmetov, a main protagonist in the famous proto-socialist Russian novel *What is to be done?* by Chernyshevsky. I especially mention Chernyshevsky's novel, because it is known that the Young Russians of the 1860s did copy the lifestyle and attitude of the novel protagonists of that particular novel. The Great Russian writer Alexander Herzen did reflect on this particular interplay between imagination, space, and behavior:

This mutual interaction of people and books is a strange thing. A book takes its whole shape from society that spawns it, then generalizes the material, renders it clearer and sharper, and then is outstripped by reality. The originals make caricatures of their own sharply drawn portraits and real people take on the character of their literary shadows. At the end of the last century all German men were a little like Werther, all German women like Charlotte; at the beginning of this century the university Wethers began to turn into 'Robbers' à la Schiller, not real ones. Young Russians were almost all out of *What is to be Done?* after 1862, with the addition of a few of Bazarow's traits⁶¹.

7. Young Bosnia. Claiming the Adolescent Space

It is not without a reason that I refer to the literary imagination of the Russian underground students of the 19th century. The imaginative power of the Bazarows, Rakhmetovs, Nechaevs and other fictional "sons" who opposed

⁶⁰ Cited in P. Slijepčević (ed.), *Spomenica Vladimira Gaćinovića*, Sarajevo, (n.p.), 1921, p. 154.

⁶¹ Cited in I. Paperno, *Chernyshevsky and the Age of Realism: A study in the Semiotics of Behavior*, Stanford, Stanford University Press, 1988, p. 1.

the “fathers” is undisputed. Their generation gap formed a strong message that was transferred to the cultural practice of young Europeans across the continent. It obviously resonated with the earlier mentioned idea of “youth” as a political force. But the generational complex was a sign of the time too. It may not be a coincidence that in the same time psychiatrist Sigmund Freud formulated the Oedipus-complex, concluding that each son felt the urge to replace his father – both literally and metaphorically. Because of its family-styled Habsburg rule structure, powerfully symbolized in the father-figure of Franz Joseph, the Empire could in many ways be seen as an oedipal target. In the words of the young, mainly Slavic opposition activists of the universities of Prague, Cracow and Vienna, the Austro-Hungarian Empire was like a traditional patriarch, oppressing its different and culturally diverse children. In his book about teenage culture, Jon Savage even goes so far to see the assassination of Franz Ferdinand, the spark that led to the outbreak of the First World War, as a “patricide”⁶².

The assassination of Franz Ferdinand has been a theme in historical research since 1914, from the historiographical debate about the *Kriegsschuldfrage* in interwar Europe to the controversy around Christopher Clark’s 2013 international bestseller *The Sleepwalkers*⁶³. Protagonists of that story are – simplistically – grouped in the student group Mlada Bosna. Mostly, the historical and journalistic reflections are in this respect about *Bosna*, both as a country and as an indicator of ethnic identity/identities. There is also *Mlada* (Young), though. This paper has elaborated on the question what it meant to be young for Bosnian students in the last decades of Austro-Hungarian rule.

Two conclusions can be drawn from a spatial exploration of education in Austro-Hungarian Bosnia. First, the Austrian education policy, which created spaces for formal learning and top-down indoctrination, eventually played into the hands of future opponents. Schools first became spaces of social communication, but, after some decades of Austrian rule, they turned into incubators for activists. Schools obviously broadened the contrast between the literate vanguard, and the illiterate masses, so the schools had a socialization function for the young. Many scholars of social movements have shown that it is not isolation and marginalization, but actually stronger and broader networks that inspire people to be drawn into a power-challenging struggle⁶⁴.

⁶² J. Savage, *Teenage: The Creation of Youth 1875-1945*, London, Chatto & Windus, 2007, p. 141.

⁶³ B. Aleksov, *Forgotten Yugoslavism and anti-clericalism of Young Bosnians*, «Prilozi / Contributions», vol. 43, 2014, pp. 79-87; M. Vojinović, *Review of Christopher Clark’s Sleepwalkers*, «Balcanica», vol. 44, 2013, pp. 422-432; D. Šarenac, *O knjizi Mesečari. Kako je Evropa ušla u rat 1914 profesora Kristofera Klarka*, «Vojnoistorijski Glasnik», vol. 1, 2013, pp. 267-280.

⁶⁴ D. McAdam, *Beyond Structural Analysis: Towards a More Dynamic Understanding of Social Movements*, in M. Diani, D. McAdam (edd.), *Social Movements and Networks: Relational Approaches to Collective Action*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2003, p. 283.

The progress the Austro-Hungarian administration brought to Bosnia may have *accelerated* rather than halted anti-Austrian agitation. This was, first, because young people had more time and opportunities to speak out. Second, only if people start to move around do they become aware of their misery, their problems, and social differences. Anti-Austrian activism was, besides a reaction to, also a consequence of Austrian policy. Gifted students could enlarge their personal and social network, thanks to Austrian stipends, or stipends provided by the new cultural infrastructure of Austro-Hungarian Bosnia (for example, institutes like *Prosvjeta*). The first conclusion is that the imperial 'upbringing' of the Bosnian youth within the four walls of the classroom, was, in the end, counterproductive. The Bosnian students instead began participating in the 'real world' – outside the schoolyard.

The second conclusion is that there – outside the schoolyard – the non-formal and informal educational spaces gave room for a cultural transfer of political adolescence. Hence, the Bosnian students became part of a transnational generation of students in several parts of Europe who identified themselves as 'sons' opposing 'fathers'.

Eventually, because of the upbringing in the adult social context of reading rooms and universities of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, these Bosnian students also had the luxury to experience a modern type of adolescence. This, of course, was no simple pleasure. The adolescent mode of the 20th century was summarized by Patricia Spacks as 'exploration, becoming, growth, and pain'⁶⁵.

In the context of the final days of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, this 'exploration' would soon come to an end. After 1914, these feelings of exploration, becoming, growth and pain, were replaced with war anxieties and fear of atrocities. The Great War would traumatize the generation of these «wanderers between two worlds» for the rest of their lives⁶⁶.

⁶⁵ Spacks, *The Adolescent Idea: Myths of Youth and the Adult Imagination*, cit., pp. 3-18.

⁶⁶ The «wanderers between two worlds» is a phrase that was used for the first time in R. Wohl, *The Generation of 1914*, London, Weidenfels and Nicolson, 1980.

Peregrinatio academica

Mediocre pupils – informative letters? Hungarian nobleman István Dessewffy at Vienna Theresianum in the 1750s

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ABSTRACT: The paper considers a hypothesis that less-drilled pupils, who paid less attention to the formalities of letter-writing rules, wrote more informative letters. To test it, letters of the Hungarian nobleman István Dessewffy – a son of the Sáros county official – from the prestigious Viennese Theresian College of the Society of Jesus are examined. He spent four years there, side by side with most prominent offspring of the Habsburg lands, sons of dignitaries and mighty courtiers. The value of these letters is a wide range of topics the young man was discussing: his neighbours in the shared bedroom, dress and dress-codes, sweets and wine, pocket money, outdoor activities. Some 23 letters written between 1754 and 1757 are a unique insight into the everyday life of a closed elitist school.

EET/TEE KEYWORDS: History of education; Society of Jesus; Colleges; Habsburg Monarchy; XVIIIth Century.

1. *Theresianum: a Privileged School for Diverse Elites*

The second half of the eighteenth century in the Austrian Monarchy¹ witnessed an experiment in introducing an institutional form of a «knight academy» (*Ritterakademie*), which by that time had already passed its heyday in France and Germany². Theresian Noble College founded by the Society of

¹ The term «Austrian Monarchy» would be used for the lands of the Austrian (Habsburg) House. On the terminology see G. Klingenstein, *The meanings of "Austria" and "Austrian" in the eighteenth century*, in R. Oresko, G.C. Gibbs, H.M. Scott (edd.), *Royal and Republican Sovereignty in Early Modern Europe. Essays in Memory of Ragnild Hatton*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2006, pp. 423-478.

² N. Conrads, *Ritterakademien der frühen Neuzeit. Bildung als Standesprivileg im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert*, Göttingen, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1982.

Jesus with financial and administrative support of the Vienna court and also known as Theresianum was the most long-lasting result of the endeavour of coupling privilege with knowledge³. The school was founded in 1746, went through a series of administrative changes in the 1750s and 60s, after the dissolution of the Jesuit Order in 1773 was upgraded to the Academy and given to the Piarists, then closed in 1784 and reopened in 1797⁴.

After revolutions, wars, and social turbulences of the past centuries, historians have a limited range of sources regarding Theresianum have at their disposal. The college matricula (*Matrikelbücher*) perished in World War Two, and scholars have to use the *Album* of Max Gemmell-Flischbach, published in 1913 and containing the names of all pupils with (if available) dates of birth and death and a short account of their social position achieved after graduation⁵. The *Album* suggests no information about the 'nationality', or, in other words, belonging to the Estates of the Habsburg lands (Moravia, Carniola, Transylvania and so forth), the Holy Roman Empire (Westphalia, or Palatinate).

Yet genealogical and prosopographical analysis of the name-list may lead to some general conclusions concerning the quantities of certain 'nations' in the total number of graduates, or the ratios between the aristocrats and lesser nobles, and between certain nationalities, but they all would not be precise. Aristocratic and often noble families historically were members of the Estates of more than one land and might be registered in the college depending on the parents' choice or their desire to enjoy one or another preference. Some most general calculations allow the conclusion that the correlation between aristocrats and nobles was approximately 4 to 1 (lesser nobles composed one fifth of all the graduates). The share of «Hungarians» (aristocrats and lesser

³ Zs. Kökényesi, *Das Bild und die Repräsentation des Theresianums in der Öffentlichkeit des 18. Jahrhunderts*, «Wiener Geschichtsblätter», vol. 70, 2015, pp. 263-279.

⁴ Th. Cicalék, *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Theresianums*, in *Jahres-Bericht des Gymnasiums der k. k. Theresianischen Akademie in Wien für das Schuljahr 1871/72*, Vienna, Verlag der Theresianischen Akademie, 1872; J. Schwarz, *Geschichte der k. k. Theresianischen Akademie von ihrer Gründung bis zum Curatorium Sr. Excellenz Anton Ritter von Schmerling, 1746-1865*, in *Jahres-Bericht des Gymnasiums der k. k. Theresianischen Akademie in Wien für das Schuljahr 1890*, Vienna, Verlag der Theresianischen Akademie, 1890; Id., *Die niederen und höheren Studien an der k. k. Theresianischen Akademie in Wien I*, in *Jahresbericht über das Gymnasium an der k.k. Theresianischen Akademie*, Vienna, Verlag der Theresianischen Akademie, 1903; Id., *Die niederen und höheren Studien an der k. k. Theresianischen Akademie in Wien II*, in *Jahresbericht über das Gymnasium an der k.k. Theresianischen Akademie*, Vienna, Verlag der Theresianischen Akademie, 1904.

⁵ There are at least two editions of the album, of 1880 and 1913. They slightly differ in total numbers, but these fluctuations do not concern the pupils from the Kingdom of Hungary. See M. Freiherr von Gemmell-Flischbach, *Album der k. k. Theresianischen Akademie (1746-1913). Verzeichnis sämtlicher Angehörigen der k. k. Theresianischen Akademie (ehemals k. k. Theresianische Ritterakademie) [...] mit kurzen biographischen Daten*, Vienna-Bрно, Winicker u. Schikara, 1913.

nobles from the Kingdom of Hungary), to which the hero of the present article István Dessewffy (1736-1785) belonged, was ca. 16%; if one adds the aristocrats and nobles «from the other homeland», that is from Transylvania, the share would be ca. 19%.

Alongside with the founding letters, academic plans, and administrative acts regulating admission to royal scholarships and so forth, private letters of Theresianum's pupils are still hidden in family archives and await discover and analysis at their full length. Usually, it goes about two or three, three or four letters which survived in the family archives side by side with not less important bills paid. In the present article, a comprehensive collection of 23 letters written by the Hungarian nobleman István Dessewffy is explored. The letters from the family archive were addressed to his father – the Sáros county official Sámuel Dessewffy (1711-1776), and (just a few) to his mother Klára Dessewffy, née Palocsay Horváth (†1757). Written between 1754 and 1757, they give a unique insight into the everyday life of a closed elitist school in the Habsburg capital⁶.

2. István Dessewffy – One of the Many

Although Theresianum is first and foremost famous for its pupils coming from the most wealthy and powerful aristocratic families, the initial intention of Empress Maria Theresa was to open the doors of this noble college for impoverished nobles, whose incomes were not enough to give their children an upbringing and education indispensable for preserving their social status. This stratum was especially numerous in Hungary, the kingdom, where some forty years earlier an anti-Habsburg uprising under the leadership of Prince Ferenc II Rákóczi turned into a large-scale «War of Independence» (1703-1711), as the historians would later name it. In the fifth year of functioning of Theresian College, in 1751, Empress ordered creating a special foundation for sponsoring education of ten Austrian and Hungarian nobles, where the share of the latter was to be at least one half. In a resolution on the margins of the Hungarian Chancellery proposal, Maria Theresa wrote that she wanted to gather in Vienna young nobles hailing from remote parts of the Upper Hungary (north-eastern counties which were the heart of Rákóczi rebellion) to imbue them with knowledge and manners and bring up into loyal subjects⁷.

⁶ O. Khavanova, *Egy magyar úrfi a bécsi Tereziánumban. Dessewffy István szellemi világa és mindennapi gondjai*, in L. Krász, T. Oborni (edd.), *Redite ad cor. Tanulmányok Sabin-Tóth Péter emlékére*, Budapest, ELTE, 2008, pp. 387-394.

⁷ O. Khavanova, *Zaslugi otsov i talanty synovei: vengerskie dvoriane v uchebnykh zavedeniakh monarkhii Gabsburgov, 1746-1784*, Moscow, Aletya, 2006; Id., *Königliche Stipendien als Instrument der Sozialpolitik im Ungarn des 18. Jahrhunderts*, in J. Bahlcke, Th. Winkelbauer (edd.), *Schulstiftungen und Studienfinanzierung. Bildungsmäzenatentum im Spannungsfeld*

As a result, Theresianum was not only a melting pot for regional elites of the Monarchy and Holy Roman Empire, but also a meeting point for the offspring of loyal and ex-rebellious segments of the Hungarian nobility. A number of pupils from Hungary had a Rákóczi officer among their predecessors⁸. Nobleman István Vay, who was admitted to the college in 1746, among the first ones, was the grandson of Rákóczi's court-marshal and son of the re-Catholicised president of Royal Court. Ironically though, that the families of two generals who signed the capitulation of Rákóczi's troops in Szatmár in 1711 to put an end to the bloody war – the representative of the Vienna court count János Pálffy (1664-1751) and the leader of the compromise-ready rebels count Sándor Károlyi (1669-1743) – never sent their sons to Theresianum. The Pálffys were so powerful that did not feel like complementing their exclusive home education with socialisation in an elitist boarding school; the Károlyis were generous patrons of the Jesuits' rivals, the Piarists, and probably for that reason avoided the noble college of the Society of Jesus.

István Dessewffy belonged to the most ancient families of the kingdom⁹. They stemmed from Slavonia and by the early sixteenth century were ranking among the most mighty ones there. The Turkish invasion and dissolution of the medieval Hungarian Kingdom after the battle of Mohács (1526) forced the family to flee to north-east of the country and make a new start in a different social milieu and under turbulent political circumstances. They got integrated into the local noble communities, served in the county administrations and joined the army (two István's granduncles were brave Habsburg officers fighting by Zenta and Belgrade). In the age of anti-Habsburg (*kuruc*) uprisings, the Dessewffys were split between the two camps. In Rákóczi's War of Independence István's father declined from joining the rebellious prince, but their remote relative Miklós Dessewffy fought in Rákóczi's army, and after 1711 emigrated to France, where became a renowned French military commander¹⁰. István's grandfather and father chose civil service in their home county of Sáros. Against this background, István Dessewffy was a typical representative of the Hungarian provincial nobility, the addressee of the Vienna court's policy aimed at creating long-standing loyalty among the middling layer of the Hungarian elite¹¹.

von Konfession, Landespatritismus und frühmodernen Nationsgedanken in den böhmischen, österreichischen und ungarischen Ländern 1500-1800, Vienna, Böhlau, 2011, pp. 351-369.

⁸ See a biographic lexicon on the participants of Rákóczi's War of Independence: G. Heckennast, *Ki kicsoda a Rákóczi-szabadságharcban? életrajzi adattár*, Budapest, História; MTA Történettudományi Intézete, 2005.

⁹ I. Nagy, *Magyarország családai címerekkel és nemzékrendi táblákkal*, 3 vols., Pest, Beimel J. és Kozma Vazulnál, 1858, p. 302.

¹⁰ On the French line of the Dessewffy family see: Éble, *A cserneki és tarkeői Dessewffy család*, cit., pp. 187-212.

¹¹ The Vienna court's policy towards the Hungarian nobility was balancing between inclusivity for those who demonstrated unquestionable loyalty exclusivity who openly denied it. Some years after István's graduation from Theresianum Chancellor Venzel Anton Kaunitz (1711-1793) would

If the genealogical survey of the Hungarian historian and genealogist Gábor Éble¹² is correct, István was born in 1736, and consequently was sent to Vienna in the age of eighteen. He was admitted to the class of philosophy, which preceded the final class of jurisprudence. The value of István Dessewffy's letters is in a wide range of topics the young man was discussing: health, moods, schoolmates and friends, dress and dress-codes, pocket money and outdoor activities. Compared with similar pupil-letters both from Theresianum, and other noble educational institutions from the Habsburg lands and abroad, these epistles strike the reader with their loose composition and messy style. They are very much like an endless monologue of a son talking to his (symbolically present) father¹³. It leads to an assumption that less-drilled pupils, who hardly paid attention to the formalities of letter-writing rules they were taught at school, wrote more informative letters.

3. Co-Pupils

Among the letters preserved, there is a leaflet with the names of István's schoolmates, arranged in accordance with the class they were attending and containing such indispensable information, as 'nationality'. Of 135 young nobles, 23 were matriculated as «Hungarians» (*Hungari*) and 3 as Transylvanians (*Transylvanici*). Those were not only the offspring of the kingdom's most merited families, like Batthyány and Zichy, or recently ascended servants of the dynasty, like Splény and Fekete, but also the sons of German nobles, like Johann von Hagen and baron Johann Baptist Schielson, whose parents had been 'naturalised' decades earlier as Hungarian nobles¹⁴. By the same token, Hungarian aristocrats, counts László and József Kollonics preferred to be matriculated as «Austrians»¹⁵. The former would be later the archbishop of

submit his famous memorandum with the proposal: «Magnates and nobles who would defy the court should be forewarned that they would be bringing the barrier to advancement of themselves and their children, and that their misguided conduct would not be forgotten». Quoted as translated from German in É.H. Balázs, *Hungary and the Habsburgs, 1765-1800: an Experiment in enlightened absolutism*, Budapest, CEU Press, 1997, pp. 59-60. Cf. F.A.J. Szabo, *Kaunitz and enlightened absolutism, 1753-1780*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1994, p. 313.

¹² G. Éble, *A cserneki és tarkeői Dessewffy család. Genealógiai tanulmány*, Budapest, Franklin Társulat, 1903, p. 160.

¹³ H. Droste, *Briefe als Medium symbolischer Kommunikation*, in M. Füssel, T. Weller (edd.), *Ordnung und Distinktion Praktiken sozialer Repräsentation in der ständischen Gesellschaft*, Münster, Rhema Verlag, 2005, pp. 239-256.

¹⁴ For the ancestors Johann Hagen and Johann Baptist Schielson see respective law articles in the Corpus Juris Hungarici (hereinafter CJH): 1662/LC and 1715/CXXXVI: *Ezer év törvényei* <<https://net.jogtar.hu/ezer-ev-torvenyei>> (last access: 03.08.2019). There is no law article for the ancestors of the third German pupil matriculated as *Hungarus*, baron Joseph Wulffen.

¹⁵ *Nomina nobilium Regii Theresiani Collegii Soc. Jesu Viennae Austriae. Kalendis Januarii.*

Kalocsa; the latter a major general of the imperial army. István mentions an episode taking place on March 18, 1755 at court during a solemn audience on the occasion of Archduke Joseph's name day. Having noticed the young Dessewffy, count Károly József Batthyány (1697-1772), the tutor of the crown-prince, asked the rector, who that Hungarian youngster was, and István heard Archduke Joseph to note: «There are many Hungarians in the college»¹⁶.

Every day in Theresianum was scheduled so that young nobles had not a single minute of leisure time and remained under the permanent control of their classroom-tutors, who helped them to do homework and accompanied during outdoor activities. István's letter includes a list of his roommates, and it testifies that the college would later deserve the name of a melting pot of the elites with its full right. He lived in one room with Hungarian count János Zichy, Austrian nobleman Peregrin von Freitag, two Moravians – count Heinrich Althan and Franz von Schubitz, two Italians – count Jovanni Francesco Cristiani and Marchese Galeatio Fiaschi, a nobleman from Tyrol Ignaz von Prato and a Westphalian count Franz von Plettenberg¹⁷. If my assumption is correct, there were not more than two members of the same 'nation' in one room (*Kamerada*), and one of the pupils was an aristocrat, the other one a noble.

In his letters, István was definitely concerned with making a proper impression on his father. Among his best friends in *Kamerada*, he mentioned sons of prominent courtiers and first dignitaries of the Habsburg Monarchy: counts Cristiani, Plettenberg and Zichy. Furthermore, he conversed mainly with «count Auersperg Prince Auersperg's son», then with counts Wenzel Colloredo and Ferdinand Khevenhüller. The latter was the son of the College's curator, Maria Theresa's Oberst-Hofmeister. Among Hungarians, his best companions were Transylvanian counts Zsigmond Mikes and Mihály Kornis, barons János and Mihály Splény and baron Gábor Döry. István was also glad to have among his school-mates cousin Zsigmond Dobay¹⁸.

Wealthier or more prominent parents might afford paying for a separate room, a personal tutor and a servant. With a slight jealousy, István wrote about «the son of Chief Justice Fekete» – János, who had all that. György Fekete was a prominent statesman of Maria Theresa's reign, he graduated from the Vienna University, joined the royal service, married the only daughter of the wealthy nobleman György Niczky. In the future, (already) count György Fekete¹⁹

M. DCC. LV. Hungarian National Archives, Budapest (hereinafter: MNL OL), P 86, Desewffy Family Archives, Documents arranged by family members, 16 cs. (box), D. I. 101, Letters to Sámuel Dessewffy.

¹⁶ István Dessewffy to Sámuel Dessewffy, Vienna, March 22, 1755. MNL OL, P 86, 16. cs., D. I. 101.

¹⁷ István Dessewffy to Sámuel Dessewffy, Vienna, Decemeber 1754, MNL OL, P 86, 16. cs., D. I. 101.

¹⁸ István Dessewffy to Sámuel Dessewffy, Vienna, January 14, 1755. MNL OL, P 86, 16. cs., D. I. 101.

¹⁹ Cs. Tuza, *Egy elfelejtett 18. századi karrier: Galánthai Fekete György (Vázlat egy készülő*

would be Hungarian royal vice-chancellor, Ober-Hofmeister and president the School Commission at the Lieutenancy Council. His son János got an excellent home education, spoke Latin and French, composed verses and was brought up to follow his father's example²⁰. As an adult, he chose the career of an army officer, but became famous not for heroic deeds on the battlefield, but as an enlightened correspondent of Voltaire. His letters to father in Latin and to mother in Hungarian are an example of diligence and persistence.

To report about academic progress was an indispensable obligation. For example, count József Esterházy (1714-1762) wrote to his father (the future Croatian viceroy and Hungarian judge royal) as early as in 1732:

I want to please you with my modest architectonic work, which is just the first step in architecture; so far, I learn nothing but perspectives of different buildings, and only then I shall start learning the proper architecture²¹.

On the contrary, István Dessewffy carefully avoided these matters. Most likely, he had neither talents nor assiduousness, nor even ambitions, which might force him to study better. Information about lessons and exams takes a very modest place in his correspondence: «This week, examinations on logics, mathematics and history are expected, but I believe and hope, I should pass them good and I shall do my best to pass them good»²². He was a lazy and sly daydreamer, who ascribed his own difficulties and faults to external circumstances.

4. *Guardians*

Parents who stayed in their estates many miles from their children, were eager to know about their health and academic progress, and have somebody nearby, who might fulfil lesser demands. For those studying in Theresianum, kinship and acquaintances among the courtiers or royal servants of the Viennese governmental bodies were a valuable asset. For example, in 1764, on the eve of the examination in philosophy of the young count Mihály Nádasdy (1746-1796), the son of the late Hungarian chancellor, Croat viceroy and Mihály's uncle count Ferenc Nádasdy (1708-1783) wrote to the boy's mother and his own aunt, how the youngster was preparing for the exam and who were expected

életrajzhoz), «Századok», vol. 140, n. 6, 2006, pp. 1519-1529.

²⁰ Gy. Morvay, *Galánthai gróf Fekete János, 1741-1803*, Budapest, Magyar Történelmi Társulat, 1903.

²¹ József Esterházy to József Esterházy, Vienna, March 27, 1730. MNL OL P 197, fasc. 106 (2), 52. cs., no 2.

²² István Dessewffy to Sámuel Dessewffy, Vienna, December 7, 1754. MNL OL, P 86, 16. cs., D. I. 101.

among the opponents²³. Another mighty courtier Baron Ferenc Balassa, who in the 1760s served at the Hungarian Lieutenancy Council and was in Vienna at least as often as in Pressburg, took care about the children of his councilmates, boarded at Theresianum.

To keep contacts with and took care of István while he studied in Vienna, Sámuel Dessewffy entrusted the secretary of the Hungarian Court Chancellery Mihály Vass²⁴ to visit the youngster in the college, complete his minor requests (lend some pocket money, bring wine and sweets, order dress by a tailor), and report to the family about the son's health, needs and complains. Some references in his letters allow the hypothesis that Sámuel Dessewffy was the godfather of his children. Vass regularly visited István, to be sure that the young man is alright, and each time reported to Csernek: «Thanks God, the young master is in good health and looks brave»²⁵, or «As to my dear young master, with God's assistance he is in good condition»²⁶.

This minor clerk was very apt in finding mighty patrons and acted as a client and agent of many Hungarian aristocrats, especially of those, who were living in the country, but having business in the capital. The summer of 1755, when Vass – instead of taking István to his little estate in Neusiedl-am-See (in Hungarian Nezsider) – was urgently sent to Slavonia to conduct an investigation on the causes of a peasant revolt there, became especially sad and cheerless. The young Dessewffy was cast down:

We, philosophers, have our holidays from 6 September [...] all have rest and fun, go for walks, and only me is to stay at home, because I have no money, everybody asks, why I am staying at home, and if they knew, that I had no money, they would have mocked me [...] on 17 September all travel home, and I stay here to indulge in melancholy, and might happen, that I shall be ill again, I have never had such bad holidays like that²⁷.

5. Languages

István complained that his roommates were reluctant to speak French, preferring Latin and German, and for this reason he spoke this language quite

²³ Ferenc Nádasdy to Mária Josefa Nádasdy, née Trautmansdorf, Vienna, July 6, 1764, MNL OL P 507, Nádasdy Family Archives, 23. cs, VII, Nádasdy Lipotnéhez címzett levelek, no 89.

²⁴ O. Khavanova, "Más birrel most nem udvarolhatok..." *Kliensi levelek témái és toposzai a 18. századi Magyarországon*, «Aetas», vol. 30, n. 2, 2015, pp. 5-16.

²⁵ Mihály Vass to Sámuel Dessewffy, Vienna, January 21, 1755, MNL OL P 91, Dessewffy család cserneki és tarkői grófi ágának levéltára, Missiles, 6. cs.

²⁶ Mihály Vass to Sámuel Dessewffy, Vienna, February 21, 1755, MNL OL P 91, 6. cs.

²⁷ István Dessewffy to Sámuel Dessewffy, Vienna, September 13, 1755, MNL OL P 86, 16. cs., D. I. 101.

well²⁸. On one occasion he wrote to his father desperately: «In our age, the one who does not speak languages is of little value, or, let us say, worthless»²⁹. Offering excuses for himself, the young man wrote:

In German, to know it deeper, I shall make my best by myself, but in French, had I have spent some six years here, I would have learned it with all my diligence even without a separate room, French-speaking tutor and servant, or with those ones, who had spoken no French, but in the given circumstances, if there would be no such a tutor, or a servant, please, do something, my most dear father, in order not to pay that big money, but to assist me in learning this language, which you strictly expect me to know thoroughly³⁰.

The main reason, why István was facing those difficulties, is obviously in the lack of proper home education, the intellectual baggage, he should have come in Vienna with. Aristocrats preparing their children for socialisation at the court, started with language learning much earlier. For instance, the grand-grand-son of Sándor Károlyi, József (1768-1803), carefully brought up first at home, then in colleges held by the Piarists, wrote regularly to his father in Hungarian and Latin, or – exercising in other languages – composed epistles in German, French and Italian. In the family archives of the Károlyis, one finds József's excerpts corrected by the firm hand of the tutor³¹.

Generally, with every decade, free speech in several foreign languages was more and more often mentioned all over Europe among indispensable skills of a nobleman who aspires entering the state service. In 1816, the future Russian minister of foreign affairs Alexander Gorchakov (1798-1883), who at the Lycée in Tsarskoe Selo by St. Petersburg had chosen the diplomatic career, wrote to his uncle:

I try beforehand stock up in languages, what is, I presume, the most necessary for the [diplomatic] lot, I know Russian, French and German pretty well; I have made a good start in English, and hope to improve it the coming summer. Furthermore, I shall probably begin learning Italian, in as much as there is an opportunity for it. It is only Latin, which I do not comprehend. It is essential, to acquire practical knowledge, but it is not that easy in the Lycée³².

²⁸ *Ibid.*

²⁹ István Dessewffy to Sámuel Dessewffy, Vienna, January 14, 1755. MNL OL, P 86, 16. cs., D. I. 101

³⁰ István Dessewffy to Sámuel Dessewffy, Vienna, February 21, 1755. MNL OL, P 86, 16. cs., D. I. 101.

³¹ See O. Khavanova, *Born or brought up to be a Hungarian aristocrat? Count Antal Károlyi educates his son József*, in G. Haug-Moritz, H.-P. Hye, M. Raffler (edd.), *Adel im „langen“ 18. Jahrhundert*, Vienna, Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2009, p. 82.

³² *Litseiskie pisma Gorchakova A.M., 1814-1818 gg.*, «Krasnyi Arhiv», vol. 6, n. 79, p. 186.

6. *Health*

One of the main concerns of parents was the health of their children³³. The traditional beginning of a letter with a report about well-being was more than a polite formula, but important information for their psychological comfort. For example, count Joseph Esterházy wrote to his father in 1730 from Vienna:

I would like to let your excellence know, that thanks God I have recovered from my sickness, I am so healthy now as was before and since some days do not lay in bed any more, I have no doubts about your excellence's good health and wish you it from all of my heart³⁴.

To quote the future Russian foreign minister Gorchakov once again:

My health is slowly getting better, but I still take the medicine; my old decease captured me again. Most of my comrades are also sick; in one word we all unanimously wish the return of the spring as well as our good condition³⁵.

In that age, infant mortality was high, and mortalities in colleges were not rare. Only in 1755 István Dessewffy wrote to the parent about two deaths. In February he reported: «One of our chevaliers, the Jurist³⁶ Michael Luchsenfeld on 1 February, at 2 o'clock afternoon, left this world and next day was buried at 5 p.m. here, in the college». This news was placed between the question about papa's and mama's health, who had not been writing for a while and might be angry with his son, and complain that the wine the father had presumably sent to him had not arrived yet. It seems that the death of a co-pupil was an ordinary event and István used this news to exercise pressure on the parents: if they would not correspond with him regularly, one day would be informed, that their son passed away and is buried. Concerning the other death István wrote in March of the same year:

There is no news to be reported, maybe only that count Hardegg, the Jurist from our college, who had his own room, in the fourth Sunday of the Great Fasten fell and injured his head [...] and on 10 March around 10 o'clock passed away, and, all in all, many are now ill in the college³⁷.

The young Dessewffy might seem a genuine hypochondriac, since he informed his parents about all his sicknesses and illnesses. The Russian expert

³³ Cf. H. Newton, *The sick child in Early Modern England, 1580-1720*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2012.

³⁴ József Esterházy to József Esterházy, Vienna, May 17, 1730. MNL OL, P 197, fasc. 106 (2), 52. cs., no 2.

³⁵ *Litseiskie pisma Gorchakova A.M., 1814-1818 gg.*, cit., pp. 176-177.

³⁶ Jurist was the name for the pupils of the Class of Jurisprudence.

³⁷ István Dessewffy o Sámuel Dessewffy, Vienna, March 11, 1755, MNL OL, P 86, 16. cs., D. I. 101.

in the history of medicine Maria Pirogovskaya writes that eighteenth century letters strike present-day readers with sincerity in medical issues. It is obvious, she remarks, that health and sickness were a legitimate topic for discussions in a familiar circle³⁸. This is very much true for István. In January 1755, he complained about his gastric colic: «Thanks God, I am feeling well, because I often have pains in stomach, last time it was this week, and it caused me some troubles, but thanks God the colic is gone»³⁹. His stomach, apparently, suffered from Austrian wines, and István had to wait until home wines from Hungary arrived. In a sweet style he wrote to his father in September 1755: «I wish most dear father wholeheartedly, that there was a good grape harvest, and God give not two hundred tanks, but four hundred, of which most dear father would send me a tiny bit». To improve his metabolism, István allowed himself drinking coffee after lunch: «Sometimes after lunch, I drink coffee, and if I had not done it, would have felt myself very badly, inasmuch as I have no wine to drink, let it be at least coffee, which delights the stomach»⁴⁰.

István did not miss an opportunity to evoke father's sympathy. In accordance with the discourse of the age, he understands under melancholy both suppressed emotional conditions, and uncomfortable physiological feeling⁴¹. In August 1755 he lamented:

As to horse riding, so far I can afford it, but from time to time I have a toothache or without any reason a headache, I often have gastric colic or suffer from causeless melancholy, so that nothing helps, neither reading, nor talking, I still walk, and take a German or a French book, but in vain; and I can stay without food, and drink three of four days, and I presume, this is all because we go outdoors very rarely; my dormitory is very delicate, and for this reason they do not even want to go out, and I am to stay with them indoors; if there were no regular riding lessons, I would have felt ill long ago because of the lack of a motion⁴².

In September 1755 he wrote to his father: «I wish you have a good harvest of grape and let God bless you not with two hundred, but with four hundred of winebottles, of which you would send me a tiny share»⁴³. To improve his digestion, István drank coffee also carefully provided by Mihály Vass. Next year complains were repeated:

³⁸ M. Pirogovskaya, *Dnevnik bolnogo serediny 18 veka: vzgliad iz Rossii*, in I. Fedyukin (ed.), *Zaboty i dni sekund-majora Alekseia Rzhevskogo*, Moscow, Izdatel'skij dom Vyshei Shkoly Ekonomiki, 2019, p. 54.

³⁹ István Dessewffy to Sámuel Dessewffy, Vienna, January 21, 1755, MNL OL, P 86, 16. cs., D. I. 101.

⁴⁰ István Dessewffy to Sámuel Dessewffy, Vienna, September 13, 1755, MNL OL, P 86, 16. cs., D. I. 101.

⁴¹ Pirogovskaya, *Dnevnik*, cit., p. 70.

⁴² István Dessewffy to Sámuel Dessewffy, Vienna, August 8, 1755, MNL OL, P 86, 16. cs., D. I. 101.

⁴³ István Dessewffy to Sámuel Dessewffy, Vienna, September 13, 1755, MNL OL, P 86, 16. cs., D. I. 101.

As to my health, it serves me badly, it is already the fourth week that I feel pains in my left hip, all my body is ache, there was cough, but now it is gone, and I do not want to talk about my sickness to anybody, because I hope it would be away, and I am afraid of doctors very much, so that I prefer to suffer⁴⁴.

7. *Dress*

If there were anything that concerned István more than his physical condition, it was clothing. Eighteenth-century men's obsession with clouthes is a commonplace. István's efforts to look perfect reflect both his egocentric nature, and the social pressure of his aristocratic surrounding. Already in 1754 he wrote to his mother:

I humbly ask to find an occassion and send me several pairs of cuffs, because they get dirty immediately, much faster than shirts, and my cuffs are sewn to the sleeves, so that you cannot take them away if you want, and it were nice, if frills were a bit longer, because these ones are too short⁴⁵.

In February 1755 István wrote to his father:

The camisole, which I wear every day, is now worn out and I cannot put it on any more, it fall into disrepair, that is why I have to wear my black velvet camisole every day, and the other one, with red velvet, got rack a bit, so that I have not gala camisole, and have only the white camisole, bit if I start wearing it on the festive days, I will blur it, and I do not want to wear another camisole, which you sir have ordered for me in Pressburg, because it is for gala or for receptions at court⁴⁶.

This commission was also given to Mihály Vass, who ordered two camisoles and persuaded the young man to give up from the idea of ordering the third one. As a compensation, a new hat for visits to Schönbrunn was bought, since the old hat was holey and he gave it away to a servant.

This and similar reminiscences make clear, that the young Dessewffy was under the permanent pressure of corresponding to the high social and cultural standards set in the college. Regular appearances at court and visits to the college paid by Emperor Francis, archdukes and archduchesses, and on several occasion by Maria Theresa herself made higher requirements of garments. If István's words about his friendship with the sons of the first dignitaries of the

⁴⁴ István Dessewffy to Sámuel Dessewffy, Vienna, July 29, 1756, MNL OL, P 86, 16. cs., D. I. 101.

⁴⁵ István Dessewffy to Klára Dessewffy, Vienna, December 17, 1754, MNL OL, P 86, 16. cs., D. I.

⁴⁶ István Dessewffy to Sámuel Dessewffy, Vienna, February 4, 1755, MNL OL, P 86, 16. cs., D. I. 101.

Monarchy are true, he was definitely making efforts to follow them in smallest details.

I already have a winter lined mente, which I shall wear every day, but I cannot wear it while riding, because riding makes me sweat [...] so that I have to exercise in that crepe one, which I have here, because I want to look out honestly and elegantly, inasmuch as many counts especially come down from town to see us riding⁴⁷.

Alongside a decent outlook and intimate friendship with cavaliers, pocket money was a permanent concern of the young Dessewffy. The American historian Charles Haskins, who in the late nineteenth century wrote a pioneering study on letters of medieval students, quoted a weary father from a medieval Italian letter-writer: «A student's first song is a demand for money, and there will never be a letter which does not ask for cash»⁴⁸. István permanently reminded his father on this «fundamental necessity of student life», mentioning, that other parents send to their sons for whatnot up to three florins a month. Not to forget, that Hungarian wines and coffee were provided by the «nice mister Vass». The caring clerk readily fulfilled any wishes of the master and gave him without father's consent some pocket money. Having got cash, István immediately spent it: on a little desk at which he wanted to do his homework, on an ivory ink-tank, sweets or a silver spoon, which he bought instead of another one, lost by a servant. This is an obvious deviation from the norm imposed on young nobles, who were taught to be disciplined and responsible in their expenditures. István's schoolmate János Fekete pedantically reported to his father about all his minor expenditures and in a separate table listed all items spent on a masquerade and was especially glad, that spent less, just as his father advised him⁴⁹. István's outlay was always more than his honorable sir father allotted.

8. *Theresian College vs Theresian Knight Academy*

István Dessewffy's and János Fekete's bad luck was to study in Theresianum in the period of administrative experiments, when the empress, dissatisfied with the omnipresence of Jesuits, made an attempt to establish another Theresianum

⁴⁷ Mente – a sort of men's overcoat. István Dessewffy to Sámuel Dessewffy, Vienna, September 13, 1755, MNL OL, P 86, 16. cs., D. I. 101.

⁴⁸ Ch. H. Haskins, *The life of medieval students as illustrated by their letters*, «The American Historical Review», vol. 3, n. 2, 1898, pp. 208-209.

⁴⁹ János Fekete to György Fekete, March 1, 1755. MNL OL, E 584. Archives of Count Fekete family, Count György Fekete's papers, 16. cs. Personal writings – Count János Fekete's letters.

– a knight academy bearing the same name⁵⁰. To run a school of her own was a costly enterprise, and Mihály Vass wrote to István's father:

From May 1, everything will be altered, and it is hard to say in which direction; it might happen, that nothing would come out of this venture, because not everybody would pay that amount of money, and many parents transfer their sons to the Liechtenstein College⁵¹.

And:

Having pondered on advantages and disadvantages, both Dessewffy and Fekete left their sons by the Jesuits and then placed in the Savoyard Academy founded by Duchess of Savoy née Liechtenstein, where both Hungarians completed the class of jurisprudence⁵².

9. *Aftermath*

István's infantilism becomes more obvious, if one compares his cares and expectations with those of other noble pupils of his age. What strikes in the eighteen-years old youngster is the absence of social ambitions. Obviously, as a provincial nobleman, he had no acquaintances at the court and was not socialised even in the Hungarian milieu of Vienna. The above mentioned count József Esterházy, who in the 1730s studied in the imperial capital, most likely at the Provincial Academy (*Landschaftsakademie*) of the Low-Austrian Estates, was proud of negotiating with a certain «prince» at court (he mentions no names, but it could be the future emperor Francis of Lorraine), who wanted to buy grain from his father⁵³. Some forty years later, count Károly Zichy (1753-1826), the future Hungarian judge royal, was at his eighteen very busy, renting and buying coaches, travelling from Vienna to the family estate in Karlbürg/Oroszvár (now Rusovce, Slovakia), visiting his elder brother Ferenc between an examination and audience by Empress Maria Theresa⁵⁴.

Years spent in Vienna had broadened intellectual horizons and language skills, and refined the manners and tastes of István Dessewffy. Due to his father's merits he entered to college as a nobleman and left as a baron. István married Countess Anna Mária Vécsey and they had two sons Sámuel and József. In

⁵⁰ Sámuel Dessewffy, just like other parents, got a Notification in a form of printed leaflet. See Benachrichtigung, das Kayserl. Königl. Collegium Theresianum dahier betreffend. MNL OL, OL, P 86, 16. cs., D. I. 101.

⁵¹ Mihály Vass to Sámuel Dessewffy, March 25, 1755. MNL OL, P 91, 6. cs.

⁵² J. Schwarz, *Geschichte der Savoy'schen Ritter-Akademie in Wien vom Jahre 1746 bis 1778*, Vienna, Braumüller, 1897.

⁵³ József Esterházy to József Esterházy, Vienna, October 22, 1732, MNL OL, P 197, fasc. 106 (2), 52. cs., no 2.

⁵⁴ Károly Zichy to Ferenc Zichy, Vienna, July 16, 1771. MNL OL P 707. The Zichy Family Archives, Letters of Ferenc Zichy, 554. cs., no 15192.

1775, István due to his merited father became a count. Having no inclination for military or civil service, he declined against getting an administrative post and preferred to live a society life in Kassa (in German Kaschau, now Košice, Slovakia). As a consequence, his enormous debt led to sequestration of the property, his children were placed under the tutelage of his sister Klára Szirmay. The younger son József later became a prominent figure of the Age of Reforms (1825-1948), Maecenas and a writer⁵⁵.

István Dessewffy with his sincere simpleness and lack of rhetorical discipline spoke out many of concerns, fears and hopes of young men sent far away from the loving families and familiar milieu to mature for a public career. His letters not only give an insight into the everyday of a closed privileged school but also make clear, what obstacles a young man had to overcome and what qualities to develop, to be worthy of his ancestors as a grown-up man.

⁵⁵ G. Vadera, *Élet és irodalom. Az irodalom társadalmi használata gróf Dessewffy József életművében*, Budapest, Ráció Kiadó, 2013.

Students from the small country in the big city: Croats studying in Vienna in the nineteenth Century*

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ABSTRACT: This paper discusses the life of Croatian students in the Habsburg capital of Vienna in the nineteenth century on the basis of the autobiographic and diary notes and personal correspondence of four distinguished members of the Croatian intellectual elite – writers and politicians Juraj Matija Šporer, Andrija Torkvat Brlić, Ignjat Brlić and Ksaver Šandor Gjalski. The sources mentioned enable us to reconstruct some aspects of their everyday life (student obligations, their opinion about some of their professors and their teaching methods, their social and cultural practices). Different intellectual, social and cultural experiences from the period of their education at the University of Vienna exerted very positive influence on their future professional life. These private sources in the comparative methodological approach are used as material for analysing the high school system from the bottom-up perspective, as well as for a cultural transfer from the centre to the periphery.

EET/TEE KEYWORDS: History of education; Croatian Students; University; Teaching methods; Vienna; XIXth Century.

1. *On the Role of Vienna as a University Centre among Croatian Students*

In the 1770s, a reform of elementary education was implemented in the Habsburg Monarchy. The goal was to homogenize this multi-ethnic state, educate politically loyal and useful citizens and create prerequisites for the implementation of further reforms in the following decades. Subsequently, the education system, and particularly *Gymnasiums*, became the medium for

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spreading identical cultural standards in the entire state¹. Education contributed to the development of citizens as individuals and members of a nation, and university education played a special role in the formation of elites². At the turn to a modern civil society, education became a matter of prestige, reflecting a modified system of values. University education and especially education received at studies abroad became a means of advancement in society and a prerequisite for a successful professional and political career in the countries of South East Europe but also in German-speaking countries³. A modern state needed many educated and capable civil servants, therefore the majority of persons with a higher education in Croatia⁴ were employed in the public administration or the service sector in the nineteenth century. Therefore, law studies were particularly popular among the impoverished nobility and the middle classes. Approximately half of the Croatian students at the University in Vienna studied law in the period from 1848 to 1918⁵. Until the establishment of a modern university in 1874, the only institution of higher learning in Croatia was the Royal Academy of Sciences in Zagreb⁶, which offered higher education in philosophy, law and theology, without the right to confer doctor's degrees. For this reason, *peregrinatio academica* was for centuries a usual phenomenon among the nobility. In the nineteenth century, this phenomenon included the middle classes as well⁷. Whereas during the Middle Ages and the early modern

¹ E. Kowalská, *Das Elementarschulwesen des 18. Jahrhunderts: Ein Modellfall gesamtstaatlicher Ausbildung in der Habsburgermonarchie*, «Südostdeutsches Archiv», n. XL/XLI, 1997/1998, p. 29; I. Horbec, V. Švoger, *Školstvo kao politicum: Opći školski red iz 1774.*, «Anali za povijest odgoja», n. 9, 2010, pp. 5-47.

² Lj. Trgovčević, *Planirana elita. O studentima iz Srbije na europskim univerzitetima u 19. veku*, Belgrade, Istorijski institut: Službeni glasnik, 2003, p. 10. On definitions of the concept of 'elite' cf. Th.B. Botomore, *Elite und Gesellschaft. Eine Übersicht über die Entwicklung des Eliteproblems*, Munich, G. H. Beck, 1974³.

³ Trgovčević, *Planirana elita*, cit., p. 10; T. Shek Brnardić, *Kroatische Studenten in der Großstadt: Kulturaustausch durch das Studium in Wien im 'langen' 19. Jahrhundert*, «Südostdeutsches Archiv», vol. XLIV/XLV, 2001/2002, pp. 46-48; H. Lönnecker, *Studenten und Gesellschaft. Studenten in der Gesellschaft. Versuch eines Überblicks seit Beginn des 19. Jahrhunderts*, in R.Ch. Schwinges (ed.), *Universität im öffentlichen Raum*, Basel, Schwabe, 2008, p. 404.

⁴ In the nineteenth century, Croatia was not territorially integrated: the so-called Civil Croatia and Slavonia were part of the Kingdom of Hungary, just as the so-called Hungarian Littoral. Dalmatia and the Croatian-Slavonian Military Frontier were under Vienna's administration. In addition to the official title of the Triune Kingdom of Croatia, Slavonia and Dalmatia, the name Croatia was gradually more in use. The name Croatia in this paper refers to civilian parts of Croatia and Slavonia.

⁵ Shek Brnardić, *Kroatische Studenten*, cit., pp. 53, 56, 62.

⁶ L. Dobronić, *Zagrebačka akademija / Academia Zagrabensis. Visokoškolski studiji u Zagrebu 1633.-1874.*, Zagreb, Dom i svijet, 2004.

⁷ A. Jelinek, *Hrvatski intelektualci na sveučilištima u Beču, Padovi i Parizu*, «Državnost – časopis za politiku, znanost, kulturu i gospodarstvo», vol. 2, n. 3, 1998, pp. 453-473; Shek Brnardić, *Kroatische Studenten*, cit.; V. Švoger, *Zur gesellschaftlichen Rolle der Peregrinatio Academica in Banalkroatien um die Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts – Beispiel des Kreises um die Zagreber liberale Presse*, «Povijesni prilozi», vol. 26, n. 32, 2007, pp. 259-282. I. Iveljić, *Kroatische*

era Croatian students studied in considerable numbers at Italian universities and in Paris, and only a few in Vienna, since the middle of the eighteenth century Vienna as a university, scientific and cultural centre became a magnet, not just for Croatians, but also for other peoples of South East Europe⁸. Modernization reforms in higher education initiated in the second half of the eighteenth century by Gerhard van Swieten and continued in the nineteenth century, especially during the mandate of Minister of Education Leo Thun-Hohenstein, contributed to this. Reforms enabled the reorganization of existing and the establishment of many institutions of higher learning and technical institutes with modern seminars, laboratories and clinics, engaging the most distinguished scientists⁹. In addition to its relative geographic proximity, scientific qualifications attained at that university were recognized in the entire Habsburg Monarchy, which contributed to Vienna attracting Croatian students. Although no conclusive research was conducted so far, it could be estimated that approximately 4700 students from Croatian lands studied at the University in Vienna during the 19th century. However, not all of them finished their studies there¹⁰. The university in Pest (later Budapest) was less popular among Croatian students at the time, mostly due to strained political relations between Croatia and Hungary, or due to the language barrier. Intellectuals¹¹ who completed their studies in Vienna, or at other foreign universities, visited cultural institutions in their places of studies (theatres, museums, galleries, concerts), historical and natural sites, familiarised themselves with modern ideas in politics, culture and

Studenten und Professoren in Wien (1790-1918), in I. Iveljić (ed.), *The Entangled Histories of Vienna, Zagreb and Budapest (18th-20th Century)*, Zagreb, FF Press, 2015, pp. 291-356 analyses the regional representation, social structure and everyday life of Croatian students and professors in Vienna. T. Luetić, *The Migration and Experiences of Croatian Students at Universities of the Austro-Hungarian Empire at the Turn of the Century*, in Iveljić (ed.), *The Entangled Histories*, cit., pp. 259-289 analyses the reasons for the departure of Croatian students for studies abroad, their everyday lives, and the influence of studies abroad on changes in the Croatian political and cultural arena.

⁸ Šek Brnardić, *Kroatische Studenten*, cit., pp. 56-57, 61-62.

⁹ H. Engelbrecht, *Geschichte des österreichischen Bildungswesens. Erziehung und Unterricht auf dem Boden Österreichs*, Vol. III. *Von der frühen Aufklärung bis zum Vormärz*, Vol. IV. *Von 1848 bis zum Ende der Monarchie*, Vienna, Österreichischer Bundesverlag, 1984, 1986; M.G. Ash, *Die Universität Wien in den politischen Umbrüchen des 19. und 20. Jahrhunderts*, in M.G. Ash, J. Ehmer (edd.), *Universität – Politik – Gesellschaft*, Göttingen-Vienna, V&R unipress, Vienna University Press, 2015, Vol. 2, pp. 29-57; Ch. Aichner, *Die Universität Innsbruck in der Ära der Thun-Hohenstein'schen Reformen 1848-1860. Aufbruch in eine neue Zeit*, Vienna-Köln-Weimar, Böhlau Verlag, 2018; Ch. Aichner, B. Mazohl (edd.), *Die Thun-Hohenstein'schen Universitätsreformen 1849-1860. Konzeption – Umsetzung – Nachwirkungen*, Vienna-Köln-Weimar, Böhlau Verlag, 2017.

¹⁰ Iveljić, *Kroatische Studenten*, cit., p. 296. The correspondence or autobiographical accounts by only few of these students are available today.

¹¹ On the definitions of the concepts of intelligentsia, intellectuals, intellectual elite cf. S.M. Džaja, *Inteligencija u južnoslavenskom prostoru u 19. stoljeću*, «Croatica Christiana Periodica», vol. XIV, n. 25, 1991, pp. 179-186; Bottomore, *Elite und Gesellschaft*, cit.

science, and met distinguished personalities in these fields who lived in the city. After completing their studies abroad, they assumed important positions in the political, cultural, economic and scientific fields in their homeland, including Croatia. Through their public activities, they promoted modern ideas and incentives they became familiar with during their studies abroad, but did not accept them uncritically, reshaping them in a creative way and adjusting to local circumstances. In this way, cultural transfer was manifested as cultural communication, and students took part in it consciously and with interest¹².

2. *The Sources*

This paper presents the life of students from a small country – Croatia – in a large city – Vienna – in the nineteenth century, based on autobiographies, family correspondence and diaries of four distinguished members of the Croatian intellectual elite. These are writer and physician Juraj Matija Šporer (1795-1884), publicist and politician Andrija Torkvat Brlić (1826-1868), his brother politician Ignjat Brlić (1834-1892) and writer and politician Ksaver Šandor Gjalski (1854-1935). They have been selected for research because of the material preserved containing their references to their student life in Vienna (which is rare in Croatia, particularly in the first half of the nineteenth century). Their experience linked to the studies in Vienna can serve as case studies allowing a portrayal of the life of Croatian students in the Habsburg capital in the period 1810s-1870s. Through a comparative approach in the interpretation of results an attempt will be made to provide important insights into the knowledge on the life of Croatian students in Vienna in the nineteenth century.

Philippe Lejeune defines autobiography as «a retrospective prose narrative written by a real person concerning his own existence, where the focus is his individual life, in particular the story of his personality». In his view, for

¹² Trgovčević, *Planirana elita*, cit., p. 45; Šek Brnardić, *Kroatische Studenten*, cit., pp. 45, 53-54; Švoger, *Zur gesellschaftlichen Rolle*, cit., pp. 266-278; L. Lang, *Die Entwicklung des burgenländischen Schulwesens bis 1848 unter dem Einfluß der Absolventen deutscher Universitäten*, «Internationales Kulturhistorisches Symposium Mogersdorf 1975», Eisenstadt, Amt der Burgenländischen Landesregierung, Landesarchiv und Landesbibliothek, 1976, pp. 39-71; I. Iveljić, *Kroatische Eliten in Wien (1790-1918). Eine prosopographische Skizze*, in Iveljić (ed.), *The Entangled Histories*, cit., pp. 457-519; I. Iveljić, *The Role of Education in Modernizing Croatia in the 2nd Half of the 19th Century*, in P. Vodopivec, A. Gabrič (edd.), *The Role of Education and Universities in Modernization Processes in Central and South-Eastern European Countries in 19th and 20th Century*, Ljubljana, Institut za novejšo zgodovino, 2011, p. 30; Luetić, *The Migration and Experiences of Croatian Students*, cit., pp. 287-289. M. Strecha in his article *O pitanju utjecaja bečkog središta na kulturni identitet Zagreba u 19. stoljeću*, «Radovi – Zavod za hrvatsku povijest», n. 26, 1993, pp. 79-88, also emphasises the important role of Vienna in shaping Croatian cultural identity.

a text to be called autobiography, the author, narrator and main character must be identical. Lejeune calls a creative relationship between the author, the autobiographical text and readers an autobiographic pact¹³. Other authors consider autobiography to be basically a factual «narrative of a person's life written by himself»¹⁴. The autobiographies of J. M. Šporer¹⁵ and K. Š. Gjalski¹⁶ are written in the first person, the author is identical to the narrator and main character, and such autobiographies are called factual autobiographies¹⁷. Both Šporer's and Gjalski's autobiographic texts can be classified in the memoir mode of autobiographical narrative¹⁸. These two kinds of autobiographic texts essentially differ in their scope and motivation for writing. Unlike Šporer who described his life on his own initiative, Gjalski did this at the request of the editor of his new book. Both autobiographical accounts addressed educated public.

I will use Andrija Torkvat Brlić's hand-written diary, which he kept from 1840 to 1857¹⁹ and the Brlić family correspondence²⁰ as a source for depicting

¹³ Ph. Lejeune, *The Autobiographical Pact*, in P.J. Eakin (ed.), *On Autobiography*, Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press, 1989, pp. 3-30, cit. pp. 4, 5; F. Hameršak, *Tamna strana Marsa. Hrvatska autobiografija i Prvi svjetski rat*, Zagreb, Naklada Ljevak, 2013, p. 117, considers «autobiographic oath» to be a more suitable expression.

¹⁴ J.M. Cox, *Autobiography and America*, «Virginia Quarterly Review», n. 47, 1971, p. 254, quoted according to L.A. Renza, *The Veto of the Imagination: A Theory of Autobiography*, p. 1, <sites.dartmouth.edu/larenza/files/2012/08/Renza-1977-The-Veto-of-the-Imagination-A-Theory-of-Autobiography.pdf> (last access: 31.01.2016). The autobiography is similarly defined by A. Zlatar, *Autobiografija*, in *Hrvatska književna enciklopedija*, Zagreb, Leksikografski zavod Miroslav Krleža, 2010, Vol. 1, pp. 70-72.

¹⁵ Juraj Matija Šporer called his incomplete autobiography «Odziv iz prošlosti» [Response from the Past]. It was published in V. Brešić (ed.), *Autobiografije hrvatskih pisaca*, Zagreb, AGM, 1997, pp. 25-127. It is interesting that while writing his autobiography (first publication in 1863 in the Zagreb paper *Pozor*) Šporer was aware that in an autobiographic text the present influences the author's perception of his own past: «Autobiographies are mirrors for us to look at ourselves in them, and to see that something is corrected or embellished or some stain to be removed in our picture», *Ibid.*, p. 25. This aspect of autobiography is also emphasised by modern theoreticians of this genre. Cf. Renza, *The Veto of the Imagination*, cit., p. 3.

¹⁶ Ks.Š. Gjalski, *Rukovet autobiografskih zapisaka*, in *Autobiografije hrvatskih pisaca*, cit., pp. 217-251.

¹⁷ J. Tlustý, *Fictional and Factional Autobiography from the Perspective of Speech Act Theory*, «Organon F», vol. 19, supplementary issue 2, 2012, pp. 179-185, especially p. 180. A narrative is fictitious if the author and narrator are not identical, in other words if autobiography is written in the third person. *Ibid.*, p. 181.

¹⁸ Renza, *The Veto of the Imagination*, cit., p. 7. The author distinguished between the other two modes of autobiographic narratives – the confessional and narcissistic mode. *Ibid.*, pp. 7-14.

¹⁹ The original is kept in the National and University Library in Zagreb, Manuscripts and Old Books Collection, R 4023, and the transcript in the Archives of the Brlić family in Slavonski Brod. In this research, I used the transcript of A. T. Brlić's diary from the Archives of the Brlić family (hereinafter: Diary ATB, ABF, box 10, bundle 1).

²⁰ The originals are kept in the Archives of the Brlić family in Slavonski Brod. Part of this correspondence has been published. In this research, the family correspondence published in the following books has been used: M. Artuković, V. Švoger, M. Orban Kljajić (edd.), *Korespondencija*

the life of Croatian students in Vienna in the nineteenth century. The diary is an autobiographic genre in which the author continuously and directly describes his experiences and reflections on the outside world and himself²¹. According to Julie Rak, «diaries are not written for any readers other than, sometimes, diarists themselves». Philippe Lejeune refers to them as «traces» of life²². Autobiographies, diaries and personal correspondence are private and personal texts and «diaries and letters are among the most democratic of historical sources»²³. Despite this, such type of sources is very suitable for a historical research of education from the student's perspective. Although such sources are subjective, even lacking credibility, in some details, their interpretation in a comparative perspective can offer new and interesting insights into the history of education from the student's perspective.

3. *Everyday Life, Social and Cultural Practices of Croatian Students in nineteenth Century Vienna*

According to the sources mentioned, I will present the following aspects of Croatian student life during their university studies in nineteenth century Vienna: their usual daily routine, student social life and cultural practices, and students' attitudes towards their studies and professors. I will emphasise similarities and differences in students' experiences and compare them with the experience of other students based on the literature.

Juraj Matija Šporer, born in a well-off merchant family, studied philosophy and medicine in Vienna in the second decade of the nineteenth century. In an interesting and ironic way, he described different possibilities as well as dangers that Vienna offered to a well-to-do young man. Implicitly, but clearly, he indicated the contrast Croatian students faced coming from a relatively small country to a large town. In Šporer's words:

A young man, still unskilled and with a lack of experience, is facing more dangers in a large city than a soldier in a battle [...] Thus a young man, who is not poor, or too cold-blooded,

Andrije Torkvata i Ignjata Brlića. Knjiga prva: pisma 1846.-1856., Slavonski Brod, Hrvatski institut za povijest – Podružnica za povijest Slavonije, Srijema i Baranje, 2015; I. Alojzije Brlić, *Pisma sinu Andriji Torkvatu 1836-1855*, 2 vols., I. Brlić (ed.), Zagreb, Hrvatski izdavački bibliografski zavod, 1942-1943.

²¹ H. Sablić Tomić, *Dnevnik*, in *Hrvatska književna enciklopedija*, Zagreb, Leksikografski zavod Miroslav Krleža, 2010, Vol. I, pp. 386-388.

²² J. Rak, *Dialogue with the Future: Philippe Lejeune's Method and Theory of Diary*, in Ph. Lejeune, *On Diary*, J.D. Popkin, J. Rak (edd.), Manoa, University of Hawaii Press, 2009, pp. 16-26, cit., pp. 19, 24.

²³ S. Stowe, *Making Sense of Letters and Diaries*, <<http://historymatters.gmu.edu/mse/letters/letters.pdf>> (last access: 03.09.2019).

can experience this freedom with great joy, and seeks to catch up enjoying extravagances that were forbidden to him before; however irreproachable, attentive, sober and docile he may be, it is difficult for him to resist the power of temptations surrounding him. His landlady invites him kindly to socialise with her and her daughter, and maybe even get involved; there, his comrades tempt him to social games in cafés and inns, to dances and other public and private entertainment; here, a beauty, extremely tender and innocent, is throwing amorous glances at him, spotting an unskilled foreigner to catch him unawares and blind him with all sorts of tricks; and finally, different indulgences wait for him in the theatre or in some clear or dark music hall [...]²⁴.

He noted self-critically that the leadership of his elder brother, who worked in a Viennese bank at the time, prevented him from forgetting his major goal – studies²⁵. Ksaver Šandor Gjalski (his real name was Ljubomil Tito Josip Franjo Babić), son of a well-to-do peer and attorney, studied law in Vienna from 1874 to 1876. Like Šporer, he had no financial difficulties during his stay in Vienna. As he himself admitted, his companionship with intellectually oriented colleagues and avoiding colleagues prone to parties and drinking bouts spared him from succumbing to the dangers of the megacity²⁶.

Brothers Andrija Torkvat and Ignjat Brlić, descending from a prominent, but not particularly well-off, merchant family from Slavonia, did not encounter such worries. They lived much more modestly in Vienna and had to be cautious with their spending²⁷. Ignjat Brlić studied law in Vienna from 1852 to 1856 (last semester in Prague), and three years later obtained his doctor's degree in Vienna. Andrija Torkvat studied theology from 1843 to 1847 and during his studies he stayed at the Pázmáneum, seminary for theology students from Hungary. As a seminarian and future priest (however, the bloody revolutionary turmoil in Vienna in March 1848, which he witnessed, aroused his additional interest in politics and he was not ordained priest after all) had a very rigid daily schedule.

²⁴ Šporer, *Odziv iz prošlosti*, cit., p. 38. In his autobiography, Gjalski too wrote enthusiastically about the beauty and charm of Viennese women. Gjalski, *Rukovet autobiografskih zapisaka*, cit., pp. 233-234. Towards the end of the nineteenth century, Velimir Deželić Senior also emphasized that Vienna was a dangerous city for young Croats due to the numerous cultural and entertaining events. Many of them failed to complete their studies and squandered their fortunes. Luetić, *The Migration and Experiences*, cit., p. 284.

²⁵ Šporer, *Odziv iz prošlosti*, cit., p. 38.

²⁶ Gjalski, *Rukovet autobiografskih zapisaka*, cit., pp. 229-230.

²⁷ The father's letter to Andrija Torkvat from the time when he began his studies is a testimony to this. The father presents the difficult financial situation to him and advises him to be cautious and thrifty with money. This letter of Ignjat Alojzije Brlić to his son Andrija dated 8.11.1843 was published in Brlić, *Pisma sinu*, cit., Vol. I, pp. 65-66. Ignjat Brlić writes to his brother Andrija Torkvat several letters about financial difficulties and a modest living in Vienna. I highlight here the letters dated 20.1.1853, 7.3.1853 and 18.9.1855 published in Artuković, Švoger, Orban Kljajić (edd.), *Korespondencija*, cit., Vol. I, pp. 297-301, 391. Dinko Župan analysed the everyday life of the Brlić brothers on the basis of their correspondence, partly also during their studies in Vienna, in article *Švakodnevni život braće Andrije i Ignjata Brlića na osnovi njihove korespondencije (1845-1868)*, in D. Župan (ed.), *Zbornik o Andriji Torkvatu Brliću*, Slavonski Brod: Hrvatski institut za povijest – Podružnica za povijest Slavonije, Srijema i Baranje, 2012, pp. 169-188.

He would get up at 5 a.m., an hour later on Sundays and holidays. This was followed by half an hour of prayer and then studying for exams. After mass, he would go to lectures, followed by another period of study. After lunch, he would again go to lectures, then study, and then read works of literature, history, art history, as well as Croatian, Austrian and foreign newspapers. Moreover, he studied foreign languages: in addition to Latin, Greek, Hebrew and Aramaic that he studied as part of his theological studies, he studied Hungarian, French, Czech and English. He studied them on his own with the help of textbooks, and developed his language competences by reading literary works or newspapers in that language, occasionally speaking to his fellow students who were native speakers²⁸. In his leisure time, he wrote letters to members of his family and friends, went for a walk almost every day, mainly with some of his fellow students (he would not go for a walk only in case of inclement weather). During these walks, they would discuss various topics: current political affairs, Slavdom and Slavic languages, various literary topics, religious and ecclesial issues, common acquaintances etc. Occasionally, he would play the violin²⁹. However, as early as his stay in the Viennese *Frintaneum* (*Augustineum*), the highest institution for education of clergy in the Habsburg Monarchy, where he stayed from the autumn of 1847 to the autumn of 1848 preparing for rigorous exams (*Rigorosa*) in theology, A. T. Brlić lived somewhat more freely. His visit to a coffee house caused his father great concern. In a letter, he asked his son whether this was allowed and warned him that it would be a great disgrace should he be expelled from the institute³⁰.

During Andrija's second studies in Vienna, where he studied law from 1853 to 1857 with long interruptions, his everyday student routine was not as rigorously structured as during his theology studies. First, he lived in a rented flat, then in a hotel in 1856, and ate in cafés. In the morning, he would attend lectures or work in the attorney's office Dvoržak where he was a trainee, and almost every afternoon, he would work in the imperial library or in the archives copying historical sources for his third book³¹, which was published in Vienna.

²⁸ A similar practice in learning foreign languages is described by Croatian politician Stjepan Radić (1871-1928) in his correspondence. The main difference was that he learned foreign languages (Czech, French and Russian) mainly during his imprisoning for political causes. B. Krizman (ed.), *Korespondencija Stjepana Radića*, 2 vols., Zagreb, Sveučilište u Zagrebu – Institut za hrvatsku povijest, 1972, pp. 290, 300.

²⁹ Diary ATB, AFB, box 10, bundle 1, entry dated 1.1.1847. For insights into the books and newspapers he read cf. the entries from January, February and March 1844. Similar social practices of Croatian students in Prag 1890s is described by Radić and his colleagues. Krizman, *Korespondencija*, cit., Vol. I, pp. 184-185.

³⁰ I. A. Brlić's letter to his son A.T. Brlić dated 13.12.1847, published in Brlić, *Pisma sinu*, cit., Vol. I, p. 154.

³¹ *Izvori srpske povjestnice. Iz turskijeh spomenika izvadio i na nemačko preveo d. Valter F. A. Bernauer; a na srpsko preveo i izdao Andrija Torkvato Brlić*, Vienna, 1857, Vol. I, – *Quellen für serbische Geschichte. Aus türkischen Urkunden im Originaltext redigirt und ins Deutsche übertragen von Dr. Walter F. A. Bernauer. In das Serbische übersetzt und herausgegeben von A. T.*

Every day, he would go to cafés where he would meet his friends and colleagues, in the evening he often visited his acquaintances. Most frequently, he would socialise with his fellow countrymen and other Slavs³².

The other three Croatian students who are the topic of this paper did not have a rigidly structured everyday life as A. T. Brlić during his theological studies, nor did they describe it in as much detail as he did. Ignjat Brlić regularly attended lectures, every day he would study for several hours in the imperial or polytechnic library and he rarely went to cafés. At the beginning of his studies, he took Polish and Russian classes with senior private lecturers³³. From Andrija's diary, we learn that at the time he studied law in Vienna, the brothers met almost daily in cafés where they socialized with other colleagues and acquaintances from Slavic circles, discussing various topics, reading the papers and so.

The custom of students' meeting and socialising in cafés and inns was widespread among the European student population as one form of socialization. It was practiced by Zagreb students as well. In cafés, students would discuss various topics, often politics, at times they would deliver political speeches, read domestic and foreign newspapers, play billiards and cards, smoke, plan some future activities, at times hold students' assemblies. Cafés were the meeting place of students with elder, already established intellectuals. In the pleasant atmosphere of cafés, they would sing and celebrate some important moments (f.i., Šporer celebrated his doctor's degree in one of the Vienna cafés)³⁴, drink coffee or tea but also alcoholic drinks. Intoxicated, they would start verbal conflicts, even fights. At times, they would tease and insult other guests with whom they did not have direct contact. Such a way of spending their leisure time (or the time they were supposed to spend at their faculties) was quite widespread among Croatian students, both in Zagreb, and in Vienna, Prague and other university centres. This can be concluded from many newspaper articles, but also from the fact that this aspect of students' leisure became the topic of literary works of some Croatian writers³⁵. Since the 1820s, Croatian students in Vienna would meet in cafés *Riedhof*, *Zum Morgenstern*, and since the 1840s

Berlić, Vol. I, Vienna, 1857. Three years earlier in Vienna, he published the historiographic book *Die freiwillige Teilnahme der Serben und Kroaten an den vier letzten österreichisch-türkischen Kriegen* and a Croatian grammar *Grammatik der illyrischen Sprache wie solche im Munde und Schrift der Serben und Kroaten gebräuchlich ist*.

³² Diary ATB, AFB, box 10, bundle 1, entries from 1855 and 1856.

³³ Artuković, Švoger, Orban Kljajić (edd.), *Korespondencija*, cit., Vol. I, pp. 292, 295, 297, 298.

³⁴ Šporer, *Odziv iz prošlosti*, cit., p. 126.

³⁵ S. Möller, *Zwischen Wissenschaft und 'Burschenherrlichkeit'. Studentische Sozialisation im Deutschen Kaiserreich, 1871-1914*, Stuttgart, Steiner, 2001, pp. 146-154.; T. Luetić, *Studenti Sveučilišta u Zagrebu (1874-1914). Društveni život, svakodnevica, kultura, politika*, Zagreb, Srednja Europa, 2012, pp. 273-286; Luetić, *The Migration and Experiences*, cit., pp. 284-286.

also in *Bayerisches Café* and *Gerlovich*³⁶. A. T. Brlić noted in his diary that in the middle of the 1850s he often frequented the cafés *Löw* (former *Gerlovich*), *Sperl* and *Bader*, but also others which he did not name. There, he would meet his brother, fellow countrymen and other Slavs, who stayed in Vienna for studies or business³⁷.

In his own assessment, Juraj Matija Šporer lagged behind in acquiring the necessary knowledge at the faculty due to his insufficient knowledge of German, but he was not concerned. As a part-time student and foreigner (his native town of Karlovac was under French rule as part of the Illyrian Provinces) during his studies of philosophy in Vienna he was not obliged to take exams, because such students at the end of their studies would get a certificate for the lectures they attended. He ironically remarked that he had not acquired knowledge at lectures, but by reading books on literature, drama, history, books on nature and having philosophical debates with his colleagues. He took private French classes, often visited bookshops and second-hand bookshops and purchased many books. However, the situation changed when he enrolled in medicine. Then, he had more obligations at the faculty as well as practical training at hospital. In his view, professors did not teach in an interesting way. Therefore, he took private classes to acquire the necessary knowledge. Nevertheless, he named a number of distinguished medical experts who lectured at the *Josephinum* at the time³⁸.

As a student who was not short of money, Šporer could enjoy Vienna's diverse offer of leisure. He described students' mingling during the Congress of Vienna (1814-1815). He regularly frequented cafés where he socialized with educated guests of different ethnic background and diverse political convictions. There, they used to play different card games (whist, ombre, Boston), and in the evening, they would drink coffee and tea (no-alcoholic beverages), in a separate room and discuss politics. In spite of differing views, these gatherings would always end pleasantly and in a tolerant spirit «for among educated people, one does not insult the other because of an opposite political view». In addition to his socializing in cafés, he would often spend his leisure time in theatres and the opera. He proudly remembered the great joy of playing the violin during a performance of Beethoven's work *Wellington's Victory at Vittoria*³⁹ in an

³⁶ J. Seršić, *Kroatisches Wien / Hrvatski Beč*, Vienna, Karl Gerold's Sohn Verlagsbuchhandlung KG, 2013, p. 63.

³⁷ Diary ATB, AFB, box 10, bundle 1, entries from 1856 and 1857. Luetić, *The Migration and Experiences*, cit., pp. 284-285, writes that in the late nineteenth century, Croatian students in Vienna often would meet in *Arkaden Café*.

³⁸ Šporer, *Odziv iz prošlosti*, cit., pp. 38-39, 45-46, 48, 117-118. About the medico-surgical academy – the *Josephinum* – and education of physicians in the Habsburg Monarchy cf. I. Horbec, *Zdravlje naroda – bogatstvo države. prosvijećeni apsolutizam i počeci sustava javnoga zdravstva u Hrvatskoj*, Zagreb, Hrvatski institut za povijest, 2015, pp. 121-145.

³⁹ Op. 91 (Battle Symphony) first performed on 8.12.1813 in Vienna, and the conductor was Beethoven. The work was performed several times more in Vienna in the course of the following year. Ingrid Schwaegermann, *Wellington's Victory at Vittoria*, Op. 91 (Battle Symphony), 1998,

orchestra of a thousand musicians and singers. Among the fellow students he socialized with, there were talented musicians and singers. Thus, each week, in addition to their discussions on medical issues, they would also arrange chamber concerts and reading of poetry, at times also the general *Kommers*⁴⁰. *Kommers* was a students' party, organized on different occasions (charities, anniversaries of historical events and personalities, Freshmen Evenings etc.). Usually, they featured a concert, declamatory and dance part, and often were used for political agitation. Formal clothing was required to participate, therefore the participation of lower status students was not possible. *Kommers* was the usual type of students' parties at universities in the Habsburg Monarchy and German-speaking countries in the nineteenth century⁴¹.

We can bring certain indirect conclusions about Gjalski's student life on the basis of his autobiography: he spent time at lectures (especially those delivered by Professors Lorenz von Stein and Wilhelm Emil Wahlberg), socialized with his fellow students, and spent most of his time in the court and university library. He read books on astronomy, Charles Darwin's theory of evolution, historical monographs, novels and stories by Russian writer Ivan Sergeyevic Turgenev. He had an active social life often visiting his relatives living in Vienna. Since his relatives were members of affluent nobility, he had the opportunity to meet very distinguished personalities of political and public life when frequenting their circles. He had regular contacts with them in his aunt's drawing room. This is where he, among others, met Croatian politicians who had good connections at the Court in Vienna, Metel Ožegović and Koloman Bedeković, as well as officer Wilhelm Reinländer, who was at the time military teacher of Crown Prince Rudolf, and subsequently became Marshal and Chief of the General Staff. With his comprehensive and versatile knowledge, he made a strong impression on the young Croatian student⁴².

In retrospect to his studies in Vienna, Gjalski concluded that this was an extremely momentous formative period for him due to the opportunity to enjoy Vienna's rich cultural offer in the second half of the nineteenth century. The young Croatian student enjoyed the amenities of well-equipped libraries and superb artistic attainments in the visual and drama arts:

This Viennese episode was certainly very remarkable and momentous for my development. I had many opportunities and means to get knowledge in libraries and acquaint myself with many beauties of art in museums. I also frequented theatres and saw all the major famous

<<http://www.raptusassociation.org/battle.html>> (last access 01.12.2019). I did not manage to ascertain in which performance Šporer took part.

⁴⁰ Šporer, *Odziv iz prošlosti*, cit., pp. 48-50, quotation from p. 49.

⁴¹ Luetić, *Studenti Sveučilišta u Zagrebu*, analyses *Kommers* organized by Zagreb students, cit., pp. 245-253.

⁴² Gjalski, *Rukovet autobiografskih zapisaka*, cit., pp. 229-232.

artists of the Burgtheater, Opera and Stadttheater of the time. I also listened to and saw world greats such as Adelina Patti, Nilson, Nicolini and others⁴³.

Moreover, as a member of the «Velebit» Croatian Student Society, he attended lectures delivered by members of the Society. A lecture by Oton Kučera on spectral analysis made a very strong impression on him awakening in him a strong interest for the secrets of space, which persisted his entire life⁴⁴. The other three Croatian students this paper deals with, judging by their autobiographic entries and correspondence, were not members of student societies. Nevertheless, they kept relatively intense social contacts, especially with fellow students with whom they shared the same ethnic background⁴⁵.

The «Velebit» Croatian Students Society had the «purpose to educate its members spiritually and scientifically through lectures, discussions, entertainment and singing»⁴⁶. Similar students associations existed at other universities and technical colleges in the Habsburg Monarchy and other European countries. Since the prevailing form of teaching at nineteenth century faculties were lectures (seminars and exercises were more present in the studies of medical and technical sciences), students had poor conditions for establishing social contacts and articulating their common values. Therefore, they established various student organisations following the German model: large and inclusive reading and speech societies, religious and charitable associations, regional societies and exclusive fraternities. Student societies usually had their own premises with a library, where society members could read, converse, play different card games, deliver or listen to lectures on some topic, and enjoy music. Members of smaller student fraternities were connected by certain rituals and upholding of a code of honour, and they spent time singing, drinking, fencing duels and similar. Independently of their major goal and activities, student associations provided their student members with a social network, the feeling of belonging,

⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 232. The above-mentioned persons were the most famous nineteenth century opera singers: Adelina Patti (1843-1919), an Italian-French famous soprano; Christina Nilsson (1843-1921), a Swedish operatic soprano and Ernesto Nicolini (1834-1898), a French-Italian operatic tenor.

⁴⁴ Gjalski, *Rukovet autobiografskih zapisaka*, cit., p. 230. On the activities of the «Velebit» Student Society in Vienna (operating from 1865 to 1880) cf. T. Petričević, *Hrvatsko akademsko društvo "Velebit" na Sveučilištu u Beču (1865.-1882.)*, in D. Roksandić, B. Janković (edd.), *Baltazar Bogišić i njegovo doba u intelektualnohistorijskoj perspektivi. Zbornik radova*, Zagreb, FF Press, 2012, pp. 93-114. In the second half of the academic year 1874/75, attorney Babić (that is K. Š. Gjalski's real name) delivered a lecture on the development of the Croatian State and philosopher Kučera on «spectral analysis and spectroscopy». Cf. *Velebit društvo hrvatskih djaka u Beču od g. 1874. do g. 1878.*, «Hrvatski dom. Zabavnik hrvatske omladine za godinu 1878.», year III, Zagreb, 1878, pp. XXVIII-XXXVI., especially XXIX.

⁴⁵ Quite the opposite, S. Radić preferred spending time on his own (especially when he was in Paris), walking or reading foreign newspapers in cafés or clubs, or writing letters to his fiancée or friends. Krizman, *Korespondencija*, cit., Vol. I, pp. 251, 255, 300.

⁴⁶ B. Vranješ-Šoljan, *Croatian Students Societies in Vienna in the 19th Century*, in Iveljić (ed.), *The Entangled Histories*, cit., pp. 357-378, quotation pp. 364-365.

sometimes also lasting friendships. Some of the contacts established then helped their former members make advances in their professional careers⁴⁷. Similar societies of Croatian students existed at other universities in the Habsburg Monarchy and at the University in Zagreb, where the first student society was founded immediately after the foundation of the University⁴⁸.

Although the Brlić brothers lived much more modestly than Šporer and Gjalski during their studies in Vienna, this does not mean that they did not enjoy the amenities of life in the capital, in line with their resources. It seems that Andrija's entertainment during his theological studies boiled down to walks and conversations with fellow students, reading books and newspapers, sometimes enjoying music (playing the violin or listening to a colleague playing the violin or the piano), rarely card games with other students, playing billiards and visits to a museum⁴⁹. The capital's cultural offer – a rich and versatile artistic life (theatres, the opera, concerts, galleries, museums etc.) – influenced Andrija Torkvat at least indirectly, and perhaps directly, although he did not record them in his diary. A circumstance pointing to this conclusion is that while travelling in the countries of Western Europe from the spring to the autumn of 1850, he visited natural and cultural sites (museums, churches, universities and libraries, and established contact with distinguished scientists, artists and politicians). During his life in Zagreb (from the winter 1849 to the autumn 1851), he was involved in the foundation of an amateur theatre, attended theatre performances and even acted in a theatre⁵⁰. Several years later, while studying law in Vienna, A. T. Brlić would go to theatre performances, even to a performance in Hungarian. It seems that occasionally he would also go to gala dances. He recorded in his diary that he enjoyed the company of many acquaintances at the lawyers' ball, where he went as an escort to the wife and the daughter of the Austrian consul in Travnik and Sarajevo⁵¹. The younger brother Brlić, Ignjat, also enjoyed the city's cultural offer during his studies in Vienna. Due to his relatively modest finances, he had to restrict his spending on entertainment. In a letter to his brother Andrija, he complained that he went to the theatre several times «only to see the most excellent plays», that he rarely

⁴⁷ G.B. Cohen, *Education and Middle-Class Society in Imperial Austria 1848-1918*, West Lafayette, Purdue University Press, 1996, pp. 233-240. On student societies and fraternities in the German Empire cf. K. Jarausch, *Students, Society and Politics in Imperial Germany. The Rise of Academic Illiberalism*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1982, pp. 234-332.

⁴⁸ Vranješ-Šoljan, *Croatian Students Societies in Vienna*, cit.; Iveljić, *Kroatische Studenten*, cit., pp. 305-312; Luetić, *Studenti Sveučilišta u Zagrebu*, cit., pp. 303-358.

⁴⁹ Diary ATB, AFB, box 10, bundle 1, entries for 24.5.1844, 28.5.1844, 7.7.1844, 10.8.1846, 14. and 15.8.1846.

⁵⁰ V. Švoger, *Ideali, strast i politika. Život i djelo Andrije Torkvata Brlića*, Zagreb, Hrvatski institut za povijest, Podružnica za povijest Slavonije, Srijema i Baranje, 2012, pp. 37-41; Diary ATB, AFB, box 10, bundle 1, entries for 4.2.1850, 26 and 31.7. 1850; Artuković, Švoger, Orban Kljajić (edd.), *Korespondencija*, cit., Vol. I, p. 323.

⁵¹ Diary ATB, AFB, box 10, bundle 1, entries for 14.1.1855, 30.1.1855 and 30.6.1856.

went to cafés and that he would love to go to a Slavic ball but could not because he did not have the appropriate clothes⁵². Even after completing his studies, Ignjat Brlić continued going to the theatre in the cities where he lived⁵³.

The Croatian students whose autobiographies and correspondence I researched for this paper noted their rare departures from Vienna, except for holidays. A. T. Brlić went with his fellow students for a one-day excursion to the outskirts of Vienna. They toured historical and natural sites⁵⁴. Šporer is the only one who described, in great detail, his experiences from a trip with three other fellow medical students. During the holidays, the four of them travelled on foot from Vienna to Venice and back, and their goal was to familiarise themselves with the artistic heritage, flora, mineralogical diversity and hospitals in northern Italy⁵⁵. In the nineteenth century, travels were a very popular way of spending holidays among students, especially those from well-off families⁵⁶, like Šporer's. The Brlić brothers also travelled a lot, including abroad, but not during their studies⁵⁷.

In the autobiographic notes and correspondence of the Croatian students discussed in this paper, there are relatively few references to their professors. Šporer was dissatisfied with the quality of teaching and his professors who taught in an uninteresting and inadequate manner⁵⁸. Half a century later, Gjalski had similar views on the teaching and professional qualities of his professors. He particularly highlighted two professors who made a strong and positive impression on him. Writing about Lorenz von Stein, he stated that he was «a fine, elegant orator», and that he lectured on national economy, finances and administrative law «in an almost poetic manner» connecting them with «profound German philosophy». He singled out Professor Wilhelm Emil Wahlberg who «explained and taught» criminal law in an extremely beautiful and brilliant way. Subsequently, he met him privately confirming his exceptionally positive impressions⁵⁹. Ignjat Brlić also singled out the latter professor as an extraordinary expert and professor. He often communicated and cooperated with him while drafting a review of the Montenegrin Code of 1855. It seems that this professor held Ignjat Brlić in high esteem as a hard-working and competent student. He convinced him that he had a chance to obtain a bursary for Slavic law research and expressed his wish to be a member of Ignjat's examination commission at his state examination. Ignjat was

⁵² Artuković, Švoger, Orban Kljajić (edd.), *Korespondencija*, cit., Vol. I, p. 298.

⁵³ On his theatre visits in Timișoara and Osijek cf. Župan, *Svakodnevni život*, cit., p. 186.

⁵⁴ Diary ATB, AFB, box 10, bundle 1, entry for 23 May 1844.

⁵⁵ Šporer, *Odziv iz prošlosti*, cit., pp. 51-117.

⁵⁶ On the travels of German students cf. Möller, *Zwischen Wissenschaft und Burschenherrlichkeit*, cit., pp. 200-207, and on the travels of Zagreb students and their excursions to the countryside cf. Luetić, *Studenti Sveučilišta u Zagrebu*, cit., pp. 295-298.

⁵⁷ Župan, *Svakodnevni život*, cit., pp. 180-181.

⁵⁸ Šporer, *Odziv iz prošlosti*, cit., pp. 45, 48.

⁵⁹ Gjalski, *Rukovet autobiografskih zapisaka*, cit., pp. 230-231.

flattered and in a letter to his brother he expressed hope that Professor Franz Haimerl would do the same and wrote that this would motivate him to study even harder: «Although I have no reason to look forward to it, since both of them are the strictest examiners, I am nevertheless glad since this will encourage me to strive to study hard and not humiliate myself in front of them»⁶⁰. In his autobiographic notes, Andrija Torkvat Brlić rarely referred to his professors, stating just their names, but adding no personal assessment of their work as teachers and researchers.

The autobiographic and diary entries and correspondence analysed provide very little information on Croatian students' housing and eating. It may be assumed that Šporer and Gjalski, whose families were affluent, enjoyed the benefit of quality accommodation and nutrition during their studies. The Brlić brothers lived and ate more modestly. During his theology studies, Andrija was accommodated at the *Pázmáneum*. Ignjat resided in a rented room at the cost of seven guldens per month at the beginning of his studies, and six guldens per month during the summer months. In his father's letters, we can discern concern for the inadequate food of *Pázmáneum* seminarians. Therefore, the father advised his son to ask his acquaintances, Franciscan friars, to invite him to lunch from time to time. In his diary, Andrija noted that they had three dishes at the *Pázmáneum* (soup, fish or meat, and a side dish), and on Tuesdays, Thursdays and holidays four dishes. On Saturdays, and during Lent and on Wednesdays, they had fish. Dinners were more frugal and consisted of soup and a side-dish with meat or pasta. The Brlić brothers were sent by steamboat from home a supplement to their daily diet consisting of ham, gingerbread, dried plums, walnuts and hazelnuts⁶¹. On special occasions, they would be invited for lunch by some acquaintance, e.g. Ignjat Brlić attended a luncheon at Vuk Stefanović Karadžić's home on Orthodox Christmas and Easter 1853⁶². Such luncheons were a welcome supplement to the students' daily relatively frugal diet. It seems that the Brlić brothers, as concerns material conditions for their studies, shared the destiny of a significant part of Croatian students⁶³.

The Brlić brothers' correspondence enables a comparison of student life in Vienna and Prague in the nineteenth century. Ignjat Brlić continued his law

⁶⁰ Artuković, Švoger, Orban Kljajić (edd.), *Korespondencija*, cit., Vol. I, pp. 373, 387, 426, quotation p. 373.

⁶¹ Brlić, *Pisma sinu*, cit., Vol. I, pp. 64 and 66; Artuković, Švoger, Orban Kljajić (edd.), *Korespondencija*, vol. I, cit., pp. 289, 317, 389; AFB, Diary ATB, box 10, bundle 1, entry for 1.1.1847.

⁶² Artuković, Švoger, Orban Kljajić (edd.), *Korespondencija*, cit., Vol. I, pp. 298, 304.

⁶³ On the modest housing conditions of Croatian students in Vienna and other university cities of the Habsburg Monarchy cf. Luetić, *The Migration and Experiences*, cit., pp. 277-279. In the second half of the nineteenth century, there were also Croatian students in Vienna who had much more modest accommodations than the students analysed in this paper. These students had to work in addition to their studies. Iveljić, *Kroatische Studenten*, cit., pp. 321-322. There are no corresponding data for the first half of the nineteenth century.

studies in Prague in the summer semester of the academic year 1855/1856. He enthusiastically wrote about his experiences in Prague: better accommodation and food for the same price as in Vienna⁶⁴, professors who do not read their lectures, no time limitations on enrolment, relations between professors and students were closer, smoking was allowed on the university premises. Professor of Roman law Eduard Chambon made a very strong impression on him and he established a private contact with him. Often, they would take a walk together discussing law, and at the professor's invitation Brlić visited him in his home several times and attended, with other professors, an evening party at his house⁶⁵. It seems that the lectures were interesting to other students as well. Therefore, Ignjat surprisingly noticed that even students, who would rarely attend lectures in Vienna, studied hard in Prague and complied with their obligations without being forced to. He spent his leisure time with students and intellectuals in cafés, touring the cultural and natural sites of Prague and its surroundings. He was very fond of Prague cafés. In his view, they were more beautiful than those in Vienna, featuring a greater variety of newspapers, the coffee was cheaper and the beer cheaper and much better than in Vienna. To his brother Andrija Torkvat, he conveyed the regards of Czech intellectuals whom his brother had intense contacts with earlier, and whom Ignjat visited in Prague. Ignjat was very pleased with his Prague experiences, both with regard to the scope and quality of knowledge he obtained at the faculty, the social contacts he established there and the cultural events he attended⁶⁶.

The Croatian students analysed in this paper took advantage of their stay in Vienna to get acquainted and socialize with distinguished intellectuals who lived and worked there. Šporer particularly highlighted his contacts with prominent philologist Jernej Kopitar, whom he met in the Court Library where Kopitar was curator and later Director. They met while Šporer was correcting his first major literary work – the *Edipos* tragedy – using dictionaries in the library. Having read it, Kopitar advised the young student to strive to develop the public's love for literature using simpler literary forms – stories, poems or descriptions of historical events. Their discussions on different alphabets encouraged Šporer to reveal to Kopitar his wish to publish a newspaper in

⁶⁴ Almost four decades later, Stjepan Radić and his colleagues were also very satisfied with the quality of accommodation, food and services in Prague, and emphasised the prices to be very moderate. Krizman, *Korespondencija*, cit., Vol. I, pp. 92, 121, 184.

⁶⁵ Gjalski, *Rukovet autobiografskih zapisaka*, cit., p. 230, makes references to the private contacts with Professor Wahlberg. Distinguished Croatian Slavist Vatroslav Jagić, who lectured at the University of Vienna, kept similar contacts with students. P. Skok (ed.), *Korespondencija Vatroslava Jagića*, Zagreb, JAZU, 1953, Vol. 1, pp. 65, 85.

⁶⁶ Artuković, Švoger, Orban Kljajić (edd.), *Korespondencija*, cit., Vol. I, pp. 414-416, 419-421, 424-426, 430-431. Later too, Prague was popular among Croatian students and known as «a centre of academic hedonism», Luetić, *The Migration and Experiences*, cit., pp. 264-269, 274-275, quotation p. 286.

Croatian. Kopitar advised him to first complete his studies⁶⁷. During his studies, Ignjat Brlić mostly kept contact with Slavic students and intellectuals (with Serbian writer Vuk Stefanović Karadžić who lived in Vienna at the time, among others). Gjalski particularly highlighted his communication with senior law students and members of his aunt's social circles, as mentioned before. During his studies in Vienna, A. T. Brlić had the most intense and versatile social contacts with distinguished intellectuals, using initially the ramified social network of his father, prominent Croatian philologist Ignjat Alojzije Brlić, but also establishing his own social network. In Vienna, he had contacts with outstanding Slavic intellectuals such as Ján Kollár, Václav Hanka, Franc Miklošič, Kopitar, Karadžić and others, mingled a lot with his fellow students, most frequently from Slavic countries. In the revolutionary year 1848, he kept intense contacts with Slavic intellectuals and politicians František Palacký, Pavel Josef Šafařík, L'udovít Štur, with Croatian ban Josip Jelačić, chaplain at Vienna Imperial Court Josip Juraj Strossmayer, the Apostolic Nuncio in Vienna Michele Viale-Prelà and others⁶⁸. He maintained contacts later as well with some of them. Communication with senior and already established intellectuals who provided intellectual incentives was a common social practice among students from other countries in the nineteenth century⁶⁹.

Conclusion

In the nineteenth century, Vienna as the capital of the Habsburg Monarchy with its rich cultural life and a prominent university attracted many students from Croatia. Graduation at the University of Vienna opened the door for a good start in the State administration or for some other public office or politics. For this reason many well-off Croatian upper (aristocratic or noble) or middle class families sent their sons to study in Vienna. Four distinguished members of the Croatian intellectual elite – writer and physician Juraj Matija Šporer, publicist and politician Andrija Torkvat Brlić and his brother, politician Ignjat Brlić, and writer and politician Ksaver Šandor Gjalski were Viennese students too. Their experiences, social and cultural practices from their studies in Vienna have been analysed in this paper. Šporer and Gjalski's autobiographies, the

⁶⁷ Šporer, *Odziv iz prošlosti*, cit., pp. 118-120. It seems that some researchers link the foundation of the first Croatian student society in Vienna in 1817 to this attempt at publishing the newspapers. Cf. M. Bošnjak, *Hrvatska intelektualna omladina*, in *Almanah hrvatskih sveučilištaraca*, Zagreb, 1938, p. 38. Quoted according to Iveljić, *Kroatische Studenten*, cit., p. 303.

⁶⁸ Švoger, *Ideali, strast i politika*, cit., pp. 23-30.

⁶⁹ Luetić, *Studenti Sveučilišta u Zagrebu*, cit., pp. 275-276; Luetić, *The Migration and Experiences*, cit., p. 285.

family correspondence of the Brlić brothers as well as A. T. Brlić's diary provide private insight into their student life in Vienna in the nineteenth century.

On the basis of the mentioned sources it could be concluded that they, more or less and depending on their families' financial means, enjoyed a broad range of possibilities that Vienna offered at the time as a cultural and scientific centre. Informal and individual forms of leisure time prevailed in their social life (going to cafés, theatres, museums, libraries, walks, and similar), but there were also forms of structured leisure time (organised parties and feasts, *Kommers*, student societies)⁷⁰. They created their own social network, which, in addition to their fellow students (they maintained contacts with some of them later as well), also included distinguished intellectuals who lived in Vienna at the time. Moreover, it seems that they regularly fulfilled their student obligations, including lecture attending, and successfully completed their studies. Therefore, it could be concluded that they did not fit in the popular image of students at Austrian universities and technical institutes, which prevailed in the general public towards the end of the nineteenth century: students who enjoyed a comfortable and libertine lifestyle, only occasionally devoting themselves to serious study and preparations for their professional life⁷¹. Vienna studies contributed to their successful career and social advancement, especially in the case of the Brlić brothers. The experience these four Croatian students gathered during their studies in the capital of the Habsburg Monarchy in the form of various intellectual, cultural, political and social incentives and contacts was subsequently applied by them in their own public activities in politics and literature in their homeland.

In the case studies and comparative methodological approach, the autobiographic and diary notes and personal correspondence, although they are private and personal sources, could be used as material for analysing the system of higher education from the bottom up perspective, as well as for cultural transfer from the centre to the periphery. In this paper the autobiographic and diary notes and personal correspondence of the mentioned four Croatian students in Vienna have been used in such manner.

⁷⁰ The typology of leisure time is based on Luetić, *Studenti Sveučilišta u Zagrebu*, cit., p. 244.

⁷¹ Cohen, *Education and Middle-Class Society*, cit., pp. 224, 227. The stereotype of a lazy, unsuccessful student in Croatian literature suggests that there were students like this. Cf. Luetić, *Studenti Sveučilišta u Zagrebu*, cit., pp. 277-278; Iveljić, *Kroatische Studenten*, cit., pp. 299-300.

Croatian clerics studying at the *Frintaneum* Imperial Institute and the University of Vienna 1816 to 1918

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ABSTRACT: For one hundred years, the *Frintaneum*, designed to nurture a loyal clergy who would later assume senior positions in church administration, served as a post-graduate institution for Roman Catholic and Greek-Uniate priests of the Habsburg Monarchy. About seven hundred of more than one thousand Frintaneists completed their studies at the University of Vienna with a doctorate. 375 students came from the Kingdom of Hungary, 60 from Croatian-Slavonian dioceses, and another 45 priests originated from the Adriatic coastal lands and from Dalmatia. Residence over a number of years in Vienna exercised a formative influence on the members of the Institute not only theologically and spiritually, but also culturally and politically. Consequently, they disseminated trends and tendencies that were current in the imperial metropolis to their home provinces.

EET/TEE KEYWORDS: History of university; History of education; Frintaneum Imperial Institute; Habsburg Monarchy; XIXth-XXth Centuries.

Introduction

When Bishop Josip Kuković of Đakovo resigned in 1849, the new emperor, Franz Joseph, aged just 19, had to nominate a successor. After the two years of turmoil caused by the Hungarian Revolution he wanted a completely reliable, but also dynamic candidate for this bishopric. The officials in charge did not have to look very far to find the 35-year-old cleric Josip Strossmayer, one of seven chaplains of the court parish, which was effectively a small diocese in itself, independent of any ecclesiastical authority and subordinate only to the Monarch. His main duty in Vienna though was to organise the programme of studies at the *Frintaneum* College, which maintained its closest links with the court parish. Strossmayer, a Slavonian priest and alumnus of the *Frintaneum* himself, had been named its director in 1847 because the court officials had

considered it necessary to appoint a candidate from the kingdom of Hungary¹. It is reasonable to assume that Strossmayer, who later became something of a Croat national hero would have led a different life without the *Frintaneum*. But is this true of the other Croatian alumni of the institute too?

The St. Augustine College for Priests in Vienna, founded by Emperor Francis I (†1835), existed from 1816 until 1918. It was often referred to by the name of its spiritual father, Jakob Frint (1766-1834)², who was a priest at the imperial court. For more than one hundred years, the *Frintaneum* served as a post-graduate theological academy for Roman Catholic and Greek-Uniate priests of the entire Danube Monarchy³. Frint was motivated by the desire to create a seminary in which to nurture the development of a clergy loyal to the Habsburg Monarchy and the Church in the form of priests who would go on to assume senior (ecclesiastical) positions. In other words, this seminary was to be a training centre for a clerical élite that would undertake significant duties in Church and State. In particular, it was designed to «to train the trainers» by implanting the right spirit especially into future teachers of the clergy in all dioceses.

According to the institute's reports, 1,096 priests completed their training at the *Frintaneum* over the years between 1816 until 1918⁴. Its members were shaped by the imperial city of Vienna, not just theologically and spiritually, but also culturally and politically. They thus became part of a network that extended across most of central Europe, disseminating metropolitan cultural and political trends in their home provinces. Having spent formative years in Vienna, the alumni mostly went on to spend their entire lives in functions of high responsibility, often for a total of 40 or 50 years. Consequently, these alumni influenced not only the social realities of the Danube Monarchy but also, to a considerable degree, of all its successor states from the 1920's till the

¹ R. Klieber, *Josef Georg Strossmayer als Mitglied der Wiener Theologischen Fakultät ab 1846 sowie Absolvent und Studiendirektor des Frintaneum 1847 bis 1849. Schlüsseljahre einer kirchlichen Karriere*, in D. Damjanović Barišić, G. Grbešić, T. Mrkonjić, *Josip Juraj Strossmayer 1815-1905*, Đakovo, KBF, 2017, pp. 23-48.

² On Frint cf. E. Hosp, *Zwischen Aufklärung und katholischer Reform. Jakob Frint. Bischof von St. Pölten. Gründer des Frintaneums in Wien*, Vienna, München, Herold, 1962.

³ On *Frintaneum* cf. W. Goldenits, *Das höhere Priester-Bildungs-Institut für Weltpriester zum Hl. Augustin in Wien oder „Das Frintaneum“ bzw. „Das Augustineum“*, Doctoral Thesis, Vienna, 1969; K.H. Frankl, *Das Höhere Priesterbildungsinstitut zu St. Augustin in Wien („Frintaneum“). Eine Skizze seines Entstehens*, in K.H. Frankl, P.G. Tropper (edd.), *Das „Frintaneum“ in Wien und seine Mitglieder aus den Kirchenprovinzen Wien, Salzburg und Görz (1816-1918). Ein biographisches Lexikon*, Klagenfurt, Laibach, Vienna, Hermagoras Verlag, 2006, pp. 21-38; K.H. Frankl, R. Klieber, *Das Priesterkolleg St. Augustin „Frintaneum“ in Wien 1816 bis 1918. Kirchliche Elite-Bildung für den Donau-Alpen-Adria-Raum*, Vienna-Köln-Weimar, Böhlau, 2008.

⁴ Cf. statistics on basis of: *Aufnahmen ins Priesterkolleg St. Augustin („Frintaneum“) in Wien 1816-1913 nach Statistiken in Jahresberichten des Instituts* [1913] and respective yearly printed reports between 1904 and 1918 in *Bericht über das k. und k. Höhere Weltpriester-Bildungs-Institut zum Heil. Augustin (Frintaneum) in Wien im Studienjahre 1904-05*.

1960's. This was especially true during the turbulent and politically charged years between 1930 and 1950, when almost all of these new states faced significant turmoil and political upheavals.

The central section of the following article presents some initial results of the *Frintaneum*-Project, which is dedicated to research into this institute and primarily into its membership from predominantly Croatian-speaking regions. Since teams of historians in all the successor states are working on this project, all the results presented here are the fruits of the outstandingly constructive collaboration with the Croatian team⁵.

1. *What Was the Character and Organizational Context of the Frintaneum?*

The *Frintaneum* was one link in a defining chain of élite institutes in the Danube Monarchy⁶. The so-called *Eliteforschung* (élite structure research) devotes considerable effort to evaluating institutes of this nature⁷. The St. Augustine college for priests must be examined in its context. It formed an important building block within the entire structure of the Monarchy's scientific, bureaucratic and military institutions. These institutions were responsible for identifying the leading executive authorities of the future and for shaping them in their respective fields of responsibility. It was Emperor Josef II (who ruled from 1765 to 1790) who brought most of these institutions into being. In his era of reforming absolutism, the significance and scope of bureaucracy reached new heights. It formed one of the core processes of unifying tendencies in the conglomerate of countries of the Habsburg Monarchy in early modern times.

⁵ The Croatian *Frintaneum*-Team is organized under the prudent leadership of Ivana Horbec of the Croatian Institute of History in Zagreb (Croatia) and was responsible for all biographies of Frintaneists from Croatian dioceses within both the Austrian and Hungarian Part of the Habsburg Empire (i.e. the ecclesiastical provinces of Zadar and Zagreb), as well as for the Bosnian Frintaneists. Horbec also presented in the meantime a multi-faceted article about the Croat Frintaneists which leads to similar results to my contribution: I. Horbec, *Das Kolleg St. Augustin in Wien und seine Bedeutung für die kroatischen Länder: Mit besonderer Rücksicht auf die Diözese Đakovo-Syrmien*, in D. Damjanović Barišić, G. Grbešić, T. Mrkonjić (edd.), *Josip Juraj Strossmayer 1815-1905*, Đakovo, KBF, 2017, pp. 49-65.

⁶ R. Stauber, *Elitenbildung und Staatsneubau*, in Frankl, Klieber, *Das Priesterkolleg*, cit., pp. 207-223; W. Treitler, *Karrieresprungbrett oder Geistesschmiede? Zur Bedeutung der Theologischen Fakultät Wien für die Doktoranden des „Frintaneums“*, in Frankl, Klieber, *Das Priesterkolleg*, cit., pp. 61-79.

⁷ A survey of the theories regarding «Eliteforschung» with additional literature: G. Stimmer, *Eliten in Österreich 1848-1970*, 2 vols., Vienna-Köln-Graz, Böhlau, 1997.

Emperor Joseph II aimed not only to optimise bureaucratic processes (for instance through reorganisation of the so-called *Kreisämter*), but also to establish a loyal élite that would be conscious of the overall interests of the state and remain committed to the ruling dynasty. The focus of its members' professional enthusiasm and patriotism was to be the entire Monarchy and not the individual Crown countries or a specific nationality. Their duty was to promote the general welfare of the Empire⁸. Loyalty to the overall interests of the state was expected of the different bodies that held responsibility: the civil service, the military, and – last but not least – the clergy⁹, which often was at centre of national debates¹⁰. In this spirit, the founding of the *Frintaneum* in 1816 had its place not only in the history of the Church but also in the general political history of late Josephinism within the Monarchy¹¹. The institute was an «élite training centre» from which reliable candidates for positions of leadership were to emerge – regardless of their regional or social background or their affiliation to a language family¹². This principle also encouraged a direct commitment on the student's part to the person of the Monarch. It was he who appointed and discharged them and who was regularly kept abreast of their progress. Hence, the *Frintaneum* can be set into the historical context of creating an élite in the Austrian Monarchy of the 18th and 19th centuries.

The «Josephinian concept» focused on the education of the Roman Catholic clergy, since priests were allotted a role as «spiritual administrators» and as representatives of the state in their postings around the territories. It also resulted in a special form of rational state-churchdom, which placed the church in direct dependency to the state. From this followed the integration of the education of priests into the governmental school supervisory board and the

⁸ W. Heindl, *Gehorsame Rebellen. Bürokratie und Beamte in Österreich 1780-1848*, in *Studien zu Politik und Verwaltung*, Vol. 36, Köln-Vienna-Graz, Böhlau, 1991, pp. 58-62.

⁹ About the type of the 'Josephinian' pastor and his education cf. E. Gatz, *Geschichte des kirchlichen Lebens in den deutschsprachigen Ländern seit dem Ende des 19. Jahrhunderts – Die katholische Kirche*, vol. 4: *Der Diözesanklerus*, Freiburg-Basel-Vienna, Herder, 1995, pp. 42-46.

¹⁰ Cf. S. Benvenuti, *La chiesa trentina e la questione nazionale 1848-1918*, Trento, Temi, 1987.

¹¹ According to the legitimate statement by R. Okey, *The Habsburg Monarchy c. 1765-1918. From Enlightenment to Eclipse*, Basingstoke, Palgrave Macmillan, 2001, p. 68. The state-church law of the late Josephinism is the topic of the monumental edition by F. Maaß, *Der Josephinismus. Quellen zu seiner Geschichte in Österreich*, Vol. IV: *Spätjosephinismus*, Vienna, Herold, 1957. The decades between 1790 and 1848 are the least researched period of the newer history of Austria. Even in the more recent surveys the remarks related to the relation of state and church during the time of the *Vormärz* (eve of the 1848 revolution) are rather scant. Cf. P. Leisching, *Die römisch-katholische Kirche in Cisleithanien*, in A. Wandruszka, P. Urbanitsch (edd.), *Die Habsburgermonarchie 1848-1918*, Vol. 4: *Die Konfessionen*, Vienna, Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1985, pp. 13-15; R. Leeb, M. Liebmann, G. Scheibelreiter, P.G. Tropper, *Geschichte des Christentums in Österreich. Von der Spätantike bis zur Gegenwart*, Vienna, Ueberreuter, 2003, pp. 362-364; M. Rettenwander, *Nachwirkungen des Josephinismus*, in H. Reinalter, H. Klutening (edd.), *Der aufgeklärte Absolutismus im europäischen Vergleich*, Vienna, Böhlau, 2002, pp. 303-329.

¹² Cf. E. Bruckmüller, *Nation Österreich. Kulturelles Bewusstsein und gesellschaftlich-politische Prozesse*, Vienna, Böhlau, 1996², pp. 223-225.

custodianship of the University by the state. Furthermore, it was mandatory to obtain a permit for all courses of study from the central administrative bodies of Vienna. They attached special significance to the issues of religious instruction and the exegesis of the Bible. An associated issue was the regulation of curricula and textbooks by the court commission for studies. The commission ensured the sustained presence of enlightened state-churchly positions, above all in canon law and in pastoral theology¹³. The Monarch and the Viennese Court Offices never abandoned their «claim for standardisation of the training of priests» and only entrusted bishops with a role as religious-ascetic mentors in their dioceses¹⁴. This was particularly the case also with the Theological Faculty of the University of Vienna¹⁵.

According to the fundamental analysis by Gernot Stimmers, a «duality of quality and selection systems» was characteristic of the recruitment of élites in the Monarchy. Government established several military, secular and spiritual educational institutions of senior or equal ranking as a complement to the existing universities¹⁶. During the first half of the century in particular, the non-university academies remained important «as primarily aristocratic educational establishments for higher positions in army and administration»¹⁷. After 1848, the members of the senior civil service came increasingly from the newly reformed universities. This bipolarity of the educational system corresponded to the rival fundamental principles in the training of the élite. On one side there was the emphasis on achieving qualifications in relevant subjects through study and rigorous examinations. On the other side was the importance attached to formation of character, the inculcation of behaviour deemed proficient according to the value system of the ruling élite. In a civil service with a collegial constitution, the widespread mechanism of co-optation for junior staff, like the strongly practice-orientated training of the «internal socialisation of the civil

¹³ E. Hosp, *Die theologischen Lehrbücher der josephinischen Zeit in Österreich*, Vienna, Wiener Kath. Akademie, 1976; N. Hammerstein, *Aufklärung und katholisches Reich. Untersuchungen zur Universitätsreform und Politik katholischer Territorien des Heiligen Römischen Reiches Deutscher Nation im 18. Jahrhundert*, Berlin, Duncker und Humblot, 1977, pp. 170-209.

¹⁴ Gatz, *Geschichte des kirchlichen Lebens*, cit., p. 56.

¹⁵ Regarding the Viennese Faculty of Theology cf. A. Wappler, *Geschichte der theologischen Facultät der K. K. Universität zu Wien*, Vienna, Braumüller, 1884, pp. 188-287; R. Klieber, *Kirche und Universität, Theologie und Politik. Beziehungs- und Spannungsfelder im und nach dem „Jahrhundert der Ideologien“ 1848-1989*, in M.G. Ash, J. Ehmer (edd.), *Universität – Politik – Gesellschaft*, Göttingen, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2015, pp. 401-428; R. Klieber, *Die (Katholisch-) Theologische Fakultät Wien 1848 bis 2014: Von der Theologenschmiede Mitteleuropas zur Wiener Hauslehranstalt und retour*, in K. Anton Fröschl et alii (edd.), *Reflexive Innenansichten aus der Universität. Disziplinargeschichten zwischen Wissenschaft, Gesellschaft und Politik*, Göttingen, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2015, pp. 325-340.

¹⁶ Stimmer, *Eliten in Österreich*, cit., Vol. 1, p. 64.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*

service», for a long time held greater influence than studies and graduation. If there were any doubts about a candidate's suitability, the «proficient disposition» and a corresponding loyalty to the Habsburg dynasty and the State took priority to scientific qualities¹⁸. In the 19th Century, the following ante and external non-university institutions of the Monarchy were of special importance¹⁹:

1) Military academies and professional army schools: the «Medico-chirurgische Militär-Academie» (*Josephinum*) for the training of army doctors, founded in 1785; an Academy of Engineers in the form of a six-year course established in 1755 which subsequently became a four-year «Genie-Akademie» in 1851; the Academy for Artillery, a seven-year training course that had existed since 1776, which merged in 1869 with the «Genie-Akademie» to become the «Technische Militärakademie»; an Academy of the Navy established in 1852. Furthermore, the Theresian Military Academy, founded in 1751 as a military complement to the *Theresianum*, an academic grammar school, represented the epitome of an aristocratic educational institution. Its aim was to educate sons of Catholic aristocrats, officers and civil servants for military careers. Above and beyond the acquisition of military expertise gained during these eleven years, the students also acquired a general education befitting their social status. During the 19th century, and especially after the reform of the military educational system between 1848 and 1852, there was a growing tendency to concentrate on the military domain and to draw upon the various élites; this was exemplified in the precondition, established in 1859, of graduation from a cadet school.

2) Within the civil educational institutions, the Theresian Academy (*Theresianum*), founded in 1746, enjoyed the highest status. Financed by the Foundation of the Ruling House since 1749, it had merged with the Savoyan Academy and the Aristocratic Academy of Brno in 1780, becoming an exclusive educational institution for the political-administrative ruling class. Its emphasis lay on law and administration of justice, but its alumni also gained employment beyond the civil service in its stricter sense. Until 1848 it was predominantly characterised by exclusive social screening and the elitist segregation of the aristocracy; later the corporative barriers played a less significant role. Above all, the authorities responsible transferred the study of law to the University. By contrast, the «Orientalische Akademie», which provided training for the diplomatic service and in languages, focused on efficiency-orientated from its inception in 1753.

3) Prominent among élite spiritual institutes in the 19th century were the famous high schools run as boarding institutions by the Benedictine and the

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 66, 70, 109.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 88-109.

Piarist orders. While the grammar school run by the Viennese Benedictine monks known as the 'Scots' («Schotten»), founded in 1807, clearly aspired to the ideal of cultivating a politically heterogeneous, but educationally unified upper class, the schools of the readmitted Jesuit order, located in Kalksburg (1856) and Feldkirch, were committed first and foremost to Roman Catholicism. Founded at approximately the same time as the founding of the *Frintaneum* were two short-lived institutions with the same intentions – i.e. autonomous churchly recruiting of élites in the spirit of the Catholic-romantic movement of spiritual renewal²⁰. The *Maximilianeum*, planned by Adam Müller and Archduke Maximilian in 1812/13 as an aristocratic educational institute for officers and civil servants, never saw the light of day, and of the 210 students who attended Friedrich Klinkowström's institute between 1818 and 1824, only six went on to become priests.

In the long term the most successful institution in this field was undoubtedly the 'Saint Augustine higher educational institute for secular priests' («Höhere Bildungsanstalt für Weltpriester zum heiligen Augustin») in Vienna, designed in 1816 by Jakob Frint. There are several indications that the *Frintaneum*, at least during the first phase of its existence in the period to 1848, was primarily «a governmental élite-institute for the ecclesiastical realm». The *Frintaneum* was able to retain its determining function as a college for an ecclesiastical-élite – as intended by its founders – only under special conditions of the state-church law of the Austrian lands²¹. The Monarch decreed the appointments for almost all bishoprics (except in Olomuc, Salzburg, Seckau, Lavant and Gurk) and canonries, in addition to various other top ecclesiastical positions and theological professorships. He therefore had a vested interest in cultivating a personal phalanx of ecclesiastical dignitaries whose loyalty to the ruling house would be uncompromising. Secondly, the institute enjoyed a close alignment with the court and the Monarch, especially through its institutional nexus to the court-parish. Another connection to the state was that the alumni had to complete their doctoral studies at the University of Vienna. «Only with the ... autonomy of the education of theologians after 1855 did it become a college for a primarily ecclesiastical élite...»²².

In view of this, studies of the *Frintaneum* stand to make an important contribution to a social history of the ecclesiastical leadership-élite of the 19th Century. In particular «Frühneuzeit-Forschung» has made advances in this

²⁰ Cf. E. Hosp, *Kirche Österreichs im Vormärz 1815-1850*, Vienna, Herold, 1971, pp. 292-295, 398 note 3.

Plans for the establishment of a new convict for theologians in Vienna existed already in 1802, cf. Maaß, *Der Josephinismus*, cit., Vol. 4, p. 49.

²¹ «According to the measure of their capabilities ... and their collected merits» should graduates «be appointed for higher education», so Frint 1817 in the presentation of the goals of his foundation; cited by Frankl, *Das Höhere Priesterbildungsinstitut*, cit., pp. 31-32.

²² Stimmer, *Eliten in Österreich*, cit., Vol. 1, p. 103.



Pic. 1. Edifice of the former Augustine Monastery in Vienna, from 1816 on home of the College St. Augustine (Frintaneum). Postcard from around 1900. Private property.

Pic. 2. Jacob Frint (1766-1834) as bishop of St. Pölten (from 1827 to 1834). Frint was the spiritual mentor and until 1827 dean of the «Imperial College for Secular Priests St. Augustine» in Vienna. Photography. Archive of the diocese St. Pölten, Collection of Photographs, Album 1/9.

field. For instance, there are Peter Hersche's papers on the chapters of German cathedrals and studies by Peter Schmidt in the *Collegium Germanicum*. Christoph Weber carried out research into the Italian regions, and Rainald Becker dealt with the educational and professional background of the bishops of the Salzburgian church-province in the 15th, 16th and 17th centuries. Important in this respect was also the project by Luise Schorn-Schütte's on «Geistlichkeit im Europa der Neuzeit» (European Clergy in Modern Times). Worth mentioning with regard to the 19th century is the «Bischofslexikon» by Erwin Gatz and his volume on centres of sacerdotal education in the German speaking countries, as is a study by Christoph Weber on the higher ranks in the Roman Curia in the time of Pope Pius IX²³.

²³ E. Gatz (ed.), *Die Bischöfe der deutschsprachigen Länder 1785/1803 bis 1945. Ein biographisches Lexikon*, Berlin, Duncker & Humblot, 1983; E. Gatz (ed.), *Priesterausbildungsstätten*

Although the *Frintaneum* was completely josephinistic in its construction, it was not in the least josephinistic in its spirit – quite the opposite, in fact. The founder Frint and his successors mistrusted certain liberal theologians at the University and wanted to combine solid scholarship with a conservative spiritual formation in the manner of the Catholic movement of the 19th century. Hence, the Institute was typified by a conservative mission and, with few exceptions, with almost every generation of its leaders the Institute became even more conservative. Since the members of its governing body were identical with the Court clergy and not dependant from the local bishop, they did not imbue the institute with liberal secular spirit; rather they imported ecclesiastical spirit into the Imperial Household²⁴.

The research that has been carried out to date into the *Frintaneum* has revealed a number of peculiarities about the way it nurtured an élite²⁵:

1) It exhibited an extraordinarily high degree of social and national ‘permeability’, in comparison to other institutions recruiting élite personal;

2) The personal and ideological criteria it set for the recruitment of students were dominated by a need for confidence in candidates’ intellectual and moral skills, in their obedience to theological principals of the church and in their allegiance to superiors, since it was exclusively the duty of the reigning bishops to decide whether certain candidates were dispensed from their normal obligation to undertake for post-graduate-study in Vienna;

3) There was an unusual division of responsibilities in the nurturing process: while the candidates were chosen by church authorities (especially by bishops), they were nominated for posts by state institutions (the Imperial court, governments, ministries).

4) The institution suffered quite a high ‘error rate’: a third of the 264 college-members who came from the ecclesiastical provinces of Gorizia, Salzburg and Vienna did not even achieve a doctorate, the primary goal of the Institute. Furthermore, quite a number of the alumni took up a career that was hardly in accordance with the expectations of their former patrons.

der deutsch-sprachigen Länder zwischen Aufklärung und Zweitem Vatikanischen Konzil. Mit Weihestatistiken der deutschsprachigen Diözesen, Rome, Herder, 1994; Ch. Weber, *Bischöfe, Generalvikare und Erzpriester. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der kirchlichen Leitungsämter im Königreich Neapel in der frühen Neuzeit*, Frankfurt am Main, Peter Lang, 2000; Ch. Weber, *Kardinäle und Prälaten in den letzten Jahrzehnten des Kirchenstaates. Elite-Rekrutierung, Karriere-Muster und soziale Zusammensetzung der kurialen Führungsschicht zur Zeit Pius’ IX. (1846-1878)*, 2 vols., Stuttgart, A. Hiersemann, 1978; L. Schorn-Schütte, *Priest, Preacher, Pastor. Research on the Clerical Office in Early Modern Europe*, «Central European History», vol. 33, n. 1, 2000, pp. 1-39; L. Schorn-Schütte, *The new clergy*, in R. Po-Chia Hsia (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Christianity*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2007, Vol. 6, pp. 444-464.

²⁴ Cf. E. Kovács, *Geheime Notizen des Joseph Columbus 1843-1848*, Vienna, Wiener Dom Verlag, 1971.

²⁵ These results are based on the own evaluation of the biograms of all Frintaneists from the ecclesiastical provinces of Gorizia, Salzburg and Vienna. See Frankl, Tropper (edd.), *Das “Frintaneum” in Wien*, cit.

In the last decades, the sociological term of 'network' has become a key term for quite many studies of different disciplines. Quite a number of studies just use it descriptively²⁶. Applied in a more reflected manner however and especially in studies combining historiography and sociology, concepts of 'networking' can be helpful in recognizing and describing correlations between actors²⁷. In this sense, the term has been theoretically refined and found its way into studies on church history and religious sociology²⁸. Until now, only some few hints of explicit networking by the *Frintaneum* are detectable. The founders of the institute had originally conceived it also as a centre of communication and interaction that would embrace all former members in addition to current students²⁹. *Frintaneists* edited and gave shape to three different periodicals (the «Frint'sche Zeitschrift», «Pletz'sche Zeitschrift» and «Neue Zeitschrift für Theologie»). It remains uncertain to what extent the members of the college themselves built ecclesiastical, political and cultural networks once they had left Vienna. In most cases evidence can probably only be gleaned through careful evaluation of all relevant material by all the regional teams of historians. Only the final evaluations of the project and its rich prosopographic data will prove to what dimensions networking took place in and via the *Frintaneum*.

²⁶ From an abundance of examples: R. Hoffmann, *Wissenstransfer durch Netzerkennung*. Karl Erenbert von Moll und die Anfänge der wissenschaftlichen Landeskunde im Erzstift Salzburg, «Das Achtzehnte Jahrhundert und Österreich», nn. 18-19, 2004, pp. 135-151; T. Klein, *Missionarische Netzwerke und gesellschaftliche Transformation*, «Periplus. Jahrbuch für außereuropäische Geschichte», n. 15, 2005, pp. 41-71; B. Leucht, *Netzwerke als Träger grenzüberschreitenden Kulturtransfers. Transatlantische Politiknetzwerke bei der Schuman-Plan-Konferenz 1950/51*, «Comparativ. Leipziger Beiträge zur Universalgeschichte und Vergleichenden Gesellschaftsforschung», vol. 16, n. 4, 2006, pp. 200-218; H. Hillmann, *Mediation in Multiple Networks: Elite Mobilization before the English Civil War*, «American Sociological Review», vol. 73, n. 3, 2008, pp. 426-454.

²⁷ Ch. Boyer, *Netzwerke und Geschichte: Netzwerktheorien und Geschichtswissenschaft*, in B. Unfried, J. Mittag, M. van der Linden (edd.), *Transnationale Netzwerke im 20. Jahrhundert. Historische Erkundungen zu Ideen und Praktiken, Individuen und Organismen*, Vienna, AVA, 2008, pp. 47-58.

²⁸ Cf. F. Lenger, *Netzwerkanalyse und Biographieforschung – einige Überlegungen*, «BIOS», vol. 18, n. 2, 2005, pp. 180-185; W. Neurath, L. Krempel, *Geschichtswissenschaft und Netzwerkanalyse: Potenziale und Beispiele*, in B. Unfried (ed.), *Transnationale Netzwerke im 20. Jahrhundert. Historische Erkundungen zu Ideen und Praktiken, Individuen und Organismen*, Leipzig, Univerlag, 2008, pp. 59-80; C. Lipp, *Struktur, Interaktion, räumliche Muster. Netzwerkanalysen als analytische Methode und Darstellungsmittel sozialer Komplexität*, in S. Götsch-Elten (ed.), *Komplexe Welt. Kulturelle Ordnungssysteme als Orientierung*, Münster, Waxmann, 2002, pp. 49-64; U. Altermatt, *Vom geschlossenen katholischen Milieu zur Pluralisierung des Katholizismus*, «Trajecta», n. 13, 2004, pp. 40-62; B. Salzmann, *Europa als Thema katholischer Eliten. Das katholische Europa-Netzwerk der Schweiz von 1945 bis Mitte der 1950er Jahre*, Fribourg, Academic Press, 2006.

²⁹ Cf. J. Frint, *Darstellung der höheren Bildungsanstalt für Weltpriester zum h. Augustin in Wien, nach ihrem Zwecke sowohl als nach ihrer Verfassung. Ein Seitenstück zu der Abhandlung: Über die intellectuelle und moralische Bildung der Kleriker*, Vienna, Geistingersche Buchhandlung, 1817, p. 141.

Previous historical research on élites in German speaking countries was concentrated primarily on bourgeois groups (functional civic élites; Jewish economic élites, entrepreneurs). Morten Reitmayer complains about the terminological vagueness of these studies, which mainly results from problems with the tradition of sources and a lack of interest in methodological questions significant for historians. Reitmayer does, however, concede that these studies offer much better insights into the scope of these group's actions than did previous social science investigations. He therefore claims that the task in future should be to combine those historical perspectives with an approach determined by 'critical' concepts of the élite, and thus analyse the reproduction and exercise of power in a more differentiated way that is more suitable to achieving synthesis³⁰.

In the course of manifold debates on the question of nationality within the Monarchy, the social élite was not able to avoid confronting the item of identity, which also began to affect the institutions of the Church. Revealing in this respect is a comparison of the *Frintaneum* with the "German" pilgrim hospice of Sancta Maria dell'Anima in Rome. Prior to 1803, the Anima was responsible for the welfare of pilgrims from German and Dutch-speaking countries visiting Rome, respectively the pilgrims coming from the Holy Roman Empire of German Nation (*Heiliges Römisches Reich Deutscher Nation*). After that, the hospice stood under the aegis of the Austrian Emperor, and in 1859 the ecclesiastical authorities transformed it into a postgraduate college for priests. By 1900, nearly 300 priests residing in the Anima had graduated. In accordance with its former remit, they came essentially from the German-speaking countries of the Old Empire as well as from Habsburg dominions. By the turn of the 20th century, pronounced «German nationalistic» signals had begun to emanate from the Anima³¹. In contrast to this, the *Frintaneum* functioned to the last as a supra-national ecclesiastical brace that held together all «peoples of the Dual Monarchy». Even the exasperating language dispute of the Monarchy was defused in this institution through the use of ecclesiastical Latin.

Irrespective of this, the *Frintaneum* also turned into a seismograph of societal developments at times of heightened national tensions. The temporary withdrawal of Italian and Hungarian priests in 1848 – the «Year of Revolution» – for example, demonstrates the limits of the cohesive capabilities of Roman

³⁰ M. Reitmayer, *Eliten, Machteliten, Funktionseliten, Elitenwechsel*, Version: 1.0' in *Docupedia-Zeitgeschichte*, Last updated: 11.01.2010, <<http://docupedia.de/zg/Eliten>> (last access: 07.12.2017). For *Elite-Forschung* in general cf. M. Reitmayer, *Elite. Sozialgeschichte einer politisch-gesellschaftlichen Idee in der frühen Bundesrepublik*, Munich, De Gruyter, 2008.

³¹ J. Ickx, *Das Kolleg von S. Maria dell'Anima in Rom und das 'Frintaneum: kirchliche Alternative oder national verengte Konkurrenz?'*, in Frankl, Klieber (edd.), *Das Priesterkolleg*, cit., pp. 195-206.

Catholic churchliness³². From the second third of the 19th Century, quite a number of former *Frintaneists* became promoters of their own nationhood and, together with writers and artists, formed ‘cultural élites’ in their respective countries. There was a simple reason why these élites held an especially powerful position in the multinational Habsburg Monarchy: the members of nations without any statehood of their own discovered that ‘culture’ was an area that offered potential for the creation of their own national identity. Some of the graduates of the *Frintaneum* became entangled in the turmoil of double identity: on the one hand they were bound by the ‘supranational’ ideal of the college; on the other, they were orientated towards the values of the cultural élite to which they belonged. Some of them managed the balance between these two poles of reference throughout their lives. Others finally favoured the national sovereignty of their people and in this respect were in contradiction to the spirit of the *Frintaneum*.

2. How Many Croats Studied at the Frintaneum in Vienna?

Out of a total of approximately 1,100 alumni of the *Frintaneum*, 140 originated from Bohemia and Moravia, 115 from Poland-Galicia, 50 Venetia and Lombardy (before its accession to the unified Italy), and 98 from Friuli-Slovenian dioceses. 166 priests from the German-speaking dioceses (i.e. the ecclesiastical provinces of Salzburg and Vienna) were educated by the college. Another 96 members of the college who had Ukrainian or Romanian as their mother tongue, originated from some Uniate Eastern Church traditions that were – and still are – ecclesiastically ‘united’ with Rome. A further 375 students came from the Kingdom of Hungary, of which 59 were from Croatian-Hungarian dioceses. Another 45 priests came from the Adriatic coastal lands and from Dalmatia, both of which were provinces shaped culturally by Italian and Croatian influences. Another nine students came from Bosnia, annexed in 1878 by the Habsburg Monarchy³³. Hitherto, the pastoral maintenance of Bosnia had been exclusively in the hands of Franciscans and had to be reorganised into a conventional ecclesiastical structure with a metropolitan in Sarajevo and bishops in Mostar and Banja Luka. We can therefore speak of 113 Frintaneists from dioceses dominated by Croats, though this included a considerable number of priests of Italian- or German-speaking descent.

³² Cf. J. Weissensteiner, „Leider stören gewaltig die öffentlichen Ereignisse dieses möglichst höchste Aufblühen der Anstalt!“- das „Frintaneum“ im Revolutionsjahr 1848, in Frankl, Klieber (edd.), *Das Priesterkolleg*, cit., pp. 117-133.

³³ All the following data are results of my own evaluation of the biograms of all Croatian alumni elaborated by the Croatian team of the *Frintaneum*-Project.

Leaving aside the nine Bosnians that joined after 1878, it is clear that there was quite a difference between the approach taken by the bishops of the two Croatian church-provinces (Zagreb and Zadar) when it came to despatching young priests to Vienna:

Table 1. Frintaneists from the Church-Provinces of Zagreb and Zadar between 1816 and 1917

	1816-1850 (25J):	1851-1875 (25J):	1876-1890 (25J):	1891-1917 (27J):
Zagreb (= 59)	11 = 19 %	22 = 37 %	09 = 15 %	17 = 29 %
Zadar (= 45)	17 = 38 %	11 = 24 %	08 = 18 %	09 = 20 %
Together (= 104)	28 = 27 %	33 = 32 %	17 = 16 %	26 = 25 %

Above all, the table reveals that the highpoint was different for the two church-provinces. While Zadar, with its substantial number of Italian students, sent a peak number of young priests to Vienna before 1850, Zagreb did so during the Croatian-Viennese honeymoon period in the years after the revolution. In the case of both provinces, the third quarterly period brought the lowest number of members, though for Zagreb (if not Zadar), numbers rose substantially in the last quarter of the evaluation period.

The degree to which the appeal of the *Frintaneum* was dependent upon the particular bishop involved can be inferred from the example of the diocese of Đakovo (Diakovár) and its long-reigning bishop Joseph Strossmayer (from 1850 to 1905). He started his career in Vienna as a member of *Frintaneum* in 1840 and in 1846 became a member of the Viennese Faculty of Theology (i.e. a kind of shareholder of the institution, making a financial deposit and receiving yearly dividends). In 1847 he was appointed as an Imperial chaplain and Director of Studies of the *Frintaneum*. In 1850, at the age of 35, he was nominated bishop of Đakovo³⁴. In the following years, he proved to be an eminent advocate for the College: of the total of 59 students from the province of Zagreb who attended the *Frintaneum* between 1816 and 1917, he sent 17 (representing 29 %, i.e. almost a third, of the cohort). The other 42 priests were nominated by a total of 18 (!) bishops.

³⁴ Apart from a vast number of publications to Strossmayer especially in Croatian cf. J Matl, *Josef Georg Strossmayer*, in *Neue Österreichische Biographie*, part 1, Vienna, Amalthea Verlag, 1956, Vol. 9, pp. 73-83; H. Just, *Bischof Strossmayer und die Kroaten. Zum Nationalitätenproblem in Österreich-Ungarn, nach Akten im Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv Wien*, «Österreichische Osthefte», n. 15, 1973, pp. 27-49; R. Klieber, *Josef Georg Strossmayer*, cit.



Pic. 3

The main goal of the *Frintaneum* as a theological academy was to enable its members to achieve a doctorate at the University of Vienna. Statistics show that, over the period of time under study, more than 50 percent of all doctoral candidates at the Viennese Faculty of Theology were students of the *Frintaneum*; at least 700 of the 1,100 (i.e. 64 %) succeeded gaining a doctorate³⁵. This made the institution important to the University of Vienna, ensuring it of a substantial ‘international’ influx from all the Crown territories. Within the ecclesiastical framework, the college represented a theological ‘forge of the spirit’ and provided an ambitious and rigorously examined education programme in co-operation with the University. Not altogether surprisingly, the Frintaneists’ theses of dissertation shifted increasingly away from ecclesiastically sensitive issues of dogma towards historical and pastoral courses

of study. But how seriously did the Croatian Frintaneists take their studies?

Table 2. The academic tenure of Frintaneists from Croatian regions (= 113)

No <i>rigorosum</i> at the University (i.e. one of four “rigorous examination”)	13 = 12 %
One to three <i>rigorosa</i>	38 = 34 %
Theological doctorate at the University of Vienna	62 = 55 %
Theological doctorate from another university	7 = 6 %
Teacher or regent of a theological seminary	63 = 56 %
University professor	14 = 12 %
Excellent contributions to a non-theological discipline	2 = 2 %
Contributor to scientific periodicals	8 = 7 %

Sources: Biograms of the Croatian Frintaneists

³⁵ W. Treitler, *Karrieresprungbrett oder Geistesschmiede?*, in Frankl, Klieber (edd.), *Das Priesterkolleg*, cit., pp. 61-79.

As is illustrated by the table, only 12 percent of the Croatian members represented a completely failed disinvestment for their episcopal mentors by not obtaining any academic qualification at all. Interestingly, the number of failures corresponded very closely with the number of those becoming university professors. It was quite common, however, for priests to leave the institute with only one to three doctoral viva and then to start teaching at a seminary. But more than 60 percent of members did achieve a doctorate in Vienna or, subsequently, elsewhere and a similar number went on to teach at or lead an episcopal seminary; a further 14 even obtained a chair at a faculty of theology. In other scientific disciplines, Francesco Carrara, who came from Split and was of Italian descent (Fr. 1836, †1854), achieved distinction as an archaeologist and linguist in Split and Venice, while Matija Pavić from the diocese of Đakovo (Fr. 1882, †1923) became a respected historian with his research on early Christianity on the Balkans³⁶. A further eight alumni contributed regularly to respected scientific periodicals.

As has already been explained before, several factors suggest that the *Frintaneum* can be regarded as a primarily governmental élite institute in the period before 1848. One of these is its closeness to the state in the recruitment of potential bishops for the Roman Catholic dioceses of the Austrian Empire, and for various other top ecclesiastical positions and theological professorships. There is also the institute's close alignment with the court and the monarch, as well as with the University of Vienna as the awarding institution for its members' doctoral qualifications. Only when the education of theologians became autonomous after 1855 did the college become more strictly ecclesiastical – which leads us to the next question.

3. *Did the Frintaneum Serve as a Door-Opener for Croats?*

As mentioned already, the *Frintaneum* retained its determining function as a college for an ecclesiastical élite – as intended by its founders – under the special conditions of the state-church law of the Austrian lands. The Monarch decreed the appointments for almost all bishoprics and canonries³⁷. Therefore, he had a vested interest in creating a personal retinue of loyal ecclesiastical dignitaries. Did the institute's Croat members prove productive in these terms?

³⁶ See biograms in the coming Biographical Encyclopedia of the Croatian Frintaneists (in print): Augustin Juretić by Lidija Bencetić, Stjepan Vidušić and Vjenceslav Soić by Boris Kukić. Francisco Carrara by Petar Bagarić and Matija Pavić by Branko Ostajmer.

³⁷ The chances for catholic priests to enter a higher ecclesiastical career are outlined in R. Klieber, *Jüdische / christliche / muslimische Lebenswelten der Donaumonarchie 1848-1918*, Vienna, Böhlau, 2020, pp. 136-142.

Table 3. Ecclesiastical careers of Frintaneists from the Croatian regions 1816 to 1918 (= 113)

Lower ecclesiastical post (chaplain, pastor, dean) only	8 = 07 %
Teacher or regent in an episcopal seminary	63 = 56 %
Contributor to theological periodicals to a significant extent	10 = 09 %
Employment at an episcopal curia	75 = 66 %
Cathedral canon and/or elected bishop (non consecrated)	33 = 29 %
Auxiliary / titular bishop (consecrated)	6 = 05 %
Reigning bishop	14 = 12 %
Dramatic rupture of career (accusations, Communist removal)	21 = 19 %
No observable career, disappearance	2 = 02 %

Sources: Biograms of the Croatian Frintaneists

The chart reveals that less than 10 percent of the members achieved no observable career or merely a lower ecclesiastical rank. To put it bluntly: there were more winners – in the form of bishops (i.e. 14) – coming out of the *Frintaneum* than losers. 91 percent of the alumni went on to find themselves in some kind of responsible position within the church. Well over half of them operated as disseminators of knowledge in a seminary, 10 of them furthermore as contributors to theological periodicals. Two-thirds of them worked in additionally or independently in one of the 10 episcopal curiae of the region. 18 percent (i.e. 20 priests) of the alumni even reached one of three possible ranks of bishopric – a remarkable result. A very similar number of *Frintaneists* experienced at dramatic rupture of their career at some point of their life, e.g. Augustin Juretić (Frintaneist from Senj-Modruš 1914, †1954) and Stjepan Vidušić (Frintaneist from Đakovo 1911, †1959), both ardent nationalists. Juretić was a leading proponent of Yugoslav ideology and then a supporter of the Ustasha-Regime; Vidušić, however, was deprived of his mission by that regime. Both of them were sidelined later by the communist authorities after 1946. Bishop Vjenceslav Soić of Senj-Modruš (Frintaneist 1840, †1891) lost his position in 1875 as a consequence of accusations regarding his moral conduct (women, alcohol, selling of church ranks)³⁸. All in all, however, we can conclude that, when it came to members from Croatian-dominated dioceses, the *Frintaneum* proved very successful in steering its alumni towards senior ecclesiastical posts – but did it also lead to secular careers?

³⁸ See biograms in the coming Biographical Encyclopedia of the Croatian Frintaneists (in print): Augustin Juretić by Lidija Bencetić, Stjepan Vidušić and Vjenceslav Soić by Boris Kukić.

4. *Did Any Croatian Frintaneists Make an Outstanding Secular Career?*

As mentioned before, quite a number of the former Frintaneists became promoters of their own nationhood and, together with writers and artists, formed ‘cultural élites’. This was especially true of members of nations that had no statehood of their own. Did any of the *Frintaneum*’s students from Croatian church provinces turn out to be figures of political or cultural importance?

Table 4. Non-ecclesiastical careers of ‘Croatian’-Frintaneists, 1816 to 1918 (= 113)

Journalist for newspapers of political Catholicism	18 = 16 %
Keen involvement in local policies	31 = 27 %
Marked national engagement	29 = 26 %
Deputy of a diet/Landtag	10 = 09 %
Parliament deputy	2 = 02 %
Leading position in a party	4 = 04 %

Sources: Biograms of the Croatian Frintaneists

This chart reveals that a quarter of the Croatian Frintaneists devoted themselves to a national agenda and/or an engagement in local politics. This devotion could take them in very different directions. Augustin Juretić (Frintaneist of Senj-Modruš 1914, †1954), who has already been mentioned, was initially a leading figure in Yugoslav ideology and then supporter of the Ustasha-Regime; after 1946, having gone in exile, he became a prominent opponent of the communist regime after. Svetozar Rittig (Frintaneist of Đakovo 1898, †1961, of German descent) was associated with the partisans in the 1940s. Promoted to high governmental positions after the war (e.g. as a member of the deputation to the Peace Conference in Paris) he gathered together priests loyal to the People’s Republic of Yugoslavia – a factor in the Holy See’s decision to cancel its diplomatic ties with the country. 11 percent of the Frintaneists (including Rittig) represented their country formally as members of one of the diets or in Parliament: e.g. Joseph Mrkica (Frintaneist from Šibenik 1848; †1890) who twice ran successfully for the Dalmatian Diet, as did 10 other members³⁹. Four of them reached leading positions in one of the regional parties. One sixth of the alumni (= 18 clerics) later contributed

³⁹ See biograms in the coming Biographical Encyclopedia of the Croatian Frintaneists (in print): Augustin Juretić by Lidija Bencetić, Svetozar Rittig by Branko Ostajmer, Josip Mrkica by Petar Bagarić.

to political newspapers. It seems that despite the intentions of the leaders of the *Frintaneum* to foster a strictly ecclesiastical vocation in its young priests, and encourage a supranational spirit, many of the Croat Frintaneists pursued a different kind of destiny.

Conclusion

Irrespective of all the individual destinies of the 113 Frintaneists from Croatian dioceses, and simply considering the statistics at hand, we may conclude that *Frintaneum* was a very relevant institution to the history of the Balkans. It is not easy to evaluate its concrete impact on the personal development and lives of all its student priests – each case would have to be analysed separately. At least one of the most prominent Croats of the 19th century, Bishop Josip Strossmayer, was a product of the *Frintaneum*. Some other students would certainly have made their way in life also without having attended the institute. No matter, however, what further evaluations might reveal, the *Frintaneum* took young priests – often for the first and only time in their life – out of remote areas in the periphery of the Empire and placed them at its centre. This granted them new experiences and broadened their horizons. The statistical results suggest that this was not without consequences for their lives and for the development of their mother dioceses and home countries.

Students' Life

The everyday life of cadets at the Wiener Neustadt Military Academy, as portrayed in the paintings of Bernhard Albrecht (1785-1793)*

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ABSTRACT: In late 1779, the Bohemian Count and Austrian Army officer, Franz Joseph Kinsky, (1739-1805), became the junior director of the Theresian Military Academy at Wiener Neustadt. There he could translate his Enlightenment theoretical concepts about education into reality. Alongside the writings of Kinsky himself, various cadets and historians of the Academy, there are thirteen gouache paintings by Bernhard Albrecht (1755-1822), which provide a valuable visual source for researching the everyday life of this elite imperial military institution. They illustrate the cadets indulging in activities such as riding, gymnastics, drill and manoeuvres, sport and games, swimming and even ice skating. The paintings were first hung in the imperial guest house and later, in the art room at the Academy. These days, eleven paintings are stored in the Military Academy's Museum, but two are held at the *Heeresgeschichtliches* (Military History) *Museum* in Vienna. The purpose of this paper is to compare the painted images of these activities with Kinsky's own Enlightenment views on physical education.

EET/TEE KEYWORDS: History of education; Military education; Military training; Images; Austria; XVIIIth-XIXth Centuries.

Introduction: reading images as historical sources

It is a divine pleasure to see four hundred creatures, from eight to twenty years of age, [divided] into squads supervised by their superiors, running around

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with great joy and in good order [playing] all kind of games appropriate for their age, on a wide green space separated into four parts, marked only by numbered wooden stakes. A game has not yet been invented, which can give strength and dexterity to the body, together with sharp and accurate judgment to the eye, which cannot be seen here. And yet, still new ones are being invented daily, if only to preserve and to enhance ever more, their [i.e. the cadets'] desire for their efforts to be rewarded, thereby excluding any disdain for the mundane daily routine¹.

Eleven exquisite gouache and pastel paintings² have been held in the Museum of the Theresian Military Academy (*Theresianische Militärakademie*) at Wiener Neustadt, founded in 1752 and still operating today. They present a remarkable series of scenes from the outdoor everyday life of the cadets, who resided there more than 200 years ago. The last two in the series are currently stored and exhibited at the Museum of Military History (*Heeresgeschichtliches Museum*) in Vienna. Signed with the painter's name: «Bernhard Albrecht» and dated between 1787 and 1793, the paintings provide excellent contemporary evidence of the way in which both training and drilling activities were organised at the Academy, established by Empress Maria Theresa. Moreover, they give an insight into the social lives of young boys and teenagers destined for military service in the age ranges of six to eight through to eighteen to twenty years of age. However, they do not seem to have been considered as historical sources previously. They have only rarely been displayed in a few exhibitions, where short descriptions of the paintings have been included in the catalogues and mentioned briefly in the institutional histories of the Academy³.

However, in the field of cultural and social history research, they have great potential. The British historian, P. Burke, explicitly recognises the value of such painters as «social historians», who «record the forms of social behaviour» in everyday life and in leisure time⁴. For historians of sport, theatre or dance,

¹ [Anonym], *Von der kaiserl. Theresianischen Militärakademie in Wienerisch Neustadt. Briefe des Freiherrn von H – t, geschrieben im April 1781*, «August Ludwig Schlözer's Briefwechsel», vol. 9, n. 57, 1781, p. 171. An anonymous nobleman from Vienna sent the letters to A. L. Schlözer in Göttingen. The author stressed that «a true observer» wrote them, describing «an Institute, which is maybe the only one of its kind» after a year and a half of Kinsky's direction. *Ibid.*, p. 154. The letters were re-published in the military journal *Bellona* from Dresden in 1782.

² Their dimensions vary, but most are within ca. 50 x 70 cm.

³ E.g. J. Jobst, *Die Neustädter Burg und die k. u. k. Theresianische Militärakademie*, Vienna, Gerlach & Wiedling, 1909, pp. 179 and 182; J. Treyl, *Bilder aus dem Leben der Zöglinge der Theresianischen Militärakademie*, in W. Koschatzky (ed.), *Maria Theresia und ihre Zeit: zur 200. Wiederkehr des Todestages*, Vienna, BWF, 1980, pp. 286-287; J.C. Allmayer-Beck, *Bilder aus dem Leben der Zöglinge der Militärakademie in Wiener Neustadt*, in *Das Heeresgeschichtliche Museum Wien. Saal II.*, Salzburg, Kiesel Verlag, 1983, pp. 86-87; U. Renner (ed.), «*Mach er Mir tüchtige Officirs (sic!) und rechtschaffene Männer darauß*». *Die Theresianische Militärakademie von der Gründung bis zur Gegenwart*, Vienna, City Wiener Neustadt, 1994, pp. 70-71.

⁴ P. Burke, *Eyewitnessing: the uses of images as historical evidence*, London, Reaktion Books, 2001, p. 103.

the images provide important historical evidence for reconstructing the actual practices and movements, making them much more relevant than archival records, since the latter tend to be poorer sources for any kind of visualisation. This paper will demonstrate that the scenes in the paintings reflect the implementation of enlightened pedagogical principles of physical education by Count Franz Joseph Kinsky (1739-1805)⁵, who directed the Theresian Military Academy for 26 years, from 1779 to 1805⁶. It will identify and explain the «life-world»⁷ of the painted scenes, which show the Academy's park, the local environment, the people, the activities, the games played and the drill exercises performed. The focus will be on the historical contextualisation of the social and cultural practices, rather than on the artistic interpretation of the paintings, which would be an art history approach⁸. Hence, the paper will focus on the neglected cultural and social history of the 18th century Habsburg army, and more broadly, history of early modern sport and physical exercise⁹.

1. *The paintings and their painter*

First, it is necessary to consider the paintings themselves and their creator, the landscape painter, Bernhard Johann Albrecht (1758-1822). The paintings were usually collectively described at exhibitions as «Images from the life of

⁵ Among Kinsky's skills, contemporaries appreciated the «knowledge of man», acknowledging his psychological expertise. This topic is one of the cornerstones of the Enlightenment studies. On the epistemological foundations of Kinsky's pedagogy see T. Shek Brnardić, *The enlightened officer at work: the educational projects of the Bohemian Count Franz Joseph Kinsky (1739-1805)*, Doctoral thesis, History Department (Supervisor: László Kontler), Budapest, Central European University, Academic Year 2004, pp. 183-186.

⁶ There are many biographical entries on the Bohemian Count and Austrian officer Franz Joseph Kinsky, but they are mostly out-of-date and not based on archival research. See e.g. J.B. Schels, *Biographie des k. k. österreichischen (sic!) Feldzeugmeisters Grafen Franz Kinsky*, «Oesterreichische militärische Zeitschrift», vol. 4, 1828, pp. 135-188. For a more recent research see Shek Brnardić, *The enlightened officer at work*, cit., p. 25.

⁷ The phenomenological term coined by E. Husserl and defined as «the world-as-the agent views it», meaning the temporally and spatially conditioned social reality. F. Collin, *Social reality*, London, Routledge, 1997, p. 129. The term is also widely used in the historical research to include all the immediate experiences, activities, and contacts made by a person.

⁸ The paintings and the contemporary garden maps represent good visual sources for studying the 18th century historic gardens and parks. The German name of the Academy's park was *Tiergarten*. Its two contemporary maps (one from 1798) can be found in Jobst, *Die Neustädter Burg*, cit., pp. 180-181.

⁹ Early modern sport has also been on the margins of historical research, because of the belief that sports became truly socially relevant only in the 19th century. R. v. Mallinckrodt, A. Schattner, *Introduction*, in Idd. (edd.), *Sports and physical exercise in early modern culture*, London, Routledge, 2016, pp. 3-4.

the cadets at the Theresian Military Academy»¹⁰. They present the military service and leisure activities of the cadets at the Theresian Military Academy in Wiener Neustadt during the period of Kinsky's direction. Eight paintings from the Academy's Museum depicted by Albrecht are dated from 1785 to 1793, but three are just signed by Albrecht and lack any date. The two paintings at the Museum of Military History in Vienna also lack a date.

The thirteen paintings¹¹ can be ordered chronologically: 1) «Combat exercises in the Steinfeld basin» (1785) at TMA¹²; 2) «Drill in parade uniforms with the flag» (1787) at TMA; 3) «Various sport exercises» (1787) at TMA; 4) «Dancing lessons, flag waving, fencing and vaulting» (1788) at TMA; 5) «Cavalry lessons» (1788) at TMA; 6) «Survey work and musketry» (1789) at TMA; 7) «The Pall mall¹³ game» (1790) at TMA; 8) «Pistol shooting and vaulting» (1793) at TMA; 9) «Firing cannon» (between 1785 and 1793) at TMA; 10) «Boating and swimming» (between 1785 and 1793) at TMA; 11) «Ice skating and flag waving» (between 1785 and 1793) at TMA; 12) «Night time target practice with mortars» (between 1785 and 1793) at HGM; 13) «Balancing exercises of cadets on the high beams» (between 1785 and 1793) at HGM.

The signatures on the reverse of the paintings prove the work of Bernhard Albrecht. He was an Austrian landscape painter, who served at the Academy as the drawing teacher from 1795 until 1822. The biographical data on Albrecht's life is meagre, but the history of the collection can be deduced from short biographies included in the exhibition catalogues. Bernhard Albrecht was born into a Viennese family on 29th December 1758 as the eighth child of Hubert Albrecht, a member of the imperial *Arcièren* life guard (*Arcièren-Leibgarde*), one of the five Habsburg royal bodyguards¹⁴. His mother Elisabeth was a daughter of the fortification engineer, Joseph Kraus¹⁵. This limited information shows that Albrecht lived in a military environment from an early age, which may explain his ability and interest in depicting military scenes.

All those, who have written about him, accept that Albrecht attended the landscape drawing school in Vienna, into which he enrolled in 1773 at the age of 15. For the next 10 years, his main teacher was the eminent Austrian landscape artist, Johann Christian Brand (1723-1795). In 1785, Albrecht finished the course on copper engraving and was preparing printing sheets

¹⁰ Treyll, *Maria Theresia und ihre Zeit*, cit., p. 286.

¹¹ The 19th-century Academy historians confirmed this total number. They saw them hanging at the Hall of Honour (*Ehrensaal*) at the Academy. See Th. Leitner von Leitnertreu, *Ausführliche Geschichte der Wiener-Neustädter Militär-Akademie*, Hermannstadt, Theodor Steinhaußen, 1852, p. 207.

¹² Abbreviation TMA stands for *Theresianische Militärakademie*, and HGM for *Heeresgeschichtliches Museum*.

¹³ *Mailspiel* in German. A game similar to croquet, which will be explained later in the text.

¹⁴ *Arcièren* = from Italian *arciere*, in English «archer», but here it means «imperial horseguard».

¹⁵ Treyll, *Bilder*, cit., p. 287.

by copying Brand's painted templates¹⁶. This is significant, as some authors maintain that Albrecht tried to engrave his Academy paintings in copperplates¹⁷, but unfortunately, none of them have ever been found.

After finishing his studies, Albrecht spent some time in Italy. Then, he appears to have found a job as a private tutor and drawing teacher in an Austrian noble family¹⁸. It is thus presumed that it was in this function, that he escorted the sons of his employees to Wiener Neustadt and observed them in their everyday service and activities. While doing so, Albrecht produced a series of paintings in the Academy's park, which were initially for the boys' parents. Various authors agree that Albrecht produced at least one set, if not several copies, of his paintings. It is also possible that Count Kinsky was so impressed by the detail and the accurate account of Academy life, that he commissioned one series for the Academy¹⁹. Alternatively, Albrecht may have submitted them when he was applying for the position of the Academy's drawing teacher, where he was admitted in November 1795²⁰ (and remained until his death in 1822). The eleven paintings remained at the Academy, and but two disappeared during the turmoil of WWII until they were purchased by the Museum of Military History on the open art market in 1975²¹.

¹⁶ *Ibid.* See also a list of Brand's paintings engraved by Albrecht in J. Meyer, H. Luecke and H. von Tschudi, *Allgemeines Künstler-Lexikon*, Leipzig, W. Engelmann, 1872, p. 236.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁸ Allmayer-Beck assumes that this family were the *Freiherren von Gudenus* from Krems, whose two sons attended the Academy during Kinsky's period. Allmayer-Beck, *Bilder*, p. 86. The elder son Johann Gudenus (b. 1773) stayed at the Academy from 1778 until 1790 and was commissioned afterwards as academy graduate in an infantry regiment. The younger son Joseph Gudenus (b. 1775) enrolled the Academy in December 1784, but left it in 1790 without graduation. J. Svoboda, *Die thesesianische Militär-Akademie zu Wiener-Neustadt und ihre Zöglinge*, Vienna, k. k. Hof- und Staatsdruckerei, 1894, Vol. I, p. 225.

¹⁹ Treyll, *Bilder*, cit., p. 287 and Allmayer-Beck, *Bilder*, cit., p. 87.

²⁰ Treyll checked the monthly reports of the cadet house for this information among the records of the Wiener Neustadt Theresian Military Academy stored at the War Archive (*Kriegsarchiv*) in Vienna (sig. AT-OeStA/KA MEB MilAk Wiener Neustadt). Unfortunately, the collection is very damaged, because of the great fire in 1920. M. Hochedlinger, «*Der schlafende Riese*». *Das Österreichische Staatsarchiv, Abteilung Kriegsarchiv*, «Militär und Gesellschaft in der Frühen Neuzeit», vol. 9, 2005, p. 182.

²¹ For Treyll and Allmayer-Beck, this is the evidence of the existence of the second series of paintings, which Albrecht supposedly produced for the cadets' parents. In my opinion, these two paintings – exactly the ones that are missing in the Academy's collection – may have just been stolen during WWII.

2. «A healthy mind in a healthy body»²²: Count Kinsky's views on physical education

Since all the introduced games, especially the physical exercises, have as their primary aim, improving visual judgment, flexibility, agility, dexterity, and strength, it does not matter whether the cadets want to play – they must play – and if not with their heads, at least with their hands and feet in order to reward the state and the sovereign for the benevolent education they receive; although in reality, this should be done both with the head, and the hands and feet²³.

Albrecht's collection present the cadets' outdoor activities, where they engage in physical exercises, shooting and military drill during the time of Kinsky's direction. During this long period from 1779 to 1805, the Theresian Military Academy was publicly praised by contemporaries as a successful enlightened project, which trained the Austrian military elite. In the Academy's memory, this period is remembered as a golden age, and Kinsky's bust is the only one among the Imperial statues in the Academy's park²⁴. Prior to his arrival at Wiener Neustadt, alongside his military career, Kinsky had already distinguished himself as anonymous writer of proposals for the reform of private education of the Bohemian aristocracy, which was deemed superficial, unpatriotic and even effeminate. Due to the French influence on education at the time, the young nobles were becoming unsuited for the needs of an enlightened state, where everyone was expected to contribute to the public good, according to their social position. This was the basis of the Cameralistic philosophy, which Kinsky advocated both for military and public education²⁵.

²² Juvenal, *Satire X*.

²³ F.J. Kinsky, *Allgemeine (sic!) Prinzipien (sic!) zur öffentlichen, und besonders Militär-Erziehung. In einem Auszuge des Befehlsprotokolls des k.k. M.K.H.*, Wiener Neustadt, Adam, 1787, p. 254. This is a collection of Kinsky's commands, assembled in 1785 as the *Extract from the command protocol*. Initially published in just 60 copies, it was intended only for the cadets. In 1787, the local publisher in Wiener Neustadt published the definitive version entitled *The general principles about the public, and especially about the military education. From an extract of the command protocol of the Imperial and Royal Military Cadet School* [my translation], comprising 178 paragraphs, in which Kinsky espoused his principles about public education. They were supplemented by 172 commands, listed alphabetically by keywords. Kinsky used to write his commands in a tabular form. They were put on display at various points in the Academy as instant guides for the cadets.

²⁴ Even today, Kinsky is remembered as the «founding father» (*Gründungsvater*) by the cadets and teachers at the Theresian Military Academy.

²⁵ Kinsky's enlightened educational philosophy is broadly interpreted in Shek Brnardić, *The enlightened officer at work*, cit. The part on the reform of the Bohemian private education is published in Ead., *Die Verbesserung der adeligen Privaterziehung in Prag. Patriotische Vorschläge des Grafen Franz Joseph Kinsky (1739-1805)*, in G. Haug-Moritz, H.P. Hye, M. Raffler (edd.), *Adel im «langen» 18. Jahrhundert*, Vienna, ÖAW, 2009, pp. 61-72. For the military aspect of his educational changes at the Academy see Id., *The upbringing of competent and patriotic officers: military education at the Theresian Military Academy in Wiener Neustadt (1752-1805)*, «Povijesni prilozi», vol. 36, n. 53, 2017, pp. 109-132.

Together with his published educational treatises and mineralogical essays about Bohemia, Kinsky's donation of his family library and his mineralogical and engineering collections to the city of Prague earned him a great reputation in the international scientific circles and attracted the attention of the Habsburg monarchs, especially Joseph II. Kinsky had already founded the first private cadet school for his regiment, stationed in Pilsen in Bohemia. When education at the Theresian Military Academy at the end of the 1770s was deemed as «unmilitary»²⁶ enough, Kinsky was asked in 1777 to visit and compare the military academy at Wiener Neustadt with the academy at Stuttgart, and to propose necessary improvements²⁷. He submitted some very critical observations to Empress Maria Theresa in January 1779, and as a result, in October, was appointed the junior director of the Academy²⁸. Kinsky, who held the rank of Generalmajor at the time, appeared to be ideal for this position, given his experience and interests. He used all his «knowledge about man» to improve the educational conditions of young boys, who were destined to become the Habsburg's leading officers, totally loyal to the ruling House of Habsburg and the composite Habsburg Monarchy.

The historian Allmayer-Beck, argues that the Albrecht paintings illustrate Kinsky's «holistic» (or all-encompassing) educational system²⁹. So, it is necessary to consider what this means: First, this requires a brief overview of Kinsky's educational plan for the young Bohemian nobleman in *Memorandum of an important object by a Bohemian*³⁰. If a tutor implemented his methods, Kinsky argues, a young pupil would gain strength, health and dexterity in his physique, religion, love of humanity and morality for the moral traits³¹. Kinsky's educational concept embraced the whole, comprising the body and soul, always viewed together in accordance with the dualistic Cartesian principle. Therefore, an education should consider both the moral and physical features of the child³².

Kinsky's views on physical education help to explain Albrecht's painted scenes: *Memorandum* begins with a discussion of physical education. Kinsky terms it «natural», pointing to the internal development of a man's faculties and

²⁶ That is, in line with latest trends in the science of warfare.

²⁷ On these reports see Shek Brnardić, *The enlightened officer*, cit., ch. 5.

²⁸ From 1766 until 1785 Count Anton von Colloredo-Waldsee (1707-1785) was Kinsky's superior director at the Academy. Both Colloredo and Kinsky were members of the Catholic military chivalric Order of St John or the Order of Malta. After the disastrous earthquake in 1768, he rebuilt the Academy in just three years and had the only Academy's regulations published (*Des Reglements für die k.k. Militarakademie zu Wienerisch Neustadt. Erster Theil*), Vienna, Joseph Kurzböck, 1775. On the state of the Academy before 1779 see Shek Brnardić, *The upbringing*, cit., pp. 112-121.

²⁹ Allmayer-Beck, *Bilder*, cit., p. 87.

³⁰ F.J. Kinsky, *Erinnerung über einen wichtigen Gegenstand von einem Böhmen*, Prague, Wolfgang Gerle, 1773.

³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 271.

³² *Ibid.*, p. 29.

organs³³. This part of Kinsky's treatise consists of four topics: the toughening of children's physical stamina (clothes and gymnastics), the sharpening of the external senses (sight, smell and touch), nutrition and foods, and finally some closing remarks on physical education. These issues correspond largely to the arguments of John Locke and Jean-Jacques Rousseau³⁴. As an amateur naturalist, Kinsky was inspired by the philosophy of nature, which placed equal importance on physical development and the soul or mind. Therefore, he insisted on active or movement games, aimed at forming the stronger body. Pedagogues at the end of the eighteenth century propagated these ideas widely, as a kind of «return to nature» in the sense of Rousseau's philosophy³⁵.

The first topic is the «toughening of the body»³⁶. Throughout his treatise, Kinsky criticises the effeminising practices in contemporary noble education and proposes precisely the opposite measures, which would toughen up the noble boys. He supported the Locke thesis of «*tabula rasa*», which argued for the commencement of such training at an early age. A healthy chest and an agile posture were required in every profession and the best way to attain them was by exercise, above all, by swimming, a view which follows Locke. However, Kinsky did not reproduce Locke's instructions word for word: all his explanations were physiological and grounded in scientific observations, which he drew from his immediate environment.

The second topic was «sharpening the external senses»³⁷, which is more extensively discussed by Rousseau than Locke, although it was Locke, whose empirical approach stressed the significance of the senses. In order to maintain sharp eyesight, or metaphorically, «to have a pair of compasses in the eye», Kinsky suggested that it should be developed by judging distances and counting steps, which is the essence of estimating by sight³⁸. Smell and touch could also be improved, and for Kinsky, touch is the most reliable of human senses, because it enables men to correct their initial ideas³⁹. Belief in the correct employment of

³³ Rousseau calls this development the «education of nature». J.-J. Rousseau, *Émile, ou De l'éducation*, The Hague, Jean Néaulme, 1762; Engl. transl. *Emile or On education*, New York, Basic Books, 1979, p. 38.

³⁴ Pedagogues discovered physical education in the late 17th and early 18th centuries. Locke and Rousseau in their classic books advocated the physical education as a pre-condition for the healthy intellectual development. C. Guedes, *Physical education and physical activity*, «Journal of Physical Education, Recreation & Dance», vol. 79, n. 8, 2007, p. 32. Pedagogues and physicians such as the Abbot Fleury and Ch. Rollin also dealt with physical education before Rousseau. D. Tosato-Rigo, *In the shadow of Emile: pedagogues, pediatricians, physical education, 1686-1762*, «Studies in Philosophy and Education», vol. 31, n. 5, 2012, pp. 449-463.

³⁵ N. Gockerell, *Die Welt im Kleinen: zur Kulturgeschichte des Spielzeugs*, Munich, Bayerisches Nationalmuseum, 2003, p. 12.

³⁶ Kinsky, *Erinnerung*, cit., pp. 8-21.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 22-31.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 22-24.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 26-27.

the senses to enhance human judgement is crucial for Kinsky's theory, in which he obviously follows Locke's empirical approach.

The third topic is «diet», which for Kinsky had to be in moderation and based on fruits and vegetables, plus dairy products, but little meat⁴⁰. His further remarks on physical education examine harmful sleeping habits in feather beds and with curtains, the ill-effects of stale air in unaired rooms, the capability to use the left as well as the right hand, together with a good sense of balance improved by walking on high beams. Empirically, it was demonstrated that stale air was very unhealthy and not infrequently lethal for humans. So, it was essential to keep the windows open, a rule he put into effect at the Academy⁴¹.

Kinsky closes his treatise with a play on words, which he obviously takes from Rousseau: «In order to get young people used to everything, they must not be get used to anything»⁴². Various activities should be performed: one day, the student's dressing should start with doing his hair; the next day, it should start with putting on his shoes; one day the student should wash himself with cold water, the next day with warm water; one night he should sleep with a nightlight, the next one without one; one day he should put the head, where he had his feet the previous day, etc. The student would toughen himself up to face the many hard situations he might encounter as an adult.

The insistence on toughening up the student's body also had moral connotations. Kinsky relates «toughening up» to the hardening the student's willpower. By his methods, Kinsky hoped to develop in his students a consistent, solid character: A man, who is not accustomed to anything, has fewer needs, better endures scarcity and very few situations can be difficult for him. Physical toughness produces flexibility in the human character, whereas mollicoddling can cause only obstinacy and stubbornness. All these theoretical reflections on the physical aspect of a child's development were later practically implemented at the Academy.

3. *Pleasure and Utility: Playing in the Enlightenment Garden*

After lunch, unless the weather was exceptionally stormy, they would go for a walk every day at half past one. The Zoological Garden belonging to the Academy served for this purpose: it covers an area about one hour's walk in circumference, surrounded by an eight foot high wall. A stream, diverted from the healthy bathing waters of the Leitha, meanders through this garden, which is covered by crops, meadows, alleys, woods, and bushes. In short, a park in the English style, which assumes all the characteristics of an earthly Elysium

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 32-36.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 37-38.

⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 41. «The only habit that a child should be allowed is to contract none», Rousseau, *Emile*, 63.

in the creative hands of the tireless General of good taste, made only to delight the soul, and to accumulate in it images both for the mind and the heart. Next to the domestic buildings, there are also the Academy washhouses and the summer bathing pool for the cadets. Playing areas are in a separate section of the garden⁴³.

After his appointment, Kinsky decided to make some material changes to the Academy's garden to optimise the conditions for his pedagogical conceptions to be implemented. This park bore the German name, *Tiergarten* (zoological garden or zoo)⁴⁴, because in the past it had been used as a hunting ground and for breeding wild animals. Initially, the garden was only a forest with marshy meadows. The *Burg* (castle) belonged to the Habsburgs, but in 1752 Empress Maria Theresa handed it over to General Leopold Joseph von Daun (1705-1766) to establish a new cadet school. At this point, the garden area was still predominantly waterlogged, with meadows and shelters for wild animals. In time, some space was assigned for cadets to play ball games, shoot targets with muskets and pistols, fire cannon and build entrenchments⁴⁵.

Kinsky took on both the castle and the garden as his own property, as though he were its aristocratic owner. He invested considerable time and even his own financial resources for their renovation and redesign. For example, in 1781 Kinsky had the stagnant water from the moats around the castle drained, because it was a potential source of disease. Only the southern ditch was retained for the swimming school – one of Kinsky's most important innovations⁴⁶. He also engaged in draining marshy ground in the garden in 1784⁴⁷. At first, Kinsky employed two soldiers as gardeners, but after some time, it became obvious that their skills did not meet his expectations. So, in 1792, he invited the garden designer, Michael Mahr, who had previously overseen the château park at Schönbrunn. Mahr managed to embellish the Academy's garden with new terrains, transforming it into an ornamental garden⁴⁸. Its maintenance was one of Kinsky's favourite tasks and he issued instructions for its cultivation and planting, even when he was away at war⁴⁹.

All Kinsky's interventions had a utilitarian rather than aesthetic purpose – the garden had to serve as a field of instruction for the cadets. Today known

⁴³ [Anonym], *Von der Kayserl. Theresianischen Militär-Akademie*, cit., p. 85.

⁴⁴ The *Tiergarten* was established under Emperor Frederick III in the 15th century. It was also called *Tännelgarten*, which comes from the German word *Tännel* («fallow deer»). Jobst, *Die Neustädter Burg*, cit., p. 170, and Leitner, *Ausführliche Geschichte*, pp. 59-60. The cadets called it simply the «garden». See M. Sabljär, *Fragment autobiografije*, «Muzeologija», vol. 28, 1990, pp. 64-71, *passim*.

⁴⁵ Jobst, *Die Neustädter Burg*, cit., p. 173.

⁴⁶ Leitner, *Ausführliche Geschichte*, cit., pp. 170-171.

⁴⁷ Jobst, *Die Neustädter Burg*, cit., p. 176.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 178. Its scope can be seen in the two garden and walking plans kept at the Hall of Honour (*Ehrensaal*) of the Academy. They vanished during WWII and the only two reproductions can be found in Jobst's book. *Ibid.*, pp. 180-181.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 177.

as the Academy's Park (the remains of the ca. 2,5 m high wall can still be seen), the garden was intersected by three roads: the Big Promenade or the Big Alley, which was ran in a straight line from west to east, the Middle Park Alley, running in the same direction, but not completely parallel with the Big Promenade, and the Playing Alley, which was ca. 1,5 km long and divided the garden longitudinally into east and west. On its right side was the «Playing Area». Bernhard Albrecht was most probably standing there and looking at the training area with its various facilities for climbing, shooting, target-shooting, riding, for all the physical exercises intended to sharpen the eye, judgement, dexterity and all physical capabilities⁵⁰.

The printed maps and written sources testify to the diversity and beauty of the garden. Shelters and breeding sites for the small wild game, composed of bushes appeared in various types: There were instructive tree plantations, hedge mazes, flower (roses) display beds, even a small menagerie with fowls, pigeons, ducks, different birds, squirrels, etc.⁵¹ The botanical fields were situated on the left side of the Playing Alley, with plantations of domestic and exotic trees, in front of which metal plates with German and Latin names hung on stakes. In the garden, there were entrenchments and batteries, because cannon fire was a regular activity. There were firing ranges for muskets and pistols, various riding grounds, areas for gymnastics and mounted attacks, including «the caracole» (a series of targets attacked by using a pistol or sabre), for foraging, etc.⁵² The garden was open to the public, so it had many visitors, both men and women, who can also be seen at the paintings. Kinsky even encouraged the cadets to talk to them in order to polish manners.

In the historiographical sense, a glimpse of the Academy's park greatly surpasses the usual approach to the 18th-century historic gardens as aesthetic and pleasure-seeking spaces, displaying the power of the owner to his visitors. Although a smaller part of the garden fulfilled this role, under Kinsky's scientifically observant eye, most of the garden's space was used for learning and teaching, including experimentation, which turned the garden into an «active site for the production of knowledge»⁵³. This juxtaposition of pleasure and utility was a hallmark of Enlightenment landscape spaces. Therefore, the Academy's park may justifiably be labelled as «the Enlightenment garden»⁵⁴.

The hours, which the cadets spent in the garden, were primarily for instruction, rather than recreation⁵⁵. Kinsky aptly called the garden «the great

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 177-178.

⁵¹ Jobst, *Die Neustädter Burg*, cit., p. 177. See also a comprehensive list of the garden places in *ibid.*, p. 180.

⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 178.

⁵³ C. Hickman, *The garden as a laboratory: the role of domestic gardens as places of scientific exploration in the long 18th century*, «Post-Medieval Archeology», vol. 48, n. 1, 2014, p. 229.

⁵⁴ E. Heckendorn Cook, *Landscape and gardens*, in A.Ch. Kors (ed.), *Encyclopedia of the Enlightenment*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2003, Vol. II, pp. 351-352.

⁵⁵ Kinsky, *Allgemeine Prinzipien*, cit., p. 254.

classroom under God's free heaven»⁵⁶. Cadets had to go for a walk in the garden every day after lunch, no matter how rough or hot the weather, because in Kinsky's view «a soldier must be used to every weather, frost and heat»⁵⁷. Kinsky requires that during the walk times in the summer, the four companies of cadets would alternate day by day engaging in different activities, such as walking over the high beams, judging distances, acquiring knowledge about wood and growing crops, pistol shooting at targets for the bigger cadets, etc.⁵⁸ These activities are the main themes in Bernhard Albrecht's paintings.

4. *The reading of Bernhard Albrecht's paintings: physical education in practice*

4.1 *Different gymnastic exercises*

Games, yes, and many games, and a great many games, but those that are entertaining, pleasing, and at the same time related to what they are being educated for. Games that develop alertness, skill, strength, sharpen the senses, engage in multiple activities: their plaything in education will one day become their duty⁵⁹.

One of the keywords in Kinsky's discourse about public education is «game» (*Spiel*), which referred both to indoor and outdoor games. He distinguishes between the so-called *Kommerzspiele* (lit. «games for interaction»), which are common in well-run societies⁶⁰, and games, which increase the physical capabilities of future officers. Indoor *Kommerzspiele*, such as playing cards, dice, chess, dominos and draughts were allowed, particularly in the wintertime, because it was necessary to consider the cadet's future profession as an officer. The uniform allowed him to move in upper society, where such games were widely played. Each class also had a billiard table. While the indoor games are known only from written sources, the outdoor games are illustrated in Bernhard Albrecht's paintings.

The painting «Various sport exercises» (Pic. 1) is maybe the most vivid representation of sport games or physical exercises invented and played during Kinsky's time. It shows the «Playing Area» situated on the right side of the Playing Avenue, south east of the Academy, with the somewhat exaggerated snow-topped Schneeberg mountain in the background. The little church may be the chapel built by Kinsky for the new graveyard for cadets, who died

⁵⁶ Jobst, *Neustädter Burg*, cit., p. 178 and Leitner, *Ausführliche Geschichte*, cit., p. 414

⁵⁷ Kinsky, *Allgemeine Prinzipien*, cit., p. 228.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 23-24.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 184.



Pic. 1. Bernhard Albrecht, *Various sport exercises*, Wiener Neustadt, 1787, 52,3 X 76,2 cm (Museum of the Theresian Military Academy, Wiener Neustadt)

young during their school years. The cadets are indulging in different kinds of gymnastic exercises in the area that was divided into the sections for the four companies (ca. 100 cadets each), designated by age. Those in the first line are bigger cadets, dressed in the working or undress uniforms, comprising a pike grey waistcoat in cotton twill (in colder period worn under a pike grey coat from the same material, which the officers wore), a linen shirt, white cloth breeches, white linen stockings with leather boots or, exceptionally, shoes⁶¹. The cadets' hair is powdered and neatly tied in the *Zopf* (long pigtail), and they wear plain bicorn hats. The officers serving as instructors can be distinguished by their pike grey coats and holding a *Stock* (cane signifying their command authority). Some cadets rolled up the sleeves of their shirts, in order to limit wear and tear during exercises. Around the neck, the cadets wore a black scarf.

Within the Playing Area, it was strictly forbidden for the cadets to move over to other companies' areas, because «military discipline did not require physical bounds for maintaining order among subordinates»⁶². Assembling in groups

⁶¹ J. von Núcé, *Nützliche und interessante Militär-Skizzen für Soldaten und ihre Freunde im österreichischen Kaiserstaate*, Vienna, Carl Gerold, 1819, Vol. II, p. 180. Leitner reports about the changes in uniform dress introduced by Kinsky. He abolished the previous undress uniform, which was blue with red facings together with black breeches and grey stockings. He introduced the grey colour, which was much easier to maintain because the dirt could be covered by white chalk. Leitner, *Ausführliche Geschichte*, pp. 184-185.

⁶² Kinsky, *Allgemeine Prinzipien*, cit., p. 254.



Pic. 2. Bernhard Albrecht, *The Pall mall game*, Wiener Neustadt, 1790, 40,3 X 57 cm (Museum of the Theresian Military Academy, Wiener Neustadt)

was also not allowed, just as lying down, sitting or walking in the playing area. In Kinsky's view, those who were too idle for playing games would also be lazy at school. There was no discussion about whether the cadets wanted to play – they *had* to play to reward the sovereign and the state, who funded their education⁶³.

The physical exercises, which can be seen in the painting (from left to right), included lifting oneself with a pulley suspended from a tree and climbing up or down (even facing upside down!) a freely hanging rope on a tree or two parallel ropes. The next group is jumping over the wall with or without a pole. There are also cadets preparing to walk or already walking on stilts or climbing up a ladder. Especially interesting is a group playing *trocca di terra* (*trucco da terra*), which was a game of Spanish origin and popular in Italy⁶⁴. Known in English as «troco» or «lawn billiard»⁶⁵, the aim was to hit the ball through an iron ring on the ground with a long-handled cue similar to a hockey or mini golf stick.

In the second line on the left side are cadets aiming at the target gap between the posts with a ball. Cadets wearing a wooden teathed bracelet are playing

⁶³ *Ibid.*, p. 255. See the full quote under footnote 23.

⁶⁴ S. Cavallo, T. Storey, *Healthy living in late Renaissance Italy*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2013, p. 166.

⁶⁵ *Enquire within upon everything*, s.v. «Troco or Lawn billiards», London, Houlston, 1884⁶⁹, pp. 365-366.

the ancient Italian game *il pallone col bracciale*, which was played by passing the ball between the players, a game which Kinsky sometimes played himself⁶⁶. Another group are picking up stones (or smaller bowls) from the ground and throwing them at a Turkish head. Next is one throwing darts at the same target. The farthest group on the left are smaller cadets practising jumping a ditch with a stick. A group in the middle is standing in a circle and playing with a ball. Nearby, a cadet is doing some exercises holding two ropes in his hands. On the right side in the background, cadets are practicing pistol shooting near a rampart called «Joseph's battery»⁶⁷.

The scene on the painting «The Pall mall game» (Pic. 2) shows the lane for this very popular bowling game developed in France (*jeu de maille*)⁶⁸. The long bowling alley on the map called the *Maille Spiel* was fenced off with ca. 1 meter high wooden wall and ran vertically to the Big Promenade. One cadet is preparing to strike a boxwood ball with a mallet (mace), while the others are waiting, one of them leaning on the wooden wall. The goal was to hit a single iron hoop attached to the ground at the end of the alley. Male and female visitors are also depicted and on the left it is possible to see a piece of Academy's wall with the roof of the nearby church. During his visit on 29 June 1784, Joseph II played this game with the cadets and showed them some skills (also in throwing darts). As a memorial to his visit and involvement with the cadets, Kinsky had a rectangular granite monument (ca. 1 m high) erected, later known as «Joseph's stone» to remind the cadets of the Imperial visit⁶⁹.

4.2 Noble exercises in the open air

The painting «Dancing lessons, flag waving, fencing and vaulting» (Pic. 3) presents a set of a simultaneously performed activities, known as the «noble exercises». The classical canon or triad of these exercises – a hallmark of early modern courtly culture – included dancing, riding and fencing. Vaulting, or

⁶⁶ [Anonym], *Von der kaiserl. Theresianischen Militärakademie*, cit., p. 170.

⁶⁷ For the list of games and body exercises see Kinsky, *Allgemeine Prinzipien*, cit., *passim*; Jobst, *Neustädter Burg*, cit., pp. 177 and 180; Leitner, *Ausführliche Geschichte*, cit., p. 284; Nuce, *Nützliche und interessante Militär-Skizzen*, cit., pp. 182-183; Sabljär, *Fragment*, cit., p. 65; Schels, *Biographie*, cit., p. 21; F.C. Böheim, *Chronik von Wiener-Neustadt*, Vienna, Mayer et Compagnie, 1830, Vol. II, p. 144.

⁶⁸ A cultural historical account of this game can be found in W. Behringer, *Arena and pall mall: sport in the early modern period*, «German History», vol. 27, n. 3, 2009, pp. 331-357.

⁶⁹ Leitner, *Ausführliche Geschichte*, cit., p. 161 and Jobst, *Die Neustädter Burg*, cit., p. 177. Unfortunately, the monument does not exist anymore, but can be seen in Jobst's book. It was placed south of the Big Alley on the western bank of the Kehrbach channel, in the area of *Mailspiel*. A. Hrubant, B. Listmayr, *Die Burg zu Wiener Neustadt*, Vienna, Theresianische Militärakademie, p. 104.

acrobatic jumping on a pommel horse, was often added. These aristocratic exercises developed both the martial skills in a young nobleman and contributed to his self-representation⁷⁰. The «old school» noble exercises were included in the Academy's curriculum from the start and in the castle, there were special rooms for practicing them⁷¹. However, Kinsky gave it a new dimension by exercising them in the natural environment, that is, in the open air during the summer time, which can be seen in Albrecht's painting. Previously, noble exercises had only been performed indoors at chivalric academies and some universities⁷². The breakthrough or the «green» revolution happened at the end of the eighteenth century: Under Rousseau's influence, the philanthropic pedagogues, such as the «grandfather of gymnastics» J.C.F. GutsMuths (1759-1839) argued that the children should be taken out outside the school buildings, because «education ... thrives best in the lap of nature»⁷³.

The exercise area in Albrecht's painting is situated at the beginning of the Big Promenade: in its western part, in the groves of trees left and right of the alley, as well as in the central line of it. On the left, cadets are practicing dancing lessons (certainly, without girls!). Dance was not on Kinsky's list of priorities, but it was necessary for socialising in high society: «Since the purpose of an upbringing is not to produce an eccentric, who flees the pleasures of the world, and in addition to that, dance also helps to give the body more flexibility and dexterity»⁷⁴. Kinsky stresses that in the dance hall, only those arias would be played, which were carefully selected and played to give lively energy to the youth's mind, because a slow and sleepy tone would certainly make him sluggish. Besides, all the cadets were to dance to the same arias⁷⁵.

In the middle of the painting, there are six cadets waving and twirling flags in different poses. Kinsky wrote special rules both for flag waving and for vaulting, which proves their importance to him. Flag waving was a gymnastic exercise for achieving flexibility and as a preparation for training in the use of the sabre. The cadet had one or two flags, which he threw around his neck, hands and feet to catch on the other side. He could also spin the flags round in

⁷⁰ On the noble exercises see R. van Dülmen, *Erfindung des Menschen: Schöpfungsträume und Körperbilder*, Vienna, Böhlau, 1998, p. 463; H. Eichberg, *Leistung zwischen Wänden-Die sportive Parzellierung der Körper*, in A.E. Imhof (ed.), *Leib und Leben in der Geschichte der Neuzeit*, Berlin, Duncker & Humblot, 1983, pp. 122-123; H. Lempa, *Beyond the gymnasium: educating the middle-class bodies in classical Germany*, Lanham, MD, Lexington Books, 2007, p. 69.

⁷¹ The traveller reports about the dancing, fencing and vaulting halls in the castle and mentions two dancing and two fencing teachers. Next to the pommel horse there was a fully equipped wooden horse for practicing saddling and equipping the horse during marches and campaigns. [Anonym], *Von der kaiserl. Theresianischen Militärakademie*, cit., pp. 87-88.

⁷² H. Eichberg labels the early modern «exercise culture» as the «hall culture». Eichberg, *Leistung*, cit., p. 122.

⁷³ J.C.F. GutsMuths, *Gymnastik für die Jugend*, Schnepfenthal, Buchhandlung der Erziehungsanstalt, 1804², p. 168.

⁷⁴ Kinsky, *Erinnerung*, cit., p. 67.

⁷⁵ Id., *Allgemeine Prinzipien*, cit., p. 254.



Pic. 3. Bernhard Albrecht, *Dancing lessons, flag waving, fencing and vaulting*, Wiener Neustadt, 1788, 39,5 X 56,3 cm (Museum of the Theresian Military Academy, Wiener Neustadt)

a wheel shape, throw it in the air, etc.⁷⁶ Although the cadets are individually waving flags on the painting, Kinsky recommends that they exercise together at a set tempo, as if it were a military drill. In this exercise, the cadets are being trained to exercise a precise and watchful eye, which was in Kinsky's opinion essential for the military profession⁷⁷.

In the right grove of trees, the cadets are fencing, and in the background, they are jumping over a pommel or vaulting horse. For Kinsky, fencing was beneficial, because it toughened the muscles in the arm and it was necessary to use both hands⁷⁸. However, he does not pay special attention to its practise, unlike vaulting, for which he wrote the same kind of special rules as for flag waving. Vaulting was important for several reasons. Kinsky explains: «Besides agility, dexterity in general, the purpose of vaulting is to give presence of the mind on horseback and to give strength in the arm – the art consists in the skill to put the arms in each jump most appropriately. If the arms are correctly positioned, the feet will follow»⁷⁹.

⁷⁶ Leitner, *Ausführliche Geschichte*, cit., p. 258 and Kinsky, *Algemeine Prinzipien*, cit., pp. 170-173.

⁷⁷ Kinsky, *Algemeine Prinzipien*, cit., p. 173.

⁷⁸ Id., *Erinnerung*, cit., p. 77.

⁷⁹ Id., *Algemeine Prinzipien*, cit., p. 270.



Pic. 4. Bernhard Albrecht, *Cavalry lessons*, Wiener Neustadt, 1788, 52,0 X 75,5 cm (Museum of the Theresian Military Academy, Wiener Neustadt)



Pic. 5. Bernhard Albrecht, *Pistol shooting and vaulting*, Wiener Neustadt, 1793, 51,7 X 75,3 cm (Museum of the Theresian Military Academy, Wiener Neustadt)



Pic. 6. Bernhard Albrecht, *Drill in parade uniforms with the flag*, Wiener Neustadt, 1787, 52,2 X 75,6 cm (Museum of the Theresian Military Academy, Wiener Neustadt)

4.3 Riding

Three paintings illustrate horse riding at the Academy, which Kinsky treated as a drill (*Exerzitien*) rather than physical exercises as part of formal classes⁸⁰. They are «Cavalry lessons» (Pic. 4), «Pistol shooting and vaulting» (Pic. 5) and «Drill in parade uniforms with the flag» (Pic. 6).

Horsemanship was an important skill for the future officer and Kinsky, a passionate horseman and horse racing lover, cared about it very much. It is easy to imagine the sound of the galloping hooves in the garden: «Regardless of all the demanding gymnastic exercises, *ex officio*, regardless of our fast riding etc., thanks to God, nobody has had an accident», notes Kinsky⁸¹. Under his direction, there were 32 men and 75 horses at the disposal of the riding school and cavalry lessons⁸². Cadets would start to learn how to ride only in year eight, and as beginners they would start mounting and dismounting on a

⁸⁰ Leitner, *Ausführliche Geschichte*, cit., p. 268.

⁸¹ Kinsky, *Allgemeine Prinzipien*, cit., p. 127.

⁸² One riding or cavalry master, one Unterleutnant, one farrier, one trumpeter, one corporal, three vice-corporals, 21 dragoons, two grooms. Nucé, *Nützliche und interessante Militär-Skizzen*, cit., p. 185. In 1798 he even arranged a short-lived horse breeding farm in the south eastern part of *Tiergarten*. Since that time, this area was known as the «Foal Farm» (*Fohlenhof*). Jobst, *Die Neustädter Burg*, cit., pp. 177-178.



Pic. 7. Bernhard Albrecht, *Boating and swimming*, Wiener Neustadt, between 1785 and 1793, 52,0 X 75,5 cm (Museum of the Theresian Military Academy, Wiener Neustadt)

wooden horse. They would then learn the movements with the hand to steer the horse, sabre strokes and charge grips⁸³. In the senior classes, (years nine to eleven) riding was obligatory. The riding schools and stables were outside the castle building: in the winter there was a covered area; in the summer two squares with eight circles for riding exercises and a separate large circle for the English school of riding were situated in the middle of the Playing Area⁸⁴. The riding exercises in these circles are clearly shown in the two paintings. Cadets would practise attacking and sabre strokes against targets with Turkish heads; they would ride on the horses with bales of hay or making acrobatic moves in the saddle while the horse was moving, which was a common exercise in the classical noble riding school.

However, Kinsky made some changes. His innovation was the introduction of campaign riding drills, which differed from the old riding school. For this reason, he increased the number of the cavalry personnel. The cadets from the senior classes, who were destined for the cavalry, had cavalry drill lessons and were trained entirely according to the drills of the regiments. They had riding lessons every day and took care of the horses themselves. The cavalry horses were less well-trained than the horses from the riding school, which were used

⁸³ Kinsky, *Allgemeine Prinzipien*, cit., p. 274.

⁸⁴ See the map from 1798 in Jobst, *Die Neustädter Burg*, cit., pp. 180-181.

to making turns themselves. To command a cavalry horse, it was necessary to be self-confident and independent⁸⁵. In addition, these cadets would be assigned once a year to a cavalry regiment under the supervision of an officer and would take the full training course there. Kinsky notes: «In this way they would acquire in three or four weeks more knowledge about cavalry than anybody could give them in a teaching hall»⁸⁶.

The cavalry drill and manoeuvring with the infantry units in parade uniforms can be seen in one of the paintings, taking place in the Playing Area with the Academy and the «Joseph's battery» rampart in the background. The cavalymen are dressed as Imperial Dragoons in white uniform with red facings, wearing a sprig of oak leaves in a tricorne hat. In the first rank, the men are in the attacking position. In the background, the cavalymen perform the caracole or shooting pistols, while attacking from different sides of the horse. The drilling infantrymen (*Inf. Reg. Kaiser Nr. 1*), formed in column carry the Academy's flag, consecrated by Empress Maria Theresa during her last visit in 1780. Behind them, a platoon of infantrymen fires volleys or shoots individually in turn.

4.4 *Swimming, ice skating and walking over the high beams*

The painting titled «Boating and swimming» (Pic. 7) shows the cadets swimming, crossing the ditch on unsaddled horses and boating. Kinsky was firmly convinced of the usefulness of swimming for young children and youths, so that he was the first to have introduced this into the Academy's curriculum. Although he acknowledged the medical reasons in favour of swimming, which generally contributed to the toughening of nerves and muscles⁸⁷, his main reason for promoting swimming was the development of determination in young minds⁸⁸. First, he had a space in the casemates prepared for bathing in warm water in the winter time. There, the cadets received their first swimming lessons. In 1781, a summer bath was established in the open air, for which a part of the southern castle moat was cut off by a dam with a sluice gate. The summer bath was connected by two lock gates through the wooden English sluice with the ponds, which had remained after the rest of the upper moat was drained: There the cadets could practice moving boats from the upper to the lower channel and vice versa, as can be seen in the painting on the left. For this purpose, Kinsky purchased several vessels of different sizes and shapes in Venice at his own

⁸⁵ Leitner, *Ausführliche Geschichte*, cit., p. 163.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*

⁸⁷ Kinsky, *Erinnerung*, cit., p. 11.

⁸⁸ Leitner, *Ausführliche Geschichte*, cit., p. 282.



Pic. 8. Bernhard Albrecht, *Ice skating and flag waving*, Wiener Neustadt, between 1785 and 1793, 39,5 X 56,4 cm (Museum of the Theresian Military Academy, Wiener Neustadt)

costs, so that the cadets could drill in rowing, boating, and passing through the sluice gate. The water depth for this drill was approximately 1,22 m, whereas for swimming the water level was never higher than 1,68 m, so that cadets could stand on the bottom. In the painting they can be seen on the left side⁸⁹.

All the cadets without exception had to learn how to swim with the help of a swimming teacher⁹⁰. Kinsky gives a detailed series of the step required in «*The general principles*»⁹¹. At the beginning, the cadets just had to stop fearing water. «Why do we push swimming so much – just because it is believed that the incoming recruits have the greatest fear of swimming of all the exercises. The main reason for learning how to swim is to remove aversion and fear», Kinsky remarks. Learning how to swim was a gradual process: Cadets from years one to two would just go into water six by six and stay there for 15 minutes. Their stay in the water would be prolonged over time and the cadets from year three onwards had to be able to swim⁹².

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 170-171.

⁹⁰ Böheim, *Chronik*, cit., p. 145.

⁹¹ Kinsky, *Allgemeine Prinzipien*, cit., pp. 222-223.

⁹² *Ibid.*, p. 224.

The scenes in the painting «Ice skating and flag waving» (Pic. 8) shows the cadets skating on the ice formed by the waters of the summer bath⁹³. They all wear pike grey coats intended for wintertime with probably strap-on skates and some are waving flags as an exercise in flexibility. On the left, a beginner at skating has fallen. On the right, the Academy's castle is visible from the southern side with a view to the western gate and bridge. Kinsky does not discuss ice skating specifically, but it was a popular recreational practice at the time, especially among the upper classes.

Walking over two wooden high beams at different heights (the higher was ca. 6 m, the lower ca. 3 m) was an interesting method of inculcating courage. Kinsky strongly advocated it: «Walking over beams without railings is one of the most appropriate exercises for becoming determined, [...] Timidity at walking over elevated beams is entirely imaginary; dizziness is its result, a man imagines that he cannot cross over it»⁹⁴. The painting «Balancing exercises of cadets on the high beams»⁹⁵ shows cadets walking or pushing a wheelbarrow over the beams situated around the corn yard⁹⁶. Under the beams, there was straw and livestock manure to prevent injuries, if a cadet fell⁹⁷. Otherwise, Kinsky allowed only the cadets from year four onwards to do this exercise, because younger youths were more prone to falling due to their uncertain gait⁹⁸.

4.5 Mapping, manoeuvring and artillery classes

The last four paintings show scenes closely connected to the future military profession of the cadets. These are «Survey work and musketry» (Pic. 9), «Night time target practice with mortars»⁹⁹, «Firing cannon» (Pic. 10) and «Combat exercise in the Steinfeld basin» (Pic. 11).

The cadets received instruction in military subjects in the last school years. They comprised artillery, fortification, tactics, mapping and surveying classes and included advanced mathematics (geometry and trigonometry). This was required by the Age of Gunpowder Warfare, due to the increased use of gunpowder (artillery and firearms) in combat¹⁰⁰. A common military

⁹³ Böheim, *Chronik von Wiener-Neustadt*, cit., p. 143.

⁹⁴ Kinsky, *Allgemeine Prinzipien*, cit., p. 128.

⁹⁵ The painting can be seen in the HGM on-line catalogue: <https://catalog.hgm.at/kunst/001/_thumbnails/1975_16_51_jpg_sr_1024x1024.jpg> (last access: 23.12.2019).

⁹⁶ Jobst, *Die Neustädter Burg*, cit., p. 179.

⁹⁷ Leitner, *Ausführliche Geschichte*, cit., p. 285.

⁹⁸ Kinsky, *Allgemeine Prinzipien*, cit., p. 249.

⁹⁹ The painting can be seen in the HGM on-line catalogue: <https://catalog.hgm.at/kunst/001/_thumbnails/1975_16_50_jpg_sr_1024x1024.jpg> (last access: 23.12.2019).

¹⁰⁰ Military historian M. Roberts invented this concept in the 1950s. S. Ramsey, *Tools of war*:



Pic. 9. Bernhard Albrecht, *Survey work and musketry*, Wiener Neustadt, 1789, 52,0 X 74,8 cm (Museum of the Theresian Military Academy, Wiener Neustadt)

experience was besieging or assaulting or defending fortifications, which were considered important strategic points. Siegecraft was a «central preoccupation of eighteenth-century commanders»¹⁰¹, and this was visible in the Academy's curriculum¹⁰².

Instruction in surveying encompassed geodetic and trigonometric measuring methods, with the measuring table, surveying instruments for measuring angles like quadrants and theodolites, etc.¹⁰³ Surveying practice in the *Tiergarten* can be seen in the painting «Survey work and musketry», with the cadets gathered around the measuring table and measuring the distances set by little flags. In Kinsky's view, it was enough for the cadets to know how to survey and map the terrain at least by hand: an officer had to recognise the terrain where infantry, cavalry, and artillery units should march, where are useful or disadvantageous terrains, how to organise defence in corn yards, mills and cemeteries, etc.¹⁰⁴ The surveying group is walking down the Playing Alley and behind them one can see dense hayfields, known as «Italian meadows», which Kinsky had at great costs irrigated in the «Lombard» style to grow larger quantities of hay for

history of weapons in early modern times, s.l., Alpha editions, 2016, pp. 2-3.

¹⁰¹ A. Starkey, *War in the age of Enlightenment*, Westport, Praeger, 2003, p. 37.

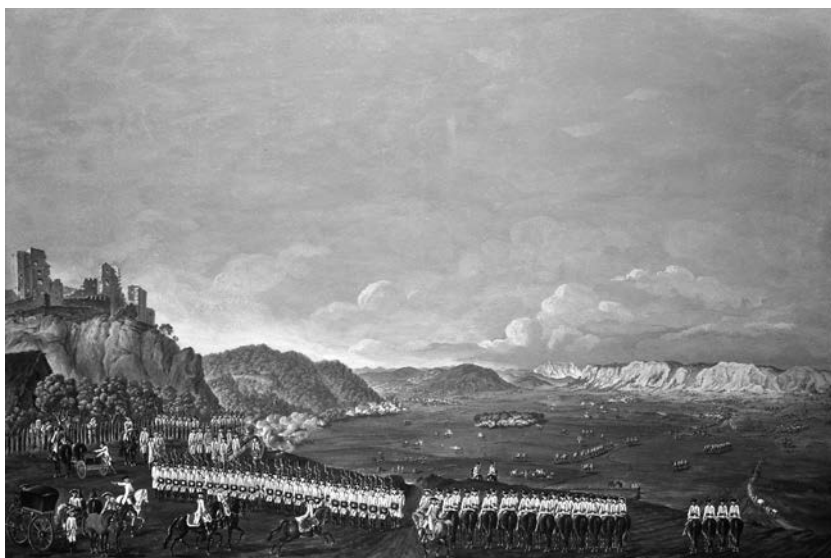
¹⁰² The cadets in years nine and ten were called *Fortificationisten* of the first and second year. Leitner, *Ausführliche Geschichte*, cit., p. 151.

¹⁰³ Böhme, *Chronik von Wiener-Neustadt*, cit., p. 144.

¹⁰⁴ Kinsky, *Allgemeine Prinzipien*, cit., pp. 193-194.



Pic. 10. Bernhard Albrecht, *Firing cannon*, Wiener Neustadt, between 1785 and 1793, 51,5 X 75,3 cm (Museum of the Theresian Military Academy, Wiener Neustadt)



Pic. 11. Bernhard Albrecht, *Combat exercise in the Steinfeld basin*, Wiener Neustadt, 1785, 51,5 X 75,3 cm (Museum of the Theresian Military Academy, Wiener Neustadt)

horses and other livestock¹⁰⁵. In the background, a group is shooting flintlock muskets at the distant target.

Artillery exercise, not only during daylight, but also at night, can be seen in the paintings «Night time target practice with mortars» and «Firing cannon». In *Tiergarten* there was an area called the «Artillery Park», situated near the summer bath with the powder magazine, artillery arsenal and associated buildings¹⁰⁶. Siege trenches had also been dug. On the top of the rampart with slit holes in the bottom was «Joseph's battery» with a parapet for two mortars¹⁰⁷. From there, the night firing was probably conducted, salvoes being fired on the occasion of some festivity, such as the monarch's birthday or the Feast of Corpus Christi¹⁰⁸. In many places across the garden there were shooting ranges with targets for firing cannon and firearms, which can be seen in the painting.

Finally, the painting «Combat exercise in the Steinfeld basin»¹⁰⁹ shows the manoeuvring of imperial regiments in the plain with the mountain ridge Hohe Wand and Schneeberg in the background. The remains of the Emmerberg castle can be seen on the left side, with infantrymen and cavalry units (most probably the cadets), and even peasants watching the manoeuvring from the slope. These actions were based on linear tactics, which were characterised by tactic manoeuvres by the troops in the battle, designed to achieve strategic goals through the skilful moving of troops rather than direct confrontation¹¹⁰. This is why the proper drill or *Exerzieren*, which the cadets were practising every day at the Academy, was of the utmost importance in the eighteenth century warfare.

Conclusion

Bernhard Albrecht's artistic skill and eye for detail must have greatly appealed to Count Kinsky. Albrecht's paintings give us an insight not only into the everyday practices and the outdoor activities of the cadets, but also reveal the educational philosophy underpinning their training at the Theresian Military Academy. The scientific mind of Count Kinsky turned the Academy into a laboratory with experiments for forming the bodies and souls of the future officers. The belief in the malleability of man enabled Kinsky to use the enlightened anthropological concepts in the implementation of his educational

¹⁰⁵ Jobst, *Die Neustädter Burg*, cit., p. 178.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 179. It can be seen on the painting «Boating and swimming» behind the pond.

¹⁰⁷ It can be seen on the back side.

¹⁰⁸ Jobst, *Die Neustädter Burg*, cit., p. 178.

¹⁰⁹ Name of the southern part of the Vienna basin, in which Wiener Neustadt lies.

¹¹⁰ H. Kleinschmidt, *Tyrocinium militare. Militärische Körperhaltungen und -bewegungen im Wandel zwischen dem 14. und dem 18. Jahrhundert*, Stuttgart, H. Kleinschmidt, p. 196.

plan. Toughening the body through exercises, sharpening the senses, healthy nutrition and the belief in the connection between the healthy body and the mind correspond with the views of Locke and Rousseau on physical or natural education. After his appointment at Wiener Neustadt, Kinsky got a chance to put all his ideas into practice. He was not a curricular or structural reformer but made changes and additions in the training and teaching methods in order to achieve his goals.

Albrecht's paintings are great visual sources for Kinsky's innovations, which ranged from the arrangement of the Academy's garden to the introduction of numerous games, which helped the cadets' physical and mental development. The moral component manifested itself in Kinsky's wish to prevent the cadets from being idle, since from an enlightened perspective, it was «idleness», which was among the least desirable features of man. Like a true father, Kinsky actively participated in playing many games with the cadets. However, most of them were abolished after his death in 1805. Albrecht's paintings with their numerous detailed scenes offer a valuable glimpse into the Academy's lost «Little World»¹¹¹ during Kinsky's time, which certainly calls for further research.

¹¹¹ Kinsky's expression. Leitner, *Ausführliche Gecschichte*, cit., p. 210.

Socializing of Slovene students at Austrian universities from the March Revolution to World War I

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ABSTRACT: The life of Slovene students in Vienna, Graz, and Prague was correlated with their social standing, means of subsistence, affinities, social skills, and concurrent academic freedoms. Students were socializing at universities, in circles of prosperous bourgeois families, in taverns where informal round table discussions took place, at student clubs and societies, cultural events, and in students' private apartments. The majority of the students were male, although there is mention of the campaign to allow women to enroll at the university and accounts of a few active female students after 1897. Living in Vienna, Graz or Prague, in a bustling metropolis, was a unique personal experience for each student because it represented a life full of opportunities, but also great responsibility. Students needed to obtain scholarships and find extra part-time work. Memoirs of Slovene students, who became successful scholars, politicians, and writers, report on hunger, poverty, and poor living conditions. However, they also speak of leisure activities.

EET/TEE KEYWORDS: History of university; Higher education; Student life; Austria; XIXth-XXth Centuries.

Introduction

In the last decade, neuroscience made a significant advance in the understanding of brain development, which has had a substantial impact on today's perception of adulthood. Scientific evidence has been presented that the brain continues to grow well into the early twenties, until the prefrontal cortex of the brain has fully developed. Cognitive development as a continuous process affects emotional maturity, self-image, and judgment even when

external changes are less visible. Hence, adulthood by today's standards starts in the late twenties¹.

In the past, there were different definitions of adulthood, including the secondary school graduation examination, i.e. matura examination, or in German, *Abitur*. Matura-holders were recognized as adults and potential members of the social elite upon finishing their studies. However, Slovene opinion leaders, their parents and benefactors, in some cases a priest from their hometown parish, and even colleagues a few years older were skeptical about their ability to manage the shift from a local, highly structured life during gymnasium, into student life, in the big city where they had to live independently and make adult decisions. Thus, responsibility and good company were two of the most important pieces of advice given to new students² Some well-off parents even sent their sons to Vienna during their upper gymnasium years to enhance their integration into big city life and society³.

Parents and benefactors demanded a say in a student's choice of studies, but the final decision was up to each candidate. Some changed their studies upon arrival to a university, in spite of endangering their parents' financial support and approval. Around 1848, parents were predominantly in favor of theology studies for their sons, because priests were respected in the deeply devoted Catholic society. Moreover, the priests also wielded substantial influence and means, so they were able to support their parents or benefactors if necessary. And, last but not least, they could pray for the lasting peace of their benefactors⁴. With the successes of the Slovene nationalists, other studies (law and a wide-array of studies at the philosophical faculties) had become more popular. Additionally, a growing number of fellowships made studies other than theology more accessible for poor students. However, law had somehow retained a lesser standing due to the unpopularity of lawyers among the people: lawyers were perceived as those who enriched themselves at the cost of those individuals seeking justice. But since lawyers were leading political figures, their standing and reputation have gradually changed in society. Therefore, the

¹ L. Wallis, *Is 25 the new cut-off point for adulthood?*, 23 September 2013, <<http://www.bbc.com/news/magazine-24173194>> (last access: 15.07.2019).

² A. Cindrič, *Študenti s Kranjske na dunajski univerzi: 1848-1918*, Ljubljana, Univerza v Ljubljani, 2009; see also I. Iveljič, *Kroatische Studenten und Professoren in Wien (1790-1918)*, in I. Iveljič (ed.), *The Entangled Histories of Vienna, Zagreb and Budapest (18th-20th Century) / Verflechtungsgeschichte. Wien, Zagreb und Budapest (18.-20. Jahrhundert)*, Zagreb, FF Press, 2015, pp. 318-324.

³ J. Vošnjak, *Spomini*, Ljubljana, Slovenska matica, 1982, pp. 34-39; see also F. K. Lukman *et al.*, Leonidas Pitamic <<https://www.slovenska-biografija.si/oseba/sbi431057/>> (last access: 25.09.2019).

⁴ P. Štih, V. Simoniti, P. Vodopivec, *A Slovene History. Society-Politics-Culture*, Ljubljana, Inštitut za novejšo zgodovino, Sistory, 2008, pp. 311-312; A. Puhar, *Prvotno besedilo življenje: Oris zgodovine otroštva na Slovenskem v 19. stoletju*, Ljubljana, Studia humanitatis, 2004, pp. 234-253.

study of law became more acceptable and eventually attracted the most agile nationalistic-minded youth⁵.

To a lesser degree the perception of technical studies changed because of lackluster job opportunities and, more importantly, a higher rate of alienation from Slovene national identity. Therefore, Slovene nationalists, especially from 1890s onwards, encouraged students to enroll instead in faculties of law and philosophical studies so that they would be able to take over the jobs created for Slovene intellectuals in the state apparatus, the judiciary, and the educational system⁶.

These perceptions were mirrored in demands for the establishment of at least a faculty of law and a philosophical faculty with courses taught in Slovenian. In 1871, Slovene politicians who supported Karl Sigismund von Hohenwart's government and were also members of the prime minister's parliamentary club presented this initiative. After the initiative proved unsuccessful, the vaguely defined idea of a university in Ljubljana resurfaced later. However, it was only after the 1898 student protest that the idea attracted wider support among Slovenes⁷. But the following Austrian governments, were only prepared to cede a minor concession, e.g. a few fellowships for Slovenes in order to achieve a habilitation. Those fellows would be, upon completion of their training, considered as the core of the newly established Faculty of Law and Philosophical Faculty with, presumably, courses taught in Slovenian. But the government was not interested in proceeding with the second stage of the plan due to insufficient political pressure. Not all of the fellows were willing to commit to this new venture; some of them were unwilling to derail their careers, mostly in state government, which were already in progress⁸.

1. *Academic Freedom and Student Life*

Student life was a formative period for each individual, especially in the *Belle Époque* when higher education, and universities as a place of science became an integral part of higher culture. The student community fostered a unique form of elitist self-esteem among its members irrespective of their origin, and strenuously protected academic freedom as their core value⁹. They were

⁵ T. Smolej, *Kaj večjega poskusiti in postati: Slovenski pisatelji dunajski študentje (1850-1926)*, Ljubljana, Založba ZRC and Znanstvena založba Filozofske fakultete, 2015, pp. 39-40.

⁶ M. Vidmar, *Spomini: Prvi del*, Maribor, Obzorja, 1964, pp. 82-84.

⁷ J. Polec, B. Senekovič, *Vseučiliški zbornik*, Ljubljana-Kamnik, L. Schwentner and A. Slatnar, 1902, pp. 62-77, 106-237.

⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 92-136; J. Cvirn, *Boj za Celje: Politična orientacija celjskega nemštva: 1861-1907*, Ljubljana, ZZDS, 1988, pp. 46-67.

⁹ A. Kernbauer, *An elitist Group at elitist Universities*, in F. Bieber, H. Heppener (edd.),

allowed to indulge themselves in a bohemian way of life before taking a leading role in society¹⁰.

Furthermore, some students were also involved in politics, especially when major decisions were under consideration. Thus, Slovene students collaborated in preparations for nationalist strategies, drafted resolutions etc. – initially, on more situation-based grounds – as in the year 1848, between 1859 and 1861, and in the period between 1867 and 1868. While they were more active, numerous and organized from the late 1890s onwards, students remained *corpus separatum* from Slovene politics due to their location and higher degree of independence. Their interventions were of the utmost importance in 1848, and 1868, when the students drafted resolutions and brought them to Ljubljana to influence the local political landscape¹¹.

While they were still active in politics in later periods, their influence somehow dwindled amid the growing number of professional or semiprofessional politicians, who mostly renounced students' involvement in politics. However, students persisted with their activities. Moreover, they introduced some nascent social issues into Slovene politics, and presented their 'brotherly' colleagues to the Slovene community, among whom the most appreciated were the Czech students, intellectuals, and politicians¹².

Slovene students demanded equal rights for Slovenes in public life, students' liberties, and a fair distribution of fellowships and stipends. From 1890s, a significant number of students supported women's rights to study¹³, the establishment of a university in Ljubljana, and were also active in the campaign against the abuse of alcohol. They spearheaded similar concurrent initiatives in the beginning of the twentieth century as well¹⁴.

Universities and elite formation in Central, Eastern and South Eastern Europe, Zürich, Lit Verlag, 2015, pp. 96, 100; M. Stromberger, *Stadt, Kultur, Wissenschaft: Urbane Identität, Universität und (geschichts)wissenschaftliche Institutionen in Graz und Ljubljana um 1900*, Köln, SH Verlag, 2004, pp. 10-43; M. Stromberger, *Znanost kot dejavnik kulturnega transferja, Ljubljana na začetku 20. stoletja*, «Prispevki za novejšo zgodovino», vol. 47, n. 2, 2007, pp. 7-11.

¹⁰ J. Kosi, *Jedel je prav malo, kakor je bila njegova navada. Pil je več: Ivan Cankar, slovenski bohem - prispevek k zgodovini bohemstva na Slovenskem*, «Zgodovina za vse», vol. 11, n. 1, 2004, pp. 44-58.

¹¹ V. Melik, P. Vodopivec, *Slovenski izobraženci in avstrijske visoke šole: 1848-1918*, «Zgodovinski časopis», vol. 40, n. 3, 1986, pp. 276-277; S. Granda, *Graška Slovenija v letu 1848/49*, «Zgodovinski časopis», vol. 28, nn. 1-2, 1974, pp. 45-84.

¹² J. Cvirn, *Trdnjavijski trikotnik: Politična orientacija Nemcev na Spodnjem Štajerskem: 1861-1914*, Maribor, Založba Obzorja, 1997, pp. 157-158.

¹³ Cindrič, *Študenti s Kranjske*, cit., pp. 255-257; Ž. Oset, *Slovenske znanstvenice in njihove možnosti za akademsko kariero v obdobju Kraljevine SHS/Jugoslavije*, in M. Šorn (ed.), *Žensko delo: Delo žensk v zgodovinski perspektivi*, Ljubljana, Inštitut za novejšo zgodovino, 2015, pp. 195-199.

¹⁴ J. Cvirn, *Sapralot! To bo pa močan strel: K zgodovini dvoboja na Slovenskem*, «Zgodovina za vse», vol. 1, n. 1, 1994, pp. 33-43.

2. *Student Life of Slovene Students*

There is a multitude of sources available in various forms (letters, memoirs, newspaper articles, student journals) about the life of Slovene students at Austrian institutions of higher education. However, they are scattered in different depositories and preserved in varying amounts from various periods. During the periods without formal societies and poorly managed student societies, sources available are especially critical for study, but they are few.

In general, the quantity of sources is higher for the period when students were socially active and/or in periods of infighting among students at the level of university, school or student society. In the case of Slovene students, there are many resources for the period from the 1890s until World War I, which was an era of growing student activism on various issues: most notably national issues, but also the enrollment of female students, the temperance movement, and the movement against duels¹⁵.

Sources present complex and often contrasting experiences: a daily grind and struggle for subsistence that is presented in newspaper articles, and various forms of socializing with colleagues and professors (visits to museums, galleries, field trips, and lectures), presented in memoirs, letters, and to some extent in student journals. In memoirs, a significant part was given to the so-called *krokanje* – partying that included excessive alcohol. The term (*krokanje*) was in common use colloquially among students, however, it only received cultural status after the memoirs were published¹⁶. Its origin was in student taverns, inns and cafe meetings. This, in turn, fueled stereotypes about the bohemian lifestyle of students (and even university professors) among some opinion makers¹⁷.

These stereotypes were amplified by conservatives who campaigned against modern city lifestyles and scientific discoveries. As a consequence, universities were portrayed by Slovene conservatives as liberal and ‘German’. Gradually, a prototype of a proper Slovene was established. He had to be a Christian and Slovene-speaking, thus rejecting liberal and ‘German’ knowledge¹⁸. Implications that followed were that students became distracted from their benefactors’ (parents, relatives, and church) prescribed path. They became foreigners to their parents, the Catholic Church and the nation. These views were epitomized by Anton Mahnič’s articles in «Rimski katolik» [«Roman Catholic» journal] in the late 1880s. Mahnič, a professor at the seminary in Gorica/Gorizia, enunciated conservative views, which were challenged by liberal-leaning Slovene politicians. The political unity was shaken, and through even more affirmative politics of the Roman Catholic Church in the early 1890s, the political unity collapsed.

¹⁵ Melik, Vodopivec, *Slovenski izobraženci*, cit., pp. 269-282.

¹⁶ V. Mole, *Iz knjige spominov*, Ljubljana, Slovenska matica, 1970, pp. 35-40.

¹⁷ Archives of the Republic of Slovenia, SI AS_621/14.

¹⁸ Ž. Oset, *Recepcija evolucijske teorije in enciklike Quanta cura*, «Prispevki za novejšo zgodovino», vol. 49, n. 2, 2009, pp. 7-19.

The political divisions gradually transcended into Slovene students' societies, at first in Vienna and Graz, where were stronger and more diverse students' communities, and afterward in Prague¹⁹.

Some old traditions, such as the participation of students around tables of affluent families, were common practice. They were one of the most meaningful ways of initiating students into the higher circles of society. Students were presented as young intellectuals and future members of the bourgeois class. Some students also worked as tutors, thus earning money to support themselves²⁰. Social contacts were achieved in informal settings, but also in student societies that came into existence with an improved democracy and the newly built faith of the government in students. As indicated above, leisure time for students was widely considered as an academic freedom, which was less attainable for students with more substantial study obligations, such as students at technical universities or at the Diplomatic Academy of Vienna²¹.

Slovene students established channels of shared ideas and problems with colleagues, professors and members of the upper class²². The criterion was their adherence to *Hochkultur* that was instilled in the minds of the young intellectuals at the gymnasium – an elite institution which, after the March Revolution, was organized and administered uniformly throughout the Monarchy. The gymnasium prepared young people for future studies at a similar level thus easing the transition to university life²³.

3. Slovene Students' Clubs and Societies

In 1810, *Societas Slovenica* was established, comprising 15 students of theology in Vienna. In this first known Slovene student association, participants discussed about Slovene words and phrases. Thus, their proficiency in the Slovene language improved during their regular thrice weekly meetings. More politically oriented were Slovene students in Graz who joined with Croats and Serbs in the 1827-established *Illyrian club*. In this club were mostly Slovene students from Styria, where Illyrian ideas took a stronger hold than in Carniola, a region with a predominantly Slovene populace. Unlike Styrian students,

¹⁹ J. Pirc, *Rimski katolik in ločitev duhov*, in E. Škulj (ed.), *Mabničev simpozij v Rimu*, Celje, Mohorjeva družba, 1990, pp. 109-124.

²⁰ Cindrič, *Študenti s Kranjske*, cit., pp. 356-357.

²¹ T. Luetić, *The Migration and Experiences of Croatian Students*, in Iveljić (ed.), *The Entangled Histories of Vienna, Zagreb and Budapest*, cit., pp. 279, 287.

²² J. Vošnjak, *Spomini*, Ljubljana, Slovenska matica, 1982, pp. 34-39.

²³ M.G. Ash, J. Surman, *The Nationalization of Scientific Knowledge in Nineteenth-Century Central Europe: An introduction*, in M.G. Ash, J. Surman (edd.), *The nationalization of scientific knowledge in the Habsburg empire, 1848-1918*, Houndmills, Palgrave Macmillan, 2012, pp. 6-7.

students from Carniola and Gorizia, which were officially part of the Kingdom of Illyria till 1849, were less inclined towards Illyrianism²⁴. Illyrian ideas had a stronger impact among Slovene students enrolled in the Croatian gymnasia. Supporters of Illyrian ideas sought employment in Croatia, but some of them remained connected with Slovene intellectuals²⁵.

In 1848, Slovene students' clubs and associations were established in Graz and Vienna – both were called *Slovenija*. Both student associations articulated national demands in adherence with concurrent demands of other nations during April and May 1848. They demanded: the equality of the Slovene language in the public sphere, the creation of a Slovene entity in the scope of the Habsburg Monarchy, and the establishment of a Slovene university in Ljubljana²⁶. The underlying notion was the national equality and the cooperation among Slavic people, which was somewhat subdued during 1850s, when the first cracks in the regime of the Austrian Empire were revealed. Slovene students in Vienna reestablished *Slovenija* in 1859, but their activities lasted for only two years since its leaders departed Vienna²⁷.

In 1869, Slovene students in Vienna established *Slovenija* after failed attempts to establish a joint Slovene and Croatian society. In Graz, collaboration between Slovenes and Croats was more successful, but their society *Vendija* was disbanded by the government. A new society *Triglav*, named after the highest Slovene mountain, with predominantly Slovene membership was established upon the initiative of Gregor Krek, a university professor of Slavistics²⁸.

Slovene students' societies (in Graz, Vienna, and, in the 1900s also in Prague) attracted numerous members. However, even in the 1890s, a period of ascending students' activity and splintering of students' societies along ideological lines, only one third of the students joined Slovene societies. Some of them were members of other student societies, or of professional or regional clubs. The majority stayed away, since they were eager for a steadfast completion of their studies²⁹. Moreover, some students felt disfranchised from Slovene students' societies as a result of political wrangling, the lack of internal democracy, and some also because of a repulsion towards an entrenched culture of drinking³⁰.

In 1892, the Catholic Convention in Ljubljana adopted a resolution that stipulated the formation of Slovene Catholic student societies. The Catholic-liberal divisions began almost immediately in Vienna, although they were

²⁴ W. Petritsch, *Die slovenischen Studenten an der Universität Wien, (1848-1890)*, Dissertation, University of Vienna, 1972, pp. 4-5, 53-55.

²⁵ V. Vrtnjak, *Kulturna podoba Vzhodne slovenske Štajerske na prelomu 18. v 19. stoletju*, in V. Vrtnjak (ed.), *Miklošičev zbornik*, Maribor, Kulturni forum Maribor, 1991, pp. 61-81.

²⁶ V. Melik, *Slovenci: 1848-1918: Razprave in članki*, Maribor, Litera, 2002, pp. 66-71.

²⁷ Petritsch, *Die slovenischen Studenten*, cit., pp. 53-55, 83-89.

²⁸ Archives of the Republic of Slovenia, SI_812/2/Podporno društvo za slovenske visokošolce v Gradcu.

²⁹ Melik, Vodopivec, *Slovenski izobraženci*, cit., pp. 277-279.

³⁰ Mole, *Iz knjige spominov*, cit., pp. 35-40.

suspended in Graz for a few years, due to the enormous influence of Gregor Krek, the patron of the Slovene society *Triglav*, and because of the fewer number of student members. Upon Krek's retirement and relocation from Graz to Ljubljana, *Triglav* was dominated by liberal-minded students, so the Catholic students founded a new society called *Zarja* (*Dawn*), while the national-radicals (the so-called «Masarykovci») established a society called *Tabor* (Camp) in 1904³¹.

Nevertheless, majority of Slovene students had already established their own networks and lifestyles, and were only participating in societies festivities, thus were less affected by political divisions among varying factions of Slovene students. For some, this divisions were opportunity for gaining their first political experiences, which were used in their careers³². However, the student societies remained centers of socializing in various forms, and a meeting point for other Slavic students, most notably Croats and Czechs³³.

At the turn of 1900s, the number of students active in Slovene students' societies increased due to a higher participation rate of younger students who were attracted to noble causes; e.g. anti-duel campaign, temperance movement, a nationalistic agenda, campaign for the establishment of the Slovene university in Ljubljana, and for the right of women to study as well. In turn, senior students were less active and they distanced themselves from the societies as they progressed to the end of their studies and had to think of the next steps in their careers. They were already developing their supportive social network and were keen to take full advantage of the city and traveling, including visits to their families. Hence, they became less active in the student societies. Some of them were even repulsed by the endless bickering and absence of internal democracy. In some cases, internal disputes escalated into a physical confrontation among members. To conclude, the success of student societies correlated with the ability of the society's leadership to attract and include members in its activities³⁴.

An important milestone for each society was the obtainment of an apartment as a meeting place for its members. Before that, they had to meet at inns or taverns, which were good for meeting with students of different nations, although it had a downside in legitimizing alcohol consumption during student meetings. While meetings and events were organized at society apartments, societies continued renting backrooms at inns and taverns to appease society members. At first, Slovene societies organized public lectures for their members, professors, and patrons, and later established a library that consisted of selected daily newspapers, weekly magazines, revues, and books, that were given as gifts to visitors and distinguished guests. The next stage was the organization of

³¹ Archives of the Republic of Slovenia, SI_812/1/Korespondenca Krek Gojimir; Melik, Vodopivec, Slovenski izobraženci, pp. 276-279.

³² Mole, *Iz knjige spominov*, cit., pp. 35-40.

³³ Cindrič, *Študenti s Kranjske*, cit., pp. 340-348.

³⁴ Mole, *Iz knjige spominov*, cit., pp. 35-40.

choirs and instrumental ensembles, and public social events to which Slovene intellectuals, patrons, and sympathetic Slavic students were invited³⁵.

In the early 1890s, Slovene students' societies organized clubs for physical workouts, which, in Graz, included a fencing club. This new activity was first introduced in Vienna after two members of *Slovenija* were attacked in the public park Prater. The attackers stripped the students of their insignia, which inspired the teaching of self-defense as one of the *Slovenija*'s aims. Even though this was a controversial decision, because physical force was seen as German *modus operandi* for solving disputes, it had support among students and the public. More reserved was the opinion about the fencing club of the *Triglav* society in Graz. The leaders of the society allowed the establishment of a fencing club in 1891, aiming to appease all members, thereby retaining members who could join the other fencing club, which was a German one³⁶. Even though fencing was well received in 1891, the fencing club was seen as a cause of concern among members when the anti-duel league was gaining traction in public, and Slovene leaders deemed physical confrontations as a way to defend one's honor as a typical German reaction. Students who were against the fencing club and had some other personal grievances against the leadership established a club named *Sava*³⁷.

Slovene students' societies also organized evenings in honor of Slovene professors in Vienna (e.g. they celebrated the seventieth birthday of the linguist Franc Miklošič), various festivals, carnivals, and celebrations of prominent Slovene politicians, poets, and scholars. The most notable event was the commemoration of the one-hundredth anniversary of the birth of the most notable Slovene poet, France Prešeren, in March 1900. These events were organized as concerts, followed by a dance where society choirs and ensembles performed. Sometimes, societies hosted guest choirs and instrumental bands of Croatian and Czech student societies. For promotion purposes, commemorative postcards were issued with popular nationalistic motifs: the Slovene flag with the national colors, a linden, and an olive flower, with Triglav or the sea in the background³⁸.

Slovene students' societies issued their own newsletters and brochures in which they emphasized their program of activities, and also to inform and advise students on study related matters, and to inform the Slovene public about the desperate situation of poor Slovene students. At the end of the nineteenth century, a common feature in Slovene newsletters as well as in student newspapers was

³⁵ Anonymous, *Graško slov. dijaštvo*, «Vesna», vol. 1, n. 11, 1892, p. 180.

³⁶ Anonymous, *Sabljaški klub*, «Vesna», vol. 1, n. 11, 1892, p. 180.

³⁷ Anonymous, *Dvobojno vprašanje in naši 'svobodomisleni in napredni tovariši'*, «Omladina», vol. 4, n. 11, 1908, pp. 181-182; Anonymous, *K duelnemu vprašanju*, «Omladina», n. 4, 1907, pp. 74-75; A.K., *Triglav*, «Omladina», vol. 3, n. 9, 1906, pp. 152-153; U. Frevert, *Ehrenmänner: Das Duell in der bürgerlichen Gesellschaft: Habilitationsschrift*, München, Beck, 1991, pp. 155-168.

³⁸ Cindrič, *Študenti s Kranjske*, cit., pp. 344-348.

warning students not to indulge in the charms of the city life, but to focus instead on their studies so that they may later help the Slovene nation. Ivan Lah, a student of Slavistics and classical philology in Prague, argued after the World War I that these nationalistic calls had an impact on the Slovene youth. According to him, it gave students a platform and a moral backbone to confront the ardent protest of German students against government policies in dealing with the language rights of non-German speaking citizens³⁹.

4. *Students outside Students' Societies*

According to the Slovene historian Vasilij Melik, only one third of Slovene students in 1890s were active in Slovene students' societies. The percentage of students participating in societies decreased the longer the students attended the university⁴⁰. Some students consciously made the decision to stay away from student societies. One such example is Milan Vidmar, a student at the Technical University (TU) in Vienna. While Slovenes from TU rarely participated in Slovene societies due to high number of courses required, Vidmar's reasoning had a personal note. He came to Vienna with the ambition to prove his father was wrong when he forbade him playing chess. His father thought, that studying and playing chess were incompatible, thus Milan should focus only on studying⁴¹.

Vidmar, aiming to 'escape' from the family home, switched from the gymnasium to *Realgymnasium*, and afterwards enrolled in the Technical University in Vienna, thus disregarding his father's advice for study selection; his father was more inclined towards studies at Law or Philosophical faculty. However, his parents, who had a growing commercial business in Ljubljana, allocated him financial support at the beginning, though in limited sums. It is ironic that playing chess in the artist room in Café Central helped him make ends meet. Upon completion of *matura* as a private student, his allowance increased; however, his focus remained on the tracks established upon arrival, i.e. studying at TU and playing chess. The highlight of his social life constituted playing chess in the Café Central where Vidmar was a regular guest in the room of artists. He not only earned some money for dinner, but, more importantly,

³⁹ Polec, Senekovič, *Vseučiliški zbornik*, pp. 92-237; A. Cergol Paradiž, Ž. Oset, *The dichotomy of students and university teachers of Slovenian descent between academic careers and the expectations of the Slovenian nationalists: From the March revolution to the dissolution of the Habsburg Monarchy*, «Dějiny věd a techniky», vol. 48, n. 4, 2015, pp. 240-258.

⁴⁰ D. Moravec, *Ivan Cankar*, Ljubljana, Partizanska knjiga, 1978, p. 23.

⁴¹ Vidmar, *Spomini. Prvi del*, cit., pp. 15-17.

he made contacts that helped advance his career and brought him public recognition as an amateur chess player⁴².

A similar path, although for other reasons (the death of his father and limited family means) was taken by Maks Samec, Vidmar's contemporary. Samec, instead of socializing in student societies, organized private meetings in his student room. Samec, a young chemist, was aiming for an academic career at the chemistry laboratory of the University of Vienna. However, he was unable to afford research because his income was insufficient. But in order to continue his research, he had to stay in Vienna. He asked for the help of patrons at the hot-air balloon club and was thus able to get a job in the Viennese *Realgymnasium*, which provided him with enough money that he was able to stay in Vienna and conduct his research at the laboratory⁴³.

5. Female Students

Slovene students generally supported the idea of female enrollment; however, they were more or less strictly against any changes in the existing gender roles. They firmly believed that educated men should not be bothered with everyday domestic matters, e.g. cleaning, cooking, raising children etc. Some vocal students argued that the enrollment of women would alter relations between men and women, inevitably depriving men of suitable (i.e. housekeeping) brides, and eventually force the men to perform domestic work⁴⁴.

A bitter dispute developed between liberal-minded students and Catholic opinion leaders who were strenuously against the enrollment of female students. Anton Mahnič, an influential professor of theology, tried to discredit student support for female students by describing it as a cunning way to receive female company for dances at traditional meetings of student societies, although that had already been an established practice. Namely, recitals and other events organized by students were already visited by both men and women. An even more prominent role was that of so-called 'national' ladies, mostly wives and daughters of prominent politicians, who participated at cultural events in the homeland as invited singers, piano (or some other instrument) players or they would recite poems. Although, in both cases, women were accompanied by

⁴² *Ibid.*

⁴³ T. Peterlin Neumaier, *Življenjepis Maksa Samca*, in B. Stanovnik *et alii* (edd.), *Maks Samec 1881-1964: Življenje in delo: Zbornik ob 50-letnici smrti*, Ljubljana, Slovensko kemijsko društvo, Slovenska akademija znanosti in umetnosti, 2015, pp. 24-28; Ž. Oset, *Maks Samec and his adapting to academic standards after world war II*, «Prispevki za novejšo zgodovino», vol. 58, n. 3, 2018, pp. 42-46.

⁴⁴ Anonymous, *V vse druge poklice se vriva novodobna ženska*, «Zora», vol. 2, n. 2, 1896, pp. 67-68.

their family members. Therefore, Mahnič's intervention has to be understood in domestic terms, as a pressure to reassert the Church's role in setting the standards of socializing, rather than a futile attempt to alter the student way of life.

Students derogatorily replied how surprised they were to read about sexual lust from a priest and demanded that Mahnič recant his accusations. Even though there was no further public exchange along these lines, the article itself reiterated higher moral standards for women in regard to socializing, especially when they were unmarried and without parental oversight⁴⁵.

Even though female students were tolerated at the universities, as some critics argued, they were held to different moral standards which probably influenced their socializing, especially with the opposite sex⁴⁶. Although the number of female students rose steadily until 1918, they were rarely mentioned in student journals or even less in memoirs of their colleagues, with a few exceptions. Two Slovene female students, who were included in round table discussions and other social activities (visits of museums, galleries, national assembly, public lectures), and inspired colleagues with their energy and passion, should be named: Ana Mayer (later known by her married name Kansky) and Angela Pirkmajer⁴⁷.

The public engagement of female students was also dependent on their social skills, financial standing, and the understanding of their landlord. Ana Mayer obtained approval from her landlord to organize dinners at her apartment where discussions took place while she served pancakes, which is why these gatherings were nicknamed the «pancake club». She also cut her hair short, which was unacceptable behavior for the watchdogs of public morality in the 1910s⁴⁸.

Conclusion

The life of Slovene students was in line with academic freedom and their affinities, though sometimes constrained with their means. For each student, the arrival to bustling, modern cities was an overwhelming experience. While

⁴⁵ Veritas, *Žensko vprašanje*, «Vesna», vol. 2, n. 9, 1893, pp. 138-139.

⁴⁶ Oset, *Slovenske znanstvenice*, cit., pp. 195-214; J. Stergar, *Dr. Ángela Piskernik (1886-1967): Koroška naravoslovka, naravovarstvenica in narodna delavka*, in A. Žižek et alii (edd.), *Ženske skozi zgodovino: Zbornik referatov 32. zborovanja slovenskih zgodovinarjev*, Ljubljana, Zveza zgodovinskih društev Slovenije, 2004, p. 244.

⁴⁷ M. Milenković, *Ana Mayer-Kansky (1895-1962)*, in A. Šelih et alii (edd.), *Pozabljena polovica: Portreti žensk 19. in 20. stoletja na Slovenskem*, Ljubljana, Tuma, Slovenska akademija znanosti in umetnosti, 2007, pp. 303-304.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 303-304.

students were under pressure to successfully complete their studies, various strategies were employed. For example, stereotypes about the dangers of city-life were established. Stereotypes put pressure on young adults when deciding on their studies, but also during studies when students were dependent on financial support from parents or benefactors. Commonly, different strategies were used for the integration of Slovene students, who were mostly from small towns or even countryside and thus even more easily swayed by city charms, into society. For the majority, it was crucial to rent proper lodgings; for others, the last years at the gymnasium or joining student societies or being put under benevolent supervision of more senior students was crucial to their successful integration in the university city. The most critical were the first and the second years of study, which were used by students to organize their own social network, and as a result, distance themselves from everyday activities in the Slovene students' societies. However, the major students' events still attracted numerous guests.

Living in a bustling city was an overwhelming and formative experience for each student. Among students, there was a profoundly rooted culture of excessive drinking (the so-called «krokanje»); however, student life was more than that. Memoirs of Slovene students are full of leisure activities, from visits to museums, galleries, opera, theatre, trips to spas or the countryside, and more importantly, socializing with the social elite that instilled them with standards and a sense of belonging to the higher society. The period of student life was a *grand tour* for the majority of students through the metropolis and higher social class. Although Slovene Catholic opinion makers were critical about bohemian lifestyles of students, their objective was to reassert their role at home, where their influence had been somehow dwindling. While they were less successful with male students, it was completely different with female students, who were placed under microscope due to their gender. Thus, most of Slovene female students focused only on studies, with a few exceptions, who were challenging the social norms.

Students' magazines at the beginning of the 20th Century in Zagreb*

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ABSTRACT: In the focus of the paper are the activities of Croatian students in publishing their magazines at the beginning of the 20th century. The emphasis is placed on the magazines that were published in Zagreb, but considering a strong student fluctuation at that period, it is not possible to fix certain publication within a single university centre. The analysis of their contents and circumstances of publication are stressed, as well as the analysis of the nature of student magazines as a historiographical source. Belonging to various political and cultural groups, students' publications illustrate fresh ideas that were brought to Croatian public life but also provide wide range of information of different aspects of students' social and everyday life.

EET/TEE KEYWORDS: History of education; Student life; Journals; Croatia; XXth Century.

Introduction

This paper deals with student magazines that appeared in the early 20th century, reflecting the image of the student movement in Croatia in the period until the beginning of the First World War. The emphasis will be put on the three most long-lasting editions, «Luč», «Hrvatski djak», and «Mlada Hrvatska»; although more students' magazines appeared in the period, they

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lasted briefly¹. The analysis of their contents and circumstances of publishing will be stressed, as well as analysis of the nature of student magazines as a historiographical source. Belonging to various political and cultural groups, students' publications illustrate new ideas that were brought up to Croatian public life but also provide a wide range of information on different aspects of students' life.

While topic of Croatian students' magazines had not yet been studied as a separate issue, it was discussed within the several studies of older and newer Croatian historiography, dealing with the history of students' political movement², cultural changes at the turn of the century³, students' social life⁴, and issue of female higher education⁵.

¹ Basic features of the Croatian students' magazines at the beginning of the 20th century will be discussed through three most lasting students' editions («Hrvatski djak, glasilo hrv. naprednog djaštva», Zagreb-Prague, n. 1, 1907 - n. 4, 1909-1910; «Mlada Hrvatska, glasilo starčevićanskog djaštva», Zagreb, n. 1, 1908 - n. 7, 1914, and «Luč, list hrvatskog katoličkog djaštva», Vienna-Zagreb, n. 1, 1905-1906 - n. 9, 1913-1914. There were several other magazines edited by student youth at that period, but they were coming out for a very short time, regularly for only one year.

² M. Ujević, *Omladina na početku XX. stoljeća*, «Hrvatska revija», n. 10, 1937, pp. 358-363, 405-408; V. Zaninović, *Mlada Hrvatska uoči I. Svjetskog rata*, «Historijski zbornik», n. 11-12, 1958-1959, pp. 65-104; M. Gross, *Studentski pokret 1875-1914*, in J. Šidak (ed.), *Spomenica u povodu proslave 300-godišnjice Sveučilišta u Zagrebu*, Zagreb, Sveučilište, 1969, Vol. 1, pp. 451-479; M. Gross, *Nacionalne ideje studentske omladine u Hrvatskoj uoči I svjetskog rata*, «Historijski Zbornik», n. 21-22, 1968-1969, pp. 75-141; I. Markešić, *Počeci djelovanja Hrvatskog katoličkog akademskog društva 'Domagoj'*, in Z. Matijević (ed.), *Hrvatski katolički pokret*, Zagreb, Kršćanska sadašnjost, 2002, pp. 309-320; Z. Matijević, *Hrvatski katolički pokret i politika (1903.-1929.)*, «Croatica Christiana Periodica», n. 25, 2001, pp. 181-205; J. Krišto, *Hrvatski katolički pokret 1903.-1945.*, Zagreb, Glas koncila, Hrvatski institut za povijest, 2004, pp. 39-48, 62-79, 81-96; V. Lončarević, *Književnost i hrvatski katolički pokret (1900.-1945.)*, Zagreb, Alfa, 2005, pp. 180-190; V. Lončarević, *Svjetlo katoličke obnove. Uz stotu obljetnicu Luči - Lista hrvatskog katoličkog djaštva (1905-2005)*, «Obnovljeni život», n. 61, 2006, pp. 59-78; M. Gabelica, *Pravaška mladež na hrvatskom sveučilištu uoči Prvoga svjetskog rata*, «Društvena istraživanja», n. 20, 2011, pp. 1139-1161; M. Gabelica, *Mladohrvatski pokret do odvajanja od Starčevićeve hrvatske stranke prava 1910. godine*, «Zbornik Odsjeka za povijesne znanosti Zavoda za povijesne i društvene znanosti Hrvatske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti», n. 34, 2016, pp. 213-238.

³ M. Marjanović, *Hrvatska Moderna: izbor književne kritike*, Zagreb, Jugoslavenska akademija znanosti il. umjetnosti, 1951, Vol. I. (1897-1900), Vol. II (1900-1903); M. Šicel, *Hrvatska književnost 19. i 20. stoljeća*, Zagreb, Školska knjiga, 1997; B. Pribić, *Idejna strujanja u hrvatskoj kulturi od 1895. do 1903.*, «Časopis za suvremenu povijest», n. 4, 1972, pp. 87-129; V. Flaker, *Časopisi hrvatskoga modernističkog pokreta*, Zagreb, Liber, 1977; S. Marijanović, *Fin de siècle hrvatske Moderne (generacije "mladih" i časopis "Mladost")*, Osijek, Revija, Pedagoški fakultet, 1990.

⁴ T. Luetić, *Studenti Sveučilišta u Zagrebu (1874-1914). Društveni život, svakodnevica, kultura, politika*, Zagreb, Srednja Europa, 2012, pp. 371-406; T. Luetić, *Časopis Luč o dokolici i društvenom životu katoličke mladeži početkom 20. stoljeća*, «Croatica Christiana Periodica», n. 36, 2012, pp. 51-84.

⁵ T. Luetić, *Studentski časopisi početkom 20. stoljeća o ženama na Kr. Sveučilištu Franje Josipa I. u Zagrebu*, in M. Jalžević, P. Marinčić (edd.), *Žene kroz povijest. Zbornik radova sa znanstvenog skupa Dies historiae*, Zagreb, Hrvatski studiji Sveučilišta u Zagrebu, 2014, pp. 103-127.

1. Predecessors

At the beginning, it is worth mentioning the significant predecessors of these magazines, which are the editions of Croatian youth belonging to the Croatian modernist movement at the end of the 19th and early 20th century, that brought significant news into the cultural and political atmosphere of the country. Their significance has already been dealt within scholarly works, so here they will be only briefly mentioned. Croatian student emigration at the turn of the century published several journals in Prague and Vienna promoting progressive ideas. The editions of the alleged «Prague group» were cultural and political magazine «Hrvatska misao»⁶, and «Novo doba»⁷. The editions of the alleged «Viennese-Zagreb group» were *Glas ujedinjene hrvatske, srpske i slovenačke omladine*⁸, literary magazine «Mladost»⁹, magazine «Hrvatski salon»¹⁰, and monthly journal for literature and art «Život»¹¹. Despite differences that were discussed among scholars, a strict border between these two groups could not be made because it was a global generation movement¹².

Together with the student migration, due their mobility, new ideas crossed borders as well¹³. The changes that happened in Croatian culture, such as the appearance of the modernist movement at the turn of the century, for the most part occurred due to academic youth and the impulses gained at foreign universities. One of the most important achievements of the modernist movement is the change in cultural awareness of the Croatian public life. Furthermore, a new type of criticism has emerged, as well as a new kind of critical awareness. The struggle for literacy of the illiterate, popularization of literature, opening of public libraries etc., are also the result of the actions of this movement's members. Modernist movement also introduced new types of magazines – such as pupils', students', or literary magazines. In any case, the

⁶ «Hrvatska misao», list za književnost, politiku i pitanja socijalna, n. 1, 1897.

⁷ «Novo doba, list sjedinjene hrvatske, srpske i slovenačke omladine za politička, socijalna i književna pitanja», n. 1, 1898.

⁸ «Glas ujedinjene hrvatske, srpske i slovenačke omladine za književnost, politička i socijalna pitanja», n. 1, 1899-1900.

⁹ «Mladost, smotra za modernu književnost i umjetnost», n. 1, 1898.

¹⁰ «Hrvatski salon», n. 1, 1898.

¹¹ «Život, mjesečna smotra za književnost i umjetnost», n. 1-3, 1900-1901.

¹² Flaker, *Časopisi hrvatskog modernističkog pokreta*, p. 758.

¹³ Students were one of the most important cultural transfer agents between university centres within the Monarchy. In the case of communication between Vienna, Zagreb, and other Central European centres, they played a significant role (I. Iveljić, *Kroatische Studenten und Professoren in Wien (1790-1918)*, in I. Iveljić (ed.), *The Entangled Histories of Vienna, Zagreb and Budapest (18th-20th Century)*, Zagreb, FF-Press, 2015, pp. 291-356; I. Iveljić, *Kroatische Eliten in Wien im 19. Jahrhundert*, in *Ibid.*, pp. 457-520; T. Luetić, *The Migration and Experiences of Croatian Students at Universities of the Austro-Hungarian Empire at the Turn of the Century*, in *Ibid.*, pp. 279-287; F. Šimetin Šegvić, *Fin de Siècle Zagreb i kulturni prijelazi u Habsburškoj Monarhiji druge polovice 19. stoljeća*, «Godišnjak njemačke zajednice - DG Jahrbuch», n. 24, 2017, pp. 267-272.

movement is credited with the cultural turnaround that occurred in Croatia at the turn of the nineteenth century¹⁴.

Among students' magazines from the period before the appearance of the modernist movement, two magazines published in Zagreb should be mentioned: «Omladina», published monthly by Serbian academic youth¹⁵, and almanac «Narodna misao. Za ujedinjenu hrvatsku i srpsku akademsku omladinu», published by the group of Croatian and Serbian students¹⁶.

However, as the earliest predecessor of all student editions at the University of Zagreb it can be considered the almanac «Hrvatski dom». It appeared at the very beginning of the organized students' life at the University of Zagreb and it was published by the students' society «Hrvatski dom» in Zagreb¹⁷. During the eighties, outside of Zagreb, Croatian students in Vienna launched almanac «Zvonimir». It was published by the Croatian academic society «Zvonimir» in Vienna¹⁸.

2. *Students' Magazines as a Historiographical Source*

These magazines are rich historiographical source of data for various topics, including politics, social and cultural issues, education etc. Apart from it, many articles and notes provide data about students' everyday life, their material conditions, leisure, sociability and atmosphere at universities. These publications also provide a possibility for comparison of student life and standard in several important university centres within the Monarchy, because of the strong student fluctuation in the period.

Using these magazines as a historiographical source, on the other hand, one must take into account ideological orientation of the group that published it. Analysis will show how ideology affected the youth attitudes toward some crucial student's issues. Therefore, before analysing the issues mentioned in the paragraph before, the ideological differences between them must be stressed.

Croatian student youth at the beginning of the century was divided in three ideological groups. There was a group of students called Progressive Youth, which was established after their return from Prague, where they had been strongly influenced by professor T. G. Masaryk, with their main organ «Hrvatski djak» at the beginning of the twentieth century. «Hrvatski djak» tried to present itself as a magazine of new, modern young people. It was launched in 1907 by Jurislav Janušić and it was published monthly until 1911. It was intended for

¹⁴ Flaker, *Časopisi hrvatskog modernističkog pokreta*, cit., pp. 63-70.

¹⁵ «Omladina», n. 1-2, 1894-1895.

¹⁶ «Narodna misao. Za ujedinjenu hrvatsku i srpsku akademsku omladinu», Zagreb, 1897.

¹⁷ «Hrvatski dom», n. 1-4, 1876-1880.

¹⁸ «Zvonimir», n. 1, 1886, n. 2, 1889.

high school pupils and university students. The aim of launching «Hrvatski djak» was to solve the «Croatian students' issue» and the rebirth of the youth on postulates of progressiveness for the needs of the nation. They considered that only upright, realistic work could bring results both in the cultural and in the national field. In relation to the parties, autonomy was emphasized. It carefully guarded its autonomy towards Progressive party, of which they were an integral part, in the widest sense of the word. The bark of criticism was directed towards Catholic students' societies and the influence of the Church in society¹⁹.

Second magazine that will be presented is «Mlada Hrvatska». It was an organ of supporters of the Party of Right who had a strong presence among Croatian student population. They were called Young Croats (Mladohrvati) after their magazine. The essence of that movement was the politicization of high school youth, and the recruiting of future supporters for Starčević's Croatian Party of Rights. The Young Croat Movement was created around 1907 and in the year 1908 the magazine of Young Croat's «Mlada Hrvatska» was launched. It was initiated to be a communication tool between high school organizations and university students. By launching that magazine which represented liberal principles, the Catholic youth began to separate from Young Croat Movement, and had already started to organize themselves independently within the Croatian Catholic Movement²⁰.

This was a third group and it was a part of Croatian catholic movement, gathered around the magazine «Luč». Under the slogan «God – People – Social Justice» the magazine «Luč» had been published over thirty-seven years. The idea for its publication was born in the students' catholic society «Hrvatska» in Vienna. The first number was published in October 1905 in Vienna. Since academic year 1911/1912 «Luč» was edited in Zagreb and was a property of academic catholic society «Domagoj». As at that time Catholic movement in Croatia was in expansion, this youth organized in catholic organizations stood up to defend Christian values. Their main purpose was to join high school and university youth which at that period largely accepted liberal ideas. However, except the activities that aimed towards religious life and broadening up their organization «Hrvatski katolički đачki savez» [Croatian Catholic pupils' association], Catholic youth expressed open interest regarding social justice and

¹⁹ More about Progressive youth see in D. Agičić, *Hrvatski studenti na češkom sveučilištu u Pragu 1882.-1918.*, «Časopis za suvremenu povijest», vol. 30, 1998, pp. 300-302, 313-314; Gross, *Studentski pokret*, cit., pp. 459-462; Gross, *Nacionalne ideje*, cit., pp. 79-83.

²⁰ More about Young Croats and their magazine «Mlada Hrvatska» see in Gross, *Studentski pokret*, cit., pp. 451-479; Ead., *Nacionalne ideje*, cit., pp. 75-142, S. Matković, *Josip Matasović i "mladohrvatski pokret"*, in S. Leček (ed.), *Josip Matasović i paradigma kulturne povijesti*, Slavonski Brod, Zagreb, Hrvatski institut za povijest - Podružnica za povijest Slavonije, Srijema i Baranje, Hrvatski državni arhiv, Društvo za hrvatsku povjesnicu, 2013, pp. 151-163; Gabelica, *Pravaška mladež*, cit., pp. 1139-1161; Gabelica, *Mladohrvatski pokret*, cit., pp. 213-238.

voluntary social work among the lowest social strata. Many of them followed courses on social skills, under influence of Slovenian Janez Ev. Krek and his ideas about the Christian socialism – and put their efforts into literacy of the illiterate²¹.

Regarding ideological base of these magazines, it is important to stress that the student movement not only adopted the ideas from broader movement, but it also influenced the broader movement: so, it was a two-way stream. To understand the relation between students' movement and the 'old' parties (broader movement), as a classical clash between 'fathers' and the 'sons', or 'olds' and 'yongs'²², it is important to point out that although the younger movement adopted the ideas from a broader movement, it was often a more radical fraction²³. In all three magazines this independence from 'old' political parties is proclaimed, at least on formal level. The youth's radicalism is also mentioned as a contrary to the old generation. For example, Ivan N. Novak for Progressive Youth wrote that they were «more radical than a party», referring to Croatian Folks Progressive Party²⁴. Within the catholic group there were also certain disagreements between the young and the authorities²⁵. The radicalism was also pointed out in «Luč» by the words of editors that «the youth without radicalism is living corpse»²⁶. Radicalism and certain emancipation tendencies from Starčević's Croatian Party of Rights were also present among Young Croats. On the first meeting of Young Croats it was concluded that their association should be independent of any political party²⁷.

On the one hand, the youth movement affected society at large, and on the other it was a training platform of its members for future tasks. A precondition for any of these activities were students' magazines as communication and mobilization channels²⁸.

²¹ More about the catholic youth and the magazine Luč see in Gross, *Studentski pokret*, cit., pp. 451-479; Matijević, *Politička orijentacija*, cit., pp. 141-163; Lončarević, *Književnost i Hrvatski katolički pokret*, cit., pp. 180-190; Lončarević, *Svjetlo katoličke obnove*, cit., pp. 59-78; Markešić, *Počeci djelovanja*, cit., pp. 309-320; Luetić, *Časopis Luč*, cit., pp. 51-84.

²² L.S. Feuer, *The Conflict of Generations: the Character and Significance of Student Movements*, New York-London, Basic Books 1969, pp. 27, 30.

²³ L. Gevers, L. Vos, *Student movements*, in W. Rüegg (ed.), *Universities in the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries (1800-1945)*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2004, Vol. III, p. 270. More about nineteenth century students' movements in general see in Gevers, Vos, *Student movements*, pp. 269-337; J. Neubauer, *Fin-de-Siècle Culture of Adolescence*, New Haven-London, Yale University Press, 1992, pp. 182-203.

²⁴ I.N. Novak, *Naš odnošaj prema Hrvatskoj pučkoj naprednoj stranci*, «Hrvatski djak», n. 3, 1908-1909, p. 73.

²⁵ Lončarević, *Književnost i Hrvatski katolički pokret*, cit., p. 182; Lončarević, *Svjetlo katoličke obnove*, cit., p. 68.

²⁶ Lj. Maraković, I. Butković, *Pred promjenom uredništva*, «Luč», n. 4, 1908, p. 459.

²⁷ *Mladohrvatski savez i političke stranke*, «Mlada Hrvatska», n. 4, 1911, p. 157. See more in Gabelica, *Mladohrvatski pokret*, cit., pp. 229-231.

²⁸ Gevers and Vos, *Student movements*, cit., p. 270.

3. *Circumstances of Students' Publishing*

Speaking about circumstances of student publishing, it should be pointed out that magazines were composed by whole group of students from Zagreb, Prague, Vienna, Graz, who were gathered around similar ideology. For example, magazine of Croatian catholic youth «Luč» started coming out in Vienna in 1905. It was published by Croatian catholic academic society «Hrvatska» in Vienna, until academic year 1911/1912 when editorial board was moved to Zagreb and Croatian catholic academic society «Domagoj» continued to publish it²⁹. Editors were also changed for various reasons, some of them were replaced because they had changed the university, as for example Ivan N. Novak³⁰, for the professional disagreements with colleagues, as it explained Bogdan Babić editor of «Luč»³¹ for political reasons³², or for sickness, like Mile Budak, editor of «Mlada Hrvatska»³³, or even death, as it was the case of young Jurislav Janušić, editor of «Hrvatski djak»³⁴.

It must be stressed that these magazines, published monthly, were read all over the Monarchy, in university centres where Croatian students studied, as well as in Zagreb. Consequently, the influence of one student group and its ideological pattern spread all around the Monarchy³⁵.

Concerning the publishing, it should be noted that the number of subscribers i.e. financial supporters was growing and falling, depending on conflicts within the interest group, political reasons etc. For example, when a break happened among Young Croats movement, caused by disagreements with a Catholic group among them, «Mlada Hrvatska» lost a part of its subscribers³⁶. Speaking about the number of subscribers and publishing, magazine «Luč» had a solid publishing (in 1907 it was printed in 1,500 to 1,650 copies and had

²⁹ About the circumstances and the clash when society «Domagoj» took over Luč from society «Hrvatska» see more in Lončarević, *Svjetlo katoličke obnove*, cit., p. 74. Editors Ljubomir Maraković and Ivan Butković left their positions and Ferdo Galović replaced them. See: Lj. Maraković, I. Butković, *Pred promjenom uredništva*, «Luč», n. 4, 1908, pp. 456-460.

³⁰ Ivan N. Novak replaced Jurislav Janušić on editor's place, but when he went to study in Prague, Mato Hanžeković became the main editor of «Hrvatski djak» («Hrvatski djak», n. 3. 1908-1909, p. 128).

³¹ B. Babić, *Epilog dosadašnjeg urednika*, «Luč», n. 9, 1913-1914, p. 159.

³² Part of editorial board of «Mlada Hrvatska» resigned due their ideas for cooperation with Progressive Youth. Most famous within this dissident group were Augustin Ujević and Krešimir Kovačić (Djačka, «Mlada Hrvatska», n. 3, 1909-1910, p. 206. See also: Gabelica, *Mladohrvatski pokret*, cit., p. 232.

³³ «Mlada Hrvatska», n. 5, 1912, p. 48.

³⁴ In the first number of «Hrvatski djak» at the academic year 1908-1909 Jurislav Janušić's necrology was published («Hrvatski djak», n. 3, 1908-1909, pp. 1-14).

³⁵ Jurislav Janušić, the editor of «Hrvatski djak», wrote about supporters of the magazine all over the country and abroad, in foreign university centres where Croatian students studied. (J. Janušić, *Naš pokret*, «Hrvatski djak», n. 1, 1907, pp. 125-130. It was the case with «Luč» and «Mlada Hrvatska».

³⁶ Gabelica, *Mladohrvatski pokret*, cit., p. 224.

400 subscribers, while in 1912 it was printed in 2,200 copies and had 2,000 subscribers)³⁷. «Hrvatski djak» in first year was printed in 1,000 copies and had around 600 subscribers³⁸.

Editors of all three magazines constantly appealed to subscribers to fulfil their financial obligations, because this was the main way of financing the magazines³⁹. When finances from these channels were interrupted, magazines had problems to cover the expenses of printing and other costs of editing⁴⁰. Some support magazines received through voluntary contributions collected on celebrations and special events, for example magazine «Mlada Hrvatska» received private supports but also received one from the society «Preporod» and Central Croatian Bank in Sarajevo during the concert organized by Young Croats in Sarajevo⁴¹. Catholic youth also organized parties during the holidays where voluntary contributions for «Luč» were collected⁴². Support from the political party was mentioned, but this was not something what was officially proclaimed on the magazines' pages⁴³.

There were also periods when the continuity of the magazines was interrupted, in most cases for political reasons, for example during the major student strike at the University of Zagreb when a large wave of student emigration was recorded during the summer semester of 1907-1908⁴⁴. Due to the emigration of the editorial board, «Mlada Hrvatska» stopped coming out during the strike period⁴⁵, while on the other hand, «Hrvatski djak» regardless of the strike, came out in Prague, in June 1908⁴⁶. There was also a period of disagreement within Young Croats when part of the youth separated and launched magazine «Grabancijaš» in 1910⁴⁷. The most difficult period for «Hrvatski djak» was in

³⁷ Lončarević, *Književnost i Hrvatski katolički pokret*, cit., p. 182; Lončarević, *Svjetlo katoličke obnove*, cit., p. 68.

³⁸ Janušić, *Naš pokret*, cit., pp. 127-128.

³⁹ *Svim našim dječkim prijateljima*, «Hrvatski djak», n. 1, 1907, p. 89; M. Hanžeković, *Poziv na pretplatu*, «Hrvatski djak», n. 3, 1908-1909, p. 252; *Zamislite se malo!*, «Mlada Hrvatska», n. 3, 1909-1910, pp. 89-93; *Dopisnica uprave*, «Luč», n. 5, 1909-1910, pp. 49-50; Editorial, *Novom snagom na rad*, «Luč», n. 9, 1913-1914, pp. 1-2.

⁴⁰ That situation happened with «Luč», whose editor complained on older generation of subscribers, especially priests, who did not pay their financial obligations and the magazine had problems to come out (*Ne možemo dalje*, «Luč», n. 8, 1912-1913, p. 337).

⁴¹ Editorial, *Dobrovoljni primosi za Mladu Hrvatsku*, «Mlada Hrvatska», n. 4, 1911, p. 112.

⁴² *Za Luč u praznicima*, «Luč», n. 4, 1908, p. 184.

⁴³ Gabelica, *Mladohrvatski pokret*, cit., p. 232.

⁴⁴ The strike was motivated by the retirement and suspension of university professors Đuro Šurmin and Gavro Manojlović. The regime of ban Pavao Rauch violated university autonomy and students protested by not enrolling the summer semester. Regardless of the political factions, majority of them left Zagreb and continued their studies in university all over the Monarchy. About this strike, see more in Agičić, *Hrvatski studenti*, cit., pp. 294-295.

⁴⁵ Gabelica, *Mladohrvatski pokret*, cit., p. 227.

⁴⁶ «Hrvatski djak», n. 2, 1908, p. 161.

⁴⁷ It was a period of conflict between two groups within the Young Croats. About this clash see in *Odstup redakcijskog odbora 'Mlade Hrvatske'*, «Mlada Hrvatska», n. 3, 1909-1910, pp. 106-110.

1908/1909 when the government sent circular letters to high school principals to prohibit the magazine among the high school pupils. Pupils who distributed the magazine were seriously punished⁴⁸.

4. *The Authors*

As far as the authors of texts are concerned, a cursory view shows that these editions served as a polygon for pioneering attempts of future significant names of the Croatian social and cultural scene. As it was written in «Luč», one of the purposes of the magazine was «practice and awaking of the intelligence»⁴⁹. A range of students and high school pupils, authors who had their first essay in these publications, later became the most important figures of domestic public life.

Among the authors in «Luč» the future famous names of the Croatian Catholic Movement can be found, as well as distinguished figures of literary group that established the catholic fraction in Croatian literature. In their student days, as editors and authors in «Luč» collaborated: Ljubomir Maraković, writer, literary critic and one of the founders of Croatian Catholic Movement; Fran Binički, a priest, journalist, writer and translator; Petar Rogulja, politician and journalist, one of the founders of Croatian Folks Party; Velimir Deželić junior, writer, politician, theatre director, social worker; Petar Grgec, writer, translator, critic, one of the leaders of Croatian Folks Party; Rudolf Eckert, journalist and writer, one of the leaders of Croatian Catholic Movement, and many others⁵⁰.

Future politicians, distinguished public workers, poets and writers who mostly belonged to the circle of writer Antun Gustav Matoš⁵¹, practiced their writing and editing abilities in magazine «Mlada Hrvatska». Among them there were Fran Galović, one of most famous Croatian modernist writers; Krešimir Kovačić, journalist, writer and translator; Budislav Grgur Angjelinović, politician and writer, one of the founders of Yugoslav National Party, minister and ambassador of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia; Augustin Ujević, one of the most distinguished figures in Croatian poetry in the 20th century; Zvonimir Milković, lawyer and writer; Mile Budak, writer and politician, minister during the Independent State of Croatia; Josip Matasović, historian, archivist and university professor; Ljubomir Maštrović, writer, cultural and public worker, politician, active member of Croatian Peasant Party; Karlo Häusler, poet and literary critic; Ljubo Wiesner, writer and translator, and many others⁵².

⁴⁸ *Progoni Hrvatskog djaka*, «Hrvatski djak», n. 3, 1908-1909, p. 160.

⁴⁹ Lj. Maraković, I. Butković, *Pred promjenom uredništva*, «Luč», n. 4, 1908, p. 458.

⁵⁰ More about the authors of «Luč» see in Lončarević, *Svjetlo katoličke obnove*, cit., pp. 71-76.

⁵¹ About Matoš's influence on the Young Croats see more in Luetić, *Studenti*, cit., pp. 393-394.

⁵² About authors in «Mlada Hrvatska», especially poets who gathered around A.G. Matoš see:

«Hrvatski djak» also served as a polygon for training of future writers, journalists, politicians. Its first editor-in-chief Jurislav Janušić, journalist and writer, was already established journalist⁵³, but many others began with their first essays and discussions on the magazine's pages, like Andrija Štampar, physician, minister of the health, founder of the public health service; Janko Polić Kamov, famous poet, novelist and playwright; Ivan N. Novak, politician and writer, first civil commissioner of the region of Međimurje; Ante Hikec, writer; Stjepan Parmačević, journalist and poet; Slavko Vodvarka, journalist; Vilko Gabarić, poet and writer.

However, it is worth to be mentioned that dozens of anonymous high school pupils and university students contributed with their reports and notes. Valuable news from all over the country and from abroad made these editions an excellent source of data for high school pupils' and students' life.

5. *The Structure and the Content of Students' Magazines*

As far as the structure of these three magazines is concerned, despite ideological differences, they are actually the same. Its main characteristic is almost the same representation of the same topics, only analysed and evaluated from a different perspective.

We can divide articles in all three publications in three groups: the contributions dealing with social issues and general articles about political movement with guides for the youth how to act on that basis; a column dedicated to the literature, where students and pupils published their first literary pieces; while third section had a purpose to publish students' reports from all over the country and from abroad⁵⁴.

The editorials of these journals are regularly ideologically written, in which the author, most often the editor-in-chief, represents the conceptual orientation of the publication and, as a rule, invites his readership to stronger agitation and greater activity. In addition to the introductory article, in each of these journals

T. Maštrović, *Paginae Iadertinae Antuna Gustava Matoša*, «Croatica et Slavica Iadertina», n. 1, 2005, pp. 308-309.

⁵³ Jurislav Janušić (1881-1908), journalist, writer, poet and critic, was the first editor of «Hrvatski djak», but before that, he had some experience as a journalist and editor in other Croatian journals: in 1902 he launched literary revue «Mlada Hrvatska». Later on, he was organizer and the writer of the organ of Croatian Folks Progressive Party «Pokret» (1904-1907). In 1907 he launched and edited organ of the Progressive Youth until 1908 when he died of tuberculosis (B. Novak, *Janušić, Jurislav*, in T. Macan (ed.), *Hrvatski biografski leksikon*, Zagreb, Leksikografski zavod Miroslav Krleža, 2005, p. 348).

⁵⁴ All three magazines had these sections but under the different names or different specialization within the sections. Considering the extremely large number of articles and news about different issues, only the selection of relevant articles will be presented.

there are several longer ideological articles. In the first number of «Hrvatski djak» Jurislav Janušić formulated the ideological bases and students' demands. He highlighted the 'revival' of Croatian student, which in the practical sense meant that every pupil and student should be educated in cultural fields of its own people, should learn at least one foreign language, should form his own opinion, leaving «a traditional and dogmatic point of view», changed with scientific, evolutionary, and critical way of thinking. He criticized the «intellectual base» of the academic youth, and demanded to extend academic freedom within the university. However, the main task of the youth was «to keep the strong relation with the people» and actively participate in education of the illiterate. This 'revival' of the youth had a purpose to provide to its own people «numerous, free and progressive intelligence»⁵⁵. The basic orientation of the magazine «Luč» was explained in the first programmatically article, written by the editor, young student of philosophy Ivan Butković. Basic goal of catholic youth was the strong organization of students, high school youth and clerics. Expansion of liberalism and progressiveness among youth was pointed out as critically dangerous, so the struggle against these enemies was organized through their organizations, Christian literature, lectures and other activities. They also pointed out the struggle against alcoholism and educating the illiterate as a main goal of young intelligence⁵⁶. In the editorial of «Mlada Hrvatska» it is underlined that the purpose of the magazine was the return of the youth «on the path of Kvaternik, Kovačić, Kumičić», i.e. to the authorities of Party of Rights, with a purpose of «political and cultural emancipation of Croatia»⁵⁷. In extensive article, Budislav Grgur Angjelinović rejected the idea of Yugoslavism in cultural and political sense. For that reason, the Progressive Youth, who plead for cultural and political cooperation and unification, was judged, considering it as a negation of Croatian culture, literature, and tradition. The Young Croats saw themselves as active agents in this «cultural mission of building a Croatian people with original peoples' culture»⁵⁸.

Regarding the student life – all three journals primarily bring news from their organizations. In addition, there are articles dealing with students and pupils' organizations abroad, those of the same ideological orientation⁵⁹. These reports clearly show how the network of the youth organizations was operating and the magazines were channels to express it through public space. Catholic «Luč» regularly reported about events in catholic societies and organizations in the country and abroad, but not only about Croatian catholic youth, but

⁵⁵ J. Janušić, *Hrvatski djak*, «Hrvatski djak», n. 1, 1907, pp. 1-4.

⁵⁶ I. Butković, *Što hoćemo?*, «Luč», n. 1, 1905-1906, pp. 1-3.

⁵⁷ *Mlada Hrvatska*, «Mlada Hrvatska», n. 1, 1908, p. 1.

⁵⁸ B.G. Angjelinović, *Kulturna ideja starčevićanstva*, «Mlada Hrvatska», n. 1, 1908, pp. 2-5.

⁵⁹ About Croatian students' societies abroad see: Agičić, *Hrvatski studenti*, cit., pp. 300-302; B. Vranješ-Šoljan, *Croatian Student Societies in Vienna*, in *The Entangled Histories*, cit., pp. 357-378; Luetić, *The Migration and Experiences*, cit., pp. 279-287.

also about foreign students in various university centres. Within its pages, life of secular catholic youth is presented, but also activities among seminarians can be reconstructed⁶⁰. Among secular Croatian academic catholic societies, the most frequent are reports about society «Hrvatska» in Vienna⁶¹, and «Domagoj» in Zagreb⁶², what was expected considering the fact that these two societies made the editorial board of the magazine. «Luč» also reported about societies «Preporod» in Graz⁶³, and «Kačić» in Innsbruck⁶⁴. Among the foreign students' catholic societies, «Luč» more intensively bring news about Slovenian catholic societies «Danica» in Vienna⁶⁵, «Zarja» in Graz⁶⁶, «Dan» in Prague⁶⁷. Certain interest «Luč» showed toward catholic academic societies among Poles⁶⁸, Czechs⁶⁹, Hungarians⁷⁰, Germans⁷¹, and French⁷². Range of reports in «Luč» is dedicated to holiday catholic societies all over the country⁷³, to Virgin Mary Congregations, especially to the Croatian academic Virgin Mary Congregation in Zagreb⁷⁴, and to societies of the seminarians called «Zbor duhovne mladeži» («Association of Spiritual Youth»), from which the most active were in Zagreb, Đakovo, Gorica, Senj, Sarajevo and Zadar⁷⁵. In the same manner, «Mlada Hrvatska» regularly reported about clubs and societies gathering young supporters of Party of Rights, but was also bringing the news about academic clubs with general character, students' societies in foreign university centres and the news among foreign students. From domestic clubs and organizations, the most followed was organization «Starčevićanska akademska

⁶⁰ About the organizational structure of the Catholic movement in Croatia and abroad in the period until the First World War see in Lončarević, *Svjetlo katoličke obnove*, cit., p. 69, footnote 41. Read more in Luetić, *Časopis Luč*, pp. 51-84.

⁶¹ «Luč», n. 1, 1905-06, pp. 14, 77-78, 189-193; n. 8, 1912-1913, pp. 369-373, 400-404, 426.

⁶² «Luč», n. 2, 1907, pp. 72-74, 94-95; n. 6, 1910-1911, pp. 440-444.

⁶³ «Luč», n. 8, 1912-1913, pp. 331-332.

⁶⁴ «Luč», n. 8, 1912-1913, p. 123.

⁶⁵ «Luč», n. 3, 1907-1908, p. 127; n. 8, 1912-1913, p. 80.

⁶⁶ «Luč», n. 1, 1905-1906, p. 15.

⁶⁷ «Luč», n. 5, 1909-1910, pp. 386-387.

⁶⁸ It is about academic catholic society «Polonia» in Krakow («Luč», n. 4, 1908, pp. 294-295; n. 6, 1910-1911, pp. 113-114).

⁶⁹ «Luč» wrote about the association of students' catholic clubs in Prague called «Česka liga akademicka» («Luč», n. 4, 1908, pp. 390, 428-429).

⁷⁰ It is about students' catholic club «Imre Kör» in Budapest («Luč», n. 5, 1909-1910, pp. 302-304).

⁷¹ «Luč», n. 4, 1908, pp. 392-393.

⁷² «Luč» reported about catholic academic society in Paris «Association de la jeunesse catolique» («Luč», n. 3, 1907-1908, pp. 597-598, n. 6, 1910-1911, pp. 213-217).

⁷³ It is about students' holiday organizations all over the country. Among most active were holiday societies «Dobriča» for Istria, «Pavlinović» for Dalmatia, «Strossmayer» for Slavonia, «Martić» for Bosnia and Herzegovina, «Kačić» for Zagreb («Luč», n. 5, 1909-1910, pp. 43-46, 256, 328-329; n. 8, 1912-1913, pp. 238-239, 331-332).

⁷⁴ «Luč», n. 1, 1905-1906, pp. 14-15; n. 6, 1909-1910, p. 312.

⁷⁵ «Luč», n. 2, 1907, pp. 172, 230-231; n. 3, 1907-1908, pp. 192, 602-604.

mladost» («Starčević's Academic Youth»)⁷⁶, then Croatian academic society «Kumičić»⁷⁷, the singing and tamburitza academic club «Krešimir»⁷⁸, with a same ideological orientation, and Young Croats holidays clubs⁷⁹. Among other academic societies in the country «Mlada Hrvatska» was frequently reporting about the Club of Croatian university students for teaching the illiterate, which was universal students' club⁸⁰, and about professional students' clubs at the university⁸¹. Among societies abroad, «Mlada Hrvatska» wrote about Croatian academic societies in Vienna⁸² and Graz⁸³, and about foreign students' societies⁸⁴. «Hrvatski djak» mostly paid attention to literary-educational club «Prosvjeta» in Zagreb, which was a meeting place of Progressive youth⁸⁵, then about Club of Croatian university students for teaching the illiterate⁸⁶, about Serbian academic societies in Zagreb⁸⁷, about professional students' clubs at the University in Zagreb⁸⁸, and about holiday clubs of Progressive Youth in the country⁸⁹. It also followed the news from progressive clubs among foreign students, mostly among Czechs⁹⁰, then among Slovenians⁹¹, and from Croatian progressive and professional clubs at foreign universities⁹².

Related to the education, there were articles that critically describe the situation at the university, the quality of teaching and lectures, and the public

⁷⁶ «Mlada Hrvatska», n. 1, 1908, pp. 19, 51-52; n. 3, 1909-1910, p. 36; n. 4, 1911, p. 20, 269.

⁷⁷ «Mlada Hrvatska», n. 3, 1909-1910, pp. 73-74, 162; n. 4, 1911, pp. 169-170, 204.

⁷⁸ «Mlada Hrvatska», n. 1, 1908, pp. 19-20; n. 7, 1914, p. 39.

⁷⁹ «Mlada Hrvatska», n. 2, 1908-1909, pp. 83, 115-117, 249-251, 280; n. 3, 1909-1910, p. 36.

⁸⁰ «Mlada Hrvatska», n. 3, 1909-1910, p. 36; n. 4, 1911, pp. 243-244, 284.

⁸¹ «Mlada Hrvatska», n. 2, 1908-1909, p. 67; n. 3, 1909-1910, pp. 35-36.

⁸² The most frequent news were those from the society «Zvonimir» («Mlada Hrvatska», n. 2, 1908-1909, pp. 71-73, 84, 114, 229, 290-291).

⁸³ «Mlada Hrvatska» mostly wrote about club «Starčević» («Mlada Hrvatska», n. 4, 1911, pp. 170-172; n. 5, 1912, p. 95).

⁸⁴ «Mlada Hrvatska» was bringing news from the societies of the Italian, Polish, American, English, German and Russian students («Mlada Hrvatska», n. 2, 1908-1909, pp. 69-70, 115; n. 3, 1909-1910, pp. 210-211, 253-256).

⁸⁵ «Hrvatski djak», n. 2, 1908, pp. 49-50, 90, 113-114, 190; n. 4, 1909-1910, pp. 18-19.

⁸⁶ «Hrvatski djak», n. 1, 1907, pp. 87-88, 279-280; n. 4, 1909-1910, pp. 92-93.

⁸⁷ «Hrvatski djak», n. 1, 1907, p. 319; n. 3, 1908-1909, p. 123.

⁸⁸ The news was mostly from the Club of Mathematicians and Students of Natural Sciences at the University of Zagreb, Club of Esperantists, Croatian Academic Singing and Tamburitza Club «Mladost» («Hrvatski djak», n. 1, 1907, pp. 89-90; n. 2, 1908, pp. 115-116; n. 3, 1908-1909, pp. 90; 184, 227-228).

⁸⁹ The most active holiday clubs of the Progressive Youth were «Marsonia» in Brod na Savi, «Istra» in Pula, «Fidelitas» in Varaždin («Hrvatski djak», n. 2, 1907, p. 26; n. 3, 1908-1909, pp. 27-30).

⁹⁰ «Hrvatski djak», n. 1, 1907, pp. 169, 284; n. 4, 1909-1910, pp. 24-25.

⁹¹ «Hrvatski djak», n. 1, 1907, pp. 57, 322-324; n. 4, 1909-1910, pp. 22-24.

⁹² «Hrvatski djak» mostly reported about progressive club within the academic society «Zvonimir» in Vienna, Croatian Supportive Society in Prague, Club of Croatian Students of Technical Sciences in Prague and Graz («Hrvatski djak», n. 1, 1907, pp. 169, 173-175; n. 2, 1908, pp. 26-27).

evaluation of individual. In all three journals recommendations of the studies, i.e. faculties to future academics can be found. Not only university centres are recommended as educational and scientific institutions, but they also try to suggest the atmosphere, student life and opportunities for social progress⁹³. This issue is interesting to analyse because it highlights how the political perspective influenced different topics of students' life, as well as recommendations for the youth in their choice of university centres. For example, «Hrvatski djak» recommended the Czech university in Prague as a wonderful opportunity for Croatian students. The Progressive Youth was thrilled with Czech culture, hospitality of the people, opportunities for students in wide range of students' clubs and organizations. They were also inspired by professor T. G. Masaryk, especially the generation who studied in Prague after 1895⁹⁴. Further on, Slavic environment was more familiar for them than the one in German university centres. «Hrvatski djak» wrote positive things about «decadent» Vienna only regarding its influence on changes in Croatian literature⁹⁵. On the other hand, magazine «Mlada Hrvatska» recommended University of Zagreb as a first choice for higher education. It was described as «Croatian and nationalistic», the only place suitable for young people who wanted to avoid «progressiveness», which was offered in Prague, and «national indolence», connected with Vienna⁹⁶. Among catholic youth, gathered around «Luč», Prague was also on the list of undesirable university centres. As a place of growing progressiveness and liberal ideas, «Luč» wrote with negatively about Czech capital, though after student emigration in 1908 Prague was no longer regarded as a completely liberal-atheistic centre. The university and technical colleges in Vienna were most recommended⁹⁷.

In a close relation to the question of recommendation of the university is the question of the reciprocity of University in Zagreb. It is frequently mentioned topic in students' magazines and it is one of the issues where all three groups had a single opinion: students requested to the authorities to resolve this question⁹⁸. Due to Austrian rules about the reciprocity, diplomas of the University in

⁹³ Read more in Luetić, *The Migration and Experiences*, cit., pp. 274-276.

⁹⁴ About the influence of famous Czech professor Tomáš Garrigue Masaryk on Croatian youth, see in Agičić, *Hrvatsko-češki odnosi na prijelazu iz XIX. u XX. stoljeće*, Zagreb, Ibis Grafika, 2000, pp. 159-164; Gross, *Studentski pokret*, cit., pp. 459-460.

⁹⁵ *U Prag - drugi semestar!*, «Hrvatski djak», n. 1, 1907, p. 92; M. Blažeković, *Prag*, «Hrvatski djak», n. 1, 1907, pp. 168-170.

⁹⁶ I. Pavičić, *Hrvatsko sveučilišno pitanje*, «Mlada Hrvatska», n. 2, 1908-1909, pp. 65-68; I. H., *Materijalni život djaštva u Beču*, «Mlada Hrvatska», n. 3, 1909-1910, pp. 217-272.

⁹⁷ Lj. Maraković, *Čemu da se posvetimo?*, «Luč», n. 2, 1907, pp. 352-360; P.Iv. Jušić, *Česke prilike*, «Luč», n. 4, 1908, pp. 236-238.

⁹⁸ P. Vranković, *Sveučilišno pitanje*, «Hrvatski djak», n. 1, 1907, pp. 170-173; B.G. Angelinović, *Hrvati i sveučilišno pitanje u Austriji*, «Mlada Hrvatska», n. 2, 1908-1909, pp. 43-48; Akademikar, *Za reciprocitet hrv. Sveučilišta*, «Mlada Hrvatska», n. 3, 1909-1910, pp. 268-269; *Valjanost ispita položenih na zagrebačkom sveučilištu*, «Luč», n. 3, 1907-1908, p. 311.

Zagreb, which was in Hungarian part of the Empire, were not valid in the Austrian part of the Empire⁹⁹.

Interesting articles are the ones that encouraged the graduates to choose a profession, highlighting the advantages and disadvantages, their complexity and a future perspective. The emphasis on technical professions is noticeable, though the largest number of graduates continued to enrol traditional faculties such as law, medicine and philosophy¹⁰⁰. The trend of this period is the growing popularity of technical disciplines, which is also emphasized on the pages of all these journals. All three magazines claimed that university education had to be adjusted to practical demands of the economy. The authors of the articles encouraged beliefs that new opportunities were opening in the field of industry and commerce. On this topic there was no confrontation and they all agreed that overproduction of clerks needed to be replaced with professions useful for the development of national economy¹⁰¹.

Regarding the education, but its informal form, these journals are full of suggestive texts on what a young man needs to devote to. All journals have the same recommendations. Socially useful work among the poor and literacy of the illiterate was the main task of every young man. This idea is the basis of students' movement in general: according the theoretician of students' movement Lewis S. Feuer, every student movement has a populist component that is directed to 'neglected' strata of the society¹⁰². All three groups recognized a difficult social situation in their milieu, especially in rural areas. Through the «Club of Croatian University Students for the Education of the Illiterate» and through holiday student societies, students, could engage themselves to socially useful work¹⁰³. Magazines also provide practical information about the organization of these courses, such as lists of lecture subjects recommended for educators¹⁰⁴.

⁹⁹ In everyday life, it meant that students from Dalmatia and Istria (Croatian lands which belonged to the Austrian part of the Monarchy), could not get the job in their homeland if they had graduated in Zagreb. If they wanted to have a valid diploma, they had to pass final exams at university in Austrian part of the Monarchy. That question was not resolved until the end of the Empire (Gross, *Studentski pokret*, cit., pp. 452-453; I. Karaman, *Hrvatska na pragu modernizacije (1750-1918)*, Zagreb, Ljevak, 2000, pp. 144-145; Luetić, *The Migration and Experiences*, cit., p. 269).

¹⁰⁰ G.B. Cohen, *Education and Middle-Class Society in Imperial Austria 1848-1918*, Indiana, Purdue University Press, 1996, pp. 76-77, 85.

¹⁰¹ M. Duić, *Čemu da se posvećujemo?*, «Hrvatski djak», n. 1, 1907, pp. 161-163; J. Benigar, *Abiturijentima o tehničkom studiju*, «Hrvatski djak», n. 1, 1907, pp. 163-165; *Negativi s hrvatske univerze*, «Mlada Hrvatska», n. 5, 1912, p. 24; Lj. Maraković, *Čemu da se posvetimo?*, «Luč», n. 2, 1907, pp. 352-360.

¹⁰² Feuer, *The Conflict of Generations*, cit., pp. 19-20.

¹⁰³ C.F., S.J. and J. Janušić, *Pred praznike*, «Hrvatski djak», n. 1, 1907, pp. 157-159; A. Štampar, *Ideali života*, «Hrvatski djak», n. 4, 1909-1910, pp. 10-11; *Naš ferijalni rad*, «Mlada Hrvatska», n. 2, 1908-1909, p. 280; *Kulturni rad hrvatskih djaka*, «Mlada Hrvatska», n. 2, 1908-1909, p. 282; J. Matasović, *Zadaci našega života*, «Mlada Hrvatska», n. 4, 1911, pp. 231-237; Lj. Maraković, *Temelji prosvjetoznoga rada*, «Luč», n. 3, 1907-1908, pp. 531-534.

¹⁰⁴ See for example: *Predmeti za pučka predavanja*, «Luč», n. 2, 1907, pp. 473-440.

Regarding social and political duties of the youth, it is important to emphasize that all three magazines respond sharply to widespread indolence among high school and student youth, accusing their peers of neglecting their primary duties as future national intelligence. They criticize the majority of Croatian youth, calling them geeks, who did not care much about the prosperity of the people, as well as those who spent their free time in taverns, doing nothing useful¹⁰⁵.

In the case of non-formal education, the texts of references to reading literature beyond the secondary school texts and the faculty titles are also important. Again, depending on the group, suggestions are made for lists of desirable titles that a young man should read. Attitude of a particular group toward art in general can also be extracted. «Hrvatski djak» had a regular column named «Što da čitamo?» («What to read?»). Tittles recommended were in the first-place contemporary journals with the similar (progressive) political orientation. Professional literature, especially from the field of sociology and modern science, and tittles from fictional literature also were recommended. Contemporary world's literature, with a predominance of Russian authors, was highlighted, rather than the old one¹⁰⁶. Catholic «Luč» permanently published critics about contemporary literature, with recommendations for reading lists based on Christian morality. Ljubomir Maraković and Petar Grgec actively published literary critics, pointed toward modernist authors, accusing them for introducing «new ethic» that negates the «Christian ethic», producing pornography instead of art¹⁰⁷. «Mlada Hrvatska», on the other hand, praised authors with the same ideological background, such as Antun Gustav Matoš and Eugen Kumičić, promoting literature in the service of national culture¹⁰⁸.

Regarding the everyday life, a number of articles in these journals bring topics about housing conditions in a particular university centre, eating options, opportunities for part-time jobs, prices of the apartments and rooms etc.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁵ Among the most criticizing texts several of them can be extracted: *Djačke prilike u ovom semestru*, «Mlada Hrvatska», n. 3, 1909-1910, p. 73; J.K., *Zadaci hrvatskoga djaštva*, «Hrvatski djak», n. 2, 1908, pp. 33-35; Šp., *Za kulturni rad i agilnost našeg daštva*, «Hrvatski djak», n. 2, 1908, pp. 130-131.

¹⁰⁶ «Hrvatski djak», n. 2, 1908, pp. 95, 105-107, 125-127. In the first volume of the magazine, in the number published just before summer holidays, editor Jurislav Janušić in the article *Pred praznike* (Before Holidays), gave his personal recommendations to Progressive Youth for fulfilling their personal education («Hrvatski djak», n. 1, 1907, pp. 157-159).

¹⁰⁷ In the first volume of «Luč» article, *Proti pornografiji* had to warn catholic youth not to read 'progressive' journals and literature («Luč», n. 1, 1905-1906, p. 127). Other articles and columns had a same purpose: I.B., *Osvrt na zadnje katoličko književno raspravljanje*, «Luč», n. 5, 1909-1910, pp. 5-8; P. Grgec, *Neke pogibli u odgoju mladeži*, «Luč», n. 8, 19012-1913, pp. 129-132. The most numerous and extended were articles of Lj. Maraković, *Naše literarne prilike*, «Luč», n. 3, 1907-1908, pp. 157-163; *Što da čitamo?*, «Luč», n. 3, 1907-1908, pp. 543-546.

¹⁰⁸ H., *Naše literarne prilike*, «Mlada Hrvatska», n. 5, 1912, pp. 41-42; Geš., *Poslije Matoša*, «Mlada Hrvatska», n. 7, 1914, pp. 46-47.

¹⁰⁹ *U Prag - drugi semestar!*, «Hrvatski djak», n. 1, 1907, p. 92; M. Blažeković, *Prag*, «Hrvatski djak», n. 1, 1907, pp. 168-170; F.C., *U Pragu*, «Hrvatski djak», n. 2, 1908, pp. 168-170; I.H.,

General conclusion pointed out Vienna as the most expensive university city, while on the other side Prague was cheaper and, compared with Zagreb, on similar level¹¹⁰.

All three magazines discuss the concept of leisure. In addition to the articles on activities that fall under social entertainment and engagement within students' societies, there were reports about events organized by students, or about the celebrations on which students were invited as a part of the town social elite¹¹¹. They also suggest to the youth how to spend their leisure time on holidays, often criticizing the academic youth for spending leisure in taverns and brothels. This criticism was present on the pages of all of three magazines but the sharpest was Catholic «Luč»¹¹². Theatre, trips, excursions, reading were suggested as a positive form of spending free time¹¹³. Sportsmanship was still a topic of unmatched opinions, and some of the authors praised this as a healthy activity¹¹⁴, while others referred to it as a snobby grace and unnecessary spending of time¹¹⁵.

The journals also bring articles on so-called women's issues, that is, the issue of higher education for girls, although much less represented¹¹⁶. Despite some exceptions from all three groups, male authors in the magazines did not have an affirmative attitude about women's studies. Few of them were strictly against the idea of admitting girls to the university, but the majority of them understood that the purpose of women's higher education was not the professional career, but the improvement for their natural role. These attitudes were a part of a general mentality of the European and Croatian civil circles of that period¹¹⁷. However, there were differences between these three groups, based on their basic ideology. In that sense, for example «Mlada Hrvatska», saw

Materijalni život đakstva u Beču, «Mlada Hrvatska», n. 3, 1909-1910, pp. 217-272; M. Med., *Št. Gradac*, «Luč», n. 3, 1907-1908, pp. 596-597.

¹¹⁰ Luetić, *Studenti*, cit., pp. 124, 141. Tables display comparison of prices of apartments and meals in Prague, Zagreb, Vienna and other Austrian cities at the turn of the century. See also: Luetić, *The Migration and Experiences*, cit., pp. 277-279.

¹¹¹ *Djački plesovi i ban*, «Hrvatski djak», n. 2, 1908, p. 89; *Zabava hrvatskih sveučilišnih građana*, «Hrvatski djak», n. 4, 1909-1910, p. 93; *Komers Stranke prava*, «Mlada Hrvatska», n. 4, 1911, p. 284; *Zabava Domagoja*, «Luč», n. 4, 1908, p. 238.

¹¹² Katolik Sveučilištarac, *Naprednjačka' sloboda*, «Luč», n. 3, 1907-1908, p. 120; P. Grgec, *Neke pogibli u odgoju mladeži*, «Luč», n. 8, 19012-1913, pp. 129-132.

¹¹³ *Kazalište i djaci*, «Hrvatski djak», n. 1, 1907, pp. 330-331; *Ferijalna djačka putovanja*, «Hrvatski djak», n. 3. 1908-1909, p. 185; I. Tiljak, *Zašto i kako treba da daci putuju?*, «Luč», n. 5, 1909-1910, pp. 421-423. One of the article where students' trip was described in detail was published in «Luč» (D. Vac, *Od Praga do Kotora. Reminiscencije sa đakčkog putovanja*, «Luč», n. 4, 1908, pp. 204-208, 332-336).

¹¹⁴ Positive attitudes toward sport activities can be seen in M.B., *Djak i sokolstvo*, «Hrvatski djak», n. 2, 1908, pp. 132-134; *U Sokol*, «Hrvatski djak», n. 4, 1909-1910, p. 152.

¹¹⁵ Negative aspects of sport are highlighted in Nin., *Kuleri*, «Hrvatski djak», n. 2, 1909-1910, pp. 146-147; J.C., *Katoličko hrv. nar. đakstvo u socijalnom životu*, «Luč», n. 4, 1907, p. 87.

¹¹⁶ This issue is analysed in detail in Luetić, *Studentski časopisi*, cit., pp. 103-127.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 127.

the positive aspect of women's education in the development of the Croatian people in general, because only educated woman could help the improvement of the society, as an educated «Croatian mother» and «Croatian wife». They appeal to their female colleagues to enter the national combat as educated women, with strong national awareness¹¹⁸. «Mlada Hrvatska» also had a column «Ženska smotra» («Women's Review») with a purpose of upbringing nationally aware young girls in patriotic spirit¹¹⁹. The texts of female authors in these three journals are very rare, but on the other hand, these articles are full of the striking contents in which girls testify of their entry into the university hall. One of the sharpest articles of female students was published in «Hrvatski djak». In this ironically written text, the author criticized lack of understanding of female's desire for studying, their abilities and social circumstances¹²⁰. It is a reaction to an article published earlier, signed by their so-called progressive colleague. He called himself «progressive» but the text about female academics he had written was quite conservative. He complained about «unnatural» situation at the University of Zagreb pointing on «too large number of female students at the university». He also did not see clearly the purpose of women studying¹²¹. Considering progressiveness and conservatism, an interesting curiosity is found on pages of the magazine «Luč»: although the catholic youth was characterized as the most conservative, the youth gathered around «Luč» acted rather differently in the case of their female colleagues. Though they were against radical emancipation of women, pointing out women's crucial role in the family life, they complimented the women's desire for studying¹²². «Luč» published the news about the first female student who entered the strictly male society. It was Božena Kralj, who became first female member of the Catholic academic society «Domagoj»¹²³. She had an opportunity to write for «Luč» as a correspondent from Moscow where she went to study Slavic studies for two semesters¹²⁴.

¹¹⁸ R.Š., *A gdje je žensko djaštvo? Gdje su naše kolegice?*, «Mlada Hrvatska», n. 1, 1908, p. 95; *Nešto o ženskom pitanju*, «Mlada Hrvatska», n. 4, 1911, p. 110.

¹¹⁹ *Ženska smotra*, «Mlada Hrvatska», n. 4, 1911, pp. 28-29.

¹²⁰ *Naša ženska sveučilišna mladost (Piscu članka pod ovim naslovom u 1. br. Hrv. Djaka)*, «Hrvatski djak», n. 1, 1907, pp. 39-40. The article is unsigned, but the editorial board wrote a notice that the article was written by their female colleague and that the other female students had agreed with her.

¹²¹ A.F., *Naša ženska sveučilišna mladost*, «Hrvatski djak», n. 1, 1907, pp. 6-10.

¹²² S. Filipović, *Ženska emancipacija*, «Luč», n. 5, 1909-1910, pp. 424-429.

¹²³ K., *Iz Domagoja*, «Luč», n. 6, 1910-1911, p. 155.

¹²⁴ B. Kralj, *Moskovska kozerija*, «Luč», n. 8, 1912-1913, pp. 276-277.

Conclusion

Conclusively, it can be stressed that student magazines at the beginning of the 20th century in Zagreb, belonging to various political and cultural groups, illustrate ideas that were brought up to Croatian public life but also provide a wide range of information on different aspects of students' social and everyday life. Almost all crucial political and cultural streams of that period are reflected from these pages and it can be seen how ideological character of a specific magazine affected range of issues important to the academic and high school youth. These pages also reveal the earliest visions and first literary attempts of a generation who made significant contributions to the political, cultural, and scientific development of the country. In the contest of students' movement, they were communication and mobilization channels for high school and student youth and the place of fulfilling their sociability.

*Essays and
Researches*



Saggi e
Ricerche

The activities of the educators in Russia in the first half of the XVIII Century (the case of the Vyatka Province)

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ABSTRACT: The article presents the progressive educational efforts of the Bishop Lavrenty Gorka (1671-1733), the founder of the first Slav-Latin school in the town of Hlynov, in the Vyatka province. The article is aimed to show in what way the initial phase of the process of enlightenment in rural Russia was carried out. Much attention in the article is devoted to the characteristic of socio-political conditions which influenced the initial stage of the process of the enlightenment, and to the role of the Emperor Peter I in the process of education in Russia, as well as to the description of difficulties which the first educators had to overcome. The Vyatka province was a remote region of the Russian Empire in the XVIIIth century, and as well as all the other Russian regions of that time, it has suffered heavily from the illiteracy of its population. Gorka had to face a lot of difficulties: lack of textbooks, teachers, finance, facilities, etc. But the most difficult obstacle was the stubborn resistance of the local clergy; practically all the local priests were almost illiterate, and they didn't want to get well educated young rivals. Gorka made straightforward preparations for opening the first school in the Vyatka province. He succeeded in inviting well-educated teachers to Hlynov. A school library was established. Gorka was successful in gathering 400 pupils. He paid much attention to the rational organization of the school routine. After his death the succeeding Vyatka Bishops Veniamin Sahnovsky, Varlaam Skamnizky and Antony Illiashevich promoted the development of education in Hlynov. These were the first educators of the Vyatka province.

EET/TEE KEYWORDS: History of education; History of school; The Emperor Peter I; Slav-Latin school; XVIIIth Century.

1.1 *The urgency of the problem*

The modern period of the development of the Russian society is characterized by active attempts of native teachers and officials in seeking ways to improve the national education. In order to achieve the goal the researchers apply to

the experience of the best teachers of the XVIII-XX centuries. They strive to study and to rethink creatively all that valuable, that was accomplished by their predecessors in other historical periods and in different social surroundings. In this regard, Russian educational reform in the first quarter of the XVIII century is of considerable scientific interest. This reform was actively carried out by the Emperor Peter I and his associates. In the Russian and foreign pedagogical literature the study of the content of this reform is focused exclusively on the process of the creation of an educational institutions only in two major cities in Russia, namely in Moscow and St.-Petersburg. At the same time an implementation of educational decrees of Peter I in the Russian province remains unexplored up to now.

The study of the content of the educational process in the Russian province seems to us even a more important research task in comparison with the study of the nature of this process in these capital cities because the province included over 90% of Russia's population. That is why the study of the history of the development of education in the Russian province represents a particular scientific interest, especially since it is namely in the provincial territories the process of education met with large difficulties. Introduction of education on the vast Russian territories was, in many ways, the merit of a number of prominent Russians and foreign educators, as well as a large number of local teachers. The history of Russia of the first quarter of the XVIII-th century attracts the attention of native scholars. The time of the Emperor Peter I is the turning-point of Russian history. Just in this period Russia as a state has made the first steps to be influential European empire. Considerable achievements have been reached in the sphere of education, including the rural population.

Our research is aimed on the example of a number of Slav educators, – the Bishop Lavrenty Gorka, his colleagues and companions, – to show in what way the initial phase of enlightenment in the remote Vyatka province was carried out.

1.2 The first Russian Emperor Peter I and his reforms in the educational sphere.

First steps in the development of public education in Russia are traditionally associated with the activities of the outstanding reformer, the Russian Emperor Peter the Great in the first quarter of the XVIII century. Peter I Alekseyevich, of the Romanov Dynasty, named the Great (May 30 [9 June] 1672 – 28 January [8 February] 1725) was the last Tsar of all Russia (1682) and the first Russian Emperor (1721). He was proclaimed the King at the age of 10, but he really began to reign in the year of 1689¹. At the beginning of the reign of

¹ The formal co-ruler with Peter was his feeble brother Ivan (until his death in 1696).

the Emperor Peter the Great the Russian state faced heavy political, economic and cultural crises. The backlog of Russia from the leading European countries in these spheres of life was simply tremendous. Peter I was clearly aware of the need of education for the Russian people. He has undertaken a number of decisive measures. On the 14 (25) of January 1701 in Moscow the school of mathematical and navigational sciences was opened. Artillery, engineering and medical schools have been established in Moscow, as well as the school of engineering and maritime academy in St.-Petersburg, mining colleges in the Olonets region and in the Ural factories (1701-1702). Russia's first gymnasium was opened in St.-Petersburg (1705).

In the year of 1714 the so called «cifirnye» (i.e. cipher) schools in some provincial towns were established. They had to serve to the tasks of mass education, i.e. «children of any rank to teach literacy, figures and geometry»². Peter I intended to create two cipher schools in each province. This type of school was supposed to be free of charge for all pupils. Overall, 42 cipher schools with 1389 pupils have been opened up until 1723³. Peter I established also schools for soldiers' children; these were the so called garrison schools. In 1724 Peter I adopted the statutes of the Academy of sciences and the University gymnasium which were opened a few months later after his death. In 1721 the creation of a network of spiritual (or Bishop, Eparchial) schools for the training of priests has begun; in 1725 the number of these schools reached 45 with a total of approximately 3000 pupils⁴.

Compulsory education of the rural nobility and clergy was introduced, but a similar measure for the urban ones has met fierce resistance and was canceled. Children of city nobles were required to study geometry, trigonometry, geodesy, navigation, architecture, astronomy, fencing, music and dance. The best of them were sent to continue their studies abroad, mainly to Holland and Germany⁵.

To say in a nutshell, as it was said by one of the prominent Russian historian, «Peter the Great tried to grow up active, self-motivated people with a sense of personal responsibility in the atmosphere of hard tzar despotism, nor one of the prerogatives of which he did not want to give up. He wanted to grow up slaves with the professional qualities of free men»⁶.

Peter the Great made an attempt to create a system of schools, in which children of various strata of society, but serf peasants, should learn together.

² M.F. Shabaeva (ed.), *Ocherki istorii shkoly i pedagogicheskoy mysli narodov SSSR. XVIII – pervaya polovina XIX v.* [Essays on the history of the school and pedagogic thinking of the peoples of the USSR. XVIII – the first half of the XIX-th century], Moscow, Pedagogika, 1973, p. 28 (in Russian).

³ *Ibid.*, p. 29.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 34.

⁵ D.I. Latyshina, *Istoriya pedagogiki* [History of pedagogics], Moscow, Forum-infra-M, 1998, p. 165 (in Russian).

⁶ J. Gordin, *Nasledie Petra i sud'by naslednikov. V bor'be za vlast'* [Legacy of Peter and the fate of the heirs. In struggle for power], Moscow, Nauka, 1988, p. 6. (in Russian).

But his early death put an end to these human intentions. The idea of mass primary education in Russia was postponed for more than a century.

Peter I created a first state typography, in which in 1700-1725 1312 titles of books were printed, i.e. two times more than in the entire previous history of the Russian book printing. Thanks to the rise of printing paper consumption has increased from 4-8 thousand sheets at the end of the XVII century up to 50 thousand sheets to 1719. The first libraries were opened in Moscow and St. Petersburg. They were in the public domain and free of charge for readers⁷.

Considerable changes have taken place in the Russian written and oral language. New orthography was introduced. Some obsolete letters were excluded from the Russian alphabet. A new, civilian alphabet was appointed, instead of the outdated Church-Slav one. The orthography itself has become civil, not Church-Slav any more. The Russian language borrowed more than 4.5 thousand new words from the European languages.

The first Russian textbooks appeared gradually. Especially known was the book by Lavrenty Filippovich Magnitsky (1669-1739) *Arithmetic is the numeral science* (1703), which was reprinted later on a lot of times and was used in all Russian schools for more than a century⁸. Education was in Russian, in general, secular. A religious element was, at the same time, an inevitable part of education, because books for reading were mostly of clerical content⁹.

The school reform of Peter the Great met the needs of the social and economic development of Russia. In the process of its accomplishment the accumulated experience of upbringing in Russian and other European nations, as well as pedagogical creativity of best native and foreign teachers have been taken into account.

By the end of the reign of Peter I, there were 233 plants, including more than 90 major factories established during his reign. The largest of them were the St.- Petersburg shipyard with 3.5 thousand workers, sailing and ironwork manufactories, etc. The biggest Ural factories had 25 thousand employees. There were a number of other enterprises employing from 5 to 10 thousand people¹⁰. These positive economic changes couldn't be achieved without putting into practice the educational reform.

Education, as an important part of Peter's reforms, was brought to life by important socio-political and economic reasons, such as the political leadership

⁷ A.N. Sakharov (ed.), *Istoriya Rossii s drevneishih vremen do nachala XXI veka* [The history of Russia from the earliest times to the beginning of the XXI-st century], Moscow, Astrel, 2010, p. 590 (in Russian).

⁸ N.A. Konstantinov, E.N. Medynsky, M.F. Shabayeva, *Istoriya pedagogiki* [History of pedagogics], Moscow, Prosveschenie, 1982, p. 156 (in Russian).

⁹ M.I. Kondakov (ed.), *Antologiya pedagogicheskoi mysli Rossii XVIII v.* [The anthology of pedagogical thought of Russia. The XVIIIth century], Moscow, Pedagogika, 1985, p. 11. (in Russian).

¹⁰ S.G. Strumilin, *Ocherki yekonomicheskoi istorii Rossii* [Essays of economic history of Russia], Moscow, Nauka, 1960, p. 348 (in Russian).

of the nobility, the strengthening of economic positions of merchants and industrialists, the creation of a new, better equipped army, the transformation of the public administrative system and the emergence of a large number of officials.

The new Russian leaders of the post-Peter's epoch – Peter the Great's widow, the Empress Elisabeth I (1725-1727), then his grandson, the Emperor Peter II (1727-1730), and the niece of Peter I Anna I (1730-1740), – can't be counted as true supporters of the idea of public education. The establishment of a network of schools after the death of Peter I was brought to a stop. The greater part of cipher schools was transformed into state schools for the training of clergy. But, nevertheless, during the reign of Peter I the reliable foundation for the spread of education in Russia was laid.

The opening of schools of different types required literate, educated people who were extremely scarce in number at that time in Russia. In addition, first native educators and enlighteners had to overcome many formidable obstacles. Among them was the shortage of everything, and first of all – of teachers, finance, books and tutorials. But the most difficult problem was the misunderstanding of the importance of education among the greater part of the population, especially in the remote local communities. The reluctance of people to perceive «a book reading» was practically universal in Russia. The same situation was in the beginning of the XVIII-th century everywhere in the Russian empire. The number of primary schools could be counted by some dozens, and practically all of them were situated in the western part of the country, and in some well-known cities, namely Kiev, Vladimir, Moscow and St.-Petersburg. That wasn't enough for the whole country, enormously large in territory and population. The problems of reforming the education in the province couldn't be fulfilled effectively by the persons, who dealt only due to the strict orders of their superiors, and had a distaste for educational innovations at the same time. Peter's time itself had claimed spiritual preachers of quite other type, who were the fierce supporters of Peter's reforms, the real enlightenment fighters.

2.1 The Vyatka province as the place of educational activities of the Bishop Lavrenty Gorka

The educational efforts of the first Russian enlighteners are delivered here on the example of Lavrenty Gorka and his successors, who implemented their activities in the typical Russian region, namely in the Vyatka province. The Vyatka province was the remote region of the Russian Empire in the XVIII-th century. It was situated at a distance of 1000 miles to the north-east from Moscow. Nowadays this territory is named «the Kirov oblast». It is called after

Sergei Mironovich Kirov, one of the Communist leaders of the USSR in the 1920-1930-ies. The Vyatka province has got its name owing to the river Vyatka. The main town of the province was Hlynov; it was named after another river which passed the town – Hlynovitsa, hence the name of the town – Hlynov. Hlynov was the historically first name of the town (1374-1780), Vyatka – the second one (1780-1934), since 1934, Kirov.

The Vyatka province, as well as all the other Russian regions of that time, has suffered heavily from the illiteracy of its population. But at the end of the first quarter of the XVIII century the Vyatka province has gained, at last, its first great enlightener, – the Vyatka Bishop Lavrenty Gorka. The enlightenment activities of Lavrenty Gorka have given a powerful stimulus to the development of education in the Vyatka province. His short in time (1733-1737), but, at the same time, very fruitful work left a noticeable positive mark in the local history and it became one of the main regional cultural events of the XVIII century. The education itself in the Vyatka province has started with the school, which was opened by Lavrenty Gorka.

The creation of the progressive educational institutions in the time of Peter the Great was a rather typical phenomenon for the large Russian cities, – Moscow, St.-Petersburg and Kiev. The Russian provincial territories, the Vyatka province inclusive, still reigned the backwardness and the illiteracy. The regional educational environment practically didn't exist at all, because the greater part of the local population had not shown much interest to education. At the same time, in accordance with the requirements of the so called «The Spiritual Regulations» (1721), which had been compiled by an outstanding public and religious figure of the Peter's epoch Feofan Prokopovich, the provincial Bishops had been obliged to create the spiritual schools, though only for clergy's children.

Two features predetermined the peculiarities of creating and the development of school facilities at that time. On the one hand, these were Russian schools. The process of education in such schools was carried out only in Russian. The learning included very strong elements of the Orthodox religiosity. The religious outlook remained to be dominant in the public consciousness of the Russian society. On the other hand, school «founders» had to take into account the contemporary trends of the modern social development. That's why they had to include the so called «European science» (Latin, mathematics, history, geography, natural science, etc.). This dual nature of schools in Russia was clearly visible in the educational activities of the first Vyatka educators, and above all in the enlightenment efforts of the outstanding Vyatka Bishop Lavrenty Gorka.

2.2 *The biographical data of the Bishop Lavrenty Gorka*

Lavrenty (born Andrew) Gorka was born in 1671 in a small town called Lavrov, near the city of L'vov. He graduated from the Kiev-Mohyla Theological Academy, the most prominent educational institution in Russia at that time. He studied together with his friend Feofan Prokopovich (1681-1736). Both scholars have been working for some years in the Academy as teachers. Gorka had the courses of poetry («piitika») (1706-1707) and rhetoric (1708-1710). He wrote a tragicomedy «Joseph» (1708) on the traditional biblical plot. He also compiled the course of poetry («Idea artes poeseos», 1707). Prokopovich and Gorka admired Virgil, Horace and Ovid, and they expressed their love to the best works of the ancient literature by including passages from Latin and Greece authors into their textbooks¹¹. F. Prokopovich was even the Rector of the Academy (1711), and subsequently – the vice-President of the Holy Synod of the Russian Orthodox Church (Peter I was the President). Prokopovich was one of the most prominent supporters of Peter's reforms. He consecrated in his sermons secular themes, such as the glorification of the victories of the Russian army, – the victory by Poltava over Sweden, and he praised the Emperor as reformer.

In 1710 Lavrenty Gorka approved the Vydubitsky Abbey in Kiev. In 1722 he became the Archimandrite of the Voskresensky Abbey on the river Istra, near Moscow. In the same year on the request of F. Prokopovich he was given a new assignment, – the chief priest of the Russian army and navy. L. Gorka earned the special favor of the Emperor and on the 8-th of September 1723 Gorka was appointed the Bishop in Astrakhan, where he served until 1727. He was later the Bishop in the towns of Veliky Ustyug (1727-1731), Ryazan (1731-1733) and, finally, in Hlynov (1733-1737), the main town of the Vyatka province. On the 25-th of September 1733, the Empress Anna I Iohannovna signed a decree on moving the Ryazan Bishop Lavrenty Gorka to Hlynov. The previous Hlynov Bishop Alexey Titov was sent to Ryazan. The episcopacy in Ryazan, located near Moscow, was considered to be more honorable, while the town of Hlynov was already a place of exile at that time. L. Gorka was the supporter of Peter the Great, and now the latter was dead. The Empress Anna I Iohannovna tried to get rid of the supporters of Peter's reforms and sent them to remote provinces. L. Gorka was among them.

¹¹ V.B. Pomelov, *Religii narodov Vjatskogo kraja* [Religions of the peoples of the Vyatka region], Kirov, Lobahn, 2009, p. 46 (in Russian).

2.3 The educational activities of the Bishop Lavrenty Gorka and a strong opposition to his innovations

Lavrenty Gorka came to Hlynov on the 29 of September, 1733. The solemn meeting of the new Bishop has occurred in the Church of All Saints. The citizens of Hlynov were surprised by the quick arrival of Lavrenty, that followed on the fifth day after the departure of the previous Bishop Alexey from Hlynov. Lavrenty Gorka was the Bishop of quite a different type in comparison with his predecessors. «The citizens of Hlynov have been accustomed to quiet and measured movements and speeches of the old Russian Bishops, and now they saw a typical Pole. They were amazed by his dexterity, an extraordinary liveliness of his speeches and gestures», said the Vyatka historian A.S.Vereshchagin¹².

L. Gorka has made quick preparations for opening the school, the first in the Vyatka province. He had to face many difficulties at that: lack of textbooks, teachers, finance, facilities, etc. But the most complicated obstacle was the stubborn resistance of the local clergy. Practically all the local priests were almost illiterate themselves, and they didn't want to get well educated rivals in the nearest future. The Bishop had to remove from office those of them, who hindered the work of the school, and in some cases the penalty was put by the Holy Synod in St.-Petersburg; Gorka was forced to resort to its help.

So, L. Gorka has met a strong opposition among the obsolete part of the clergy, though the latter was entitled to help to the Bishop in his educational innovations. The employees of the first educator in Hlynov were mostly rude and ignorant people. They had become his fierce enemies. The persons, standing at the head of the Hlynov clergy, such as the Archimandrite of the Uspensky Trifonov monastery Alexander Korchemkin, the Archpriest of the Trinity Church Artemon Shubin, the sacristan Nikita Zotov and some others have expressed a direct protest against the enlightenment activities of their Bishop. They left Hlynov without a permission of L. Gorka and went to the Holy Synod with calumnies on him. The enemies of L. Gorka have made complaints against the Vyatka Bishop throughout the whole period of his work in Hlynov¹³.

An important part of activities of the Bishop L. Gorka consisted in improving the economic situation of the Bishop House, which at the time of his arrival to Hlynov was deplorable. His predecessor didn't leave a single penny, but he has left the duty of 529 rubles 34 kopecks¹⁴. However, the new Bishop has initiated

¹² A.S. Vereshchagin, *Yepizody iz zhizni osnovatelja seminarii v Vjatke. Yepizod 5. Abbatstvo v Vjatke, in Pamjatnaja kniga I kalendar' Vjatskoi gubernii na 1902 god* [Episodes from the life of the founder of the seminary in Vyatka. Episode V. The Abbey in Vyatka, in Commemorative book and calendar of the Vyatka province in 1902], Vyatka, Gubernskaya typographia, 1901, p. 56 (in Russian).

¹³ V.B. Pomelov, *Vjatskii prosvetitel' Lavrentii Gorka* [The Vyatka enlightener Lavrenty Gorka], «Pedagogika», n. 2, 2009, p. 76 (in Russian).

¹⁴ A.S. Vereshagin, *Istorija Vjatskoi seminarii v Vjatskie eparhial'nye vedomosti* [The history

the establishment of the school without any delay. In order to have the money for its opening, he has sent out a decree to all Hlynov priests to come to him «immediately». L. Gorka asked them in detail about their income and then he determined the amount of sums of money, that each of them unquestioningly had to give to him for the school maintaining. He demanded that all monasteries would deliver with «no little delay» into the Bishop's House the twentieth share of «bread» (it meant – *income*). However, no order of the Bishop was adopted to follow up quickly and eagerly. Nobody brought bread and money for the needs of the school.

L. Gorka has got an invaluable assistance of the vice-President (since 1721) of the Holy Synod, the Archbishop F. Prokopovich. Alexander Korchemkin, who fled from Hlynov to Ryazan, was captured and executed. Other clergymen, who indicated a lack of attention to Gorka's orders, were summoned to St.-Petersburg and received a proper «correction»¹⁵. The opposition to the Bishop Lavrenty Gorka was annihilated at last, and conservative clergymen of Hlynov calmed down for some time.

L. Gorka insisted stubbornly on taking from monasteries the twentieth share of their income. A large part of the clergy has contributed the demanded sums of money for the need of the Bishop's school to the year of 1735, and financial sums for the opening of the school have been found. The school was located in the Bishop's House. It was housed in a large two-storey building and three small wooden buildings inside the fence of the House.

2.4 *The first teachers and the first library in the Vyatka province*

The search for suitable teachers was also not an easy task. L. Gorka had to write several letters to his Alma Mater – The Kiev-Mohila Theological Academy with the request for sending some teachers to the Hlynov Bishop's school. Soon he succeeded in inviting the student of the philosophy class, Michael Evstafievich Finizky (1705-1787). He agreed to work in Hlynov with his annual salary of 72 rubles¹⁶. M.E. Finizky has come to Hlynov in April 1734. He can be considered the first teacher of the Vyatka province, as well as L. Gorka – the first educator, the organizer of the first school. In the

of the Vyatka Seminary, in *Vyatskie eparchialnye vedomosti*], 1886, n. 14, p. 242 (in Russian).

¹⁵ V.B. Pomelov, *Prosvetitel'stvo russkoi pravoslavnoi cerkvi v rossiiskoi provincii (na primere Vjatskogo kraja)* [The enlightenment of Russian Orthodox Church in the Russian province (on the example of the Vyatka province)], Saarbrücken, Sanktum, 2013, p. 57 (in Russian).

¹⁶ A.S. Vereshagin, *Uchenyi yuzhnoruss na Vjatke v XVIII v., in Pamjatnaja kniga i kalendar' Vjatskoi gubernii na 1895 g. Razdel IV* [The scientist from the South Russia in Vyatka in the XVIII-th century, in Commemorative book and Calendar of the Vyatka province in 1895. Division IV], Vyatka, Gubernskaya tipographia, 1894, p. 315 (in Russian).

same year the second teacher has appeared. He was also student of the Kiev-Mohyla Academy. His name was Vassily Leszczyński. The third teacher, a scholar monk, Joakhim Bogomedlevsky, studied in his youth at six European universities. All the teachers, including Lavrenty Gorka himself, were of Polish origin. The founder of the Hlynov Slav-Latin school, the Bishop L. Gorka and his associates and followers were, as the analysis of their activities in the Vyatka province shows, surely well educated and talented people. Thus the problem of teachers for the first time has turned out to be solved. The first Vyatka teachers had high education. They were humane and benevolent towards children. Corporal punishment had been excluded at school.

L. Gorka displayed special care on the acquisition of books. He purchased them in Moscow, St.-Petersburg, Kiev, Astrakhan, Ryazan and Veliky Ustyug. The books, that had been ordered by L. Gorka by book-sellers in Moscow and St.-Petersburg, and even abroad, have been coming to Hlynov even a few years after his death. There were works of Homer, Dante, Cicero, Seneca, Horace, Ovid, Petronius, Virgil and other classical authors, as well as the best modern, for that time, tutorials, for example, tutorials of Emmanuel Alvar of the Latin grammar, the so-called «Alvar's rudiments»¹⁷.

The opening of libraries in schools was specially stipulated in «The Spiritual Regulations» (1721), which had been written by F. Prokopovich. According to one of its paragraphs, all schools should have special «library branch» for providing teachers and students with books and textbooks. Libraries should have been opened in proper days and hours. 920 grammar books had been sent from St.-Petersburg for Bishop's schools, and it marked the beginning of work of school libraries in Russia. L. Gorka transferred to the possession of the school library all the books of his rich personal collection, at least 355 in number. Two thirds of them were in foreign languages: Latin, Greek, Hebrew, Polish. The third part of the books was of secular content: history, philosophy, philology, rhetoric and geography, law and literature¹⁸. Some manuscripts from the school library have been saved up to our days. They are preserved in the Kirov regional scientific library named after A.I. Herzen. Among them, for example, the edition of writings of Tommazo Campanella, that has been issued in a life-time of the author. The best part of the school library was transmitted in 1741 to the Holy Synod¹⁹.

¹⁷ V.B. Pomelov, *Istorija obrazovaniya v Vjatskom krae v XIV-XVIII vv.* [The history of education in the Vyatka province in XIV-XVIII centuries], Kirov, VyatGGU, 2011, p. 39 (in Russian).

¹⁸ S.P. Luppov, *Jizn v Rossii v poslepetrovskoe vremya. 1725-1740* [Life in Russia after Peter the Great time. 1725-1740], Leningrad, Nauka, 1976, pp. 292-293 (in Russian).

¹⁹ A.S. Vereshchagin, *Dom vjatskogo episkopa i arhiereiskie ugod'ja, Vjatskaja uchenaja arhivnaja komissija* [The Vyatka Bishop House and Episcopal estates, 1827, in Vyatka scientific archive commission], Vyatka, Gubernskaya tipographia, 1916, p. 144 (in Russian).

2.5 *The search for school pupils was a difficult task. Why?*

The time has come at last, when the economic welfare of the Bishop's school was provided, as well as the selection of teachers turned out well, and the school library was mostly completed. Then the task was set to find students of «a better priesthood». L. Gorka ordered to bring clergy children to the Bishop's House for teaching them at the Slav-Latin school. He demanded that all priests should have brought their children to him, starting from the age of eight years, «without a slightest slowdown».

In accordance with «The Spiritual Regulations» and a new edict of Anna I Iohannovna (1731) Bishops were invited not only to open schools, but they were obliged to recruit children of clergy for them. Initially, however, only a few members of the clergy, and that of monasteries nearby of the town of Hlynov, have brought their kids to school; «the rest of clergymen in all possible cases tried to escape from school»²⁰. The most of clergy children sought to avoid school. Clergymen considered sending their children to school as «their heaviest duty». But why? The fact is, illiteracy was a most wide-spread phenomenon in Russia at that time, and especially in the province. Common people couldn't understand the significance of literacy, because there was no opportunity to use it in practice. Even a lot of clergymen were illiterate; they learned some prayers by heart and that was all they knew.

Such a neglect of the Hlynov «better» society to the Gorka school could be explained also by the low level of the spiritual and the material standards of living of the native population, and the lack of the regional educational surroundings. The hostility to the educational reform was much stronger expressed precisely in the remote regions of Russia, than in large towns. There were practically no educated people in Hlynov, who could be supporters of Peter the Great's educational reform. Moreover, the greater part of the population had a very vague idea about it. An important obstacle to the spreading of education was the fact that people in the province didn't see the tangible benefits of acquiring the knowledge.

The Orthodox-Slav school could find more understanding among citizens. But Gorka tried to open namely the Slav and *Latin* school, and that fact couldn't encourage children of common people, as well as of clergymen, for going to school. However, by 1735, L. Gorka has managed to collect up to four hundred students ranging in age from 7 to 25 years old. He acted not only «by the whip, but also by the carrot», as the Russian proverb says. The Bishop encouraged his pupils by the hope of a better priesthood after graduating his school. In other words, he promised them an appointment to richer churches in future.

²⁰ R.M. Presnecov, *Kotoryi pervyi zdes' nauki nasadil*, in *Kraevedcheskii sbornik «Vyatka»*, [Who first planted a science here, in Local history collection of works «Vyatka»], Kirov, Printing-house «Vyatka», 1975, p. 107 (in Russian).

2.6 *The school routine in the Gorka's school*

L. Gorka paid much attention to the rational organization of the school routine. He has taken as an ideal model his «Alma Mater» – the Kiev-Mohyla Theological Academy. This manifested itself primarily in the choice of subjects for teaching, as well as by introducing some of its positive features into the educational process in the Hlynov school. Of course, the distinction between these two educational institutions was great. Gorka's school was situated in the remote pre-Ural geographical «hole», in «a bear's corner», as Russians say; the Kiev Academy was practically the first Russian institution of higher education, and the best one at that time. The Hlynov school didn't have two senior classes: philosophy and theology. But, nevertheless, L. Gorka focused his efforts on the best Kiev standards, which he tried to include into his educational institution. L. Gorka had a rigid nature, and, like Peter the Great, he used sometimes barbaric methods of struggle against the barbarism itself. That caused, naturally, the discontent among some local clergymen. However, his educational activities were, of course, progressive in nature, and due to these efforts he received later on the honorable title among the population of Hlynov, – «The Educator of the Vyatka province».

L. Gorka produced an effort to deliver decent entertainments to children. He allowed them to have fun games on certain days and hours, both in the Bishop's house and during walks outside it. In the wintertime, especially before holidays, the spiritual mysteries have taken place at school. Pupils' performances were played; the repertoire included the composition «Joseph» by L. Gorka. Children participated in traditional solemn Church processions as well. The tradition of school performances was continued after Gorka's death in the Vyatka Theological Seminary. The teachers Z.A. Lyatushevich and S.A. Leontiev organized the so-called «conversations», i.e. peculiar theatrical dialogues about Good and Evil, etc. But this took place later on, in the second half of the XVIII-th century, in the Age of Enlightenment²¹.

The basic Latin textbook at Gorka school was the tutorial of Emmanuel Alvar, converted to Russian in the XVII-th century. In Russia it was repeatedly republished, in spite of the fact that, according to the historian P. Pekarsky, namely this tutorial was the worst of all textbooks of Latin grammar²². Not surprisingly, the lower classes of the school studied Latin from six to eight years, and often without any visible success.

²¹ V.A. Pozdeev, *Lavrentii Gorka*, in *Yenciklopedija Zemli Vjatskoi* [Lavrenty Gorka, in «Encyclopedia of the Vyatka Lands»], Kirov, Printing-house «Vyatka», 1995, Vol. 2, p. 30 (in Russian).

²² A.M. Kudryavtsev, B.A. Shlihter, *Arheologicheskie yekspedicii otdelenija rukopisei. Gosudarstvennaja biblioteka im. V.I. Lenina v 1953-1956* [Archaeographic expeditions of the division of manuscripts. Public library named after V.I. Lenin in 1953-1956], Moskva, Nauka, 1956, p. 242 (in Russian).

The teachers of the first Bishop's schools were, as a rule, more or less familiar with the best achievements of pedagogical science and practice in European countries, and particularly in the sphere of the class-work system which, as it is written in all textbooks of the history of pedagogy, had been invented by Ya.A. Comenius. However, the class-work system had existed before Comenius, in the communal schools of Ukraine and Poland. These were precisely the territories, where the first Vyatka teachers had spent a significant part of their teacher's work. «The poetry approach» of the Hlynov school was, in essence, of Kiev origin. The Russian poetry then actually simply didn't exist. Some of the most talented teachers of poetry had their own tutorials of this subject.

The system of education and upbringing in his school gave an understanding of literary values to pupils, formed a taste for creation samples of poetry. Pupils copied and translated texts. Some of them created even original verses. M.E. Finizky (1741) perfected Gorka's tutorial of poetry. The first part of the tutorial was the discourse about the nature and the purpose of the poetry; in the second, third and fourth parts different genres of poetry were characterized. The statements were accompanied by quotations from Virgil, Horace and Ovid. A lot of verses were written by Gorka himself²³.

The tutorials of poetry at that time usually contained two divisions. In the first division, the content was usually about the purpose of poetry, and its importance for the education of people. It usually contained quotations from works of great poets. All this was called in Latin «subsidia poeseos». The second division consisted of information about different types of the poetic works (epic, comic, tragic, melancholic, bucolic, satiric, lyric, etc). The bulk of the textbook included information about mythology; it was considered to be a very important part of the poetry. Textbooks contained information about the gods and goddesses of Olympus, nymphs and naiads, mythological heroes (Achilles) and historical personalities (Alexander the Great). In addition to the definitions and theory, some excerpts from poems of Stephen Yavorsky, Feofan Prokopovich, Antioh Cantemir, as well as of compilers themselves, were cited. The tutorials included also guidance for compilation poems, especially «gratulacii» (congratulations), i.e. greeting verses, as well as odes in honor of various high-ranking persons. Poetry books contained samples of «snake» («versus serpentari») and «retrograde» epigrams (they could be read not only in the usual way, but from the end to the beginning, as well).

«The crown» of science in the Hlynov Slav-Latin school was the rhetoric. Teachers often practiced their own tutorials at the rhetoric lessons. Especially known were the works of the Vyatka teachers Andrey Svirepov «Regulae Rethorics» («The correct rhetoric») and M.E. Finizky («Regia Tullinae eloquentiae, Wiatcensi benevolae juventuto, per Michaellem professorem Finicky,

²³ V.B. Pomelov, *Vyatskij prosvetitel' Lavrentij Gorka* [The Vyatka enlightener Lavrenty Gorka], «Pedagogica», n. 2, 2009, p. 77 (in Russian).

feliciter procurantem construeta»). Manuals and tutorials usually included discourse («traktacii») about the nature and the purpose of «the rhetorics». They included the description of the idea of «ornamenting» the rhetorical speech. In the section «de arta oratoria in particulari» the guidance was set out on composing letters and speeches of greeting, of welcome, of gratitude, of begging, of farewell, of pardoning, of funeral, etc. Here one could find detailed recipes as to what terms the student had to contact with parents while leaving the house, and when returning home, for example from school; with the help of which «paths and figures» should he ask money; how to congratulate with the New year, a birthday, a Christian holiday, etc. There were given tips on pronunciation and the rules on how to write and to pronounce «rhetorical prediki», i.e. sermons. An ability to make sermons was very appreciated by L. Gorka. He was the first preacher in Hlynov. He considered, that even the simplest sermon was considered to be weak and «not graceful», if it didn't include «mythological applications». His sermons became the first experience of the live oral speech in the Vyatka province.

2.7 *The school after the death of L. Gorka*

On the 10th of April, 1737 was the feast of the Holy Easter. In the evening «the best people» of Hlynov rushed to the Bishop's House to bring congratulations to their Lord. But at the door of the Bishop's House they were stopped by two faithful servants of the Bishop. These were Titus and Roman, Kalmyks by origin. They declared that «Lord is resting and should not be bothered». Some hours later the sad sounds of Cathedral bells told people that their Archbishop was dead. Several people, among them an Archimandrite Lavrenty Poltorazky, M.E. Finizky and V. Leszczyński, as well as two priests, have witnessed the death of L. Gorka. The first Vyatka educator Lavrenty Gorka was buried in the Vyatka Cathedral church. In the inscription on the tomb, he was called «the cheerful verbal shepherd of sheep, the lover of wisdom and poetry, an extreme hater of ignorance and superstition»²⁴.

Immediately after the death of the first Vyatka educator an explosion of hate to his school took place. It was organized by fierce enemies of education. A close friend and collaborator of Gorka Archimandrite Lavrenty Poltorazky didn't even dare to appear in Hlynov for a long time, and he didn't attend a memorial service for Gorka. The first Hlynov teacher M.E. Finizky was not allowed to enter the school. Pupils began fleeing from it. Only on the 18th of

²⁴ V.B. Pomelov, *Vydayushisja prosvetitel' Vjatskoi Zemli episkop Lavrentii Gorka*, «Pedagogika. Obshestvo. Pravo» [An outstanding Educator of the Vyatka lands the Bishop Lavrenty Gorka, «Pedagogics. Society. Right»], Kirov, 2014, n. 4, pp. 67-81 (in Russian).

April, 1737 at least 159 pupils «disappeared». M.E. Finizky has written two desperate petitions to the Holy Synod, but it didn't help to restore the order. F. Prokopovich, the great friend of L. Gorka, was already dead (1736), and other principals of the Holy Synod paid no attention to the situation in the Hlynov school. Most of the Hlynov clergymen believed that the school-idea of «the Pole-Bishop» died together with him. Indeed, the first two months after the death of L. Gorka could be described as time of disruption.

However, in mid-June 1737 a decree of the Holy Synod was received in Hlynov. It included the requirement «to contain the school properly, as it was during the life of the Bishop Lavrenty»²⁵. However, the situation has become more complicated by the fact that the new Bishop Cyprian Scripizyn governed in a very peculiar way. For two years, when he had been taking the post of the Vyatka Bishop, Cyprian never visited Hlynov. He governed the eparchy by sending decrees and edicts from St.-Petersburg. These decrees were frequently ignored by the clergymen in Hlynov. In such a situation more than 300 pupils have given up learning at school. Joakhim Bogomedlevsky and Vassily Leszczyński left the school without permission at the end of 1738.

On the 28th of September, 1739 the new Bishop Veniamin Sahnovsky arrived in the town of Hlynov. He was born in Kosovo. In his youth he moved to Russia. In Voronezh he became a monk, then he served in the Russian Navy as a priest. Later on he was the priest of the Pskov-Pechery Abbey, from 1731, – he was the Bishop of Kolomna. The new Bishop drew great attention to the state of the frustrated school, and therefore he decided to bring back students to school. Strong measures were taken by the new Bishop. They were taken to caution pupils against «leakage» from school. By the end of the year 1740 there were 450 students at school. In January 1742 Veniamin went to Moscow to participate in the coronation of the Empress Elizabeth Petrovna and, while being in the capital, apparently, he «sought the promotion» and was soon transferred back to the Voronezh eparchy. He left behind in Hlynov a kind memory as an educator and a spiritual enlightener.

The next Hlynov Bishop Varlaam Skamnizky, a Pole by nationality, served here in 1743-1745. A deplorable state of school buildings forced Varlaam to look for buildings, and in October 1744 the school was located in the heated cells of the ancient Uspensky Trifonov Monastery. The Bishop Varlaam tried, as far as possible, to take care of improving the content of «food support to students», that consisted of bread, kvass (traditional Russian fermented non-alcoholic drink), cabbage and cabbage soup, grits, peas and porridge, on Sundays and on holidays – beef meat and fish. All this required financial means,

²⁵ V.B. Pomelov, *Nasilie i gumanizm v dejatel'nosti pervogo vjatskogo prosvetitelja Lavrentiya Gorki*, in *Tradicii i innovacii v pedagogike nenasiliya* [Violence and humanism of the first Vyatka educator Lavrenty Gorka, in V.S. Danjushenkov, V.A. Sitarov (edd.), *Traditions and innovations in pedagogy of non-violence*], Kirov, VGPU, 1996, p. 81 (in Russian).

and Bishop Varlaam adopted fierce measures to the so called «uteklezy», that is to those students who escaped from school. He sent, in accordance with the decree of the Holy Synod of 1744, a direction to all church men to pay monthly a penalty from 50 kopecks to 2 rubles for each son, if he was out of school. He demanded payment of this fine «without any omissions». He also issued a prescription to those monks whose children were not trained in Slav-Latin school. They were asked «not to trouble themselves» in submitting petitions for occupying better positions in the hierarchy of the local clergy²⁶.

However, a lack of funds for the maintenance of pupils and teachers' salaries continued to be one of the main obstacles, and it reduced educational opportunities of the Church severely. «The twentieth part» was delivered into the Bishop's House from the monasteries and hierarchal estates irregularly. Partly it could be explained by peasants' displeasure, as they often refused to cultivate the Church land, and the Church, in its turn, refused paying the tribute for maintaining school.

After the long hesitation M.E. Finizky left the school. On the 1st of January, 1745 he got a permission to depart from Hlynov. A graduate of the Kazan Spiritual Academy Peter Glemarovsky was invited instead of him. He took office on the 18th of October, 1744. The Bishop Varlaam also left Hlynov to serve in Veliky Ustyug. (He died there in 1761).

The next Vyatka Bishop was Antony Illiashevich, a Pole, a native of the Vilno Voivodeship. He previously served in the rank of the Archimandrite of the Moscow Novospassky Abbey. He came to Hlynov on the 29 of April, 1748, and he died here on the 16th of November, 1755. A three-year absence of the Bishop in Hlynov brought the school gradually into disorder. Spiritual consistory «did not try about the benefits of schools»²⁷. The Bishop Antony found the school in the state of full desolation, without any financial means. He found at school no more than 95 students. He did everything necessary to improve its material conditions. The Bishop acted decisively and he ensured that students could get bread, kvass and other kinds of food stuff from the Uspensky Trifonov monastery regularly. They might have to eat in the «meat days» ham, on holidays – fresh meat, buckwheat with oil, on meatless days – peas and cabbage, and sometimes fish. The poorest pupils were given boots and dresses.

In the year of 1751 Anthony sought to withdraw pupils from the dark cells of the monastery and he managed to build a completely new building until summer of the next year. He strived that schoolchildren would have great hunt for learning. He attended spiritual consistory every Wednesday and Friday, and

²⁶ G.A. Nikitnikov, *Ierarhija Vjatskoi eparhii* [Hierarchy of the Vyatka eparchy], Vyatka, Gubernskaya typography, 1863, p. 49 (in Russian).

²⁷ A.S. Vereschagin, *Istorija Vjatskoi seminarii, «Vjatskie eparhial'nye vedomosti»* [The history of the Vyatka Seminary, «Vyatskie eparhialnye vedomosti»], 1886, n. 12, p. 201 (in Russian).

he often visited the school. At school Anthony was affectionate and available, he listened to complaints and he tried to meet the desires of the students, if he found them reasonable.

In July, 1752 terrible fire devastated the whole town of Hlynov. In the fire many remarkable buildings (the Cathedral, the Bishop's Trifonov House, spiritual consistory, churches and houses) were burned. The newly built school was also lost. Disaster has come and there was no opportunity for studying. With a deep sense of bitterness the Bishop Antony has sent back schoolchildren to their homes and teaching was interrupted for six years. Thus ended the history of the first educational institution in the Vyatka province – the Hlynov Slav-Latin school.

Closing reflections

The outstanding Russian Emperor Peter the Great «opened» the XVIII-th century, and all the main events in the political, economic and cultural life in the Russian Empire throughout the century in one way or another were connected with his name²⁸. Among his faith followers were the first Vyatka Bishops. The ascetic life of the first Vyatka educator was the subject of a special study by the historians starting with the second half of the XIX-th century. A valuable contribution was made by the historian A.S. Vereshchagin. In this article we have presented the life way and the impressive deeds of L. Gorka and his successors. The names of L. Gorka and other West-Slav educators are considered to be a symbol of enlightenment and a selfless service to the education of common people. The Slav-Latin school of L. Gorka, shortly after his death, as we have noted, has come into decay, but it was rebuilt relatively quickly and for decades it became one of the most prominent centers of education, not only in the Vyatka province, but also in the entire North-Eastern Russia of that time.

²⁸ D.I. Latyshina, *Istorija vospitaniya i obrazovaniya v Rossii. XVIII vek. Chast 2* [History of upbringing and education in Russia. The XVIII-th century. Part 2], Moscow, ROU, 1992, p. 3 (in Russian).

La Renovación Pedagógica: análisis de dos proyectos educativos para identificar las dificultades y las claves del impacto social

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The Pedagogical Renewal: analysis of two educational projects to identify the difficulties and the keys of the social impact

ABSTRACT: In the history of the Spanish Pedagogical Renewal, there are two initiatives especially significant for their social achievements (social impact). We refer to the Free Teaching Institution and the Modern School of Ferrer i Guardia. Given this reality, we will identify what were the barriers and the keys that both initiatives had to generate social impact. For this, we have conducted in-depth interviews with recognized experts in the phenomenon of pedagogical reform and we have analyzed different documents (historical memories, scientific and dissemination articles, photographs, newspaper news, etc.).

EET/TEE KEYWORDS: History of pedagogy; History of school; Free Institution of Education; Modern School of Ferrer i Guardia; Pedagogic renewal; Spain; XIXth Century.

Introducción

La Renovación Pedagógica española planteó una nueva forma de entender la escuela, para ello, se basó en posturas críticas y democráticas que contribuyeron a la alfabetización de la clase popular. Este movimiento comenzó en el siglo XIX y se detuvo después de la Guerra Civil. Estos espacios educativos tuvieron su periodo de máximo esplendor durante la II República¹. El final de este régimen político significó el desenlace de la etapa más ilustrada de la Historia de España en materia de cultura y educación. Después comenzó el período más aciago y

¹ F. Pericacho, *Pasado y presente de la Renovación Pedagógica en España (de finales del Siglo XIX a nuestros días)*. Un recorrido a través de escuelas emblemáticas, «Revista Complutense de Educación», vol. 25, n. 1, 2014, pp. 47-67.

dramático en términos de libertades, de dignidad, de educación, de derechos, de justicia y de cultura².

Dentro de este movimiento reformador, analizaremos cuáles fueron las dificultades y las claves para generar impacto social de dos iniciativas: la Institución Libre de Enseñanza (ILE) (1876-1936) y la Escuela Moderna de Barcelona (1901-1906). En este trabajo, consideramos que el impacto social son los logros sociales que tiene una iniciativa después de sus intervenciones³.

La primera iniciativa nació el 29 de octubre de 1876 en Madrid⁴. Fue fundada por Giner de los Ríos principalmente y contó con el apoyo de Augusto González de Linares, Azcárate, Salmerón, entre muchos otros, para sacar al pueblo español del estado nefasto en el que estaba inmerso su sistema educativo⁵.

Giner de los Ríos era el alma de la ILE y su ideal era lograr la renovación de España desde la educación: «tenía fe en la acción de un hombre sobre otro hombre y concebía la educación como una captación plena del hombre por el ideal⁶».

La otra iniciativa, denominada la Escuela Moderna fue fundada el 8 de septiembre de 1901⁷ en la Calle Bailén de Barcelona, por el racionalista Ferrer i Guardia⁸. Escogió Barcelona por ser la ciudad más representativa del movimiento obrero y anarquista y porque en ella residían anarquistas como Anselmo Lorenzo y republicanos como el catedrático Odón de Buen. En estos círculos sociales había un gran interés por la renovación de la Pedagogía y por el avance de la misma⁹. Sus propuestas educativas estaban dirigidas a conseguir ciudadanos libres y racionales¹⁰.

Giner de los Ríos y Ferrer i Guardia tuvieron en común una preocupación por el levantamiento intelectual de la sociedad española, teniendo como punto de partida la mejora del sistema educativo¹¹. Sus intervenciones contribuyeron

² J. Gimeno, *Esbozo de una utopía: las Misiones Pedagógicas de la II República española (1931-1939)*, «Nuevo derecho», vol. 6, n. 8, 2011, pp. 175-192.

³ E. Bonilla, *Impacto, impacto social y evaluación del impacto*, «Acimed», vol. 15, 2007.

⁴ J.M. Núñez, J. Servat, *La matemática y la Institución Libre de Enseñanza: concepciones teóricas y pedagógicas*, «Llull: Revista de la Sociedad Española de Historia de las Ciencias y de las Técnicas», vol. 11, 1988, pp. 75-96.

⁵ V.G. Rucandio, *Entrevista con Reginald Brown, catedrático de la Universidad de Leeds (Inglaterra)*, «Revista de Educación», vol. 243, 1976, pp. 93-102.

⁶ E. Martínez, *El Boletín de la Institución Libre de Enseñanza*, «BILE. Contextos Educativos: Revista de Educación», vol. 2, 1999, pp. 71-78, cit., p. 71.

⁷ Á. Cappelletti, *La Escuela Moderna en América latina*, «Revista d'Història de l'Educació», vol. 1, 1994, pp. 29-31.

⁸ F. Ferrer i Guardia, *La Escuela Moderna*, Barcelona, Ediciones Solidaridad, 1960.

⁹ P. Madrid, *Racionalismo pedagógico y movimiento obrero en España: Ferrer Guardia y "La Huelga General"*, «Revista d'Història de l'Educació», vol. 1, 1994, pp. 61-65.

¹⁰ M. Ferraz, *Educación y ciudadanía en España hasta 1975: una construcción histórica forjada de equilibrios y dependencias*, «History of Education & Children's Literature», vol. 1, 2008, pp. 305-342.

¹¹ Ferrer i Guardia, *La Escuela Moderna*, cit.

a la emancipación de la clase popular. Para ello, cuestionaron el sistema establecido, acercando la alfabetización a los más frágiles.

A pesar de las grandes aportaciones teóricas sobre Giner de los Ríos, Ferrer i Guardia y sus proyectos educativos¹², todavía no se han planteado estudios previos que se pregunten: ¿cuáles fueron las dificultades que tuvieron ambas iniciativas para mejorar la vida de los otros? Y, por otro lado: ¿cuáles fueron las claves que contribuyeron a los logros sociales? Contestar a estas dos preguntas ayudará a tener una idea de las dificultades con las que se encontraron las primeras iniciativas de Renovación Pedagógica y a identificar el tipo de actuaciones que generan impacto social.

1. Metodología

Los datos presentados en este documento se recopilieron desde el 4 de mayo de 2017 hasta el 2 de marzo de 2018. En este periodo de tiempo se ha recogido información mediante dos tipos de técnicas: I) técnicas de investigación preliminares o informales, que se han realizado para orientar el estudio principalmente, aunque también aportan datos y II) técnicas de investigación estandarizadas o programadas, que fueron destinadas a recoger datos exclusivamente.

1.1 Entrevistas

La técnica informal fue una entrevista que tuvo lugar el día 4 de mayo de 2017 en la Fundación de Ferrer i Guardia de Barcelona. Nuestro único objetivo era revisar documentos históricos para identificar el impacto social de la Escuela Moderna. Sin embargo, uno de los fundadores fue muy amable y compartió con nosotros sus conocimientos sobre la escuela y sobre su fundador. También nos

¹² J. Fernández-Soria, *The presence of the British education model in Spain: reception through the Institucion Libre de Enseñanza*, «History of Education», vol. 43, n. 1, 2014, pp. 50-71; C.G. Fidler, *The Escuela Moderna Movement of Francisco Ferrer: Por la Verdad y la Justicia*, «History of Education Quarterly», vol. 25, nn. 1-2, 1985, pp. 103-132; G. García-Yeste, G. Redondo-Sama, M. Padrós, P. Melgar, *The Modern School of Francisco Ferrer i Guàrdia (1859-1909), an International and Current Figure*, «Teachers College Record», vol. 118, n. 4, 2016; E. Jongh-Rossel, *La Institución Libre de Enseñanza, el joven Unamuno y la Pedagogía*, «Hispania», vol. 69, n. 4, 1986, 830-836; X. Torredadella, *Francisco Ferrer i Guardia, postmoderno avanzado y precursor de la Educación Física crítica. Análisis y reflexión para un giro didáctica*, «Educar», vol. 52, n. 1, 2016, pp. 169-191.

permitió revisar, leer y recoger ideas de los documentos de la fundación. Toda esta información aparecerá a lo largo de los resultados con el código EI1RP.

Las técnicas programadas fueron dos entrevistas en profundidad y el análisis de 278 documentos. Todas las entrevistas (tanto las informales como las estandarizadas) se han realizado a investigadores que tienen publicaciones relevantes sobre la Renovación Pedagógica.

De las dos entrevistas formales, una entrevista se realizó por teléfono y la otra se realizó en persona en la Universidad Autónoma de Barcelona (ubicada en Bellaterra, Cerdanyola del Vallès). Las entrevistas se registraron mediante una grabadora para que las transcripciones reflejaran las palabras de los participantes de la manera más exacta posible. Los códigos que emplearemos en los resultados para reflejar este tipo de entrevistas son: EC1EMFF y EC2RP.

1.2 *Análisis documental*

En este trabajo también hemos analizado documentos diversos: artículos científicos, artículos de divulgación, libros, capítulos de libros, memorias históricas, noticias de periódico, boletines educativos, fotografías y un video documental. Para ello, hemos revisado las revistas más representativas sobre Educación e Historia, las bases de datos más significativas para las Ciencias Sociales (*Web of Science*, Scopus, Dialnet y Google académico), fundaciones (como la Fundación Ferrer i Guardia, la Fundación Rafael Campalans y la Fundación Protectora de la Infancia). Así como muchas otras fuentes: Tesis doctorales en Xarxa; Biblioteca de la Universidad de Valladolid (Facultad de Educación); Biblioteca de la Universidad de Barcelona (Facultad de Educación); Pabellón de la República de Barcelona; Biblioteca Virtual de Prensa Histórica del Ministerio de Educación, Cultura y Deporte; Archivo digital del Ateneu Enciclopèdic Popular; la Hemeroteca de Cartagena y la Hemeroteca Digital de la Biblioteca Nacional de España.

En las siguientes líneas, detallaremos el análisis documental que hemos realizado en función del tipo de documento:

I) La revisión de documentos científicos se ha realizado mediante el análisis de documentos en la base de datos *Web of Science* y en otras bases de datos reconocidas para las Ciencias Sociales: Scopus, Dialnet y Google Académico. Las palabras claves para obtener los documentos han sido muy variados: Institución Libre de Enseñanza, Giner de los Ríos, Colonias Escolares, Misiones Pedagógicas, Ferrer i Guardia, Escuela Moderna de Ferrer i Guardia e impacto social. En los resultados de la búsqueda hemos teniendo en cuenta artículos publicados en revistas de impacto como *Cambridge Journal of Education*, *Paedagogica Historica*, *HSE – Social and Education History*, *History of Education* o Revista de Educación.

II) Revisión de artículos de divulgación: otros artículos analizados procedían de revistas que desarrollaron los seguidores de la ILE o de la Escuela Moderna, para divulgar su pensamiento. Por ejemplo, Revista Enciclopèdic (La veu de l'Ateneu), Revista Pedagógica Ilustrada y la Revista Nuevo Mundo, Sociología - Arte - Ciencia - Pedagogía Racionalista.

III) Libros y capítulos de libros de los autores más relevantes sobre el tema: una gran parte de la literatura analizada procede de los grandes autores de la Pedagogía Crítica como Ferrer i Guardia, Freire, Freinet, Giroux, etc.

IV) Revisión de noticias de periódico: en el caso de Ferrer i Guardia, hemos buscado todas las noticias desde el inicio de su Escuela Moderna (1901) y hasta el asesinato del pedagogo catalán (1909). Los periódicos que hemos revisado son los que están recogidos en la Fundación Ferrer i Guardia y estos son: ABC, La Huelga General, La Campana de Gracia y La Actualidad. Las noticias de la Institución Libre de Enseñanza son del periodo 1924-1933 y de periódicos como El Porvenir; República: el Diario Radical de la Tarde; El Noticiero y El Cartagena Nueva.

V) Revisión de documentos históricos: los documentos históricos analizados han sido fotografías, memorias históricas, boletines y una entrevista. Las fotografías que hemos analizado son de Ferrer i Guardia y hemos examinado todas las que tiene la Fundación Ferrer i Guardia en su hemeroteca digital. Las memorias que hemos estudiado proceden del Patronato de las Misiones Pedagógicas. Por otro lado, los boletines son: el Boletín de la Escuela Moderna, el Boletín Millares Carlo, el Boletín de la Institución Libre de Enseñanza y el Boletín Americanista. El Boletín de la Escuela Moderna y el Boletín de la Institución Libre de Enseñanza han sido analizados desde el primer número. Finalmente, la entrevista analizada es de Reginald Brown, catedrático de la Universidad de Leeds (Inglaterra).

VI) Revisión de un video documental: aparte de documentos fijos y textuales, también analizamos un documento en formato vídeo. Este documental se conoce como *¡Viva la Escuela Moderna!* Y fue dirigido por Adolfo Dufour en el año 1999. El archivo lo encontramos en la plataforma de vídeos de Youtube. Es un documental que se centra en narrar la historia de Ferrer i Guardia y la historia de su Escuela Moderna.

El número de documentos analizados ha sido de 378, de los cuales 218 documentos están relacionados con la Escuela Moderna y 160 con la ILE. Este trabajo no muestra la totalidad de los documentos, pues muchos de ellos no respondían a nuestros objetivos y preguntas de investigación.

2. *Dificultades para el impacto social de la ILE y de la Escuela Moderna de Ferrer i Guardia*

En este apartado hablaremos de las barreras que encontraron las dos iniciativas en el proceso de mejorar la vida de las otras personas.

2.1 *La pobreza económica y social del país: un motivo por el cual el impacto social de la ILE y de Ferrer i Guardia no fueron el esperado*

La pobreza, que rodeaba a la España de finales de siglo XIX y principios de siglo XX, fue la principal barrera de la ILE y de la Escuela Moderna para contribuir al avance social.

Dada la pobreza que asfixiaba a las clases populares, la ILE consideró que las personas más humildes podían superar su situación de pobreza mediante las Misiones Pedagógicas y las Colonias Escolares. Las Misiones Pedagógicas fueron una iniciativa social que persiguió mejorar el nivel cultural y social de los habitantes españoles de las zonas rurales¹³. Los destinatarios de esta iniciativa aparecen en la siguiente cita de una manera más detallada:

a modo de escuela recreativa es para todos, chicos y grandes, hombres y mujeres, pero principalmente para los grandes, para los que se pasan la vida en el trabajo, para los que nunca fueron a la escuela y para los que no han podido volver a ella desde niños, ni tenido ocasión de salir por el mundo a correr tierras, aprendiendo y gozando, lo cual constituye para ellos una grave injusticia, ya que los mozos y los viejos de las ciudades, por modestas que sean, tienen ocasiones fáciles de seguir aprendiendo toda la vida y también divirtiéndose, porque están en medio de otros hombres que saben más que ellos, porque sólo con oírlos y mirar se aprende, porque todo lo tienen a la mano, porque la instrucción y las diversiones se les entran sin quererlo por ojos y oídos, porque hasta los escaparates de las tiendas se convierten allí en diversión y enseñanza¹⁴.

Las Colonias Escolares fueron otra iniciativa que intentó mejorar la salud y el nivel cultural de niños y de niñas con menos recursos económicos. Para ello, la infancia estaba en contacto con la naturaleza y hacían un diario que reflejaba lo que aprendían en las excursiones al aire libre¹⁵. El vínculo entre educación y naturaleza fue el principio primordial de las Colonias Escolares:

¹³ M. Boza, M.Á. Sánchez, *Las bibliotecas en las Misiones Pedagógicas*, «Boletín de la Asociación Andaluza de Bibliotecarios», vol. 74, 2004, pp. 41-51.

¹⁴ Patronato de Misiones Pedagógicas. Septiembre de 1931, diciembre de 1933, Madrid, 1934, cit., 13.

¹⁵ L. Moreno, A. Viñao, *Higienismo y educación. Las primeras Colonias Escolares de vacaciones de Cartagena* (1907), «Anales de Pedagogía», vol. 16, 1998, pp. 59-99.

El niño respira a pleno pulmón y sonríe al ver volar las águilas. Ha pasado de la tristeza o la alegría y ha observado, y el que observa, piensa, y el que piensa produce. La otra escena, vivida hace 24 horas en la playa observando lo extraño y construyendo aun que las olas lo habían de destruir, pero dispuestos a rehacer la construcción. Y con estos juegos, que excitaban su voluntad, para ir construyendo a la formación del carácter, pasaron tres horas. Decidme ¿conocéis algún maestro capaz de retener la atención de sus alumnos, sobre un tema, durante tres horas? Solo la naturaleza, que es siempre madre mientras que la sociedad resulta madrastras¹⁶.

Las misiones y las colonias estuvieron gravemente afectadas por la carencia. Cuando los misioneros llegaron a las aldeas se encontraban con escuelas en ruinas y con una población que vivía casi en situaciones de mendicidad¹⁷. Las Colonias Escolares no llegaron a muchos niños y niñas durante los primeros años, porque las fuentes económicas para mantenerlas fueron de carácter privado (las cuotas de los socios de la ILE o algunas herencias personales)¹⁸. Y no comenzaron a contar con una financiación pública y periódica por parte del Ministerio de Instrucción Pública hasta el año 1910¹⁹.

Al problema económico se le sumó el hecho de que a principios del siglo XX, las escuelas tradicionales y alejadas de la Renovación Pedagógica estaban más unidas al retroceso social que al avance. La preocupación de estas escuelas por el desarrollo intelectual de sus alumnos no era muy habitual, siendo frecuente enseñar mediante la combinación de tareas arduas y el castigo. Además, la enseñanza se desarrollaba en entornos no muy favorecedores para el aprendizaje. Sus particularidades eran aulas situadas en casas viejas, feas y sucias²⁰. La educación y la pobreza era un binomio casi inseparable en lo que se refiere a la educación española de principios de siglo XX. El análisis que hacer Ferrer i Guardia del sistema educativo de España en su obra *la Escuela Moderna de 1960* es una prueba de ello: «La aglomeración en que viven los escolares, el uso de un solo retrete, de un solo vaso»²¹. Dadas estas circunstancias, hay pedagogos como Ferrer i Guardia que deciden plantear sus propias iniciativas:

¿Y por qué funda su propia escuela? Según VMO, primero porque puede hacerlo, dado la gran fortuna que hereda de una antigua alumna. Luego porque no se fía del sistema educativo, que está dividido en dos: el sistema de la Iglesia que no piensa en el desafortunado y la escuela pública hundida en la miseria (EI1RP).

¹⁶ *Regreso de las segundas Colonias Escolares*, «El Porvenir, Diario Independiente de Cartagena», vol. 7784.

¹⁷ F. Canes, *Las Misiones Pedagógicas: educación y tiempo libre en la Segunda República*, «Revista Complutense de Educación», vol. 4, n. 1, 1993, pp. 147-168.

¹⁸ *Colonias Escolares, casa del niño*, «El noticiero», 1935.

¹⁹ J.F. Rodríguez, *Las Colonias Escolares de la sociedad protectora de los niños (1893-1913)*, en la Conferencia llevada a cabo en el XIII Coloquio Nacional de Historia de la Educación, San Sebastián, España, 2005.

²⁰ J. Mones i Pujol, *Francesc Ferrer i Guàrdia i l'Escola Nova*, «Revista d'Història de l'Educació», vol. 1, 1994, pp. 69-72.

²¹ Ferrer i Guardia, *La Escuela Moderna*, cit., p. 41.

Por otro lado, queremos indicar que hay que estudios que determinan que la pobreza unida a la realidad social trae consigo consecuencias negativas²². Por ejemplo, descubrimos que la unión entre pobreza y educación dio lugar a que algunos maestros de las escuelas de Renovación Pedagógica no pudieran seguir los principios reformadores. Así pues, las limitaciones de los recursos materiales y las condiciones culturales deterioradas fueron las causas de la aparición de algunos maestros que se hacían llamar renovadores pedagógicos, pero rompían el sentido de las metodologías libertarias al resguardarse en las prácticas memorísticas, en la copia de lecciones y en el castigo²³. En aquellos tiempos era muy difícil encontrar en una misma persona los conocimientos pedagógicos y el compromiso social que las Pedagogías Libertarias exigían²⁴.

Anselmo Lorenzo (anarquista reconocido y amigo de Ferrer) también aseguró en la Revista de Divulgación de la Ideología Anarquista en Costa Rica (*Renovación. Sociología - Arte - Ciencia - Pedagogía Racionalista*) que la relación entre la educación y la pobreza tenía el riesgo de mantenerse debido a la superstición obrera de la imposibilidad de desarrollar una sociedad sin ricos y sin pobres. Esta superstición que tenía sus bases en las creencias sociales se intentó combatir en la Escuela Moderna, pues se trataba de una creencia y no de una evidencia²⁵.

El sentido de las Escuelas Libertarias estaba en peligro, una vez más, porque el origen de su financiación provenía únicamente de los padres de los estudiantes, de los sindicatos o de las asociaciones de ciudadanos. Por ejemplo, la Escuela Moderna no tuvo la financiación del Estado o de la Iglesia en ningún momento:

Las escuelas ferrerianas debían ser financiadas por los padres de los estudiantes o bien por sindicatos o asociaciones de ciudadanos, pero nunca por el Estado y mucho menos por la Iglesia que intentarían imponer sus criterios autoritarios²⁶.

El difícil acceso a las fuentes de financiación fue una gran barrera para la Escuela Moderna y para hacer crecer al movimiento obrero. Asimismo, el proceso de expansión de las escuelas democráticas se vio afectado, pues algunas escuelas que estaban planificadas en Bolonia o Génova no tuvieron lugar²⁷.

²² J.P. Mackenbach, W.J. Meerdink, A.E. Kunst, *Economic costs of health inequalities in the European Union*, «Journal of Epidemiology and Community Health», vol. 65, 2011, pp. 412-419.

²³ X.M. Cid, *Ferrer y el laicismo escolar en Galicia*, «Revista d'Història de l'Educació», vol. 1, 1994, pp. 37-40.

²⁴ P. Palomero, *Cultura y educación en el Anarquismo, España 1868-1939*, «Revista Interuniversitaria de Formación del Profesorado», vol. 33, 1998, pp. 183-193.

²⁵ A. Lorenzo, *Francisco Ferrer i Guardia*, «Revista de Renovación. Sociología - Arte - Ciencia - Pedagogía Racionalista», vol. 19-20, 1911, pp. 290-293.

²⁶ Ribera, *La Escuela Moderna en México: una azarosa aventura revolucionaria*, cit., p. 275.

²⁷ G.C. Fidler, *The Escuela Moderna Movement of Francisco Ferrer: Por la Verdad y la Justicia*, «History of Education Quarterly», vol. 25, nn. 1-2, 1985, pp. 103-132.

La escasa financiación y los continuos problemas económicos condicionaron el número de niños matriculados en la Escuela Moderna de Barcelona²⁸. Así pues, esta escuela fue clausurada por el gobierno de Maura en el año (1906) y hasta su clausura, los datos indican que el número de niños matriculados fue muy reducido: en el primer curso escolar (de 1901 a 1902), la escuela tenía 70 alumnos (38 niños y 32 niñas). En 1902-1903 tenía 48 niños y 34 niñas y en 1903-1904 tenía 114 (63 niños y 51 niñas).

2.2 *La mala gestión del poder: otra barrera para el impacto social de la ILE y de la Escuela Moderna de Ferrer i Guardia*

Otra barrera que se encontró la ILE y la Escuela Moderna de Barcelona, para hacer su función solidaria, fue la mala gestión del poder político, como veremos a continuación.

La Renovación Pedagógica española tuvo su máximo esplendor durante la II República, un periodo en el que se desarrollaron muchas instituciones: Giner de los Ríos y la Institución Libre de Enseñanza, Andrés Manjón y las Escuelas del Ave-María, Ferrer Guardia y la Escuela Moderna, así como muchas otras con influencias de Giner de los Ríos, Andrés Manjón, Ferrer i Guardia, Rosa Sensat, Pau Vila, etc.; éstas son: colegio Sant Jordi (1898), escuelas Mosén Cinto (1904), colegio Mont d'Or (1905), Escuela Horaciana (1905), Escoles Catalanes del Districte VI (1906), escuela de la Sagrada Familia (1910), Grupo escolar Cervantes (1918), Príncipe de Asturias (1918), Instituto-Escuela (1918), etc. Sin embargo, toda esta labor se vio amenazada y casi en peligro de extinción después de la Guerra Civil española y principio de la dictadura. Se llegó a esta situación, porque muchas escuelas libertarias fueron clausuradas. Su consecuencia fue una nueva etapa educativa, cuya principal característica fue el aislamiento de la escuela respecto a los principios igualitarios y solidarios, muy arraigados a la escuela nueva. El nuevo régimen no soportaba la idea de que los ciudadanos fueran educados mediante las escuelas que habían proliferado durante la II República, pues éstas estaban muy alejadas de los principios que se defendían en el nuevo régimen dictatorial²⁹. Por lo tanto, antes de este régimen, la Guerra Civil, dio lugar a la celebración de la última Misión Pedagógica³⁰. Esta misma idea la recogimos en uno de los testimonios orales:

²⁸ P. Lázaro, *Francisco Ferrer Guardia y la Escuela Moderna de Barcelona*, «Padres y Maestros», vol. 366, 2016, pp. 83-88.

²⁹ F. Pericacho, *Pasado y presente de la Renovación Pedagógica en España (de finales del Siglo XIX a nuestros días). Un recorrido a través de escuelas emblemáticas*, «Revista Complutense de Educación», vol. 25, n. 1, 2014, pp. 47-67.

³⁰ M. Boza, M.Á. Sánchez, *Las bibliotecas en las Misiones Pedagógicas*, «Boletín de la Asociación Andaluza de Bibliotecarios», vol. 74, 2004, pp. 41-51.

Los misioneros también ven totalmente trucada su actividad con la guerra, con la Guerra Civil (EC1EMFF).

La contienda también borró parte de la historia de las misiones y así lo vemos en la siguiente cita:

El movimiento de las Misiones Pedagógicas comienza a ralentizarse en 1935. La Guerra Civil impidió la publicación de la tercera memoria del Patronato que debería haber salido en 1936; por lo tanto, hay muchas dificultades para encontrar el rastro de las misiones durante este periodo, así pues la información de la última etapa de las misiones está incompleta³¹.

La Guerra Civil también dio lugar a la destrucción de numerosos libros que fueron editados para las bibliotecas fundadas por la II República (muchas de ellas creadas por medio de las Misiones Pedagógicas). Por este motivo, en el mes de agosto del año 1936, el Gobierno republicano fundó la Junta de Incautación, Protección y Conservación del Tesoro Artístico Nacional, asociada al Ministerio de Instrucción Pública. Esta institución logró poner a buen recaudo miles de libros creados para las misiones en los sótanos de la Biblioteca Nacional y en la Hemeroteca Municipal. Sin embargo, muchos otros no tuvieron la misma suerte³².

Las trabas para las Misiones Pedagógicas no pararon de crecer durante la Guerra Civil. Una de las situaciones más duras para los defensores de la República fue el asesinato del misionero Federico García Lorca. Fue asesinado en su ciudad natal por pistoleros de la Falange. Tampoco podemos olvidarnos de las decenas de bibliotecas y de escuelas populares destruidas por las tropas del general Franco; así como los miles de libros y de documentos desaparecidos de la biblioteca y del archivo nacional y de las bibliotecas populares³³.

En definitiva, las Misiones Pedagógicas tuvieron una pésima gestión de los poderes políticos, que dio lugar a continuos cambios que resquebrajaban su estabilidad. La falta de estabilidad provenía de la toma de decisiones incorrectas y de la falta de soluciones legislativas eficientes³⁴.

Por otro lado, queremos indicar que a principios del siglo XX, la Iglesia, que representaba la postura conservadora, tenía una gran influencia sobre la sociedad española. A esta institución no le resultó agradable la llegada de escuelas que defendían la enseñanza laica, porque para ellas la religiosidad ponía en peligro la lógica de los estudiantes. El enfrentamiento entre la enseñanza laica y la enseñanza religiosa influyó a que la Escuela Moderna tuviera grandes

³¹ S. Martín, *El paso de las Misiones Pedagógicas por Extremadura*, cit., p. 395.

³² J. Gimeno, *Esbozo de una utopía: las Misiones Pedagógicas de la II República española (1931-1939)*, «Nuevo derecho», vol. 6, n. 8, 2011, pp. 175-192.

³³ *Ibid.*

³⁴ F. Canes, *Las Misiones Pedagógicas: educación y tiempo libre en la Segunda República*, «Revista Complutense de Educación», vol. 4, n. 1, 1993, pp. 147-168.

dificultades para mantenerse estable y para tener impacto social. A esta situación también hay que añadir la mala prensa que tenían estas escuelas:

Entiendo que son laicas – añadió el ministro de la Gobernación – las escuelas neutras. Las que se han cerrado se llaman laicas y son anarquistas. La enseñanza que en ellas se da va contra las instituciones, la religión y el orden social. Los profesores predicán el incendio de los conventos y el asesinato. Eso no se puede tolerar; no lo toleraría ningún Gobierno por avanzadas que fueran sus tendencias. Se ha visto durante los [...] sucesos cuáles son los resultados que pueden dar semejantes enseñanzas, pues muchos niños tomaron parte en los incendios y ayudaron a levantar barricadas³⁵.

El bando religioso y el bando laico decidieron tener una postura basada en el enfrentamiento continuo. Las continuas hostilidades entre los dos bandos tuvieron malas consecuencias para la Escuela Moderna de Ferrer, porque afectó directamente al número de alumnos matriculados y así lo asegura uno de los expertos entrevistados:

Ferrer i Guardia funda su Escuela Moderna en pleno Example de Barcelona. Estando este lugar lleno de Iglesias católicas con las que rivalizaban entre sí continuamente, lo que le llevo a tener menos alumnos de los esperados (EI1RP).

Otra persona entrevistada también asegura que Ferrer i Guardia no solo se opuso al bando religioso, sino que también se enfrentó a todo sinónimo de poder:

Y, en cambio, la Escuela Moderna es totalmente en contra de las instituciones del Estado, de la Iglesia, del ejército (EC1EMFF).

Vemos esta idea, una vez más, en la contraportada de la revista CENIT Sociología, Ciencia y Literatura del año 1957:

Ferrer i Guardia fue condenado a muerte y ejecutado, víctima del odio político y del fanatismo religioso de los en él veían un peligro para sus privilegios en España. [...] Los sucesos de 1909 en Barcelona, fueron el pretexto de que se valieron el ejército, que le odiaba por su labor antimilitarista; el clero, por su propaganda antirreligiosa; la burguesía por haber sido uno de los primeros en propagar la huelga general³⁶.

El enfrentamiento hacia todo sinónimo de poder contribuyó a que Ferrer i Guardia no fuera bienvenido en el sistema social. Así pues las escuelas que tenían sus influencias fueron clausuradas en grandes proporciones³⁷. El cierre de escuelas racionalistas por parte de los sectores indicados fue continuo a principios del siglo XX. Por ejemplo, en el año 1907, se publicaba, en la sección

³⁵ *Información política consejo de palacio*, cit., p. 10.

³⁶ *Contraportada de la Revista CENIT*, «Revista CENIT Sociología, Ciencia y Literatura», vol. 82, 1957.

³⁷ T. Sanmartí, *Nuestra escuela*, «Revista Pedagógica Ilustrada», vol. 6, 1907, pp. 1-2.

de Notas sueltas de la *Revista Pedagógica Ilustrada* número 6, que la escuela Horaciana de Lloret del Mar había sido clausurada por los reaccionarios y por los clérigos, al dejar que el pueblo tomará decisiones progresistas: «Los reaccionarios y clericales no se dan momento de reposo para abortar todas las iniciativas progresivas del pueblo»³⁸.

Durante los primeros años, el cierre de las primeras escuelas laicas pareció algo esporádico si se compara con el cierre tan progresivo que hubo por parte del gobierno de Maura, una vez que Ferrer i Guardia fuera ejecutado (Noticias de Barcelona, publicada en el ABC del 22-08-1909)³⁹.

3. Claves para el impacto social de los proyectos

Este punto trata sobre las claves que contribuyeron a que la ILE y la Escuela Moderna tuvieran impacto social.

3.1 Principios humanitarios

Los valores humanitarios de las personas que se implicaron en las Misiones Pedagógicas, las Colonias Escolares y la Escuela Moderna fueron una de las claves para mejorar la vida de las personas sin recursos.

La solidaridad unida al empeño y a la pasión de los misioneros fue la esencia del éxito de las Misiones Pedagógicas⁴⁰. Numerosos maestros y poetas llegaban a las aldeas, después de recorrer números kilómetros, para llevar al pueblo el conocimiento científico y el artístico.

Las colonias también tenían sus propias estrategias para mejorar la vida de sus participantes. Siendo primordial los donativos de las personas con más recursos⁴¹.

En la Escuela Moderna de Ferrer i Guardia, también tenían protagonismo la solidaridad, porque todo niño tenía la obligación moral de ser solidario, desde sus primeros años de vida, para así desarrollar una sensibilidad hacia el otro y darse cuenta de que no estaba solo en el mundo⁴²:

³⁸ Notas sueltas, «Revista Pedagógica Ilustrada», vol. 6, 1907, p. 8.

³⁹ Noticias de Barcelona, «Periódico ABC», 1909.

⁴⁰ A. Casona, «Diario El Excelsior (México)», 1937.

⁴¹ E. Martínez, *Colonias Escolares (Carta abierta)*, «El Eco de Cartagena», n. 13.376, miércoles 20 junio 1906.

⁴² F. Ferrer i Guardia, *Principios de moral científica*, Barcelona, Fundació Ferrer i Guàrdia, 2009, p. 61.

El primer deber moral del niño, con relación a los demás, consiste en darse cuenta de que por sí solo, después de haber nacido, no habría podido vivir. Debe su existencia a los cuidados que por él han tenido sus padres u otras personas. Este hecho le hará comprender que existe un lazo de solidaridad entre los hombres, consistente en la ayuda que recibimos de los otros, sin el cual sería imposible la vida. Observará, también, que no sólo necesitan el apoyo ajeno los niños, sino que también es indispensable a los enfermos, a los inválidos y a los ancianos. De esta observación deducirá el niño que, cuando sea hombre, deberá contribuir con su trabajo personal al sostenimiento de los ancianos, enfermos y niños.

Para Ferrer, la solidaridad también era el origen del bienestar de todos, el fin de la explotación del hombre y el principio de un régimen de paz y amor⁴³.

Por otro lado, queremos indicar que la solidaridad y la igualdad se establecieron para que fueran aprendidos por todos los estudiantes de la Escuela Moderna, indistintamente de su condición social⁴⁴. Por lo tanto, los niños con más recursos económicos y con más apoyo social pudieron aprender a ser solidarios y a defender la igualdad que tanto necesitaban los menores nacidos en situaciones más humildes, pues no se creía en un sistema que estableciera diferencias entre pobres y ricos. El objetivo era eliminar esta continua distinción social. Lo importante era que no hubiera productores y consumidores. Lo importante era que todos participasen en régimen de igualdad y que consiguieran lo mismo. De esta manera los ricos no tendrían que sufrir viendo como otros lo pasan mal y los pobres no tendrían que sentir envidia, pues no tendrían ninguna carencia⁴⁵ (La Huelga General enriquecerá a los pobres sin empobrecer a los ricos, 5 de diciembre de 1901):

La creencia de que los ricos hacen vivir a los pobres y que sin ellos habría aún más miseria, está tan arraigada, que ha de costar mucho trabajo convencer de la falsedad de tal creencia. Ni lo pobres necesitan a los ricos ni estos a aquellos. Bastará una organización razonada del trabajo y de la distribución equitativa de sus productos para que desaparezcan las dos clases en que se divide hoy la sociedad de productores y consumidores; esto es, de pobres y ricos. [...] Los ricos serán más felices que hoy porque continuarán gozando sin ver sufrir a los demás. Los pobres no tendrán envidia de los ricos porque no carecerán de nada⁴⁶.

El análisis de Ferrer i Guardia y de sus seguidores también deslumbró que, para mejorar la sociedad, las mujeres no podían ser mantenidas al margen de las decisiones y de la ciencia. Los seguidores de la Escuela Moderna tenían muy claro que ninguna mejora social podía conseguirse desde la discriminación por motivos de género o de sexo:

⁴³ Martínez, *Colonias Escolares (Carta abierta)*, cit.

⁴⁴ Ferrer i Guardia, *La Escuela Moderna*, cit.

⁴⁵ *La Huelga General enriquecerá a los pobres sin empobrecer a los ricos*, «Periódico Huelga general», vol. 3, 1901.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 3. Este documento fue firmado por Ferrer i Guardia con el seudónimo que él utilizaba habitualmente, que era Cero.

La mujer no debe estar recluida en el hogar. El radio de su acción ha de dilatarse fuera de las paredes de la casa: debería ese radio concluir donde llega y termina la sociedad. Mas para que la mujer ejerza su acción benéfica, no se han de convertir en poco menos que en cero los conocimientos que le son permitidos: debieran ser en cantidad y en calidad los mismos que el hombre se proporciona. La ciencia, penetrando en el cerebro de la mujer, alumbraría, dirigiéndole certeramente, el rico venero de sentimiento; nota saliente, característica de su vida; elemento inexplorado hasta hoy; buena nueva en el porvenir de paz y de felicidad en la sociedad⁴⁷.

El apoyo hacia la coeducación se ve de una manera muy clara en una de las entrevistas realizadas. Asimismo, se recoge que la educación de las mujeres es una de las bases que mejoran el bienestar de la sociedad en general, ya que cuando una mujer es madre y tiene una buena formación, el resultado es tener unos niños más sanos al garantizarlos mejores cuidados:

R: El tema de la coeducación, que hubiera niños y niñas también. El hecho de que las niñas también se educaran con los mismos aprendizaje, eso tienen un impacto súper importan. De hecho, la mayoría de las investigaciones demuestran que la educación de las niñas tiene mucho más impacto que la de los niños

E: ¿Es literatura en general?

R: Amartya Sen tiene una investigación que demuestra que la alfabetización o la formación de mujeres tienen un impacto mayor en la baja mortalidad de sus hijos. ¿Me explico? En la reducción de la muerte familiar. Si esto lo trasladas a que Ferrer hacía que las niñas, mujeres y hombres se formaran pues seguramente habría mejorado la cura de los niños, etc.

E: Sí, porque en un boletín que revise, había una noticia sobre la higiene de las mujeres y del cuidado de los hijos. Y en Giner, vi como las Misiones Pedagógicas se preocupaban por la higiene de la mujer, por eso, porque había mucha mortalidad infantil.

R: Claro, es que tú imagínate, la situación después de los partos. Con los niños y niñas, etc., era como básico. Y el poder tener acceso a conocimientos (EC2RP).

Asimismo, la implantación de la Escuela Moderna en sí misma es un ejemplo de impacto social, pues sus principios transformaron muchos de los aspectos negativos de la sociedad del momento, uno de ellos era la negación del conocimiento a determinados grupos sociales, como a las mujeres o a los pobres. Esta escuela era inclusiva, porque pensaba en los más desfavorecidos y en aquellos que no lo eran:

R: Él tenía muy claro que no era una escuela solo para pobres, porque si la sociedad es diversa, no podemos tener una escuela que no sea diversa. Entonces, el tema es que la escuela no era una escuela de pobres, era una escuela de calidad, en la cual, las personas que tenían recursos pagaban, las personas que no tenían recursos no pagaban.

No sé en todas, pero en la iniciada para Ferrer i Guardia ocurría esto. No es que hiciera una escuela para pobres (EC2RP).

⁴⁷ *Necesidad de la enseñanza mixta*, «Boletín de la Escuela Moderna», a. 1, vol. 2, 1901, pp. 17-20.

Las puertas del conocimiento de la Escuela Moderna no se cerraban a ninguna persona; así pues, se desarrolló una iniciativa denominada las Conferencias Dominicales. Éstas estaban destinadas a estudiantes, a familias y a profesorado. Se celebraban con la intención de que los conocimientos científicos llegaran al pueblo en manos de investigadores reconocidos, como por ejemplo Ramón y Cajal.

Las Conferencias Dominicales fueron todo un éxito, pues el número de sus participantes fue aumentando considerablemente. El buen recibimiento por parte de los ciudadanos fue una prueba de la mejora que necesitaba la escuela de aquel entonces. Toda esta información sobre las Conferencias Dominicales aparece en numerosos boletines de la Escuela Moderna. En este estudio, nos hemos fijado en el apartado de Conferencias Dominicales del boletín número 3 (año I), número 5 (año I), número 1 (año 2) y número 2 (año 2)⁴⁸.

3.2 *El levantamiento del intelecto de una clase popular inmensa en la miseria cultural*

Giner de los Ríos tuvo muy claro que para mejorar la situación social de España era necesario aumentar el nivel cultural de sus todos sus habitantes⁴⁹. Una forma fue por medio de las Misiones Pedagógicas y las Colonias Escolares. Las misiones llevaron muestras culturales por medio de la lectura, el teatro, la música y el cine⁵⁰. Asimismo, las Colonias Escolares se aseguraron de que los niños y las niñas con menos recursos pudieran mejorar sus habilidades académicas en el tiempo que duraba la actividad:

Los resultados intelectuales se obtuvieron con la comprobación de los diarios y la memoria final. En la observación detallada de los diarios, se afirmaba que de la improvisación, espontaneidad y trabajo personal con escasez de vocabulario y de ideas, se pasó al trabajo reflexivo, elaborado y personal de la memoria, siendo esta última el resultado de una verdadera labor pedagógica. Existían tantas diferencias que no parecían haber sido escritos por los mismos niños⁵¹.

⁴⁸ *Las conferencias de la Escuela Moderna*, «Boletín de la Escuela Moderna», a. 1, vol. 3, 1901, pp. 39-40; *Las conferencias de la Escuela Moderna*, «Boletín de la Escuela Moderna», a. I, vol. 5, 1902, pp. 63-64; *Las conferencias de la Escuela Moderna*, «Boletín de la Escuela Moderna», a. I, vol. 1, 1902, pp. 10-12; *Las conferencias de la Escuela Moderna*, «Boletín de la Escuela Moderna», a. II, vol. 2, 1902, pp. 23-24.

⁴⁹ A. Jiménez-Landi, *Las excursiones de la Institución*, «Estudios turísticos», vol. 83, 1984, pp. 101-108.

⁵⁰ Patronato de las Misiones Pedagógicas. Memoria de la Misión Pedagógico-Social en Sanabria (Zamora). Resumen de los trabajos realizados en el año 1934, Madrid, 1935.

⁵¹ J.F.R. Pérez, *La primera Colonia Escolar de vacaciones para niños pobres de las escuelas públicas madrileñas* (1887), «El Futuro del Pasado», vol. 7, 2016, pp. 407-439.

La acción que permitió que los principios racionalistas de Ferrer se expandieran y calaran en las personas fue la conexión entre la acción pedagógica de la Escuela Moderna y la acción de divulgación de sus principios en el movimiento obrero. Por lo tanto, la base de la revolución fue la unión entre la Pedagogía y el movimiento proletario, pues se trataba de emancipar a este grupo de personas, de que vieran sentido a su lucha hacia su emancipación, de crear una red de personas que lucharan y velaran por la mejora de sus miserias. En definitiva, la clave para engendrar la mejora social fue introducir la Renovación Pedagógica en la clase obrera, pues era la clase que más necesitaba luchar por sus derechos⁵².

Como a hemos visto al principio, para los proletarios españoles de principios del siglo XX, la pobreza y las decisiones del sistema político fueron barreras que impidieron que tuvieran una vida digna. Por esta razón, todos los intentos de mejorar su situación encontraron aliados. Sin embargo, antes hubo que despertar el pueblo desde la educación y la divulgación. Ferrer confió en este sistema para mejorar la vida de las personas que estaban sufriendo por las malas decisiones políticas y sociales. Esta acción sería una de las claves generales en las que se apoyaría el pedagogo. Luego también tuvo acciones más específicas para su Escuela Moderna, que también tienen sentido fuera de la misma. Hablamos de fundar su escuela bajo los principios del respeto por la ciencia y no por las ideas dogmáticas. También quiso fundar una escuela que tenía respeto por la solidaridad y por la igualdad para no generar nuevas injusticias⁵³.

Su respeto por la ciencia y no por los dogmas impuestos se ve reflejado en el discurso de una de las grandes expertas sobre Ferrer i Guardia a nivel internacional:

También es verdad que Ferrer i Guardia era, yo en esa parte no me veo tan reflejada. Yo no soy religiosa, pero es que Ferrer i Guardia era un activo anti religioso. Entonces tenía como mucho interés. También es que todas las escuelas estaban en manos de la Iglesia. Y el objetivo de la Escuela Moderna también era ese: ofrecer una escuela científica no dogmática, no basada en la superstición, como él decía. Es un poco el tema de que la gente pudiera decidir por sí mismo, no que se dejara llevar (EC7RP).

3.3 El higienismo

Las situaciones más humildes eran muy extremas y tuvieron lugar en hogares sin recursos, que estaban afectadas por la falta higiene de las casas, las escuelas,

⁵² P. Madrid, *Racionalismo pedagógico y movimiento obrero en España: Ferrer Guardia y “La Huelga General”*, «Revista d’Història de l’Educació», vol. 1, 1994, pp. 61-65.

⁵³ J. Mones i Pujol, *Francesc Ferrer i Guàrdia i l’Escola Nova*, «Revista d’Història de l’Educació», vol. 1, 1994, pp. 69-72.

etc. En general, la falta higiene que rodeaban a una persona sin muchos recursos se extendía desde que nacía y hasta la muerte. Debido a esta situación, las Misiones Pedagógicas fueron fundamentales para adecuar y ofrecer espacios educativos limpios a los niños y niñas. Un ejemplo aparece en la cita posterior, en la cual se puede ver como se establecieron medidas para que el comedor escolar fuera un espacio cuidado:

El martes 9 de octubre inauguramos en San Martín el comedor escolar. En las primeras horas de la mañana hemos instalado el nuevo mobiliario. Hay en las paredes, blancas y limpias, unas reproducciones del Museo Circulante de Misiones (Velázquez y Goya), unas láminas del Patronato del Turismo (castillos y jardines de España) y una gran pizarra mural barnizada en verde, con la fecha y un dibujo animalista risueño de colores.

La sala, dotada ahora de mesas horizontales, barnizadas y lavables, con sillas independientes, se transforma en unos momentos en alegre comedor: mantelería en ajedrez azul y claro, vajilla de loza blanca, cubiertos de alpaca, jarras y vasos de cristal liso. Van entrando los niños, limpios, peinados, indecisos⁵⁴.

Esta iniciativa también consiguió que los niños y niñas desarrollaran acciones de cuidado de su higiene personal:

Ellos, a su vez, hacen lo imposible por agradarnos. Se lavan las manos, se peinan. Algunos niños se arriesgan a prescindir de la boina mugrienta, por lo menos en las horas de sol. Otros, excediéndose en celo, llegan a presentarse con el pelo reluciente de aceite.

Contra la boina, el moño de las niñas, los zapatones de madera herrada y las sayas y refajos hasta los pies, emprendemos una lucha prudente y según las circunstancias, para que no sea abstracta y resulte persuasiva. A l fin una niña aparece con el pelo cortado; está más bonita, más limpia, más niña. ¡Y qué sorpresas de belleza en estos niños lavados y limpios! Sus rasgos celtas – ojos de claro azul, fuertes pómulos, nido cabello castaño y labios carnosos – parecen recién nacidos al conjuro de la alegría y el agua⁵⁵.

Por otro lado, vemos que Ferrer fue un gran analista de las calamidades que sufrían los ciudadanos. Su libro póstumo (*La Escuela Moderna*) es una prueba de ello. En este libro dio mucha importancia a la higiene en las escuelas y, desde este documento, se consideraba fundamental hacer consciente al sistema educativo de la importancia de mejorar la vida de sus estudiantes desde el cuidado de sus edificios. Esto no supondría invertir mucho dinero y salvarían muchas vidas.

El cuidado de la higiene fue un factor fundamental para mejorar la vida de todos y todas, a pesar de que nos parezca muy evidente actualmente, pues en aquel momento fueron muchos niños y familias los que murieron por los problemas causados por la insalubridad⁵⁶.

⁵⁴ Patronato de las Misiones Pedagógicas. Memoria de la Misión Pedagógico-Social en Sanabria (Zamora), *Resumen de los trabajos realizados en el año 1934*, cit., pp. 23-24.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 28-29.

⁵⁶ E. Aspas, *El colegio oculto del Pedagogo Ferrer i Guardia*, «El periódico», 2010.

Las múltiples muertes que se producían por falta de higiene eran muy numerosas. Por este motivo vemos muy necesario hacer referencia a que Ferrer⁵⁷ tuvo que explicar en el libro *Principio de Moral Científica* que, para evitar enfermedades, se recomendaba limpiar el cuerpo. Además, puso ejemplos muy básicos de cómo mantener la higiene personal (lavarse el cuerpo a diario, usar ropa limpia, emplear pastillas de jabón, toallas, etc.):

Se entiende por limpieza perfecta la costumbre de lavarse todo el cuerpo diariamente al levantarse, costumbre tan fácil de adquirir y practicar como luego es agradable y benéfica. Basta que al acostarse se deje en el mismo dormitorio un jarro de agua para que esté por la mañana a igual temperatura que la de la habitación, y se disponga de una palangana, una esponja, un cubo, una pastilla de jabón y una toalla. Además del baño matutino se lavará uno las manos y procederá al aseo de dientes y uñas, tantas veces al día como se crea conveniente. El cuerpo limpio debe estar cubierto y abrigado con ropas de la mayor limpieza posible⁵⁸.

Asimismo, hacía referencia a mantener limpio y cuidado el entorno:

Los muebles y enseres de nuestra casa particular tienen que conservarse también con la mayor limpieza deseada. Trataremos, también, que el suelo y las paredes de las habitaciones donde vivamos estén libres de polvo y otras suciedades. Las casas y los edificios todos han de estar limpios como las ropas de los individuos y los individuos mismos. El aseo se hará extensivo a los vehículos que utilicemos: coches, tranvías, buques, etc., etc., pues de lo contrario, utilizando carruajes mal aseados, se contraen con frecuencia enfermedades infecciosas. Cada cual particularmente ha de evitar ensuciarlos.

Por otro lado, queremos indicar que una noticia de prensa internacional de la época indicó datos muy duros, pues afirmaba que 50000 niños morían cada año a causa de las medidas higiénicas, las infecciones y de la situación de miseria que tenían lugar en las escuelas españolas. En esta noticia también se indicaba que, en julio de 1907, 24000 escuelas públicas no tenían luz ni ventilación (*World-wide movement to honor memory of Ferrer*, 1910)⁵⁹.

Asimismo, en la noticia de prensa también se afirma que las medidas que explicaba Ferrer i Guardia para mejorar la escuela eran necesarias para contribuir a la salud de los estudiantes, porque se pedía la unión entre la higiene y la ética (*World-wide movement to honor memory of Ferrer*, 1910)⁶⁰. Para Ferrer i Guardia, la falta de higiene de los edificios educativos españoles no podía justificarse con la pobreza que asfixiaba al país, pues su objetivo no era

⁵⁷ Ferrer i Guardia, *Principios de moral científica*, cit.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 57.

⁵⁹ *World-wide movement to honor memory of Ferrer*, «The New York Times», 1910.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*

crear escuelas parecidas a lujosos palacios, sino lugares sencillos, pero alejados de las miserias más extremas que se podían solucionar con cuidado, dedicación y limpieza⁶¹.

Conclusiones

En el siglo XIX principios del siglo XX, España vivía una crisis social y económica que afectaba a la educación. La mala situación del sistema educativo determinó que fuera un país hundido en la penuria y la necesidad. Dada esta circunstancia, los proyectos de Renovación Pedagógica españoles del momento no lo tuvieron fácil para mejorar la sociedad desde la educación.

También vemos que la Renovación Pedagógica vio limitadas sus funciones por otros motivos, como la mala gestión del poder. Dentro de esta dificultad vemos que las personas que representaban el poder mostraban resistencias hacia los proyectos educativos que querían la transformación del sistema educativo, al no ser éste inclusivo.

Así pues, podemos concluir que las reformas de Renovación Pedagógica se encontraron dos barreras para mejorar la vida de las otras personas. Hablamos de la barrera de la falta de recursos económicos y culturales del país y la barrera de la mala gestión del poder, que no quería transformar sus bases de funcionamiento, a pesar de que no eran igualitarias.

Asimismo, hemos identificado que los dos proyectos analizados estudiaron la sociedad en la que querían impactar, pues tenían la intención de conectar con las necesidades del momento y esto no es posible sin antes identificar la realidad que hay que cambiar. Así pues, vieron muy claro que para conseguir el avance de la sociedad es necesario saber cuáles son las carencias sociales que hay que compensar, así como la consecución de los objetivos mediante los principios humanitarios y no alejar a ninguna persona del progreso. Por lo tanto, las iniciativas educativas que quieren mejorar la vida de los demás tienen que partir de la idea de que el avance social solo es posible si se tiene en cuenta a todas las personas que conforman una sociedad. Siendo parte de la misma, todas las personas independientemente de sus recursos y oportunidades.

⁶¹ Ferrer i Guardia, *La Escuela Moderna*, cit.

About a history of periodical press for teachers and schools in a united Italy (1861-1945)

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ABSTRACT: On the basis of a research conducted over the last thirty years, A. reconstructs the origins and the developments of periodical press for teachers and schools published in Italy between the nineteenth and the twentieth centuries and, in particular, between the national unification (1861) and the fall of Fascism and the end of World War II (1945). Among more than a thousand twelve hundred periodicals published in this period, A. examines their objectives and realizations, in addition to their typographical and editorial features, offering an extraordinarily rich and suggestive cross section of the role which this periodical press had in the implementation, the growth and the modernization of the Italian school system, as well as the specific function it performs on the pedagogical and didactic school innovation, the professional continuing education for teachers and the legal and economic improvement of the entire teaching category.

EET/TEE KEYWORDS: History of education; Periodical press for teachers and schools; Didactic innovation; Teaching associationism; Italy; XIXth-XXth Centuries.

Introduction

Starting from the late 1980s, in Italy there was the first large survey about the periodical press for teachers and schools of the nineteenth and the twentieth centuries – a source completely ignored by education historians up to now¹ – which was conducted not by a single researcher or a small group of specialists,

¹ For a picture of the historical-pedagogical and educational research in Italy between the 1980s and the 1990s, please see the introduction to R. Sani, *Sub specie educationis. Studi e ricerche su istruzione, istituzioni scolastiche e processi culturali e formativi nell'Italia contemporanea*, Macerata, eum, 2011, pp. 7-14.

but by a real national research team composed of a large number of scholars coming from different Italian universities² and coordinated by Giorgio Chiosso from the University of Turin with my collaboration, because I was a researcher at the Catholic University of the Sacred Heart of Milan at that time³.

This survey developed in two distinct phases: initially, between 1988 and 1992, it mainly focused on periodical publications which appeared during the nineteenth century; later, between 1993 and 1997, newspapers and magazines for teachers and schools published in the first half of the twentieth century, from the beginning of the century to the end of World War II, were especially examined.

In addition to the two monumental and systematic indexes of the Italian pedagogical school periodical press of the nineteenth and the twentieth centuries, published in 1992 and 1997 respectively⁴, the members of the above-mentioned research team published a series of essay collections and important monographs, aimed at highlighting the role played by these periodicals in pedagogical discussions and debates on the Italian school reform and the renewal of teaching profession in various historical periods⁵; as well as, more recently, their function in relation to the conservation and the enhancement of magisterial school memory⁶.

Similar researches conducted in other European countries during the two previous decades had undoubtedly contributed to stimulate the launch of a

² The research team, nationally coordinated by Giorgio Chiosso with Roberto Sani's collaboration, was composed of scholars coming from different Italian universities (Bologna, Ferrara, Genoa, L'Aquila, Milano Cattolica, Padua, Palermo, Perugia and Turin), including: M. Baraldi, B. Barzon, L. Bellatalla, T. Bertilotti, F. Bochicchio, L. Bonan, R. Bonan, G. Bonetta, C. Bovo, C. Callegari, V. Caporale, R. Ceroni, S. Cerrai, M. Chiaranda, S. Chillè, G. Chiosso, M. D'Arcangeli, D. De Rosa, V. De Vincenti, M.C. Ferraro, P. Fiorentini, A. Gaudio, M. Gelati, G. Genovesi, A. Giacca, M.C. Giuntella, L. Gorgoni-Lanzetta, E. Guglielmann, D. Lombello, G. Loria, A. Mencarelli, G. Millevolte, R. Pazzagli, T. Pironi, T. Pulcini, R. Sani, D. Sironi, M. Skerk, G. Spiazzi, A. Valeri, F. Velletri, P. Zamperlin.

³ I went over the genesis and the significant developments of this important survey and the research team that was the protagonist of it in R. Sani, *Il mio itinerario formativo e di ricerca nell'ambito della Storia dell'educazione*, in S. Ulivieri, L. Cantatore, F.C. Ugolini (edd.), *La mia Pedagogia. Atti della prima Summer School SIPED*, Pisa, ETS, 2015, pp. 133-173.

⁴ See 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.

⁵ As an example, we point out: G. Chiosso (ed.), *Scuola e stampa nel Risorgimento. Giornali e riviste per l'educazione prima dell'Unità*, Milan, 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. 265-319; L. Pazzaglia, R. Sani (edd.), *Scuola e società nell'Italia unita. Dalla legge Casati al Centro-Sinistra*, Brescia, La Scuola, 2001.

⁶ See 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.

systematic survey on the periodical press for teachers and schools published during the nineteenth and the twentieth centuries in Italy, too⁷; in particular, the monumental index with the title *La presse d'éducation et d'enseignement XVIII siècle-1940*, started in 1981 and carried out by a group of French scholars under Pierre Caspard's direction over a decade⁸.

Unlike what was carried out by the transalpine colleagues, however, in Italy we decided to not limit ourselves to simply carry out a survey of the periodical publications found and to draw up short sheets which reported the essential typographical indications and the editorial features for each publication, but to more ambitiously aim at creating an organic index which would provide a concise and precise reconstruction of the characteristics and the basic orientations for each periodical surveyed, in addition to their registry and editorial data, as well as their role in relation to pedagogical and didactic debates, school events and experiences carried out by the teaching class of that time.

Not surprisingly, by introducing to the readers the above-mentioned index devoted to *La stampa pedagogica e scolastica in Italia (1820-1943)*, Giorgio Chiosso could state without fear that this index had the ambition «not to be just an aseptic set of news, data, information and, therefore, a tool to be consulted, but also to represent a living source, useful for a better knowledge of our educational events: in fact, each sheet can be considered a significant page of an ideal anthological history of pedagogy and school in Italy»⁹.

The research on the periodical press for teachers and schools of the last two centuries, which was started from the late 1980s, undoubtedly contributed to draw the scholars' attention to a very important source for the examination of the Italian school training processes between the nineteenth and the twentieth centuries, making it possible, at the same time, to verify the impact on schools and teachers, which was carried out by pedagogical and didactic innovation and education reforms of various governments that took turn at the direction of the country after national unification.

⁷ See M. De Vroede, *Bijdragen tot de geschiedenis van het pedagogisch leven in België in de 19de en 20ste eeuw. De periodiken 1817-1940*, 6 vols., Gent, Rijksuniversiteit, Seminarie voor Historische en Vergelijkende Pedagogiek - Leuven, Katholieke Universiteit, Seminarie voor Historische Pedagogiek, 1973-1987; ; H.C. De Wolf, F. De Jong (edd.), *Pedagogische tijdschriften in Noord-Nederland 1795-1830*, 2 vols., Amsterdam, Katholieke Universiteit Nijmegen, 1978; J. van De Walle, H. De Wolf (edd.), *Pedagogische tijdschriften in Nederland van 1830 tot 1857*, 2 vols., Nijmegen, Katholieke Universiteit Nijmegen, 1981; H. van Setten, H. De Wolf (edd.), *Pedagogische tijdschriften in Nederland sinds 1945*, 2 vols., Nijmegen, Instituut voor Wijsgerige en Historische Pedagogiek der Katholieke Universiteit, 1981; L. Fletcher, *The Teacher's Press in Britain, 1802-1888*, University of Leeds, Leeds, 1978; G. Petrat, *Verzeichnis und Standortnachweis der Pädagogischen Presse von 1715 bis 1850*, «Informationen zur Erziehungs- und Bildungshistorischen Forschung», vol. 19, n. 1, 1982, pp. 51-61.

⁸ P. Caspard-Karydis, A. Chambon, G. Fraisse, D. Poindron, *La presse d'éducation et d'enseignement XVIII siècle-1940: répertoire analytique, établi sous la direction de Pierre Caspard*, 4 vols., Paris, Institut National de Recherche Pédagogique, Éditions du C.N.R.S., 1981-1991.

⁹ Chiosso (ed.), *La stampa pedagogica e scolastica in Italia (1820-1943)*, cit., p. 12.

This contribution aims at adequately enhancing the most relevant results achieved by the above-mentioned surveys while, at the same time, providing a first assessment of over thirty years of study and research on periodical press for teachers and schools, which appeared in Italy during the nineteenth and the twentieth centuries.

1. *Newspapers and magazines for teachers and schools between two centuries: an overall picture*

In the period between the early nineteenth century and the fall of the Fascist regime, that is, between 1801 and 1943, 1273 periodicals for teachers and schools were published in Italy. Among these, 559 were printed between 1801 and 1900, while 714 saw the light in the period between 1901 and 1943.

With reference to the nineteenth century, it is worth mentioning that most of the periodicals for schools and teachers was mainly published starting from the late 1850s, i.e. on the eve of national unification (1861): in fact, between 1800 and 1859 there were only 21 newspapers printed, like about 1.6% of the total, compared to over 481 newspapers, 37.7% of the total, which saw the light in the post-unification period, that is, the last forty years of the nineteenth century¹⁰.

The chronological distribution of the periodicals in a ten-year series shows a growing trend up to the end of the first decade of the twentieth century and then, subsequently, a first little reduction during the 1920s and, subsequently, a very significant reduction of the number of newspapers in the period coinciding with the advent and the success of the Fascist regime in Italy (1922-1943):

1820-1829	= no. 3 (0,2%)
1830-1839	= no. 3 (0,2%)
1840-1859	= no. 15 (1,1%)
1860-1869	= no. 73 (5,7%)
1870-1879	= no. 132 (10,3%)
1880-1889	= no. 153 (12%)
1890-1899	= no. 166 (13%)
1900-1909	= no. 251 (19,7%)
1910-1919	= no. 239 (18,7%)
1920-1929	= no. 176 (13,8%)
1930-1939	= no. 47 (3,6%)
1940-1943	= no. 15 (1,1%) ¹¹ .

¹⁰ See G. Chiosso, *Giornali e giornalisti per la scuola nel secondo Ottocento*, in Id. (ed.), *I periodici scolastici nell'Italia del secondo Ottocento*, cit., pp. 7-44.

¹¹ See Id., *Introduzione*, in Id. (ed.), *La stampa pedagogica e scolastica in Italia (1820-1943)*,

As regards the geographical dislocation of the periodicals for teachers and schools, the relative data show, first of all, the leading role played by Turin during the nineteenth century¹²: in fact, during this period the first capital city of the Kingdom of Italy (1861-1865) gave birth to 64 newspapers – 11 in the pre-unification season (confirming the leading role played by the work of school reorganization started by Carlo Boncompagni and Gabrio Casati and the educational and didactic renewal promoted by the spiritualist and Catholic-liberal pedagogy in the Piedmont of Savoy), and 42 during the first post-unification forty years (1861-1900). The wealth of periodicals recorded between 1900 and 1943 was definitely more contained than the one previously recorded, probably due to the most remote political and cultural role played by the city after the transfer of the capital city to Florence and, later, to Rome: they were 44 in total, for a total amount of 108 newspapers printed in the capital city of Savoy during the entire period examined.

Periodical press for teachers and schools in Milan was also very important¹³: on this regard, 58 specialized magazines, which were almost all published during the post-unification, particularly between the 1870s and the 1890s (46), saw the light in the Lombard capital city. Unlike Turin and Florence, the number of newspapers published in Milan during the first half of the twentieth century – 71 (for a total of 129 newspapers published during the entire period examined) – was far more significant, confirming the growing importance acquired by the Lombard capital city regarding pedagogical reflection and school renewal from the last two decades of the previous century.

Peculiar developments recorded by periodical press for teachers and schools in Rome appear closely correlated with the political vicissitudes experienced by the city¹⁴. With the end of the Papal State and its annexation to the Kingdom of Italy, of which it became the capital city, as it is known, Rome experienced a growing flourishing of these articles, passing from the 11 magazines in the 1870s to 22 in the 1880s and 12 in the last decade of the nineteenth century, for a total of 57. By virtue of the real centrality gradually acquired by the capital city at a

cit., pp. 5-12.

¹² See Id., *L'educazione del popolo nei giornali piemontesi per la scuola*, in Id. (ed.), *Scuola e stampa nel Risorgimento. Giornali e riviste per l'educazione prima dell'Unità*, cit., pp. 25-62; and Id., *I giornali scolastici torinesi dopo l'Unità*, in Id. (ed.), *Scuola e stampa nell'Italia liberale. Giornali e riviste per l'educazione dall'Unità a fine secolo*, cit., pp. 7-50.

¹³ See D. Maldini Chiarito, *Scuola, insegnanti e programmi nei fogli scolastici di Milano*, in Chiosso (ed.), *Scuola e stampa nel Risorgimento. Giornali e riviste per l'educazione prima dell'Unità*, cit., pp. 63-86; and S. Chillé, *Editoria e scuola a Milano. Il caso del «risveglio educativo»*, in Chiosso (ed.), *Scuola e stampa nell'Italia liberale. Giornali e riviste per l'educazione dall'Unità a fine secolo*, cit., pp. 51-66.

¹⁴ See R. Sani, *I periodici scolastico-educativi e il dibattito sull'istruzione nello Stato Pontificio*, in Chiosso (ed.), *Scuola e stampa nel Risorgimento. Giornali e riviste per l'educazione prima dell'Unità*, cit., pp. 147-170; and M.L. Trebiliani, *I primi giornali scolastici di Roma capitale*, in Chiosso (ed.), *Scuola e stampa nell'Italia liberale. Giornali e riviste per l'educazione dall'Unità a fine secolo*, cit., pp. 93-110.

political and cultural level, as well as at a school and national educational one – due to the Ministry of Public Education –, the birth of new magazines during the first half of the twentieth century was even more important: almost one hundred (precisely, 99) were equitably distributed between the early twentieth century and the early 1940s, for a total of 156 newspapers during the entire period examined.

Periodical press for teachers and schools in large Italian cities, such as Florence, Palermo and Naples, was less, but still significant. For example, in the Tuscan capital city¹⁵, where 44 newspapers in the nineteenth century and 38 in the following century were created, the peak season was between the 1860s and the 1870s, during which 28 periodicals saw the light in the wake of a short and intense season in Florence, the current capital city of the Kingdom of Italy (1865-1871); a similar result would have been recorded during the first thirty years of the twentieth century (34 periodicals), after the affirmation of a new and expert generation of school editors, who were aware of the importance of the periodical press for all the teachers and schools in the Tuscan capital city¹⁶.

The number of periodicals, which were created in Palermo in the same period, is slightly lower than the one found in Florence: 40 in all in the nineteenth century, during post-unification, and 35 during the first forty years of the twentieth century¹⁷. A closer analysis of the peculiar scenario in Palermo reveals how the periodical press for teachers and schools has taken its roots and has especially developed since the 1870s (14 newspapers), coinciding with the spread of new positivistic pedagogical and didactic theories on the island, and it also shows in the following decades how it has registered a further impulse – clearly attested by 28 newspapers which appeared in the first twenty years of the twentieth century – from the diffusion of Gentili's education philosophy and new instances of pedagogical and didactic renewal derived from the Lombard school context¹⁸.

The case of Naples, the ancient capital city of the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies, where a total of 31 newspapers during the last forty years of the nineteenth century and other 30 in the twentieth century saw the light, is equally peculiar¹⁹. After an uncertain and problematic start-up – witnessed by the small

¹⁵ See A. Gaudio, «La famiglia e la scuola» e la tradizione moderata fiorentina, in Chiosso (ed.), *Scuola e stampa nell'Italia liberale. Giornali e riviste per l'educazione dall'Unità a fine secolo*, cit., pp. 67-92.

¹⁶ See C. Betti (ed.), *Percorsi del libro per la scuola fra Otto e Novecento. La tradizione toscana e le nuove realtà del primo Novecento in Italia*, Florence, Pagnini, 2004.

¹⁷ See P. Fiorentini, *Positivismo, pedagogia e scuola in Sicilia: l'«Archivio di pedagogia e scienze affini»*, in Chiosso (ed.), *Scuola e stampa nell'Italia liberale. Giornali e riviste per l'educazione dall'Unità a fine secolo*, cit., pp. 141-164.

¹⁸ On this regard, please see G. Chiosso, *Il rinnovamento del libro scolastico nelle esperienze di Giuseppe Lombardo Radice e dei «lombardiani»*, «History of Education & Children's Literature», vol. I, n. 1, 2006, pp. 127-139.

¹⁹ See G. Bonetta, «Il progresso educativo» per la ricchezza della nazione e del meridione, in

number of periodicals published between the 1860s and the 1880s –, from the last decade of the nineteenth century the capital city of Campania experienced a discrete development of newspapers for teachers and schools destined to last at least until the early 1920s. However, in the same period, in the main cities of the Northern and Central Italy, the consolidation of such large publishing centers, which were specialized in the production of textbooks and teaching aids and strongly committed to the periodical press for schools and teachers, was destined to mark the irreversible decline of the Neapolitan capital city in this sector.

Throughout the nineteenth century, most of periodicals for schools and teachers published in Italy had an essentially local circulation; in fact, at least until the 1890s, there were very few newspapers whose diffusion managed to go beyond the provincial context and there were even fewer which circulated outside the boundaries of their original region.

It should be also remembered that periodicals for schools and teachers, which were almost exclusively published in small local printing offices and houses before and immediately after national unification, were only made subject to a specific attention by the new-born educational school publishing starting from the 1870s and the 1880s, as evidenced by numerous newspapers published by the first publishing houses specialized in the publication of textbooks and educational works for children, also operating in a still essentially local context.

A further turning point was recorded from the 1890s with the appearance of an authentic series of periodicals for teachers and national schools of high cultural profile, printed by some relevant publishers specialized in the field of education, such as, for example, Paravia in Turin, Vallardi, Risveglio Educativo, I Diritti della Scuola and Trevisini in Milan, Zanichelli in Bologna, Cappelli in Rocca San Casciano, Paggi, Le Monnier and Sansoni in Florence, Dante Alighieri in Albrighi, Segati & C. in Rome and Sandron in Palermo in the late nineteenth century; and Mondadori in Milan, La Scuola in Brescia, Bemporad and Vallecchi in Florence, Tipografia del Littorio in Rome, Carabba in Lanciano, etc. in the first half of the twentieth century²⁰.

Originally characterized by a very essential graphic layout and a limited number of pages, and generally lacking in illustrations and other refinements in order to contain printing expenses and to limit subscription costs, the periodicals for teachers and schools published in Italy assumed a valuable editorial appearance only starting from the last decade of the nineteenth century, significantly improving paper and printing characters, expanding the number of

Chiosso (ed.), *Scuola e stampa nell'Italia liberale. Giornali e riviste per l'educazione dall'Unità a fine secolo*, cit., pp. 111-140.

²⁰ For an analytical and richly documented picture of the school editors quoted in the text, please see: G. Chiosso (ed.), *TESEO. Tipografi e editori scolastico-educativi dell'Ottocento*, Milan, Editrice Bibliografica, 2003; and Id. (dir.), *TESEO '900. Editori scolastico-educativi del primo Novecento*, Milan, Editrice Bibliografica, 2008.

pages, embellishing each issue with a colored cover and, finally, enriching the articles in various columns with images and illustrations.

From the beginning, school men and women founded and edited three periodicals, as well as they became their editorial staff and a more or less extensive and defined set of stable and occasional collaborators: teachers from primary schools and teachers from secondary and high schools, kindergarten teachers and childhood educators, headmasters and educational directors, school inspectors and provincial education superintendents, who were soon enough joined by officials and leaders of the Ministry of Public Education and professors.

A closer look at this complex and various universe of 'school journalists' reveals how most of them were in a category of excellence from the beginning including, above all, editors of textbooks and teaching manuals for teachers, promoters and animators of didactic and educational innovation and teaching method reform, professors of Pedagogy at the Italian universities, particularly involved in the renewal of educational theories and the education system reform²¹.

Moreover, starting from the last two decades of the nineteenth century, the directors and the editors of periodicals for teachers and schools would have also played a leading role on the promotion and the animation of the first professional and trade union associations and, later, they became the masters of the transformation of the first local societies for mutual aid among teachers into real national organizations.

But, at this point, it is the case to dwell in general terms upon what were the characteristics and the basic guidelines of the periodical press for teachers and schools in the period between national unification and World War II.

2. *The periodical press for teachers and schools the day after the national unification*

The periodicals for teachers and schools published in the first post-unification period were essentially aimed at providing answers to the multiple and serious shortcomings and dysfunctions which characterized the school system of the new-born united State, *in primis* for primary and popular education²², and, at

²¹ On this regard, please see A. Ascenzi, *La ricerca sulla manualistica scolastica in Italia: nuovi orientamenti storiografici e prospettive per il futuro*, in J. Meda, A.M. Badanelli (edd.), *La historia de la cultura escolar en Italia y en Espana: balance y perspectivas*, Macerata, eum, 2013, pp. 119-138.

²² For an analytical picture of the situation the day after the national unification and until the end of the century, please see: *Sulle condizioni della Pubblica istruzione nel Regno d'Italia. Relazione generale presentata al ministro dal Consiglio Superiore di Torino*, Milan, Stamperia Reale, 1865; *Documenti sulla istruzione elementare nel Regno d'Italia. Parte prima*, Florence, Eredi

the same time, making up for the scarce – and at times very scarce – cultural and didactic preparation of most of the teachers in service at primary schools, especially in central and southern Italy, which previously belonged to the Papal State and the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies²³. This latter problem is destined to persist even in the following decades and, at least, until the end of the nineteenth century, due to the insufficient distribution of the so-called *normal schools* created by the Casati law (1859) for the training of teachers in service at the Italian primary schools and the consequent impossibility to complete a regular course of studies for most of them²⁴.

In this context, the day after the fall of the Bourbon government, in Naples there was, first of all, the weekly publication «L'Amico delle Scuole Popolari» (1861-1876), founded by the *Association for folk schools*, a moderate liberal partnership which aimed at favoring the development of education in Naples and in the southern provinces, supporting a vast plan for the creation of kindergartens, primary, normal and arts schools, colleges and other educational institutions, mainly intended for popular classes. In more than fifteen years of its life, the periodical (which reached the exceptional circulation of 1,100 copies during the 1870s) paid a particular attention to the serious didactic shortcomings of the teachers, proposing methodical lessons intended for teachers and students in normal schools and inspired by the writings by Vitale Rosi, Ferrante Aporti and Giovanni Antonio Rayneri, in addition to a practical guidebook for classroom work. At a pedagogical level, «L'Amico delle Scuole

Botta, 1868; *Documenti sulla istruzione elementare nel Regno d'Italia. Parte seconda*, Florence, Eredi Botta, 1870; *Documenti sulla istruzione elementare nel Regno d'Italia. Parte terza*, Rome, Eredi Botta, 1872; *Documenti sulla istruzione elementare nel Regno d'Italia. Appendice alla parte terza*, Rome, Eredi Botta, 1873; M. Torraca, *Relazione a S.E. il Ministro dell'Istruzione Pubblica sull'istruzione elementare nell'anno scolastico 1895-96*, «Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione. Bollettino Ufficiale», vol. XXIV, November 29th, 1897, suppl. to n. 47, 2 vols.; V. Ravà, *Relazione a S.E. il Ministro dell'Istruzione Pubblica, sull'istruzione elementare nell'anno scolastico 1897-1898*, «Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione. Bollettino Ufficiale», vol. XXVII, 1900, suppl. to n. 42, 2 vols. An excellent summary of the main issues which characterized the Italian school system of the time is offered in T. Tomasi, *Da Matteucci a Corradini. Le inchieste sulla scuola popolare nell'età liberale, in Problemi e momenti di storia della scuola e dell'educazione. Atti del I Convegno Nazionale del Centro italiano per la ricerca storico-educativa* (Parma, 23-24 ottobre 1981), Pisa, ETS, 1982, pp. 117-143.

²³ See R. Sani, A. Tedde (edd.), *Maestri e istruzione popolare in Italia tra Otto e Novecento*, Milan, Vita e Pensiero, 2003. About the post-university school system, please see G. Saredo, *Vicende legislative della Pubblica Istruzione in Italia dall'anno 1859 al 1899. Introduzione al Codice della Pubblica Istruzione dello stesso Autore*, Turin, Unione Tipografico-Editrice, 1901.

²⁴ See R.S. Di Pol, *Cultura pedagogica e professionalità nella formazione del maestro italiano. Da Risorgimento ai giorni nostri*, Turin, Sintagma, 1998, especially the chapters regarding the nineteenth century. See, also, the magisterial status in the post-unification nineteenth century: E. Catarsi, *L'educazione del popolo. Momenti e figure dell'istruzione popolare nell'Italia liberale*, Bergamo, Juvenilia, 1985; and the more recent A. Ascenzi, *Drammi privati e pubbliche virtù. La maestra italiana dell'Ottocento tra narrazione letteraria e cronaca giornalistica*, Macerata, eum, 2012.

Popolari» was inspired by the Risorgimento tradition, especially supporting Raffaello Lambruschini and Niccolò Tommaseo's doctrines²⁵, whose main writings were distributed in free instalments to its subscribers, in order to favor the circulation of a more pedagogical and educational sensitivity between teachers at primary schools and childhood educators in the South.

In the wake of «L'Amico delle Scuole Popolari» (1861-1876), there is a series of periodicals committed to promote the spread of primary education in Italy and to support and to qualify didactics in primary classrooms through a series of columns about 'practical teaching', which provided a wide range of readings, dictations and graduated exercises for different subjects (nomenclature, Italian grammar, arithmetic, history, geography, sciences, etc.) for each day of the week and were articulated for various primary classes. For example, this is the case of the publication «Il maestro di scuola» in Ferrara (1861-1863), «L'educazione nazionale» in Naples (1866-1868), «Annali dell'istruzione» (Messina 1869-1873), «L'Amico del maestro elementare italiano», published in Rovigo from 1870 to 1874, and, finally, the later «L'Amico della scuola», published in Rovereto between 1879 and 1880.

Other didactic periodicals must be also added to the latter ones and they tried to provide teachers in primary schools not only with writings about school pedagogy and columns about 'practical teaching', but also with precise and valuable information concerning the most recent and important provisions concerning public education and schools discussed in Parliament, the official documents of the Ministry of Public Education and, finally, the provisions issued by the provincial education authorities and other local school authorities concerning «vacant chairs, replacements, appointments and promotions of teachers»: the more necessary and appreciated this latter information seemed for teachers in the first post-unification period, the more lacking the official channels of communication between downtown and suburbs set up by the Ministry of Public Education were, in particular, in the most decentralized and marginal areas in Italy²⁶.

In addition to the periodical «Effemeride della Pubblica Istruzione» (1860-1865) in Turin, then transferred to Florence and created on the eve of the national unification with the intention of acting as an «unofficial voice of the Ministry», of which it published «the documents relating to staff and schools», in this context there is also the publication «L'Annunciatore» (1863-1871) in Fano, «La Pubblica Istruzione» (1865-1869) in Florence and «La riforma delle scuole elementari» (1866-1870) in Turin, all destined to receive a moderate

²⁵ About the biography and the work of Vitale Rosi, Ferrante Aporti and Giovanni Antonio Rayneri, as well as those of Raffaello Lambruschini and Niccolò Tommaseo, please see the related profiles collected in G. Chiosso, R. Sani (dir.), *Dizionario Biografico dell'Educazione (1800-2000)* [later: DBE], 2 vols., Milan, Editrice Bibliografica, 2013, *ad vocem*.

²⁶ See G.F. Ferrari, *Stato ed enti locali nella politica scolastica: l'istituzione di scuole da Casati alla vigilia della riforma Gentile*, Padua, Cedam, 1979.

success during the first post-unification decade, that is, in the most uncertain and problematic phase of the creation of the national school system.

In addition to the above-mentioned ones, in the decades immediately following national unification, other periodicals saw the light and were destined to play a leading role and to have a considerable importance in debates on the renewal of education and school and the improvement of the teachers' training in the 1860s and the 1870s, due to their promoters and animators' authority and the ambitious program which characterized them. For example, this is the case of the publication «*Patria e Famiglia*» (1861-1880) in Milan, as well as the long-lived periodical «*La guida del maestro elementare italiano*» (1864-1897) in Turin and the lively newspaper «*Il progresso educativo*» (1869-1874) in Naples.

Official part of the *Pedagogical Association* in Milan and, subsequently, the *Italian Pedagogical Society*, «*Patria e Famiglia*» (1861-1880) saw the light just after the national unification thanks to the Milanese pedagogue and educator Giuseppe Sacchi (1804-1891), promoter of the first kindergartens, created following Aporti's doctrine, and creator and animator of some of the most important initiatives for literacy and popular education in Milan and Lombardy²⁷.

Faithful to its program of promoting «good pedagogical doctrines», «fighting old and new prejudices in terms of education» and «spreading new methods» in order to make «the difficult art of teaching» more effective and functional, «*Patria e Famiglia*» (1861-1880) vigorously supported the provisions introduced by the Minister of Public Education, Michele Coppino, in favor of compulsory education and the fight against illiteracy in the second half of the 1870s; at the same time, it fought for the diffusion and the development of special schools for deaf mutes, blind people and mentally retarded people and the elevation of pedagogical and didactic culture for teachers in primary schools in Milan and Lombardy, having numerous and authoritative contributions inspired by Raffaello Lambruschini, Gino Capponi, Antonio Rosmini and Niccolò Tommaseo's pedagogy on its pages. Finally, the attention paid by this Milanese periodical to educational and didactic practices and the most innovative teaching methods used in the primary schools of the most advanced countries, first of all France, England, Germany and the United States, was considerable and, certainly, very innovative for the time.

The role played by the publication «*La guida del maestro elementare italiano*» (1864-1897) in Turin was also particularly significant and represented a point of reference for teachers in all the Italian primary schools for a long time, first under the direction of the priest and teacher Giovanni Parato and then under the direction of his brother Antonino Parato²⁸, as also evidenced

²⁷ Please see the related profile published in the DBE, *ad vocem*.

²⁸ About Giovanni and Antonino Parato's work, please see Chiosso, *I giornali scolastici torinesi*

by the extraordinary number of subscribers reached by this periodical in a few years: from about 1,200 registered people in December 1864 to over 3,000 people reached in October 1867. Heir of the most authoritative and committed school press for the teachers of the Kingdom of Sardinia in the mid-nineteenth century, this periodical in Turin tried to elevate the methodological and didactic preparation of the teachers by providing them not only with a functional column about 'practical teaching', but also with a series of contributions aimed at illustrating the most recent and innovative teaching methods and the best techniques for using textbooks in classroom teaching.

Finally, an equally significant role was played in Naples and the southern regions by the monthly publication «Il progresso educativo» (1869-1874), founded, edited and largely filled in by Prof. Edoardo Fusco, Professor of Anthropology and Pedagogy at the University of Naples between 1866 and 1873 and a leading exponent of the new-born positivist scientific pedagogy in Italy²⁹. Mainly aimed at teachers and those who were interested in educational issues, this periodical in Naples helped to bring the debate on school reforms and the renewal of didactic and professional training of primary school teachers out of the narrow provincial ambits, by publishing long reports and information about the experiences taking place in other European and non-European countries, especially the Anglo-Saxon ones (England, Ireland, the United States, Canada, etc.), and, at the same time, by devoting numerous and punctual theoretical interventions to these issues³⁰.

3. *The differentiation and the specialization of periodical press for teachers and schools in the last decades of the nineteenth century*

In addition to a considerable increase in periodicals for teachers and schools, the last decades of the nineteenth century also recorded their growing differentiation and specialization from a point of view of school and professional typologies represented and the issues faced. In fact, after a first phase – the 1860s – mainly characterized by modest didactic publications destined to the primary school teachers of the new-born united State, the context for the periodical press for teachers and schools became richer and more various.

For example, starting from the late 1860s, in Italy there were the first periodicals specifically devoted to female primary school teachers, female school directors, female school inspectors and female childhood educators and characterized by an unequivocally 'feminine' approach and sensitivity to

dopo l'Unità, cit., pp. 13-47.

²⁹ Please see the related profile published in the DBE, *ad vocem*.

³⁰ See Bonetta, «Il progresso educativo» per la ricchezza della nazione e del meridione, cit.

school, infant education and teaching profession problems³¹. In particular, this is the case of the publication «Ferrante Aporti, Periodico mensile per uso delle visitatrici, direttrici e maestre degli asili o scuole infantili», published in Spoleto between 1869 and 1872, as well as a series of periodicals appeared around the mid-1870s and destined to record considerable fortunes: from «La madre di famiglia e la maestra elementare italiana», published in Bibbiena (Arezzo) between 1872 and 1874, to «L'Istitutrice. Periodico educativo dedicato alle maestre elementari d'Italia», published in Bologna between 1873 and 1877, from «La maestra elementare italiana», published in Florence between 1875 and 1880, which later became «La nuova maestra elementare italiana» (1881-1882), to «La maestra educatrice», published in Turin between 1879 and 1880.

Especially during the 1880s and the 1890s, in addition to these ones, there were also a series of cultural and pedagogical newspapers, which managed to reconcile and to hold together the defense of women's interests within the magisterial category and school life, the commitment in favor of the didactic preparation of female primary school teachers and female childhood educators and a significant opening to children's care and educational needs and the battles in favor of women's literacy and education. In particular, we intend to refer to the publication «La collaboratrice della maestra» (1880-1882) in Turin, «La scuola materna. Giornale per le madri e per le maestre delle scuole infantili» (1886-1891) in Milan and, above all, the much better known and long-lived «Il corriere delle maestre», also published in the Lombard capital city between 1897 and 1941. The latter one, characterized by a modern editorial structure and animated by an undoubted cultural and civil passion, was the protagonist of a series of battles in favor of the improvement of the legal and economic status of the magisterial category and the renewal of primary and popular education, especially in the twentieth century. Moreover, it strongly supported the request for a new and more conscious female protagonism in teaching profession and national school world, also claiming the peculiar and irreplaceable role which female primary school teachers and female childhood educators were called to play for the growth and the education of young generations during the Fascist twenty years³².

Starting from the end of the 1860s, in addition to the periodicals mainly intended for primary school teachers, there was also a series of newspapers devoted to the other categories of teachers and educators and the examination of problems and needs of all the schools. First of all, this is the case of preschool infant education.

³¹ Please see R.S. Di Pol, *La stampa per le maestre*, in Chiosso (ed.), *Scuola e stampa nell'Italia liberale. Giornali e riviste per l'educazione dall'Unità a fine secolo*, cit., pp. 191-221.

³² See R. Sani, *L'educazione dell'infanzia dall'età giolittiana al fascismo*, in Pazzaglia, Sani (edd.), *Scuola e società nell'Italia unita. Dalla legge Casati al Centro-Sinistra*, cit., pp. 239-256.

In this context, in addition to periodicals, such as «Il progresso dell'Associazione nazionale degli asili rurali per l'infanzia» (1867-1869) in Florence and «L'educazione infantile» (1879-1880) in Turin, engaged to spread the kindergartens which referred to the model set up by Ferrante Aporti³³ a few decades before and to favor the acquisition of the so-called Aporti's method by female kindergarten teachers after national unification, we find a series of newspapers which also promoted in Italy the *Kindergarten*, created by Friedrich Fröbel in Germany, and spread Fröbel's innovative method among female childhood educators³⁴. It would be enough here to refer to «Il giardino infantile italiano», published in Milan and then in Vigevano in the two-year period 1879-1880, «Il monitore degli asili giardini», published in Trani between 1881 and 1883, and the most long-lived and committed «L'amico degli asili e dei giardini d'infanzia», published in Faenza from 1885 to 1921, and «L'educazione dei bambini», published in Rome between 1889 and 1917. In particular, these latter ones between the nineteenth and the twentieth centuries had a leading role in pedagogical and didactic renewal of educational institutions for children and training and continuing education of the relative teaching staff (female kindergarten teachers, female educators, etc.)³⁵.

All the periodical publications intended for secondary and high school teachers, which appeared in Italy at the end of the nineteenth century, were even richer and more various. In fact, apart from «L'istruzione secondaria», the fleeting publication in Florence, which appeared for a few months between 1876 and 1877, it must be said that most of this kind of newspapers saw the light in the 1880s and the 1890s. For example, in this phase, we find «L'istruzione secondaria in Italia e all'estero», published in Lodi between 1891 and 1893, «La nostra scuola. Periodico per l'insegnamento secondario», published in Fermo (Ascoli Piceno) between 1897 and 1899, and «La scuola secondaria italiana», published in Milan from 1897 to 1903.

This kind of periodicals, mainly devoted to the analysis of all the secondary education problems and the most important questions concerning the legal status and the economic treatment of secondary school teachers, was accompanied by another one which was more sensitive to cultural and pedagogical issues which characterized various secondary schools and the themes proper to the initial training and the continuing education of teachers.

On this regard, from the early 1880s, a series of periodicals expressly intended for high school and gymnasium teachers spread and focused their attention on

³³ On this regard, please see A. Ascenzi, R. Sani, «Un'altra scuola... per un altro paese». Ottavio Gigli e l'Associazione nazionale per la fondazione di Asili rurali per l'infanzia tra lotta all'analfabetismo e Nation-building (1866-1873), Macerata, eum, 2014.

³⁴ See M. Chiaranda, *Froebel e il froebelismo in alcune riviste per l'infanzia*, in Chiosso (ed.), *Scuola e stampa nell'Italia liberale. Giornali e riviste per l'educazione dall'Unità a fine secolo*, cit., pp. 165-190.

³⁵ See Sani, *L'educazione dell'infanzia dall'età giolittiana al fascismo*, cit., pp. 252-254.

the peculiar needs of classical teaching (programs, teaching methods, teaching tools, etc.) and the cultural preparation of future teachers in this field, without ignoring the juridical and economic aspirations of the teaching category and the issues regarding school policy in general. This is the case of «La scuola classica. Bollettino della Società tra gli insegnanti delle scuole classiche», published in Milan between 1882 and 1883, «Il liceo», published in Florence in the same years 1882-1883, «La biblioteca delle scuole [classiche] italiane», published in Turin from 1889 to 1905 and, finally, «La scuola classica», published in Ancona between 1895 and 1897.

Moreover, something similar is also recorded for technical and professional high schools, as evidenced by some periodicals with a strong impact, such as «L'allievo ragioniere. Monitore degli istituti delle scuole tecniche e commerciali», published in Novara between 1880 and 1885, and «L'insegnamento tecnico-industriale», published in Rome in the years 1889-1890, in addition to the pioneering publication «L'istruzione tecnica», published in Cremona since 1879.

Finally, with regard to higher and university education, the appearance of the first periodical publications for professors is worth mentioning in this same period. In particular, we intend to refer to «L'Università. Rivista dell'istruzione superiore pubblicata da una società di professori», published by a large group of professors from the old University of Bologna between 1887 and 1891, «La Riforma universitaria», also published in the *Alma Mater Studiorum* of Bologna between 1890 and 1891 and then relaunched from 1902, after a long pause, and, finally, «L'Unione universitaria. Periodico mensile tra i professori universitari italiani», published in Siena from 1894 to 1897³⁶.

Particularly felt in the post-unification period, the need of implementing and giving stability and functionality to the new-born national school system³⁷, increasing not only professionalism and skills of all the teachers, but also the management and inspection staff, who were called to ensure the didactic and administrative school management, was the origin of the appearance of a series of periodicals in this period, whose main purpose was to take care of the pedagogical and didactic continuing education of new didactic directors and school inspectors appointed under the Casati Law (1859) and the subsequent post-unification school legislation³⁸. Among the most interesting examples

³⁶ In this volume, please see the documented contribution by Luigiaurelio Pomante on the periodical press for professors with the title: *La prensa periódica para profesores universitarios en Italia entre la guerra y el período de posguerra (1939-1960)*.

³⁷ See M.C. Morandini, *Scuola e nazione. Maestri e istruzione popolare nella costruzione dello Stato unitario (1848-1861)*, Milan, Vita e Pensiero, 2003.

³⁸ On this regard, please see: G. Martinez, *Linee evolutive del sistema di governo della scuola, in La scuola italiana: storia e struttura*, Milan, ISEDI, 1978, pp. 70-123; G. Decollanz, *La funzione ispettiva dalla legge Casati ad oggi*, Rome, Armando, 1984, pp. 76 and so on; and G. Sanviti, G.C. Spatini, *Alle origini del ministero della Pubblica Istruzione nel regno d'Italia. L'amministrazione periferica: nascita e consolidamento di una tradizione burocratica della scuola*, «Rivista Trimestrale

of this particular kind of periodicals for schools, it is worth mentioning the newspapers «Il direttore didattico», published in Frosinone from 1892 to 1902, and «La Lega dei direttori didattici», published in Trapani between 1897 and 1903.

Further and significant confirmations of the growing differentiation and specialization recorded in the periodical press for teachers and schools during the last decades of the nineteenth century consist of various newspapers devoted to educators and teachers from special schools for mentally retarded people, which appeared in this phase, on the one hand and the gradual publication of magazines specialized in disciplinary teaching and addressed to teachers of single school subjects in the same period on the other hand.

With regard to the first genre, it would be enough to mention as an example the authoritative and long-lived periodical «Dell'educazione dei sordomuti in Italia», published in Siena starting from 1872 and regularly published until now with some brief interruptions, as well as the publication «Il mentore dei ciechi», which later became «L'amico dei ciechi», published in Florence between 1876 and 1885, and, finally, «L'ortofrenia. Rivista per l'educazione e istruzione dei fanciulli e giovinetti idioti, imbecilli e tardivi», published in Lecco from 1894 to 1897, and «Rassegna di pedagogia e igiene per l'educazione dei sordomuti e dei deficienti», which was published in Naples between 1894 and 1901 and played a leading role in the renewal of teaching methods and educational guidelines of special schools for disabled children and the continuing education of teachers in these schools³⁹.

With regard to the periodical press specialized in teaching a single school subject, a leading role was played by numerous newspapers – over a dozen published during the last forty years of the nineteenth century – devoted to gymnastics and mainly intended for teachers of Physical Education⁴⁰. First of all, this is the case of the publication «La ginnastica. Giornale di educazione fisica» in Livorno, published starting from 1866: it became official part of the Italian Association of Gymnastic Masters a few years later and, after having vigorously supported the introduction of physical education in the plan of studies in each school, it successfully dealt with it until 1892, the year when the publications and the preparation and the continuing education of teachers were completed.

di Diritto Pubblico», n. 2, 1988, pp. 459-512.

³⁹ See M. Alliegro, *L'educazione dei ciechi. Storia, concetti, metodi*, Rome, Armando, 1991; and R. Sani, *L'educazione dei sordomuti in Italia prima e dopo l'Unità. Itinerari, esperienze, discussioni*, in Id. (ed.), *L'educazione dei sordomuti nell'Italia dell'800. Istituzioni, metodi, proposte formative*, Turin, SEI, 2008, pp. 5-38.

⁴⁰ See G. Bonetta, *Corpo e nazione. L'educazione ginnastica, igienica e sessuale nell'Italia liberale*, Milan, FrancoAngeli, 1990; and the recent and documented P. Alfieri, *Le origini della ginnastica nella scuola elementare italiana. Normativa e didattica di una nuova disciplina*, Lecce-Brescia, Multimedia, 2017.

In the wake of the newspaper in Livorno, with a particular attention to the new teaching methods for physical education and the most recent innovations in its tools and equipment used in Germany, France, Sweden, the United Kingdom and other European countries, we can find publications, such as «La ginnastica educativa» (Turin, 1872-1884), «La ginnastica in Italia» (Florence, 1874-1881), «L'educatore ginnastico» (Palermo, 1879-1882), «L'educazione fisica» (Vicenza, 1896-1902), l'«Educazione fisica nazionale» (Naples, 1896-1904) and «La ginnastica educativa» (Rome, 1896-1916), to only mention the most long-lived and representative ones.

In this same period, the number of periodicals destined to mathematics, computer science, physics and natural sciences teachers was also considerable for the purpose of protecting the interests of this category, methodologically and didactically educating teachers and promoting the main innovations made abroad for scientific teaching. Here, it would be enough to mention newspapers, such as «Periodico di scienze matematiche e naturali per l'insegnamento secondario» (Rome, 1873-1874), «Giornale di matematica elementare e di computisteria» (Nizza Monferrato, 1874-1878), «Rivista di matematica elementare» (Novara, 1879-1882), «Periodico di matematica per l'insegnamento secondario» (Rome, 1886-1970) and «Bollettino di matematiche e di scienze fisiche e naturali» (Bologna, 1899-1900).

Therefore, a leading role was played by «Bollettino dell'Associazione 'Mathesis' fra gli insegnanti di matematica delle scuole medie», which was published in Turin between 1896 and 1908 as an official part of the homonymous company created among the mathematics teachers from the secondary schools of the Kingdom in Rome on October 15th, 1895, and, in addition to publishing the acts of their partnership, it gave importance to articles and contributions intended to favor the scientific education of its members and to spread in Italian schools the most advanced and innovative mathematics teaching methods, already successfully tested in other countries.

Finally, the publications, which appeared in the last decades of the nineteenth century and were primarily intended for foreign language teachers and those who taught other subjects, such as art and music, were less significant in terms of quantity, but very important for this trend in progress. For example, magazines such as «Giornale per lo insegnamento teorico e pratico della lingua francese» (Turin, 1874-1879), «La lingua francese nelle scuole secondarie italiane» (Turin, 1883-1904) and «La lingua tedesca. Periodico mensile ad uso degli insegnanti» (Verona, 1887-1905) should be placed in the first genre, that is, foreign language teaching; while the long-lived «La scuola del disegno» (Bergamo, 1894-1931) and the more modest «L'insegnante di musica» (Rome, 1897-1898) should be placed in the second genre.

In order to complete the rich and various panorama of the periodical press for teachers and schools published in Italy in the last decades of the nineteenth century, it seems appropriate to draw our attention to some magazines destined

to meet a significant fortune in Italy and to register a wide circulation among all the teachers and schools. We intend to refer to numerous confessional books committed to claim and to support the Christian principles and the rights of the Catholic Church in matters of education within the new-born liberal state; numerous pedagogical periodicals committed to promote the diffusion of new trends for positivist scientific pedagogy and teaching among Italian teachers and schools, in order to make the renewal of teaching methods, the raising of the professional preparation of teachers and the modernization of the Italian school system possible; and, finally, the bulletins and the press bodies of the first local teacher associations created for the purpose of mutual aid and to claim better legal and economic conditions for their category.

As it is well known, the strong ideological and political disagreements, which had contrasted Pius IX's Church and the Liberal political forces responsible for the national unification and the birth of a new state starting from the Risorgimento period and then, above all, the day after the occupation of Rome by Italian people and the outbreak of the so-called *Roman Question* (1870), were destined to have serious repercussions on the educational school context, as evidenced by the accusations made by the ecclesiastical world and the main exponents of an intransigent Catholicism to the liberal leading class of the new State, because they had abolished religious education from public schools and wanted to spread an education based on a laical, atheist and anticlerical spirit⁴¹. As it is known, the conflict between Church and State in matters of school and education would have marked a long phase of the unitary history, finding a first, partial and controversial overcoming only after the advent of Fascism: first of all, with the school reform launched by the Minister of Public Education, Giovanni Gentile, in 1923 and, then, with the school provisions issued in application of the Lateran Pacts of 1929.

In the wake of these contrasts, starting from the late 1870s, in Italy there were several periodicals intended for teachers and committed to oppose any monopolistic claims of the liberal State in matters of education, to awaken Catholic parents to the risks of the teaching given in public schools and the need to take care of their children's religious education, as well as to support confessional private schools – in harmony with the programmatic guidelines which characterized the Italian intransigent Catholic movement for the educational school context –. For example, this is the case of the publication «La libertà d'insegnamento» (1879-1884) in Bergamo, the publication «La scuola cattolica» (1887-1888) in Palermo, the newspaper «Fede e Scuola. Periodico dell'Opera per la conservazione della fede nelle scuole d'Italia» (1892-1904) in Brescia and the publication «La scuola educatrice» (1894-1910) in Rome.

⁴¹ See R. Sani, *I periodici scolastici dell'intransigentismo cattolico (1879-1904)*, in Chiosso (ed.), *Scuola e stampa nell'Italia liberale. Giornali e riviste per l'educazione dall'Unità a fine secolo*, cit., pp. 223-288.

This is also the case of the most authoritative and long-lived «Scuola italiana moderna», the magisterial and didactic magazine founded in Milan in 1893 and soon transferred to Brescia, which would have become the privileged space for confessional pedagogical and didactic innovation and the main point of reference for Italian Catholic teachers and educators, especially in the twentieth century⁴².

Of course, the above-mentioned magazines, which promoted the new trends of positivist scientific pedagogy and teaching among Italian teachers and schools, entirely had different origins and settings, in order to make the renewal of teaching methods, the raising of the professional preparation of teachers and the modernization of the Italian school system possible⁴³. Starting from the second half of the 1870s, a leading role was played by the newspaper «Archivio di pedagogia e scienze affini» (1876-1883), founded in Palermo and edited by Prof. Emanuele Latino-De Natali, professor of Pedagogy at the University of Palermo and founder of the local Pedagogical Museum⁴⁴, whose main purpose was precisely to favor the theoretical and methodological renewal of Italian pedagogy and to provide all the school teachers with solid and rigorous scientific skills for their didactic and educational function⁴⁵.

During the 1880s, in addition to «Archivio di pedagogia e scienze affini», there were some publications, such as «Rivista dell'istruzione primaria popolare e professionale» (Rome, 1880-1881), which was founded and edited by Francesco Veniali and included some of the main theorists of Italian pedagogical positivism, such as Roberto Ardigò, Andrea Angiulli and Pietro Siciliani among its most assiduous collaborators⁴⁶; «La scienza dell'educazione. Periodico di pedagogia scientifica, sperimentale, storica, applicata» (Milan, 1881-1883), firstly edited by Pietro Riccardi and then by Francesco Denti; and «Rivista pedagogica e di scienze affini» (Turin, 1881-1888), founded and edited by Ildebrando Bencivenni. In the following decade, there were also other two particularly active newspapers, committed to pedagogical and didactic innovation: «Il rinnovamento scolastico» (Rome, 1892-1899), founded and edited by the Capitoline primary school teacher, Siro Corti; and «Rivista di

⁴² On this regard, please see the contributions published in M. Cattaneo, L. Pazzaglia (edd.), *Maestri, educazione popolare e società in «Scuola Italiana Moderna» 1893-1993*, Brescia, La Scuola, 1997. Also, see the excellent work by C. Ghizzoni, *Cultura magistrale nella Lombardia del primo Novecento. Il contributo di Maria Magnocavallo (1869-1956)*, Brescia, La Scuola, 2005.

⁴³ See D. Bertoni Jovine, R. Tisato (edd.), *Positivismismo pedagogico italiano*, 2 vols., Turin, UTET, 1973-1976; R. Fornaca, R.S. Di Pol, *La pedagogia scientifica del '900*, Milan, Principato, 1981 and R.S. Di Pol, *Studi sulla pedagogia scientifica in Italia*, Turin, Sintagma, 1988.

⁴⁴ About the biography and the work of Emanuele Latino-De Natali, please see the profile published in DBE, *ad vocem*.

⁴⁵ P. Fiorentini, *Positivismismo, pedagogia e scuola in Sicilia: l'«Archivio di pedagogia e scienze affini»*, cit., pp. 141-164.

⁴⁶ About Francesco Veniali and the positivism pedagogists Roberto Ardigò, Andrea Angiulli and Pietro Siciliani, please see their related profiles published in DBE, *ad vocem*.

pedagogia e scienze affini» (Rome, 1894-1897), which had as its founder and editor the famous anthropologist and educational psychologist, Giuseppe Sergi, one of Maria Montessori's masters⁴⁷, and included the main exponents of the Italian positivist scientific pedagogy, such as Roberto Ardigò, Francesco Saverio De Dominicis, Nicola Fornelli, Sante Giuffrida and Paolo Vecchia, among its collaborators⁴⁸.

As already mentioned, with the first local teacher associations created for the purpose of mutual aid and to claim better legal and economic conditions for their category in the last decades of the nineteenth century, the periodical press for teachers and schools was enriched by a large number of associative bulletins and press bodies which, in addition to acting as a link among its members and publishing the official acts of their partnership, also had other functions very often, for example, providing precise information regarding school legislation and the most recent ministerial provisions and trying to increase and to update its readers' professional skills with articles about pedagogy and teaching, critical reviews on current textbooks, vivid discussions on school reforms and ministerial provisions relating to the legal status and the economic treatment of teachers⁴⁹.

Among dozens and dozens of this kind of newspapers, it is worth mentioning, first of all, the pioneering and very long-lived «L'Unione dei maestri elementari d'Italia» (1870-1917), an official part of the Society of Fraternal Charity in Turin, which was founded in January 1871, in order to promote mutual help and cooperation among primary school teachers from the Piedmontese capital city and the entire province and experienced an increasing diffusion over the years, passing from approximately 400 subscribers at the beginning to over 1,500 at the end of the century.

Also during the 1870s, but in other Italian areas, «Bollettino della Società pedagogica e di mutuo soccorso fra gl'insegnanti di Ferrara» (1870-1886) and «L'eco dei Maestri» (1876-1878), an official part of the Association of primary school teachers in the province of Macerata, saw the light. In the following decade, in addition to these ones, there were: «Bollettino della Società 'Filippo Marinelli' tra gl'insegnanti della Provincia di Forlì» (1883-1890), «Bollettino ufficiale della Società fra gli insegnanti primari del mandamento di Pordenone» (1884-1888), «Il didascalico» (1885-1915), part of the Magisterial Companies in the Italian area of the Tyrol since 1887 and then, the Magisterial Companies

⁴⁷ For Giuseppe Sergi's pedagogical reflection, please see the recent and stimulating contribution by A. Sergi, *The scientific Method in Giuseppe Sergi's Pedagogy*, «History of Education & Children's Literature», vol. XI, n. 2, 2016, pp. 151-166.

⁴⁸ About the personality and the writings of Francesco Saverio De Dominicis, Nicola Fornelli, Sante Giuffrida and Paolo Vecchia, please see the related profiles published in DBE, *ad vocem*.

⁴⁹ See L. Gorgoni, L. Lanzetta, R. Bonan, *Associazionismo e bollettini magistrali*, in Chiosso (ed.), *Scuola e stampa nell'Italia liberale. Giornali e riviste per l'educazione dall'Unità a fine secolo*, cit., pp. 289-328.

of Trentino since 1888; and «*Bollettino dell'Associazione fra gl'insegnanti primari della Provincia di Campobasso*» (1887-1891).

The last decade of the nineteenth century saw a considerable increase in publications of this kind, due to the growing diffusion of this school associative ideal and the intensification of battles in favor of the improvement of the magisterial condition. Among the most significant publications of this period, we remember: «*Bollettino della Società magistrale della Provincia di Pavia*» (1890-1895), «*Bollettino mensile della Società pedagogica bresciana. Organo dei maestri elementari della città e provincia di Brescia*» (1892-1907), «*Bollettino dell'Associazione magistrale lomellina 'Aristide Gabelli'*» (1893-1899), «*Bollettino ufficiale dell'Associazione magistrale friulana*» (Udine, 1894-1902), «*Bollettino ufficiale della Società magistrale e di mutuo soccorso fra i maestri della Provincia di Pesaro e Urbino*» (1896-1899) and «*Bollettino periodico della Società magistrale mantovana 'Roberto Ardigò'*» (1899-1903).

Finally, it must be remembered that, in the wake of numerous and very active mutual aid societies among primary school teachers, starting from the 1880s, there was, in particular, a series of partnerships among secondary school teachers, with the main purpose of obtaining the «economic and moral improvements, which have been always promised, but never granted» for the category of *royal professors* and «fighting the isolation where the average teachers live» and «contributing to the creation of a collective opinion about the main problems which reflect our school system». Associations among secondary school teachers also endowed themselves with their own press bodies and some of them played a leading role in the animation of their category and the promotion of the purposes of their partnerships. It would be enough to mention, in particular, the bellicose «*L'eco dell'Associazione nazionale fra gli insegnanti delle scuole secondarie*», published in Turin between 1883 and 1887; the lively and committed «*Bollettino dell'Associazione nazionale federativa fra gli insegnanti addetti all'istruzione tecnica d'Italia*», also published in the Piedmontese capital city from 1897 to 1901; as well as «*Bollettino dell'Associazione pedagogica fra gl'insegnanti delle scuole normali*», published in Rome from 1897 to 1905.

4. *Pedagogical school press for teachers in the first half of the twentieth century*

As already mentioned, «*Scuola italiana moderna*» in Brescia and «*I diritti della scuola*» in Rome, published in 1893 and 1899 respectively, were the first two periodical publications for teachers to be considered as authentically 'national' publications, that is, able to circulate and to find subscribers and readers in all the areas of the country and to become the main point of reference

for Italian primary school teachers, didactic directors, ministerial officials, educationalists and school men starting from the early twentieth century⁵⁰.

«Scuola italiana moderna», with a confessional inspiration, and «I diritti della scuola», with laical and radical-democratic positions, embodied the two main ideological, political and cultural traditions, as well as the pedagogical and active ones in the country, throughout Giolitti's age and during the period of the Great War and the first post-war period, at least until they were involved and overwhelmed by the Fascistization process of the periodical press for schools and teachers launched by Mussolini's regime in the 1930s, having interventions and discussions concerning the most relevant school reforms carried out by national governments and the main provisions in education issued by Parliament on their columns and also taking charge of the continuing education and raising of the teachers' professional skills through the contribution of specialists and authoritative school men, as well as the diffusion of pedagogical and didactic innovation in Italian schools and new teaching methods successfully tested abroad.

However, during the first forty years of the twentieth century, in addition to «Scuola italiana moderna» and «I diritti della scuola», numerous other periodicals were published, primarily intended for teachers and education and generally characterized by a high level of specialization and an increasing attention to national and international scenarios, whose common denominator can be certainly identified in the desire to provide a response to new and complex problems gradually created by the growing expansion recorded by the national school system in this period and the significant changes within the teaching category.

As it is known, at the beginning of the twentieth century, confirming the definitive overcoming of localism and the merely provincial horizon which had dominated the school world and the experience of the teaching category in the previous decades and the achievement of an authentically national dimension, a series of professional partnerships were set up to organize all the Italian teachers and to give voice to the trade union demands of the category on the one hand and the demands of a school system reform and pedagogical and didactic modernization of education on the other hand.

On this regard, in January 1901, the *Unione Magistrale Nazionale* (UMN), the first major organization of Italian primary school teachers, was born⁵¹. A few years later, in 1906, the *Associazione magistrale* «Nicolò Tommaseo» would be born, intended to organize confessional primary school teachers, after

⁵⁰ See R. Sani, *I Diritti della Scuola*, in Chiosso (ed.), *I periodici scolastici nell'Italia del secondo Ottocento*, cit., pp. 145-147; Id., *Scuola (La) Italiana Moderna*, pp. 388-390; and Id., *Scuola (La) Italiana Moderna*, in Id. (ed.), *La stampa pedagogica e scolastica in Italia (1820-1943)*, cit., pp. 622-627.

⁵¹ On this regard, please see the fundamental work by A. Barausse, *L'Unione Magistrale Nazionale. Dalle origini al fascismo 1901-1925*, Brescia, La Scuola, 2002.

the split promoted by UMN Catholics, a controversy regarding the markedly laical and anticlerical position taken on by the five-year-old management team of this organization⁵².

In the meantime, from 1901, the *Federazione Nazionale fra gli Insegnanti di Scuole Medie* (FNISM) was created in Bologna and destined to meet a growing success among teachers in Italian gymnasiums, high schools and technical institutes⁵³. Shortly thereafter, in 1903, the *Unione Nazionale delle Educatrici d'Infanzia* (UNEI) would be also born as a result of a group of female childhood educators and kindergarten teachers⁵⁴.

Finally, confirming the importance and the real centrality assumed by the associative phenomenon in the school context and among the different categories of teachers and educators in this phase, the constitution of the *Unione fra i Maestri Italiani dei Sordomuti* from 1900 must be also reported because, in the early 1910, a Catholic movement would be discharged from it to give life to the *Associazione Nazionale Italiana fra gli Educatori e gli Amici dei Sordomuti ed Anormali affini* with a markedly confessional orientation⁵⁵.

In the wake of a real crop of national and professional associations destined to organize various kinds of teachers, from the early twentieth century onwards, a large number of press organizations and bulletins saw the light in Italy and their objective was acting as a tool of connection and information among their members and publishing the acts of the conferences and the decisions taken by the corresponding governing bodies.

As an example, it will be enough to remember that, as regards UMN, in addition to the national publication – initially called «La pagina dell'Unione Magistrale Nazionale» (Rome, 1905-1906), then changed into «Bollettino dell'Unione Magistrale Nazionale» (Rome, 1912-1914) and, later, into «L'Unione Magistrale Nazionale» (Rome-Milan, 1916-1925) –, during the first twenty-five years of the century, dozens and dozens of newspapers, which represented the local and provincial sections of the magisterial partnership created in different areas, saw the light in Italy: from «Bollettino della Federazione magistrale fra gli insegnanti della provincia di Arezzo - sezione dell'Unione Magistrale Nazionale» (Arezzo, 1903-1911) to «Ars educandi. Bollettino dell'Associazione pedagogica senese - sezione dell'Unione Magistrale Nazionale» (Siena, 1910-1919), from «Bollettino magistrale. Organo della

⁵² See L. Pazzaglia, *L'associazionismo magistrale cattolico: la vicenda della «Nicolò Tommaso»*, in Id. (ed.), *Cattolici, educazione e trasformazioni socio-culturali in Italia tra Otto e Novecento*, Brescia, La Scuola, 1999, pp. 529-594.

⁵³ See L. Ambrosoli, *La Federazione Nazionale Insegnanti Scuola Media dalle origini al 1925*, Florence, La Nuova Italia, 1967.

⁵⁴ See Sani, *L'educazione dell'infanzia dall'età giolittiana al fascismo*, cit., pp. 252-254. Please also see S.S. Macchietti, *La scuola infantile tra politica e pedagogia dall'età apertiana ad oggi*, Brescia, La Scuola, 1985, pp. 109-121.

⁵⁵ See Sani, *L'educazione dei sordomuti in Italia prima e dopo l'Unità. Itinerari, esperienze, discussioni*, cit., pp. 35-38.

Libera Società degli Insegnanti di Palermo - sezione dell'Unione Magistrale Nazionale» (Palermo, 1906-1909), «La battaglia. Organo della Federazione provinciale magistrale di Genova - sezione dell'U.M.N.» (Genoa, 1913-1914) to «Associazione magistrale provinciale piacentina - sezione dell'U.M.N.» (Piacenza, 1921-1922), just to give a few examples.

A similar phenomenon was also characterizing the *Associazione magistrale «Nicolò Tommaseo»*, as witnessed by «La difesa. Bollettino della Lega magistrale milanese - sezione della Nicolò Tommaseo» (Milan, 1907-1926), «Bollettino mensile dell'associazione magistrale bresciana - sezione della Nicolò Tommaseo» (Brescia, 1909-1925), «Azione magistrale. Organo della Federazione magistrale regionale emiliana aderente alla Nicolò Tommaseo» (Parma, 1912-1919), «L'Araldo magistrale. Organo dei maestri tommaseisti della Provincia di Porto Maurizio» (Sanremo, 1915-1917) and «L'Avvenire della scuola. Bollettino dell'associazione magistrale bergamasca - sezione della Nicolò Tommaseo» (Bergamo, 1919-1922).

The periodical publications for teachers attributable to FNISM and UNEI, whose national press bodies, «Bollettino della Federazione nazionale fra gli insegnanti di scuole medie» (Bologna, 1902-1925) and «La voce delle maestre d'asilo. Organo mensile dell'Unione nazionale delle educatrici d'infanzia» (Ancona-Milan, 1904-1943) respectively, were far more limited in terms of quantity, but no less significant from a point of view of diffusion and function carried out within the corresponding associations and they also played a leading role for professional continuing education of their members and dissemination and promotion of pedagogical and didactic innovation.

Something similar is also recorded if we try to analyze the evolution of the associative press for teachers in special schools for disabled people, as evidenced by «Rassegna della educazione dei sordomuti» (Naples, 1902-1904), part of *Unione fra i Maestri Italiani dei Sordomuti*, and «Rivista di pedagogia emendatrice per l'educazione dei sordomuti e degli anormali affini» (Milan, 1907-1922), official bulletin of *Associazione Nazionale Italiana fra gli Educatori e gli Amici dei Sordomuti ed Anormali affini*.

However, with specific reference to the reality of teachers in special schools for disabled people, it should be remembered that the associative press was only a small part of the extraordinary crop of specialized periodicals published in the first half of the twentieth century, as evidenced, for example, by newspapers, such as «L'educazione dei frenastenici. Rassegna medico-pedagogica» (Siena, 1901-1905), «La scuola dei sordomuti» (Siena, 1925-1933) and «L'educazione dei minorati. Rivista di pedagogia emendatrice» (Rome, 1941-1942), only to mention the most authoritative and widespread ones.

Starting from the early twentieth century, socialist propaganda, which was already active in factories and among laborers in rural areas, managed to find a way into the school world and among the ranks of teachers, especially registering

a growing consensus among primary school teachers in northern Italy⁵⁶. Organized with the local Chambers of Labor, the socialist teachers adhered to the above-mentioned *Unione Magistrale Nazionale*, of which they shared its commitment to improve the legal and economic conditions of their category and the battles in favor of the fight against illiteracy and the strengthening of popular education, as well as the laicization of public schools. On this regard, the role played by the periodical «*La scuola popolare. Organo delle Sezioni magistrali aderenti alle Camere del Lavoro*», which was published in Milan between 1906 and 1916, was particularly significant, because it was the main point of reference both for teachers belonging to the reformist movement and the ones with maximalist and revolutionary positions for a long time, giving chance to the confrontation between the two movements and an internal debate and, at the same time, aiming at strengthening the laical instances and the democratic and progressive position within UMN.

On the eve of the World War I, the exacerbation of the clash between the reformist movement and the maximalist or revolutionary one within the Italian Socialist Party produced strong repercussions also on the work of the magisterial organization, leading to the exit of the maximalist or revolutionary teachers from UMN and their constitution of the Italian Magisterial Trade Union in 1919.

This particular scenario includes the foundation of a series of newspapers destined to play a leading role in the school debate and the magisterial events of the period between the eve of the Great War and the first post-war period. In particular, we intend to refer to publications such as «*La critica magistrale. Periodico di classe*» (Milan, 1913-1915), «*L'educazione del popolo. Azione magistrale*» (Milan, 1915-1916) and, finally, «*Avanguardia Magistrale. Organo del Sindacato Magistrale Italiano*» (Milan, 1919-1922), whose main promoters and animators – Franco Ciarlantini, Giovanni Capodivacca, Dante Dini, etc. – joined the new-born Fascist National Party founded by Benito Mussolini a few years later, after having supported the revolutionary socialist current, and found themselves holding important positions in the Fascist school organizations of teachers after the March on Rome on October 28th, 1922⁵⁷.

As we know, the lively and close pedagogical comparison recorded in Italy during the first decades of the twentieth century⁵⁸ was destined to arouse a vast

⁵⁶ On this regard, please see: G. Genovesi, C.G. Lacaita (edd.), *Istruzione popolare nell'Italia liberale. Le alternative delle correnti d'opposizione*, Milan, FrancoAngeli, 1983; S. Pivato, *Movimento operaio e istruzione popolare nell'Italia liberale. Discussioni e ricerche*, Milan, FrancoAngeli, 1986; and E. Catarsi, G. Genovesi (edd.), *Educazione e socialismo in cento anni di storia d'Italia (1892-1992)*, Ferrara, Corso, 1993.

⁵⁷ See F. Loparco, *La Sezione Maestre e Maestri della Camera del Lavoro di Milano. Tra militanza politica e impegno per la lotta all'analfabetismo e per l'istruzione popolare (1893-1917)*, Macerata, eum, 2014.

⁵⁸ On this regard, please see the fundamental reconstruction offered by G. Chiosso, *Novecento pedagogico*, Brescia, La Scuola, 2012². There are also some useful ideas in F. Cambi, *L'educazione*

echo on the columns of the specialized periodical press and to largely influence the basic orientations and the school policy choices of liberal governments. On this regard, it is precisely through newspapers and magazines for schools and teachers that it is possible to fully estimate the role played by the main movements of Italian pedagogy in debates and discussions on education and school reform and renewal of teaching training.

For example, this is the case of «Rivista di pedagogia» (Pavia, 1906-1910), the publication founded and edited by Prof. Francesco Saverio De Dominicis, Professor of Pedagogy at the University of Pavia, which was the last significant expression of the great positivist pedagogical tradition created in Italy in the second half of the nineteenth century⁵⁹. It is also the case of «Rivista pedagogica» (Rome, 1908-1939), the periodical founded and edited by Luigi Credaro, Professor of Pedagogy at the University of Rome, a school man and a leading politician (in fact, he also held the position of Minister of Public Education from 1910 to 1914), which had been considered as the main point of reference of neo-Kantian and neo-Herbartian pedagogy in Italy from the beginning⁶⁰.

Finally, it is the case of the real network of neo-realist periodicals for teachers and schools which, starting from the early twentieth century, were conceived and promoted by some of the pupils and collaborators of the philosopher Giovanni Gentile, who was called by Benito Mussolini to head the Ministry of Public Education the day after the March on Rome and would have been the creator and the promoter of the radical and incisive school and university reform, which brings his name in 1923, as it is known⁶¹. It would be enough to mention, first of all, «Nuovi Doveri» (Palermo, 1907-1911), then «Rassegna di pedagogia e di politica scolastica» (Palermo, 1912-1913) and «L'Educazione nazionale» (Rome, 1919-1933), all founded and edited by the Sicilian educator and pedagogue, Giuseppe Lombardo Radice, and primarily intended for primary and secondary school teachers⁶².

tra ragione e ideologia. Il fronte antidealistico della pedagogia italiana 1900-1940, Milan, Mursia, 1989.

⁵⁹ About Francesco Saverio De Dominicis, please see his profile published in DBE, *ad vocem*.

⁶⁰ About «Rivista pedagogica» by Luigi Credaro, please see in particular: G. Chiosso, *L'opposizione democratica alla riforma Gentile: il caso della «Rivista pedagogica»*, in *Opposizioni alla riforma Gentile*, Turin, Centro Studi Carlo Trabucco, 1985, pp. 115-152; and M.A. D'Arcangeli, *Luigi Credaro e la «Rivista pedagogica» (1908-1939)*, Rome, Pioda, 2000.

⁶¹ See G. Turi, *Giovanni Gentile. Una biografia*, Turin, Einaudi, 2006².

⁶² On this regard, please see: M. Raicich, *Gli anni di «Nuovi Doveri» (1907-1913)*, «Riforma della Scuola», vol. XIV, nn. 8-9, 1968, pp. 3-10; A.M. Colaci, *Gli anni della riforma. Giuseppe Lombardo Radice e «L'Educazione nazionale»*, Lecce-Brescia, Pensa Multimedia, 2000; R.A. Rossi, *Idealismo pedagogico e riforma della scuola nella rivista «Nuovi doveri»*, Cosenza, Periferia, 2003;

Two magazines, destined to play a leading role in the renewal of magisterial culture and primary and popular education before and after Gentile's reform in 1923, were also widely influenced by Gentile's pedagogy and the innovative methodological and didactic proposals formulated by Lombardo Radice. We intend to refer to the newspaper «La nostra scuola. Rivista quindicinale di cultura e di problemi educativi» (Florence, 1913-1923) and the one called «Bollettino della Biblioteca circolante dei maestri italiani. Gruppo d'azione per le scuole del popolo» (Milan, 1919-1941), around which there was a large group of teachers, educators and school men (Vincenzo Cento, Angelo Colombo, Luigi Pavesi, Gian Cesare Pico, etc.), who were committed to relaunch popular education and to rethink about primary school teacher's role and skills in the light of a neo-idealist pedagogy and the innovative teaching by Lombardo Radice⁶³.

Finally, in addition to the above-mentioned ones, there were two other magazines, which played a leading role in the discussions which accompanied and followed school reform in 1923 and the efforts undertaken by Gentile and his collaborators to increase consensus and to arouse the widest adhesion of teachers towards the reform itself. It deals with «Levana. Rassegna trimestrale di filosofia dell'educazione e di politica scolastica» (Florence, 1922-1928) and «La nuova scuola italiana. Rivista magistrale settimanale» (Florence, 1923-1938), both founded and edited by the pedagogist and school man, Ernesto Codignola, Giovanni Gentile's pupil and his close collaborator in the elaboration and the implementation of the school reform in 1923, together with Giuseppe Lombardo Radice⁶⁴.

In the large and various series of periodical publications for teachers and schools edited in the first half of the twentieth century, there is a certain interest in various newspapers published between the late 1920s and the early 1940s, with the aim at fostering qualitative innovation and modernization of Italian school through a massive and systematic use of new means of mass communication, such as cinema and radio, for educational and didactic purposes⁶⁵.

For example, the magazine «Luce maestra di scuola moderna» (1928-1935) had begun its publication in Turin since 1928 and, in addition to articles and interventions mainly intended for teachers and headmasters and aimed at making the advantages of using films and slides in the classroom for educational purposes known, provided in each issue a wide critical review of the latest

⁶³ See M.M. Rossi, *Il Gruppo d'azione per le scuole del popolo di Milano 1919-1941*, Brescia, La Scuola, 2004.

⁶⁴ See L. Borghi et alii, *Ernesto Codignola in 50 anni di battaglie educative*, Florence, La Nuova Italia, 1967; and the most recent G. Tassinari, D. Ragazzini (edd.), *Ernesto Codignola pedagogista e promotore di cultura*, Rome, Carocci, 2003.

⁶⁵ On this regard, please see: R. Branca, *Scuola e cinema scolastico in Italia. Lineamenti storici e fonti della regolamentazione giuridica*, Rome, Edizioni Cineteca del Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione, 1954 and S. Zambotti, *La scuola sintonizzata. Pratiche di ascolto e immaginario tecnologico nei programmi dell'Ente Radio Rurale (1933-1940)*, Turin, Trauben, 2007.

cinematographic products made in Italy and abroad for educational and didactic purposes, as well as a series of technical data sheets and methodological examinations for a more effective and functional use of these tools by teachers.

In the following years, in addition to this pioneering magazine in Turin and with its structure and purpose, there were also several other publications, including «Rivista internazionale del cinema educativo», published in Rome between 1929 and 1934, «Intercine. Istituto internazionale per la cinematografia educativa», also published in the capital city since 1935, and, finally, «Bollettino del Centro Didattico», published in Padua between 1940 and 1943, which had Giuseppe Flores d'Arcais, Luigi Gui and Luigi Stefanini⁶⁶ among its most assiduous educational collaborators and school men, confirming the real centrality gradually acquired by using new technologies and new *media* in school teaching.

The scenario of periodicals aimed at promoting the use of radios in the classroom was no less rich and complex. For example, it would be enough to mention the newspaper «Trasmissioni radiofoniche per le scuole elementari», published in Turin (at that time, EIAR headquarters, Ente Italiano per le Audizioni Radiofoniche, created in 1927, to which the management of radio programs in Italy was entrusted) between 1937 and 1941 and characterized by a dual purpose: the introduction of educational radio programs expressly designed for schools and the training of primary school teachers in the use of radios as teaching aids and tools to make classroom teaching more interesting and effective.

In the early 1940s, there were two other interesting periodicals, such as «Il radiocorriere» (Turin, 1940-1941) and «La radio nella scuola» (Turin, 1941-1943), both involved in raising teachers' awareness on the multiple advantages of using radios in the classroom for educational and didactic purposes in primary and popular schools, which were located *in primis* in small Italian peripheral centers and rural and mountainous areas.

The advent of Fascism the day after the March on Rome on October 28th, 1922, and, in particular, its transformation into a totalitarian regime in 1925 had significant repercussions on the development of the periodical press for teachers and schools⁶⁷. After the suppression of UMN, FNISM and all the other professional and trade union organizations of the pre-Fascist school world, for example, the rich and various range of local or national associative magazines was lost all of a sudden, even if they had had great importance in the promotion

⁶⁶ About Giuseppe Flores d'Arcais, Luigi Gui and Luigi Stefanini, please see their profiles published in DBE, *ad vocem*.

⁶⁷ See J. Charnitzky, *Fascismo e scuola. La politica scolastica del regime (1922-1943)*, Florence, La Nuova Italia, 1994. But you can also see the most complex reconstructions proposed by G. Turi, *Lo stato educatore. Politica e intellettuali nell'Italia fascista*, Rome-Bari, Laterza, 2002 and G. Belardelli, *Il Ventennio degli intellettuali. Cultura, politica, ideologia nell'Italia fascista*, Rome-Bari, Laterza, 2005.

of a wider and more conscious awareness of education and school problems, as well as the need to strengthen and to update cultural preparation and teaching skills of teachers in the previous decades.

In addition to the sudden disappearance of a periodical associative press during the pre-Fascist period, it is necessary to add the slower and gradual, but equally broad and systematic disappearance of numerous publications for primary school teachers and secondary school teachers of liberal-democratic and socialist orientation, which directly preferred to interrupt their publications, rather than accepting the strict provisions and the ideological controls imposed by Mussolini's regime – that is, adapting to the ongoing Fascist processes –.

The day after Giovanni Gentile's advent to Minerva and the promulgation of the 1923 school reform, the hegemonic affirmation of a neo-idealistic pedagogy and, then, the ever increasing spread of a regime ideology and propaganda among teachers and within the Italian school world starting from the late 1920s were gradually intended to reduce the lively and authoritative theoretical magazines to silence, even if they had become a vehicle of diffusion for progressive pedagogical and didactic movements – which were created in France, Belgium, Switzerland, Great Britain and United States in the previous decades – among teachers and within the Italian school world during Giolitti's age, the war period and the first post-war period.

In the face of such a forced downsizing of the lively and multi-faceted periodical press for teachers and schools published in the previous phase, it must be pointed out that a series of new and expert newspapers appeared with the advent of Fascism and it was the expression of the organizations created by Mussolini's regime to organize teachers and other categories of school staff on the one hand and reflected the renewed centrality and the unprecedented protagonism assumed by the Ministry of Public Education after Giovanni Gentile's advent and, in particular, the 1923 school reform on the other hand.

In fact, in addition to a more institutional ministerial periodical press, aimed at favoring the full implementation of the measures launched within the context of the Gentile's reform and the cultural and professional elevation of teachers from all the schools, there was another militant and aggressive periodical press, basically committed to convey the regime's watchwords among teachers and classrooms and to promote the *complete Fascistization* of Italian school, especially starting from the late 1920s.

As regards the ministerial publications promoted in the implementation of the Gentile's reform and in application of the measures subsequently launched, some newspapers must be here mentioned, such as «Annali della Pubblica Istruzione – I. Scuola elementare», the bi-monthly publication which was edited by the Directorate-General for Primary and Popular Education chaired by Giuseppe Lombardo Radice since 1924, and «Annali della Pubblica Istruzione – II. Istituti medi e superiori», the bi-monthly publication which was also edited

by the Directorate-General for secondary and university education chaired by Leonardo Severi in 1924.

In the following years, there were also «Annali della istruzione media», published by the Directorate-General for Secondary Education in Rome between 1926 and 1932 (which then became «Scuola e cultura. Annali dell'istruzione media» from 1932 to 1943), and «Annali della istruzione elementare», also published by the Directorate-General for Primary Education in Rome between 1928 and 1943.

Finally, the periodical «La scuola italiana. Quindicinale della scuola media» was edited by the Directorate-General for Secondary Education from 1938 to 1941 and was essentially linked to the preparatory works of the so-called *Carta della Scuola* (1939) and the process of reorganization and reform of secondary schools launched by the Minister of Public Education, Giuseppe Bottai, and then culminated with the law of July 1st, 1940, no. 899, which established a unique secondary school.

Primarily addressed to primary and secondary school teachers, the above-mentioned publications were not only intended as information, discussion and comparison tools for ongoing reforms and school provisions, but also as means for the continuing education and the refinement of cultural and educational skills of the teaching category. From this point of view, it can be certainly affirmed that the first series of «Annali della Pubblica Istruzione», the one published between 1924 and 1926, largely remained unrelated to the ideological conditioning of Mussolini's regime on the one hand and it is also sure that even the later above-mentioned ministerial periodicals were only partially invested by a Fascist ideology on the other hand.

As already mentioned, the role played by periodical press, which emerged as an expression of the Fascist organizations for schools and teachers, was, of course, quite different, as in the case of the fortnightly publication «La Corporazione della scuola» (Rome, 1925-1926), part of the *Fascist School Confederation* [Confederazione fascista della Scuola], the first Fascist school organization in order of time⁶⁸, founded and chaired by Acuzio Sacconi⁶⁹.

In 1926, after that the *Fascist School Confederation* [Confederazione fascista della Scuola] became the *National Fascist Teachers Association* [Associazione nazionale insegnanti fascisti]⁷⁰, «La Corporazione della scuola» was replaced by two different press bodies, both edited by Sacconi. We intend to refer to «La scuola fascista. Quindicinale di politica scolastica» (Rome, 1926-1931), primarily addressed to teachers and primary school; «La cultura fascista. Organo della scuola media e superiore» (Rome, 1926-1928), addressed to

⁶⁸ See M. Ostenc, *L'éducation en Italie pendant le fascisme*, Paris, Publication de la Sorbonne, 1980.

⁶⁹ About Acuzio Sacconi and his work, please see the related profile published in DBE, *ad vocem*.

⁷⁰ See Ostenc, *L'éducation en Italie pendant le fascisme*, cit.

secondary school teachers and high schools; «La nuova scuola media. Cultura fascista» (Rome, 1928-1929) and then «Scuola media fascista» (Rome, 1929-1931), also edited by Acuzio Sacconi.

As it is known, after the creation of the *Fascist School Association* [Associazione Fascista della Scuola] in 1931, all the Fascist school associations which were previously born were eliminated⁷¹. The new-born Fascist organization for schools and teachers took a new official organ, «Bollettino della scuola» (Rome 1931-1932), then replaced by the most long-lived and authoritative «Scuola fascista» (Rome, 1932-1943) in 1932, which was first edited by Arturo Marpicati and then by PNF secretary, Achille Starace, and had as its main animator the educationalist Luigi Volpicelli⁷², who was among the closest collaborators of the Minister of Public Education, Giuseppe Bottai, from 1936⁷³.

Finally, in addition to the official organ of the *Fascist School Association* [Associazione Fascista della Scuola], it must be remembered that in 1934 there was the newspaper «Primato educativo. Rivista bimestrale di pedagogia» (Rome, 1934-1939), founded and edited by the provincial education superintendent Nazareno Padellaro⁷⁴, a leading exponent of the group of pedagogists and school men who were close to Giuseppe Bottai and engaged in theorizing a fully Fascist pedagogy, together with the above-mentioned Luigi Volpicelli.

In spite of its theoretical nature and the apparent connotation of a periodical destined to face pedagogical problems, Padellaro's newspaper was the expression of the most boorish and aggressive Fascism in a school context, which proposed to celebrate «the educational virtue of the truncheon». On this basis, it repeatedly theorized the political primacy over pedagogy and strongly supported the real centrality of the virile and racist education for Italian young people with the purpose of creating a «new Fascist man».

As it is known, the fall of Fascism on July 25th, 1943, the experience of liberation war and the end of World War II were destined to decree the end of Fascist periodical press for teachers and schools and to open a new historical phase.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*

⁷² About the educationalist Luigi Volpicelli, please see his profile published in DBE, *ad vocem*.

⁷³ About Giuseppe Bottai's work at the head of the Ministry of Public Education, it is worth mentioning: G. Bottai, *La Carta della Scuola*, Milan, Mondadori, 1939; Ministero dell'Educazione Nazionale, *Dalla Riforma Gentile alla Carta della Scuola*, Florence, Vallecchi, 1941.

⁷⁴ About the scholar and the school man Nazareno Padellaro and his work, please see the profile published in DBE, *ad vocem*.

Conclusions

Having reached the end of our long and detailed examination, we believe that the real centrality of periodical press for teachers and schools emerged with sufficient clarity within this complex school world of a united Italy. On this regard, the over one thousand two hundred periodicals published in the period between the national unification (1861) and the fall of Fascism (1943) fulfilled a multiplicity of roles and functions, significantly contributing to the implementation and the real development and modernization of the national education school system.

For example, it would be enough to mention the punctual and pressing denunciation of serious dysfunctions and the deep backwardness, where the Italian school lived the day after the national unification formulated by this periodical press; the function of stimulus and criticism which it has constantly carried out with regard to school policy at a national and local level and with reference to reforms and provisions for education and schools issued by Parliament and national governments; finally, the fundamental and irreplaceable role which this periodical press has largely played in order to claim better legal and economic conditions for the teaching category and in terms of raising the educational standards and the professional and didactic continuing education of teachers in all the different schools.

It could be added that newspapers and magazines for teachers and schools published after Unity contributed to unify the complex and various reality of Italian teachers, first at a local level and then at a national level at the end of the nineteenth century, considerably contributing to the definition of the «Italian teacher» and the coeval determination of his/her own specific cultural and professional identity.

More specifically, we must emphasize the irreplaceable work of *mediation* between the pedagogical and didactic theorization formulated by universities and the concrete teaching carried out by each teacher in school classrooms; a *mediation*, which was also carried out by periodicals for teachers and schools published in Italy between the nineteenth and the twentieth centuries and had the great merit of favoring the undoubted refinement of methodological skills of teachers and, at the same time, making the reception and the informed use of didactic innovation and new teaching technologies gradually made available in our country possible – by the teachers themselves.

On this regard, it is not surprising that the periodical press for teachers and schools is an indispensable and significant source for education historians who concretely want to reconstruct the working mechanisms of the national education system and to realize the real dynamics and the authentic factors of growth and development of the post-unification school situation.

(Anti)religious propaganda in the Soviet and post-Soviet works of fiction for young readers

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ABSTRACT: The article presents a comparative analysis of two novels for young readers focusing on anti-religious and religious propaganda: *The Miracle Worker* (*Chudotvornaya*, 1958) and *Serafima's Extraordinary Journey* (*Neobyknovennoye Puteshestviye Serafimy*, 2016). Although the novels feature a similar set of characters, the writers use different techniques for their portrayal subject to the pursued objective. The article analyzes how similar lexical units and stylistic devices may be used for the opposite purposes. The analysis reveals the reversal of values between Soviet and post-Soviet societies resulting in the shift of the focus of the didactic messages conveyed through children's literature.

EET/TEE KEYOWRDS: History of novels; History of children's literature; Propaganda; Soviet e post-Soviet societies; Russia; XXth-XXIst Centuries.

Introduction

Orthodox religion has always played an important role in Russian culture, particularly in literature. In pre-Revolution Russia Orthodoxy occupied a special

place¹. In 1918, the Russian Orthodox Church, which enjoyed the status of an official institution in tsarist Russia, was officially separated from the state and the education. An antireligious campaign was launched in the 1920s. 1937-38, the era of the «great terror», saw mass executions of clergy and believers. During the Second World War and in its aftermath, the wave of anti-religious repression abated. However, the 1960s were marked by a renewed wave of attacks against the Russian Orthodox Church. The «militant atheism» of the 1920s-30s was replaced by «scientific atheism». Atheist education through literature became the cornerstone of the campaign. Children's books were expected to emphasize the predominance of the communist ideology over Christianity. Atheism as a new religion had its own scriptures and a pantheon of saints, whose martyrdom heralded by mass literature was to inspire younger generations of readers to follow suit. These books comprised both ideological pamphlets, often written by former priests, and works of fiction by well-known children's writers such as Lyubov Voronkova, Vladimir Tendryakov, Irina Pechernikova².

Atheist propaganda used already existing literary forms. As Svetlana Boiko notes, the reader's notion of what constitutes literature has changed little over decades, and he takes his bearings from the familiar formats³. Therefore, tales about miracles performed by saints were replaced by sagas of ruses to which revolutionaries resorted in order to cheat the gendarmes. For instance, the famous story about bread inkpots used by Lenin in prison to write letters with milk under the nose of a jail warden portrays the leader of the socialist revolution as a typical trickster combining the elements of a folk tale and a saint's life⁴.

A separate gallery of young martyrs was created for different ages. Books containing descriptions of virtuous lives and, martyrdom and death of young heroes during the Second World War were created for children of all ages: younger readers were offered a collection of brochures under the common title of *The Pioneer Heroes*⁵, while elder students read *The Young Guard* by Alexander Fadeyev⁶.

¹ K.E.B., *Anti-Religious Propaganda in Schools*, «Soviet Studies», vol. 1, n. 4, p. 392. Available online: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/148849?seq=1#page_scan_tab_contents> (last access: 21.07.2018).

² See N. Naydenova, «*Let the Little Children Come to Me*»: (Anti-)Religious Films for Young Spectators of the Soviet and Post-Soviet Period, «Children's Literature in Education», vol. 48, n. 4, 2017, pp. 308-325; N. Naydenova, *We Shall See Him as He Is: Image of God in Soviet Children's Literature of the 1960s*, «History of Education and Children's Literature», vol. XI, n. 2, 2016, pp. 167-186.

³ S. Boiko, *Instructions for Immortals*, «Russian Studies in Literature», vol. 51, n. 4, 2015, p. 7.

⁴ M.M. Zoshchenko, *Rasskazy o Lenine* [Tales about Lenin], Moskva, Detskaya literatura, 1983.

⁵ *Seriya «Pionery-geroi» 1980-1982* [The Pioneer Heroes], Moskva, Malyshevskiy

⁶ A.A. Fadeyev, *Molodaya gvardiya* [The Young Guard], Moskva, Khudozhestvennaya literatura, 1969.

The collapse of the USSR marked a new milestone in the development of Russian literature. The 1990s saw the resurgence of the so-called Orthodox, or ecclesiastical, literature, including books for children. According to Boiko, «ecclesiastical literature» is broken out by thematic descriptor, ignoring the genre of the specific work, but in reality, works by Russian Orthodox writers are as a rule distinguished less by theme than by the approach taken to that theme and the nature of the extraliterary tasks (which could be, for example, cognitive or didactic)⁷. The elements that are of immediate relevance to the Orthodox literature today comprise the didactic or 'edifying' element; the element of witness: the witnessing of grace, of Divine Providence made manifest in common and uncommon events; the elements of the chronicling of everyday life and mores)⁸.

As for Orthodox books for children, they fall into several categories. First, there are purely edifying books. They comprise, for instance, biblical stories adapted for young readers, or descriptions of the saints' lives. Secondly, there are works of fiction, which are aimed at teaching the precepts of the Orthodox faith in an overt or covert manner, subject to the writer's mastery. Thirdly, there are school textbooks. These include *Foundations of the Orthodox Culture*, an elective module at primary school, as well as abecedaries, textbooks of Church Slavonic and even biology taught through the religious perspective.

All of these genres have something in common – they spring from the didactic discourse. Like the atheist propaganda of the 1960s, these books serve the purpose of teaching a certain worldview to the young readers, and the mechanisms they use are often the same, although they may be implemented in different ways. This study is based on two books: *The Miracle Worker* (*Chudotvornaya*, 1958) by Vladimir Tendryakov and *Serafima's Extraordinary Journey* (*Neobyknovennoye Puteshestviye Serafimy*, 2016) by Timofey Veronin. Both novels were adapted for the screen⁹.

1. The Miracle Worker and Serafima's Extraordinary Journey: Overview

The Miracle Worker reveals a conflict caused by a confrontation between religion (i.e. obscurantism) and modernity (i.e. atheism). The protagonist is Rodion Gulyaev, an adolescent who lives with his mother Varvara and grandmother Avdotya known by the villagers as «old Grachikha». His father

⁷ S. Boiko, *Instructions for Immortals*, «Russian Studies in Literature», vol. 51, n. 4, 2015, p. 15.

⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹ For the analysis of screen versions, see N. Naydenova, «Let the Little Children Come to Me»: (Anti-)Religious Films for Young Spectators of the Soviet and Post-Soviet Period, «Children's Literature in Education», vol. 48, n. 4, 2017, pp. 308-325.

left the family and Varvara is unable to get over his departure. Old Grachikha is a strong-willed woman and a practicing Orthodox Christian. However, she is occupied exclusively with the formal side of the religion. Rodion finds an old icon, which used to be the symbol of the abandoned church and was considered lost, and becomes venerated by the locals as the «chosen by God». His grandmother and mother make him wear a cross necklace, which he vehemently tears off more than once. The boy can hardly survive his classmates' mockery and the pilgrimage of believers asking him to pray for them. The old school teacher Paraskovia Petrovna interferes with the situation, escalating the domestic conflict. This chain of events provokes a psychotic disorder with the boy, who chops up the icon, is beaten by his grandmother and attempts to commit suicide.

The lexical and stylistic devices used by the author are carefully selected. The onomastic strategy in Tendryakov's book is based on popular religious beliefs and intertextual elements. Thus, the name of the adolescent who first found the icon before the revolution is Panteleimon, one of the most loved saints in Russia known as a healer. The teacher is called Paraskovia. Paraskeva is a well-known and respected saint as well, whose figure exists both in pagan beliefs and Orthodox Menaion. The teacher's name, which used to be widespread among the rural population, underlines her closeness to ordinary people. Rodion's grandmother mentions that the boys broke the cross on the tomb of Feklusha the pilgrim woman¹⁰. This is an allusion to *The Storm* by Aleksandr Ostrovsky, where there was a character with the same name, an ignorant woman fond of gossiping¹¹. The church, where the icon was kept before it disappeared, is called St. Nicholas-on-the Bridge. St. Nicholas is the most venerated saint in Russian Orthodoxy, and the churches built in his honour were often named after the place where they were founded.

Another trait inherent in the author's narrative is carnivalization based on the blending, and even reversal of the profane and the sacred¹²:

The icon was lying on the ground covered with putrid beet tops; two white eyes were staring with gloomy severity at light little clouds spread across the sky¹³.

The object of cult is completely profaned and downgraded to the level of decayed vegetation deprived of life and therefore outdated. The icon is opposed to the sky with «light little clouds» running freely and unreachably for St. Nicholas, who looks askance at them. The original phrase in Russian contains two words with diminutive suffixes (*legonkie oblachka*), which makes them

¹⁰ V.F. Tendryakov, *Chudotvornaya* [The Miracle Worker], Moskva, Sovremennik, 1984, p. 3.

¹¹ A. Ostrovsky, *The Storm*, Translated by Constance Garnett. Available online: <<http://www.gutenberg.org/files/7991/7991-h/7991-h.htm>> (last access: 21.08.2018).

¹² M. Bakhtin, *Rabelais and his world*, Bloomington, Indiana University Press, 1941.

¹³ Tendryakov, *Chudotvornaya*, cit., p. 3.

look even more etherial. It is peculiar that Tendryakov's description of nature is sometimes repeated in Veronin's novel. Thus, small clouds (*krokhotnye oblachka*) were floating in the clear sky, while Serafima and her mother were coming home from the orphanage. «The saints must be sitting on them, but we can't see them», thought Serafima¹⁴.

The semantics of decay emerges yet again in the scene, where the boys get into the abandoned church at night and instead of a white wall they observed from far away they see a «dilapidated wall with the evil grin of bricks and chipped plaster» smelling of the dungeon mould and bird drops¹⁵. This personification of the church building with bared teeth and fetid odours of the underworld turns it into a treacherous creature ambushing naïve visitors.

It should be noted that *God* is typed in lower-case letters throughout the book, except for the passage from the Book of Genesis quoted by the teacher, contrary to the tradition of using capital letters not just at the beginning of the word, but also for every derivative and pronoun replacing it. It should be mentioned, however, that this was common for all kinds of Soviet printed media.

Serafima's Extraordinary Journey, a novel by Orthodox writer Timofey Veronin, was first published in 2009 and then reedited in 2016. The events take place after the Second World War. The protagonist is Serafima (Fimka) Uspenskaya, the daughter of an executed priest, who ignores her origins and barely survives in a Soviet orphanage being bullied by her classmates who are tacitly supported by the teacher. She falls ill after having spent a night in a pantry on Easter eve as an unjust punishment. While being unconscious, she meets St. Seraphim of Sarov, her patron saint and one of the most respected saints of the Russian Orthodox Church, and together they travel down the river of time, where they stop at different islands, each of them being dedicated to a certain event of the Sacred History, and Serafima learns new facts about Orthodox holidays and biblical episodes. During her journey, she meets different saints, sees the Virgin Mary and even Jesus Christ. Serafima is eventually found by her mother, who takes her from the orphanage.

The book follows two purposes: it is positioned as a work of fiction but at the same time has a didactic mission as it contains retellings of biblical episodes, lives of the saints and historical digressions as well as teachings of the main concepts of the Orthodox faith. The latter are either voiced by the characters, or are implied by binary oppositions between the protagonist and her antagonists.

The leitmotiv of the novel is the necessity of praying God and believing firmly that God knows what you need. «My joy, our Saviour hears you, our Comforter hears everybody, you are here because of His mercy. Hold Him

¹⁴ T. Veronin, *Neobyknovennoe Puteshestvie Serafimy*, Moskva, Izdatel'stvo Moskovskoy Patriarkhii Russkoy Pravoslavnoy Tserkvi, 2016, p. 134.

¹⁵ Tendryakov, *Chudotvornaya*, cit., pp. 37-38.

tight by His feet, and ask for anything», instructs Saint Seraphim. Serafima hears Christ's words: «You will have everything you need»¹⁶ [cf. So do not worry, saying, «What shall we eat?» or «What shall we drink?» or «What shall we wear?» For the pagans run after all these things, and your heavenly Father knows that you need them (Mt. 6:31)] «...I didn't have time to ask our Lord for anything, but the things I wanted started to happen», shares her joy the young protagonist¹⁷.

It is interesting to note that the same idea is more than once emphasized in *The Miracle Worker*, but as a negative trend. It is presented as a superstition and lack of self-confidence: «'Old Grachikha' did not rely on herself but always looked for god's help and kept nagging every single day: «Pray! Pray! Only our lord the almighty can help us!»¹⁸; «[...] Varvara was frightened by life 'and kept saying': god, protect 'my son'!... Everything around is so scary. Jesus Christ, save us and spare from trouble»¹⁹.

This idea is also conveyed through the boy's internal monologue, which highlights the antithesis between the dogmas of Christianity and atheism. The author presents the eternal question of the «daily bread» from the anthropocentric point of view:

Does he really care how to live? His mother and grandmother will always put a plate of soup and thick slices of bread in front of him on the table, and he, Rodion, does not need any more. It has never occurred to him to ponder about god or the soul²⁰.

This postulate is ultimately contested by the teacher who quotes a passage from the Old Testament (Genesis 3:21) and then comments on it: «God gives clothes, god feeds, god orders to be kind – god is everywhere. However, the man became a man only because he achieved everything himself, due to his intelligence, with his own hands. By referring to god's continuous intervention, you deprive the man of being the master of his life»²¹.

Veronin's onomastic strategy is mainly focused on Serafima's last name – Uspenskaya – derived from «Uspeniye», or the Dormition of the Mother of God. The girl is puzzled about it at the beginning of the novel, as it often causes ambiguous reactions from other people. Starting from the end of the XVIIth century up to the revolution of 1917, Orthodox priests in Russia preferred to have a last name appropriate for clergymen. During the journey, the girl learns what her last name means.

All the words pertaining to the Virgin or Jesus Christ begin with a capital letter. Even the word «Confession» is typed with a capital letter, which is

¹⁶ Veronin, *Neobyknovennoe Puteshestvie Serafimy*, cit., p. 125.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 140.

¹⁸ Tendryakov, *Chudotvornaya*, cit., p. 7.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 7-8.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 32.

²¹ Tendryakov, *Chudotvornaya*, cit., p. 49.

against the rules of standard Russian spelling. This can be illustrated by the passage attributed to St. Anna, mother of the Virgin Mary: «In autumn we had a Girl. We called her Mary. Our eternal Happiness, our Comfort and Joy was born»²². (Here, an informed reader can also unveil the play on words as there exists an icon «Theotokos of Joy and Comfort»). Another intertextual element of the same nature is ciphered in the epithet used to describe Jesus Christ: «The sweetest (*presladkiy*) voice of the Saviour sounded in her soul throughout her life after that»²³. This adjective alludes to the Acatrist to Our Sweetest Lord Jesus Christ (*Akafist Iisusu Sladchayshemu*), well-known to practicing believers.

In both novels, the characters' speech is distinguished by specific traits. The lexemes describing believers in *The Miracle Worker* are pejoratively connoted: they «drool», or «nag» instead of talking, «drag along» instead of walking. If they light a candle, it's always only one kopeck worth²⁴.

The believers' speech is characterized by errors, on the one hand, and the correct use of ecclesiastical terms on the other, although they sometimes mispronounce them (*svyacheniy chin* instead of *svyashchenniy san*, *Isuse Khriste* instead of *Iisuse Khriste*). They use erroneous prepositions (*s Nikoly Mosty* instead of *iz Khrama Nikoly na Mostakh*) and vernacular word forms (*napuzhali* instead of *napugali*), confound syllables (*lerigion* instead of *religion*), make pronunciation errors (*motri* instead of *smotri*, *kazhduyu noch* instead of *kazhduyu noch*). But at the same time old Grachikha exactly knows how to label the new icon:

– That's the lost icon, said mother seriously.

– Curse that tongue of yours for saying 'lost'! Not lost, my darling, but newly appeared (*novoyavlennaya*)²⁵.

Diminutive forms abound in the believers' speech. Diminutive affixes are added to all kinds of nouns: legs (*nozhenki*), arms (*ruchenki*), intercessor (*zastupnichek*), soul (*dushenka*). The forms of address are excessively sugary and sound unnatural: my angel (*angel moy*), my darling (*rodnenkiy moy*, *milenkiy*, *golub moy*, *golubok*, *zlotse*).

Almost all believers look and sound unpleasant or foolish: fat Agnia who suffers from pain in her legs «after sitting all day like a bump on a log»²⁶, mutilated alcoholic Akindin, who tries to capitalize on his physical disability²⁷,

²² Veronin, *Neobyknovennoe Puteshestvie Serafimy*, Moskva, cit., p. 46.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 125.

²⁴ Tendryakov, *Chudotvornaya*, cit., pp. 8-9.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 3.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 4.

²⁷ Tendryakov, *Chudotvornaya*, cit., p. 15.

unpleasant shop manager Myakishev, who is disliked by villagers²⁸, grandpa Stepan, who feels lonely and confused²⁹.

In *Serafima's Extraordinary Journey*, the writer tries to make the speech of every saint recognizable due to certain repeated lexemes or word forms. Thus, the author reproduces speech patterns, which were typical for Saint Seraphim of Sarov in his earthly life. The saint calls himself «miserable Seraphim», addresses the girl as «my joy», or «my treasure», and uses a lot of diminutive forms (*imechko*, *denek*, *chaek*, *devchonochka*, *stopochki*) which might seem surprising to a reader, who is not familiar with the subject. Maria Magdalena uses similar forms of address: my dear (*moya khoroshaya*), my sweet one (*moya milaya*), my precious one (*dragotsennaya moya*), honey (*rodnaya moya*). These stylistic features, which might seem exaggerated, are opposed to the vulgar way of speaking of non-believers:

– What are you whispering there? – shouted in a hoarse voice hefty Natalia nicknamed the Shark, – are you praying over there? Your God doesn't exist (*Netu tvoego Boga, netu*). If He did exist, we wouldn't be suffering here!³⁰

The same expression «God doesn't exist» with the use of the non-normative form of negation *netu* is featured in Tendryakov's novel when Zherebikha, one of the believers, tells the story of certain Vasily who «shouted at all corners: 'Religion is opium!' God doesn't exist! (*Boga netu*)» but then was killed in the Second World War³¹. Thus, the same trait appears in the speech of the opposite characters (a non-believer and a believer) labelled as negative in the respective novel.

An old experienced doctor also has his own traits of speech, which characterize him as belonging to the former upper class. On the contrary, the supporters of the Soviet regime speak in loud voices, shout, use vulgar words. Even the teacher speaks rudely and impatiently to Serafima's mother:

- Tell me the patronymic name.
- Maria Vasilievna.
- Not yours! Your daughter's, you fool!
- Nikolayevna, Serafima Nikolayevna.
- We have her here, snapped Olga Semenovna³².

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 16.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 14.

³⁰ Veronin, *Neobyknovennoe Puteshestvie Serafimy*, cit., p. 135.

³¹ Tendryakov, *Chudotvornaya*, cit., p. 31.

³² Veronin, *Neobyknovennoe Puteshestvie Serafimy*, cit., p. 137.

2. *The Church and the Cross as the Plot Forming Elements*

In the majority of books dating back to the 1960s the only term used to describe the place of worship is *tserkov* (literally «church»), and almost never *khram* (literally «temple»). The word *khram* is part of such idiomatic expressions as *khram Bozhiy* («God's temple») or *khram dushi* (literally «temple of soul», meaning that a human body is a receptacle of a soul placed there by God). The occurrence of the term *khram* in the discourse of believers in *The Miracle Worker* is not surprising: «*Khram bozhiy* («god's temple») stands abandoned, no wonder it has become a nest for all kinds of evil spirits»³³. However, used together with the evocation of «evil spirits», the semantic value of this expression is intentionally downgraded by implying the speaker's superstitiousness and ignorance. For the same purpose, *khram* also occurs once in the atheist teacher's discourse:

‘The priest’ is not just god’s propagandist, these are not just prayers he uses for the glory of the lord [...] he would not spare any means for the old crone’s convenience to prevent her from running twelve kilometres to attend a vigil but to offer her a *khram* next door, so that she could carry there the kopecks she earned or saved³⁴.

This short passage contains several religious terms and expressions, which are correctly used (God, for the glory of the Lord, the Vigil). Their correct usage by the teacher, a seasoned atheist proselytizer and the most respected person in the village, is complemented by the introduction of the word *khram* in her speech, which is also technically the most appropriate term here. This careful choice of vocabulary serves two objectives: to demonstrate the speaker's superiority for the account of her knowledge as «knowledge itself is power» and to devalue the term *khram* once again as a place, where an old uneducated woman thoughtlessly wastes her meagre savings. This passage constitutes an example of discourse in the Foucauldian sense, which produces meaning and forms the objects of which it speaks³⁵.

Both words (*tserkov* and *khram*) are found in the dialogue between the priest and the village teacher:

– It is now impossible to open the *khram* of St. Nicholas-on-the-Bridge. We'll not be able to get a permission. The situation would be different, if this *khram* was, let's say, a warehouse or a grain depot...

– Why? – said Paraskovia Petrovna in a surprised tone. Isn't that vice versa? If a former *tserkov* building is occupied, it seems more complicated to vacate it³⁶.

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 6.

³⁴ Tendryakov, *Chudotvornaya*, cit., p. 48.

³⁵ M. Foucault, *The Archaeology of Knowledge*, New York, Pantheon Books, 1972, p. 54.

³⁶ Tendryakov, *Chudotvornaya*, cit., p. 48.

Here, the use of the lexeme *khram* subverts itself: the cunning priest is eager to resort to a ruse by profaning the sacred place in order to achieve his goals, while the teacher is straight-forward and honest, and, therefore, it is her discourse (including the choice of the word *tserkov*) that is to be trusted.

Haughtiness, hypocrisy, foot-licking parasite attitude and darkness are the key characteristics of the Orthodox religion highlighted in *The Miracle Worker*, which is done through the representation of the church building. The old church building transpires «haughtiness and millennial despise to the crowd of surrounding little houses»³⁷. The crosses on the dome look like «bleeding with fire» and «try to snatch the clouds»³⁸. When the sun goes down, the building is «reluctant to disappear in the darkness»³⁹. Whenever the church – «a monument of ignorant faith in the inexistent god»⁴⁰ – is mentioned, it is accompanied by such adjectives as huge, empty and dark. It is connected with «a mysterious god and hides an alarming and scary secret»⁴¹.

Similar description of the shining cross in the sky is given in *Serafima's Extraordinary Journey*. The church situated in the village, where Serafima lives, is depicted in the following way: «The crosses were shining in the spring sun [...] It was so good there! Fimka did not want to leave»⁴². It is also near the church that Serafima meets new friends – the parish priest's children.

In *Serafima's Extraordinary Journey*, the church building is more often referred to as *khram* although the word *tserkov* is also used. It is the centre of attraction for all positive characters of the novel. «How she was attracted by this church!» says the author about Serafima⁴³. When she enters the church in her dream, she finds herself in Eden full of beautiful flowers and singing birds. The church is also denoted by diminutive lexemes *tserkovka*, *tserkvushka* (literally «small church»).

When speaking about Heavenly Jerusalem, the author uses exclusively the term *khram*. The paradise is opposed to reality in the following way: «Fimka opened her eyes. The pillow and the night gown were totally wet. A dim light bulb was blinking. A small spider was crawling on the wall. A nurse in an old washed out gown was drowsing in the corner»⁴⁴. This description alludes to Dostoyevsky's *Crime and Punishment*, where Svidrigaylov discusses future life with Raskolnikov: «Instead of all that, what if it's one little room, like a bath house in the country, black and grimy and spiders in every corner, and that's all eternity is?»⁴⁵. This reversal of the heavenly and the mundane is interpreted in

³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 19.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 9.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 19.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 9.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 32.

⁴² Veronin, *Neobyknovennoe Puteshestvie Serafimy*, cit., p. 147.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 19.

⁴⁴ Veronin, *Neobyknovennoe Puteshestvie Serafimy*, cit., p. 125.

⁴⁵ F. Dostoyevsky, *Crime and Punishment*, transl. by C. Garnett. New York, Cosimo Classics,

Serafima's Extraordinary Journey as a contrast between the paradise open only to the believers and the Soviet reality.

Unlike *The Miracle Worker*, the scary building in *Serafima's Extraordinary Journey* is the factory, a symbol of technical progress, which is also personified in the text. Its black pipes look gloomy at the sky and «do not understand the beauty of the surrounding lakes and sunsets» as «only grey smoke and black coal are beautiful»⁴⁶. Moreover, the factory is «dangerous» as it «takes Mum away» from Serafima⁴⁷.

Another important element of the plot is the cross. The cross is present in *The Miracle Worker* both materially as an artifact (a cross necklace, which Rodion refuses to wear), and allegorically as the concept of resignation and humble obedience to God's will. This idea can be observed in the following passage:

For every healthy boy, the sense of life is contained within one phrase: 'When I grow up [...]' Now he has to renounce from his future [...] It is only uncertainty and darkness that lie ahead. Rodion could not imagine his future with god and grandmother [...] If there's no future, there's no life either, he has to give everything up [...] he has to give it up himself! This is not just a cross put on your neck, not just a shame in front of your comrades [...] Now [...] the trouble resides inside you. No future, no happiness, no nothing!⁴⁸

This interior monologue implies that a believer is an unhealthy person, always alarmed and unsure of his future and contests Jesus' words «If anyone desires to come after Me, let him deny himself, and take up his cross, and follow Me» (Mk. 8:34).

The cross is mentioned in Veronin's novel as well. In her dream, the girl receives it as a gift from Saint Simeon Stylites. The cross helps her to shoo off ugly creatures who attack her in her sleep⁴⁹. When the girl wakes up, she wants to take the cross off: «they'll find it, take it away from her, then lock her up in the pantry because of this cross»⁵⁰. But once she wants to take the cross off and even throw it away, she hears Saint Seraphim's voice and sees the glimpses of the river of time, and then decides to keep it.

Like in *The Miracle Worker*, the cross bears an archetypal nature in *Serafima's Extraordinary Journey*. During her journey, Serafima sees the cross that «illuminates the whole universe»⁵¹. Saint Seraphim explains to the girl that the cross is the instrument of salvation, the foundation of human life, and

2008, p. 281.

⁴⁶ Veronin, *Neobyknovennoe Puteshestvie Serafimy*, cit., p. 161.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 160.

⁴⁸ Tendryakov, *Chudotvornaya*, cit., p. 41.

⁴⁹ Veronin, *Neobyknovennoe Puteshestvie Serafimy*, cit., p. 38.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 125.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p. 182.

gives numerous allegorical representations of the cross (the plough, the sail, the house)⁵².

3. *Characters. Comparative Analysis*

Both books have the same set of characters, who are, however, attributed the opposite traits. The protagonists are adolescents of approximately the same age, both coming from broken families – Serafima's father was taken away by NKVD and disappeared, and Rodion's father left the family. Rodion is presented as a normal boy, who is fond of spending time with his friends, swimming in the river, fishing and climbing up trees. He is not an exemplary Young Pioneer as he sometimes carries his pioneer scarf in the pocket. He often misbehaves, is rude to his grandmother and has problems controlling his emotions. When describing Rodion's appearance, the author compares him with his grandmother as he takes after «old Grachikha» more than he does after his mother: [...] with time, he will be as strong as old Grachikha»⁵³. This comparison at the very beginning of the novel implies that the confrontation between «fathers» and «sons», «obscurantism» and «progress», «outdated oldness» and «promising youth» will be embodied by the figures of grandmother and grandson.

Serafima's image is rather lopsided. She is presented as a positive character from the onset. Serafima is generous, she shares food with her friends, and, being sick herself, prays for her classmate Nastia. She feels sorry even for a broken toy dog. In her interior monologue, Serafima uses clichés that one would more likely hear from a juvenile officer: «She remembered Katia the Go-Getter. Where will she end up with her criminal ways? She will get into prison and then she will slide down»⁵⁴.

Although the writer tries to depict Serafima in a more «human» way (she gets angry with the bullies, and even tries to take revenge upon one of them, throws dirt at the boy, who is going to church), once she «finds God» after meeting her patron saint, she immediately remembers all her sins and repents them deeply.

Contrary to the teacher's resolution to educate the girl as a fighter, Serafima is portrayed as defenseless and little (*bezzashitnaya i malenkaya*), skinny and fragile (*khuednkaya, khudenkye/khrupkiye plechiki* – «her skinny shoulders were trembling defenselessly»)⁵⁵, light (*legonkaya*), with small fists (*kulachki*), and her descriptions are full of diminutive forms.

⁵² *Ibid.*, pp. 183-184.

⁵³ Tendryakov, *Chudotvornaya*, cit., p. 3.

⁵⁴ Veronin, *Neobyknovennoe Puteshestvie Serafimy*, cit., p. 24.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 129.

The word combination «skinny shoulders» is also used to describe Rodion but in the following context: «His shoulders are skinny for the time being, but even now one can see how broad they are under his old quilted jacket»⁵⁶. This description indicates the vigorous potential of the boy, the strength that is growing inside him.

The anti-religious campaign renewed by Khrushchev dictated a new literary canon for bringing up a new generation of atheists. The main technique was to show that scientific progress was incompatible with obscurant religious beliefs. It was instrumental to portray believers as uneducated hypocrites whose example was not to be followed under any circumstances by a vigilant young reader⁵⁷. Therefore, everything having to do with religion in Tendryakov's novel bears sneaky nature:

All these worshippers of the lord act only underhandedly.
– Everyone lives as he pleases, everyone saves his soul as he can. Wear <your cross> secretly and rejoice.
Publicity for <the believers> is like light for a mole-rat⁵⁸.

Religion in *The Miracle Worker* is embodied by old people, mainly women, who are insultingly called *starukha* or *babka* (crone):

The *starukhy* (crones) kept talking about the icon, the lights in the marsh, the soul of god's man Panteleimon hovering above the whirlpool and saying that every midnight someone «saws the dome» of the abandoned church [...]. The *babka* (old crone) straightened her back, pursed her lips, and gripped a small cross in her brown fist⁵⁹.

Grandmother is presented as a religious lunatic, who hits the boy to put a cross necklace on his chest, insults him dedicated to the old woman, who is supposed to represent the most typical believer, is full of violence and rudeness:

[...] the old crone made him go to the next room and, while rummaging in a box through medicine flasks and spools, hissed angrily:
– You threw away the cross, didn't you? And you, miscreant soul, thought that I would never find out about it? Thank god, who saved you. I'll not beat you up today. People are gathering, and I don't want to be ashamed in front of them. Here's another cross. Put it on now, and stop being difficult.

The old woman's rough fingers unbuttoned his shirt, and she made him bow with a firm palm of her hand. The lace of the cross got stuck by the boy's ear, and the old crone fixed it rudely⁶⁰.

⁵⁶ Tendryakov, *Chudotvornaya*, cit., p. 3.

⁵⁷ N. Naydenova, *We Shall See Him as He Is: Image of God in Soviet Children's Literature of the 1960s*, «History of Education and Children's Literature», vol. XI, n. 2, 2016, p. 172.

⁵⁸ Tendryakov, *Chudotvornaya*, cit., pp. 10, 53 and 61.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 10.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 42.

The old woman, a veteran believer and church-goer, is presented to the reader in the most revolting way: her speech is full of vulgar words, she is powerful and makes the boy bow to put on a cross, a sign of resignation towards her and, *par extension*, God's will. Even her hands are rough and unpleasant to touch. At the same time, she is a hypocrite keeping a cross – the thing, which is supposed to be dear to her – among rubbish, and fearing that the neighbours will see her true colours.

The pilgrims and fools in Christ, integral parts of the Orthodox world once loved and respected by the people, are shown as hysterical hideous creatures. They are earmarked as «those who consider praising god and visiting sacred places to be a job», for whom «the appearance of the miraculous icon is a fluke». They travel across Russia «drooling in a falsely affectionate tone»: «Christians, donate for the church»⁶¹.

A parody of the fool in Christ is also represented by a limbless character Akindin (Kindya) («I'm handicapped, everything is allowed to me, I can kill, I can mutilate!»⁶², angrily shouts drunk Kindya). In a dramatic episode, Kindya, who gets angry with the teacher for preventing the boy from participating in a collective prayer, is described with the words derived from the Russian word *bes* (demon). On the contrary, the teacher shows genuine Christian qualities such as compassion and forgiveness:

Kindya was infuriated (*vzbeshen*) by [Paraskovia's] impassionate confidence. His already red face became deep purple and his hoarse voice thundered obscenities heard throughout the warm sunny yard. A heavy leathered iron Kindya used for moving flew right into the teacher's direction... Paraskovia Petrovna turned brusquely... [She saw] an infuriated (*besheniy*), pathetic, insane cripple. And the wrath disappeared from her face⁶³.

All believers in the novel reside in the village. In fact, in the USSR, those persons who were most apt to be religious, rural dwellers in the smallest and most isolated villages, were least apt to be exposed to propaganda⁶⁴. Some of the believers are rudely called by their nicknames derived from their last names: Zherebikha, Myakishikha. They also use swear words in respect of each other. For instance, a woman and her handicapped son are addressed as «the witch from Troitskoye with her chopped idol»⁶⁵. Troitskoye is the name of the village, which is etymologically connected with the Holy Trinity (*Troitsa*). Its combination with the word «witch» sounds grotesque and inappropriate. By applying the word «idol», a pagan symbol, to a person, the author contests the idea of the man as God's image.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p. 8.

⁶² *Ibid.*, p. 15.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, p. 45.

⁶⁴ D. Powell, *The Effectiveness of Soviet Anti-Religious Propaganda*, «The Public Opinion Quarterly», vol. 31, n. 3, 1967, p. 373.

⁶⁵ Tendryakov, *Chudotvornaya*, cit., p. 15.

In *Serafima's Extraordinary Journey*, the believer figure is represented by the old nanny Auntie Sonia and the young boy going to church and confronted by the teacher and orphanage children. Both are exclusively positive characters. Auntie Sonia deeply regrets that she has to hide her faith and is ready to lose her job because of it. The boy called Serezha, who never missed a church service, is described as «quiet and caring»⁶⁶. He is opposed to the orphanage kids who throw dirt at him and insult him. The adolescent's face is described as «wistful and fair»⁶⁷. When he is attacked and bullied by the children, his eyes are «surprised, frightened» but at the same time «a little bit joyous for an unknown reason»⁶⁸. The reason for the boy's joy is implied to be the glory of being persecuted for his faith [cf. Blessed are those who are persecuted because of righteousness, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven (Mt. 5:10)].

It is peculiar that the opposition «believer – non-believer» is also actualized in *Serafima's Extraordinary Journey* by contrasting Russia and the USSR. Thus when the teacher asks the boy going to church in which country he lives, she receives the following reply: «I live in the Russian country». The teacher vehemently contests it by saying that it is not «the Russian country» but the USSR⁶⁹. The opposition between good and evil is embodied by the figures of believers and Soviet authorities, respectively. When speaking about the repressions of the 1930s, the author says that «many kind people were sent 'to Siberia' by evil rulers»⁷⁰. The workers from the factory, whose image was glorified and idealized by the Soviet cinema and literature, are rude. Women workers enjoy drinking beer with men and speak in a vulgar manner⁷¹.

Since Stalin's times, writers and playwrights were instructed to portray a teacher as an impeccable and virtuous character. The classical example is the teacher from *The Miracle Worker*, who acts strictly in line with the ideological canons. Her rigorous stance triggers a family tragedy, but averts the adolescent protagonist from religion although he nearly dies. Tendryakov's teacher is never wrong and always knows what to do. In fact, she is the only «real man» of the novel both in her behavior and appearance. Paraskovia's movements are described by the writer as brusque, she walks «like a man»⁷², her face is «large and rather rough», and when she gets angry, its expression becomes «masculine and tough»⁷³.

⁶⁶ Veronin, *Neobyknovennoe Puteshestvie Serafimy*, cit., p. 136.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 35.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 37.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 35.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 134.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, p. 168.

⁷² Tendryakov, *Chudotvornaya*, Moskva, Sovremennik, 1984, p. 21.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, p. 45.

The teacher Olga Semenovna from *Serafima's Extraordinary Journey* is portrayed as an extremely strict but at the same time caring person. She first seems cruel as the book opens with the scene where Serafima sits in the pantry because she was unjustly punished. The teacher is rude and impatient. She shouts at Serafima, and her face starts «to look like a pike of lance, or a spear»⁷⁴. She publicly humiliates Serafima for believing in God and makes the girls shout in chorus: «God does not exist!» Olga Semenovna repeats the beaten anti-religious clichés almost like a parrot:

These are ignorant peasant women, they cannot read and they do not know anything about the advances of the modern science. They are going to church because they were taught like that since they were girls. It's their habit. That's why they are taking their children with them. They want their kids to have the same habits and the same foggy mind, blabbed Olga Semenovna⁷⁵.

However, the writer points out that the teacher's face showed pity when Serafima fainted after public humiliation and was ashamed to look at the girl when the latter fell seriously ill because Olga Semenovna had forgotten to let her out of the cold pantry for the night. Olga Semenovna «was not that heartless as it might have seemed. She did care for all those little girls, but wanted to educate them as fighters, capable of building new life, and not snivelers»⁷⁶. This passage containing soviet clichés («fighters», «builders of a new life») implies that the teacher was lured by the new «godless religion», which is the atheism, and the reader is to realize which choice is correct as «by their fruit you will recognize them» (Mt. 7:16). Unlike Paraskovia Petrovna, Olga Semenovna mainly causes pity with the reader: «poor thing, she doesn't believe in God», thought Serafima⁷⁷.

The local priest, Father Dmitry (who is never called in the novel by his name in Church Slavonic – Dymitry), is described as a chameleon capable of adjusting himself to any circumstances. He may seem a teacher, a doctor, or a manager. Every description of Father Dmitry is ambivalent: «There he is – in a rumpled old hat, a cheap raincoat, but has a new carriage and a well-fed horse»⁷⁸. Even his appearance is contradictory: «It seemed that his pulpy sensual lips did not belong to his doughy face with sparse moustache»⁷⁹; «[...] the disheveled locks of grey hair fell on the collar of his well sown coat made of coarse fabric»⁸⁰. He boasts off expensive accessories like a golden cigarette box. Father Dmitry is capable of transforming from a «homegrown nihilist» into «a kind old man»

⁷⁴ Veronin, *Neobyknovennoe Puteshestvie Serafimy*, cit., p. 13.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 35.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 16.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 121.

⁷⁸ Tendryakov, *Chudotvornaya*, cit., p. 48.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 23.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 23.

in a split second⁸¹. He knows the laws and it is not easy to dispute with him. His main rule is «it's none of my business»⁸². Father Dmitry follows double standards. When speaking about Christ, he says that he «might believe in him with reservations», but he «uses» the name of Christ to conjure good feelings⁸³. In the non-believers' speech he is mainly called *pop*, a lexeme used to denote a priest with a disdainful connotation.

On the contrary, in *Serafima's Extraordinary Journey* the priest is the embodiment of kindness and strength at the same time. He has a kind smile and strong arms⁸⁴. He has radiant eyes⁸⁵. «He looks like those saints I saw in my dream», ponders Serafima when she looks at Father Anatoly, the parish priest. He is patient and suppresses his desire to slap his mischievous son but instead smiles and puts the boy on his lap⁸⁶. Another priest is Serafima's father who heroically defends the church from demolition and always addresses his congregation as «brethren», or «my children»⁸⁷.

Conclusion

The research has demonstrated that the works of fiction aimed at anti-religious and religious propaganda have more in common that might seem at first sight. Indeed, the title of *The Miracle Worker* would suit *Serafima's Extraordinary Journey* much better than the gloomy drama of 1960. Moreover, if we had a time machine enabling Rodion and Serafima to swap places, there would not have been a tragedy at all as the girl would have been totally compatible with Rodion's grandmother and the worshippers of the icon, while the boy would provide perfect company for the orphanage girls. This signals how values have shifted from Soviet to post-Soviet society.

We can see that there has been a reversal in how various characters are depicted. For instance, the figure of the teacher formerly promoted as the role model in Soviet literature is depicted as a confused person lacking education in contemporary fiction. Not surprisingly, the figure of a believer turns from negative to positive. In *Serafima's Extraordinary Journey*, the opposition between the religion and the atheism is combined with that between Russia and the USSR. The church and the cross embody the Orthodox faith in both books. In *The Miracle Worker*, the church is personified as an evil creature and

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, p. 24.

⁸² *Ibid.*, p. 27.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, p. 48.

⁸⁴ Veronin, *Neobyknovennoe Puteshestvie Serafimy*, cit., pp. 149-150.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 158.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 159.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 193.

the cross is presented as a useless burden, both literally and metaphorically. In *Serafima's Extraordinary Journey*, the church is the centre of attraction for positive characters. As for the protagonists, Rodion is more vividly portrayed than Serafima, whose character sometimes looks lopsided. Both authors tried to create specific speech traits for the main characters. It is interesting to note that the use of diminutive forms is typical for the speech of believers in both novels. However, in *The Miracle Worker* it is presented as a sign of hypocrisy, while in *Serafima's Extraordinary Journey* it is supposed to bear affectionate nature.

A comparative analysis of the novels, written at different moments in Russia's history, foregrounds the mechanisms used by the writers to convey their ideas, which constitutes a looking-glass into the mindset of the society of a given period of the country's history.

Una città ancora troppo coloniale. Uno studio sulle scuole di Asmara negli anni '50*

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A still too colonial city. A study on the schools of Asmara in the 1950s

ABSTRACT: The literature on the Italian influence over Eritrea after the collapse of the Fascist Empire is deficient. In particular the question of the implications of the Italian presence for education in the former colony opens up an almost new frontier to the work of historians. This essay attempts to increase the adequacy of the state of art on the basis of a thesis entitled *Aspetti e problemi educativi e scolastici nella città di Asmara*. After graduating in education in 1959 with this dissertation, Eleonora Onnis, Sister Maria Nora to the Catholic Church, a missionary in Eritrea, would have become the Rector of the University of Asmara. Her thesis, which has never been studied before, is noteworthy because of its richness of information and depth of research. Hence it can be considered a relevant source for the multi-perspective reconstruction of the educational phenomenology in Asmara in the 1950s. This analysis of Onnis' thesis contributes to the further growth of historical knowledge not only because this nun sets out the organizational structure of the schools of Asmara at that time in detail, especially those established by Italians, but also because of other important elements resulting from this study. Onnis undertakes an accurate review of the social stratification in Asmara. Sister Maria Nora also highlights the tightening of racial prejudice after the abolition of the discriminatory laws passed between 1936 e 1940 for the implementation of an apartheid regime in the Italian African colonies. Moreover, the remarks made by this nun are of interest in terms of their reflection of the Italian mentality of the 1950s: firstly, as a consequence of the moral condemnation of non-marital unions, Onnis ascribes stigmatising psychological characteristics to half-caste youngsters; and secondly, in line with the ongoing colonial ideology of progressive mission in Africa, Sister Maria Nora addresses the problem of education from the standpoint of raising Eritrea to the standard of European civilization. In conclusion, this essay is a starting point for understanding the persistence of unequal relations between Italians and Eritreans even after the end of colonial rule.

EET/TEE KEYWORDS: History of education; Racial segregation; Social inequality; Cultural relations; East Africa; XXth Century.

* Il presente saggio è dedicato a Emilia, figlia di Benedetto Caudullo e Lettesus Auate.

Introduzione

Il tratto caratteristico del colonialismo è uno stato mentale nei colonizzatori e nei colonizzati, una coscienza coloniale [...]. [Ecco] perché il colonialismo non sembra mai finire con il conseguimento della libertà politica formale. [...] Le sue origini si trovano in profondità, nella mente di dominatori e dominati. Forse ciò che comincia nella mente degli uomini deve anche concludersi nella mente degli uomini.

Ashis Nandy¹

Nel 1941, la colonia Eritrea, con l'entrata in guerra dell'Italia contro le potenze alleate, cadde in mano britannica. Nel 1952, dopo 11 anni di amministrazione militare britannica, l'ex-possedimento italiano fu federato all'Etiopia come unità autonoma. La progressiva trasformazione della federazione in un'annessione forzata si concluse nel 1962 con la riduzione dello Stato eritreo a XIV provincia dell'Impero etiope.

Nel 1959, mentre era in atto lo svuotamento dello status federale, con una tesi dal titolo *Aspetti e problemi educativi e scolastici nella città di Asmara*, Eleonora Onnis, Suor Maria Nora per la Chiesa cattolica, una Pia Madre della Nigrizia² in missione in Eritrea dal '48, si laureò in pedagogia presso la Facoltà di Magistero dell'Università di Padova, relatore il Prof. Giuseppe Flores D'Arcais.

Eleonora Onnis (Napoli, 1922 - Arco, 2007) professò la fede cattolica nel 1942. Partita per l'Eritrea, insegnò alla Scuola Media e all'Istituto Magistrale Maria Assunta di Asmara. Presso l'Ateneo patavino, nel 1957, prima di quella in pedagogia, aveva conseguito la laurea in lettere con una tesi dal titolo *La città di Asmara*. Nel 1958, insieme a Suor Maria Fosca, al secolo Fosca Berardi, fu promotrice della nascita dell'Istituto Universitario Magistero Santa Famiglia di Asmara. A seguito dell'ispezione ufficiale di cui il Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione aveva incaricato Flores D'Arcais, Preside della Facoltà di Magistero di Padova, questa istituzione accademica fu riconosciuta nel 1960 dal governo italiano; poi, nel 1963, ottenne la legittimazione, con il nome di Università di Asmara, dal governo etiope. Onnis ne fu rettrice, Berardi vice-rettrice. Nel 1971, richiamata dalla sua congregazione in Italia, Suor Maria Nora visse a Bannone, in provincia di Parma, nella casa parrocchiale del fratello, architetto Don Antonio Onnis, autore del progetto dell'edificio dell'Università di Asmara. Trasferitasi a Gerusalemme nel 1988, la religiosa lavorò come docente di filosofia al Seminario Franciscano e a quello del Patriarcato Latino. Dal 1996,

¹ A. Nandy, *Perdita e recupero dell'identità sotto la dominazione coloniale*, Udine, Forum Editrice, 2013, pp. 25-27.

² Le religiose di questa congregazione sono comunemente chiamate missionarie comboniane.

fu bibliotecaria al Centro Ecumenico di Tantur, vicino a Betlemme. Nel 2003, rientrata in maniera definitiva in Italia, trascorse gli ultimi anni della sua vita presso la comunità comboniana di Arco, in provincia di Trento³.

Tornando all'elaborato con cui la formazione pedagogica di Onnis venne a compimento, leggiamo nell'*Introduzione*:

Uno studio sull'organizzazione scolastica di Asmara e sui suoi problemi non è stato cosa facile per la molteplicità degli aspetti che la scuola asmarina presenta e perché essa è un'esperienza psicologica e didattica nuova in un ambiente nuovo [...]. Non mi sono potuta servire di una bibliografia specifica che non esiste, essendo la mia la prima monografia sull'argomento⁴.

Per la disamina della situazione scolastica asmarina a lei coeva, Suor Maria Nora cercò di procedere alla «raccolta di dati precisi e di materiale di documentazione»; tuttavia «il disordine e l'incompletezza dei vari archivi» rese «ardua» questa operazione; inoltre, interpellò «educatori ed educatrici, religiosi e laici, europei ed indigeni, taluni ai primi anni di esperienza in *colonia*, parecchi in Eritrea da oltre un trentennio»; infine, dall'osservazione delle sue «scolare della Scuola Media e dell'Istituto Magistrale», ricavò «esempi vivi di fatti e di parole»⁵.

L'uso del termine colonia, a quasi vent'anni dal crollo dell'Impero fascista, suggerisce la permanenza ostinata, nel sentire italiano, della percezione dell'Eritrea come possedimento nazionale. L'Italia del secondo dopoguerra, che avrebbe potuto presentarsi al mondo con credenziali non colonialiste, «non si rassegnò a un'estromissione totale e definitiva» dall'Oltremare. Per il salvataggio delle colonie «si batterono, malgrado l'appartenenza a due campi avversi, i partiti di governo e di opposizione, in sintonia e più spesso in competizione». Ciò nonostante, gli sforzi per preservare in tutto o in parte i resti dell'Impero in Africa non ebbero molta fortuna: sebbene la fine sostanziale del dominio coloniale italiano fosse già maturata tra il '41 e il '43, «il Trattato di pace firmato il 10 febbraio 1947 [a Parigi] [...] privò formalmente l'Italia di tutte le colonie». Pur così, le rivendicazioni italiane non si esaurirono e la questione della sorte degli ex-possedimenti fu deferita all'Assemblea delle Nazioni Unite. Nel 1949, la risoluzione n. 289 da parte di questo organismo internazionale mise un punto alle insistite richieste italiane: la neonata Repubblica ottenne il contentino dell'amministrazione fiduciaria per un periodo di 10 anni sulla Somalia, la più povera delle colonie. Tuttavia, a testimonianza della resistenza a

³ Le notizie biografiche su Onnis sono state tratte dal sito internet delle missionarie comboniane: <<http://www.comboniane.org/sister/onnis-sr-maria-nora-it-IT>> (ultimo accesso: 21.05.2018). Si rinvia altresì a G.P. Carini, R. La Cordara, *Storia della scuola italiana in Eritrea*, Ravenna, Giorgio Pozzi Editore, 2014, pp. 132-133. Alcuni dati sono stati anche reperiti presso il sito internet: <<http://www.ilcornodafrica.it/pca-marianora.htm>> (ultimo accesso: 24.05.2018).

⁴ E. Onnis, *Aspetti e problemi educativi e scolastici nella città di Asmara* (tesi non pubblicata), Università degli Studi di Padova, Facoltà di Magistero, a.a. 1958-1959, *Introduzione*, p. II.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. III [corsivo mio].

rinunciare alle pretese coloniali, «il ministero dell'Africa italiana fu chiuso solo con una legge del 1953»⁶.

Pur con la perdita della colonia primogenita⁷, un nucleo demografico nazionale rimase in Eritrea: nel 1945, la comunità italiana è stimabile in 37 mila residenti⁸. La questione delle implicazioni educative della presenza italiana nell'ex-posseimento dopo il '41, data l'esiguità della letteratura al riguardo⁹, apre al sapere storico un fronte quasi tutto da esplorare. Sulla scorta dalla tesi di Onnis, un documento mai prima d'ora oggetto di studio, il presente saggio cerca di ridurre la lacunosità dello stato dell'arte. La dovizia di informazioni e la minuziosità di indagine fanno della dissertazione di Suor Maria Nora una fonte di rilievo per la ricostruzione multiprospettica della vicenda educativa nell'Asmara degli anni '50.

Metodologicamente, nell'analisi dello studio di Onnis, due monografie sono state utili per il controllo, la comparazione e l'integrazione dei dati: 1) *Storia della scuola italiana in Eritrea* di Gian Paolo Carini e Roberto La Cordara¹⁰; 2) *A Historical Survey of State Education in Eritrea* di Adane Taye¹¹. Inoltre, stralci di racconti di vita registrati dall'antropologa Gabriella D'Agostino¹² sono stati intrecciati dallo scrivente allo spaccato che Suor Maria Nora ricrea della società asmarina al fine di rendere più vivida la ricostruzione storica.

Lo scandaglio della trattazione di Onnis contribuisce all'accrescimento della conoscenza storica non solo perché la religiosa illustra dettagliatamente, nei suoi connotati organizzativi, l'offerta di istruzione ad Asmara negli anni '50, in

⁶ G.P. Calchi Novati, *L'Africa d'Italia. Una storia coloniale e postcoloniale*, Roma, Carrocci, 2011, pp. 351, 353, 361 e 351. Riguardo alla vicenda complessa della decolonizzazione, cfr. *ibid.*, pp. 351-383. Si rinvia altresì a: A. Del Boca, *L'Africa nella coscienza degli italiani*, Roma-Bari, Laterza, 1992, pp. 165-172; N. Labanca, *Oltremare. Storia dell'espansione coloniale italiana*, Bologna, il Mulino, 2002, pp. 427-471.

⁷ Primogenita perché, proclamata colonia nel 1890, l'Eritrea è stata il primo possedimento nazionale per anno di fondazione.

⁸ Cfr. Labanca, *Oltremare*, cit., p. 438.

⁹ I saggi che trattano dell'istruzione in Eritrea dall'amministrazione militare britannica in poi sono soltanto due: Carini, La Cordara, *Storia della scuola italiana in Eritrea*, cit.; T. Taye, *A Historical Survey of State Education in Eritrea*, Asmara, EMPDA, 1991.

¹⁰ La monografia di Carini e La Cordara rimane al livello di mera descrizione delle realizzazioni educative italiane dai primi insediamenti missionari precoloniali fino ad oggi – Carini, La Cordara, *Storia della scuola italiana in Eritrea*, cit.

¹¹ Taye, a differenza di Carini e La Cordara, è attento a illuminare i nessi tra formule educative e logiche politiche; degli interventi in materia di istruzione viene colta la specificità in relazione ai regimi politici via via susseguentisi: coloniale italiano, coloniale britannico, federale eritreo-etiope, etiope monarchico, etiope rivoluzionario – Taye, *A Historical Survey of State Education in Eritrea*, cit.

¹² Gabriella D'Agostino, con un'indagine di grande valore documentario, ha raccolto le memorie orali di testimoni del passato dell'Eritrea, dal periodo fascista della colonizzazione italiana fino alla liberazione dall'occupazione etiope – G. D'Agostino, *Altre storie. Memoria dell'Italia in Eritrea*, Bologna, ArchetipoLibri, 2012.

particolare quella da parte delle scuole italiane; altri importanti elementi emergono altresì da questa operazione di scavo. Infatti, poiché «la scuola riflette [...] tutte le caratteristiche ambientali della città di *colonia*»¹³, rileva l'esame della stratificazione sociale della piccola Roma eritrea¹⁴ che, svolto da Onnis con grande capacità di penetrazione, palesa la situazione di privilegio della comunità italiana. Suor Maria Nora sonda inoltre il pregiudizio razziale che, inaspettatamente, era «ancora più vivo dopo l'abolizione delle leggi discriminatorie»¹⁵ emanate tra il '36 ed il '40, con le quali aveva trovato istituzionalizzazione la routine separatista tra bianchi e neri già operante nel regime coloniale; così, non stupisce che fosse ancora in uso nelle scuole italiane, anche dopo la cessazione formale dell'apartheid educativo, la prassi delle classi separate per gli alunni meticci e indigeni più poveri. Infine, la religiosa, oltre a essere una testimone d'eccellenza della vita sociale asmarina per la sua decennale esperienza missionaria in Eritrea, è uno specchio del suo tempo; quindi, sono di interesse per la storia della mentalità italiana degli anni '50 due risultanze: in primo luogo, l'attribuzione, da parte di Onnis, di caratteristiche psicologiche stigmatizzanti ai ragazzi meticci in quanto quasi tutti nati da unioni non matrimoniali in aperta violazione dell'ordine morale e sociale; in secondo luogo, l'adesione al perdurante schema ideologico coloniale del mandato progressista in Africa, di cui la religiosa dà prova nell'impostazione del problema scolastico in Eritrea in meri termini di elevazione allo standard di civiltà europeo, senza riguardo per la promozione del patrimonio culturale indigeno.

In conclusione, con il proposito di iniziare a rischiarare una pagina storica su cui prevale incombente il silenzio della ricerca, questo saggio tenta di mettere in evidenza il protrarsi delle disparità nella distribuzione delle risorse non solo educative tra italiani ed eritrei ben oltre la fine del dominio coloniale formale.

1. *La persistenza del pregiudizio razziale*

Per tutta la durata dell'occupazione italiana dell'Eritrea, l'organizzazione scolastica coloniale fu articolata in due canali educativi separati: uno per i ragazzi italiani e un altro per quelli eritrei. L'accesso alle scuole a fruizione

¹³ Onnis, *Aspetti e problemi educativi e scolastici nella città di Asmara*, cit., p. 354 [corsivo mio].

¹⁴ Così era chiamata Asmara durante il Ventennio.

¹⁵ Onnis, *Aspetti e problemi educativi e scolastici nella città di Asmara*, cit., p. 536.

nazionale era interdetto alla gioventù eritrea¹⁶. Così si esprimeva un eritreo che era nato nell'ultima decade del periodo coloniale italiano¹⁷:

A causa della segregazione nella vita sociale, c'erano da un lato i nativi, dall'altro gli italiani; così c'era anche una segregazione nell'istruzione, come in tutti i campi. [...] Così [gli italiani] lasciavano i nativi al di sotto di loro e con un livello di istruzione molto limitato¹⁸.

La «segregazione nell'istruzione» significò, oltre all'esclusione dell'elemento indigeno dalle scuole a fruizione nazionale, anche la limitazione del percorso educativo dei giovani eritrei alla 4^a elementare e la povertà dell'offerta curricolare a essi proposta.

Come riporta Onnis, era opinione comune

che l'insegnamento ai popoli colonizzati non dovesse essere distribuito che con parsimonia e come col contagocce [perché] la sua diffusione avrebbe necessariamente compresso l'opera coloniale e la dominazione degli stati colonizzatori non si sarebbe mantenuta che a condizione di lasciare nell'ignoranza la massa degli indigeni¹⁹.

Il «lasciare nell'ignoranza la massa degli indigeni» manteneva saldo il fondamento psicologico su cui reggeva «la dominazione degli stati colonizzatori»: il mito dell'inarrivabilità dell'uomo bianco. «I popoli colonizzati», nella misura in cui ricevevano un'istruzione dosata «col contagocce», non erano in grado di mettersi «su un piano il più possibile vicino a quello su cui essi vedono il colonizzatore»²⁰. Viceversa, la piena acculturazione degli indigeni avrebbe accorciato le distanze con gli europei, con la conseguenza di creare i presupposti dell'opposizione all'oppressione coloniale.

In un sistema educativo unico, non sarebbe stato affatto improbabile un alto rendimento scolastico da parte di alcuni dei ragazzi indigeni: «tutto ciò» – come ha scritto Ferdinando Martini, governatore dell'Eritrea tra il 1897 e il

¹⁶ Due pietre miliari della ricerca storica sull'istruzione in Eritrea durante il periodo coloniale italiano sono: 1) T. Negash, *Italian Colonialism in Eritrea, 1882-1941: Policies, Praxis and Impact*, Uppsala, Uppsala University Press, 1987, pp. 66-984, 108-111 e 177-180; 2) C. Smith-Simonsen, «...all'Ombra della Nostra Bandiera». *A Study on Italian Educational Activities in Colonial Eritrea, 1890-1941*, unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Tromsø, 1997. Il tema dell'organizzazione scolastica nell'Eritrea italiana è altresì oggetto di trattazione nella tesi di laurea magistrale dello scrivente: V. Minuto, *Educazione e autorità nella Colonia primogenita. La politica educativa nell'Eritrea italiana, 1890-1941* (tesi non pubblicata), Università degli Studi di Padova, Corso di Laurea magistrale in Scienze pedagogiche, a.a. 2017-2018.

¹⁷ Si tratta di una testimonianza orale incisa su nastro magnetico dalla storica Irma Taddia nel 1993, I. Taddia, *Autobiografie africane. Il colonialismo nelle memorie orali*, Milano, FrancoAngeli, 1996, intervista a N. I. (nato nel 1934), pp. 108-118.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 118.

¹⁹ G. Lauwers, *Rapporto generale sull'istruzione agli indigeni nella XXI sessione dell'Istituto Coloniale Internazionale*, Parigi, 1931 (cito da Onnis, *Aspetti e problemi educativi e scolastici nella città di Asmara*, cit., p. 24).

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 25.

1907 – «con inscapito singolare di quel sentimento della superiorità dell'uomo bianco che occorre in ogni guisa infondere nell'uomo di colore»²¹. Il prestigio che i colonizzatori dovevano conservare dinanzi ai colonizzati sarebbe uscito diminuito dal confronto degli alunni indigeni meritevoli con quelli italiani che non lo erano. Quindi, la ratio dell'apartheid educativo, come spiega Onnis, era quella di fare in modo che «che nessun fanciullo indigeno si sentisse a scuola più bravo di qualche fanciullo italiano»²².

La ragion d'essere di due canali educativi separati venne raramente esplicitata con tanta franchezza. Infatti, le spiegazioni a sostegno della «segregazione nell'istruzione» dell'elemento indigeno erano quasi sempre pretestuose: la scolarizzazione dei sudditi coloniali era da modulare secondo scarse pretese di formazione intellettuale 1) affinché non eccedesse le esigenze strettamente pratiche dell'economia tradizionale dell'Eritrea (storicamente la popolazione indigena era dedicata all'agricoltura o alla pastorizia); 2) affinché fosse adatta all'inclinazione alla manualità insita nella mentalità indigena (inclinazione presuntivamente assunta come *naturale*); 3) affinché fosse accessibile al mediocre ingegno della razza nera (nel corso degli anni Trenta il corpus ideologico fascista vide mobilitati asserti pseudoscientifici sull'ottusità intrinsecamente costitutiva dei popoli africani).

Malgrado il subentro del governo coloniale britannico, la comunità italiana in Eritrea continuò a essere rilevante e di conseguenza l'attività scolastica nazionale non subì una cesura. Tuttavia «all'occupazione di Asmara da parte delle truppe britanniche seguì l'ordine di chiudere definitivamente le scuole indigene»²³ per sottrarre la gioventù eritrea all'«inculcamento di principi fascisti»²⁴. L'amministrazione militare britannica pose le basi di

a new system of education for the natives since there seemed to have exist no system of education for the natives during the Italian colonization. [...] A similar structure of the British model was introduced in Eritrea. [...] The British Administration in Eritrea contributed a great deal to the development of education²⁵.

All'origine di tanta sollecitudine educativa fu la volontà politica di assicurarsi il consenso delle nuove generazioni indigene all'establishment britannico. Ciò nondimeno, nel 1950, alle scuole italiane fu data la facoltà di accogliere

²¹ Ferdinando Martini al Ministero degli Affari Esteri, relazione dell'11 febbraio 1898, in ASDMAE, MAI, *Scuole in Africa*, b. 4, fasc. 4 (cito da G. Ciampi, *La scuola nelle colonie*, in C. Ghezzi (ed.), *Fonti e problemi della politica coloniale italiana. Atti del Convegno internazionale, Taormina-Messina, 23-29 ottobre 1989*, Roma, Istituto Poligrafico e Zecca dello Stato - Archivi di Stato, 1996, Vol. 2, p. 680).

²² Onnis, *Aspetti e problemi educativi e scolastici nella città di Asmara*, cit., p. 17.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 42.

²⁴ G. Puglisi, *La Scuola in Eritrea ieri e oggi*, «Africa», a. 8, n. 5, maggio 1953, p. 147.

²⁵ Taye, *A Historical Survey of State Education in Eritrea*, cit., pp. 44, 48 e 77. Cfr. altresì B. Teklehaimanot, *Education in Eritrea during the European Colonial Period*, «Eritrean Studies Review», vol. 1, n. 1, 1996, pp. 9-18.

alunni eritrei²⁶. Da allora, in Eritrea, quale che fosse l'appartenenza razziale²⁷ dell'utenza, i servizi educativi nazionali furono erogati secondo una modalità unica... o quasi.

Onnis, in linea con le convinzioni a lei coeve, non dubita della legittimità della suddivisione della specie umana in razze; eppure la religiosa dissente sulla gerarchizzazione biologico-razziale tra bianchi e neri²⁸; per questa Pia Madre votata alla Nigrizia,

il pregiudizio razziale crea divisioni e barriere morali più forti di qualsiasi differenza di classe, economica, politica, culturale: la rottura di questa unità porta in tutti i rapporti sociali uno squilibrio profondo [...]. Non resta allora più nulla dei più alti ideali umani, neppure di quelli religiosi, perché una scritta come quella che si legge su alcune chiese in America, "Parrocchia per bianchi" o "Parrocchia per neri", dice con evidente tristissima eloquenza che l'anima, e con essa tutti i valori spirituali, non conta o conta tanto poco da non essere più importante di una pigmentazione più chiara o più scura della pelle²⁹.

Gli europei, [...] facendo tutto un blocco delle popolazioni africane dalla pelle più scura della loro, hanno creduto, in Eritrea e in Etiopia come nelle altre regioni d'Africa, di rappresentare la civiltà di fronte alla barbarie e si sono attribuiti una superiorità fisica intellettuale e morale tutt'altro che provata, ma da essi giudicata tale costituire una *sostanziale* differenza di valore umano tra bianchi e neri³⁰.

È facile immaginare come gli ultimi manovali italiani semianalfabeti si sentissero superiori a qualunque indigeno e come la possibilità di avere abbondante servitù di colore facesse nascere anche nelle popolane italiane immigrate in Eritrea la coscienza di essere grandi dame e come quindi si radicasse l'idea che il bianco è sempre superiore a un nero e ha sempre ragione solo perché è bianco³¹.

I ragazzi italiani crescono in questa atmosfera [di boriosa superiorità] e ne sono avvelenati: trattano la servitù da piccoli despoti, diventando di conseguenza prepotenti e maleducati anche con i loro coetanei e perfino coi loro educatori a scuola: si sentono superiori per cultura ed intelligenza anche ad indigeni adulti e rispettabili³².

Vittorio Valpolicella, intervistato nel 2004 da D'Agostino³³, ha testimoniato di una presunzione di superiorità da parte dei più anziani tra i residenti italiani ad Asmara:

²⁶ Cfr. Onnis, *Aspetti e problemi educativi e scolastici nella città di Asmara*, cit., p. 42. Si rimanda anche a Carini, La Cordara, *Storia della scuola italiana in Eritrea*, cit., p. 106. Il permesso britannico all'apertura delle scuole italiane agli alunni eritrei è riconducibile al fatto che, nel '49, la sottoscrizione del Patto atlantico aveva formalizzato l'adesione della neonata Repubblica italiana al blocco occidentale – Si veda Calchi Novati, *L'Africa d'Italia*, cit., p. 369.

²⁷ Il termine razza, data la non scientificità delle dottrine razziste, è usato dallo scrivente nel suo significato storico-ideologico.

²⁸ Per la dottrina cattolica, tutta l'umanità è unita nella comune filiazione da Dio.

²⁹ Onnis, *Aspetti e problemi educativi e scolastici nella città di Asmara*, cit., pp. 463-464.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 464-465 [corsivo mio].

³¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 466-467.

³² *Ibid.*, pp. 467-468.

³³ D'Agostino, *Altre storie. Memoria dell'Italia in Eritrea*, cit.

Sono nato ad Asmara nel 1951, da genitori italiani. Mio padre era arrivato qui nel 1940 come militare della Marina italiana. [...] I genitori di mia madre erano venuti qui già all'inizio del secolo, con la prima ondata; lei è nata qui. [...] Noi chiamiamo ex-coloniali quelle persone che hanno un'età tra settanta e ottant'anni che ancora hanno quella mentalità di prima. Loro si considerano non ospiti, pensano ancora che questo sia il loro Paese [...]. Queste persone non tengono in considerazione il fatto che noi siamo italiani all'estero [...]. Tecnicamente i coloniali sono quelli venuti in Eritrea prima del 1935; mio padre [...] non era un coloniale perché era venuto dopo. [...] Mia madre non aveva un atteggiamento da coloniale e dunque immagino che i miei nonni non lo avessero. [...] Un ex-coloniale si distingue dagli altri per il modo di comportarsi nei confronti della popolazione locale. Abituati come erano al clima degli anni Venti, per esempio, si rivolgono alla popolazione locale dando subito del tu, come se si trattasse del domestico o della domestica. [...] Anche negli uffici governativi, questi qui vanno in giro rivolgendosi a tutti con il tu; «tu... tu... tu...» – vanno dicendo³⁴.

Elsa Massaiolo Cosetti, nata nel 1912 in Italia, insegnante in Libia dal '33 al '42 e in Eritrea dal '48 al '60, pur dicendosi appartenente a una famiglia partigiana, identifica le ragioni di questo atteggiamento di superiorità nella «diversità [...] nello stile di vita»³⁵:

Io sono una coloniale. Essere coloniali per me significa semplicemente fare una differenza tra la loro maniera di vivere e la nostra; non è una differenza che io considero da un punto di vista intellettuale. Io dico sempre: il cervello ci accomuna tutti, però, c'è un però... la loro maniera di vivere, quella che hanno continuato ad usare, il modo in cui pensano è diversissimo dal nostro. Io ho tanti amici a cui voglio molto bene tra gli eritrei [...]; però mi sono sempre accorta che abbiamo una maniera diversa di vedere le cose e *dovranno passare forse dei secoli per riuscire ad uniformarsi*. [...] I problemi rimangono proprio perché siamo diversi; quindi, se non vogliamo più avere questi problemi, bisognerebbe che le persone [...] cominciassero ad avere un'uniformità di pensiero [...]. Nella vita quotidiana, [...] succede che io spiego come fare una cosa, ti dicono che hanno capito, poi la fanno in tutt'altra maniera, perché pensano che sia da fare in modo diverso³⁶.

Va da sé che «le persone» tenute «ad avere un'uniformità di pensiero», per uscire dallo stato di arretratezza in cui si trovavano, erano gli eritrei.

Onnis condivide questa razzializzazione su base culturale: le differenze tra le razze, piuttosto che essere indelebilmente impresse nel substrato biologico-ereditario, consistono in uno scarto di civiltà che può essere colmato con un «balzo in avanti» per raggiungere uno stadio culturale più evoluto; ad avviso della religiosa, i ragazzi indigeni sono «chiamati a [...] collaudare [...] non solo le loro capacità individuali, ma la capacità stessa della razza a compiere quel balzo in avanti che le deve fare oltrepassare più di due millenni di stasi»³⁷.

Il particolare rilievo che la coloniale Massaiolo Cosetti assegna alla disparità culturale è nervosamente frammisto a esternazioni di orgoglio razziale bianco:

³⁴ *Ibid.*, intervista a Vittorio Valpolicella, pp. 136 e 139-140.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, intervista a Elsa Massaiolo Cosetti, pp. 98-99.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 93-94 [corsivo mio].

³⁷ Onnis, *Aspetti e problemi educativi e scolastici nella città di Asmara*, cit., p. 505.

Quando vengono a parlare di razzismo, io mi arrabbio perché, da un certo punto di vista, io mi sento, diciamo, di quel colore bianco, *io sono bianca e rimango bianca e voglio che io e la mia gente siamo di quel colore*. Io, gli scuri, non li approvo completamente, ma non tanto per il colore, quanto per la maniera di pensare. [...] *Sono molto indietro, deve passare molto tempo, molto tempo*³⁸.

Questa insegnante ricorda che, al tempo del suo soggiorno in Eritrea, «c'era ancora una divisione tra popolazione nativa e popolazione italiana. Era una divisione anche spaziale; per esempio, al circolo italiano loro non potevano entrare, in chiesa i banchi loro erano da una parte, i nostri da un'altra». Tuttavia qualsiasi afflato critico si spegne nella constatazione assolutoria che «c'era proprio una divisione che c'è sempre stata in tutte le cose, prima di tutte quelle inglesi, e non possiamo dire che gli italiani fossero razzisti. Tutti, tutti i colonizzatori sono sempre stati razzisti»³⁹.

Come racconta Suor Maria Nora, sintomatici di un'Asmara «ancora troppo coloniale», in cui l'appartenenza razziale influiva ancora nel posizionamento all'interno della gerarchia sociale della città, furono i risultati di un «esperimento fatto da una maestra» di una scuola elementare italiana; l'iniziativa fu quella di

organizzare la classe come città, con cariche elettive ed incarichi di fiducia: ma [...] il fatto che alle più alte cariche (Sindaco per tutto l'anno la figlia del Console italiano) risultavano eletti i bambini delle famiglie più ricche e più in vista e che solo essi potevano permettersi piccoli doni alla cassa della classe-città e provvedere all'abbellimento ed arredamento con oggetti vari si risolse con un *senso di inferiorità* degli altri bambini e l'iniziativa che era stata lanciata per cercare di annullare, almeno in una classe, le differenze di razza, religione, lingua e ceto sociale, ottenne l'effetto contrario; l'ambiente di Asmara, *ancora troppo coloniale*⁴⁰, deve subire molte intime trasformazioni per essere adatto a simili esperimenti⁴¹.

Nell'Eritrea federale, le leve dell'economia erano in mano a membri della comunità italiana; i «professionisti stranieri [...] hanno il monopolio delle professioni libere e di conseguenza occupano tutti i posti di responsabilità»⁴²; inoltre,

there was a large proportion of Italian employees in the Eritrean government when the British withdrew. For instance, in agriculture and forestry, the director was an Italian with other six Italians below him; in the tobacco monopoly, there were three Italians and one Greek technician. In printing and stationary, the director was Italian. In Asmara Municipality, the

³⁸ D'Agostino, *Altre storie*, cit., intervista a Elsa Massaiolo Cosetti, pp. 96 e 99 [corsivo mio].

³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 96.

⁴⁰ Lo storico Nicola Labanca si pronuncia alla stessa stregua: per la comunità di connazionali in Eritrea, come per quella in Libia, «il colonialismo non finì con la fine del dominio italiano. Molti dei loro componenti cercarono di prolungare quell'esperienza, anche senza l'aiuto della madrepatria». Labanca, *Oltremare*, cit., pp. 438-439.

⁴¹ Onnis, *Aspetti e problemi educativi e scolastici nella città di Asmara*, cit., pp. 267-268 [corsivo mio].

⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 132.

predominance of the Italians was greater than Eritreans. The mayor of Asmara was Italian. [...] In the new Eritrean Administration, most of the professional and technical positions were held by foreigners. This was the result of the neglect of education during the period of Italian occupation⁴³.

L'insistenza del fattore razziale sulla determinazione dell'appartenenza alla classe dominante è altresì deducibile dalle caratteristiche sociali della scuola materna montessoriana di Asmara⁴⁴, che è descritta da Onnis con queste parole:

La Scuola Materna montessoriana [...] avrebbe dovuto radunare bambini appartenenti ad ogni razza e classe sociale ed è venuta ad essere, invece, la scuola dell'élite: non perché sono stati rifiutati bimbi meticci o di povera condizione, ma perché spontaneamente si orientano verso di essa solo le famiglie abbienti, forse per l'apparenza di lusso che la ricchezza e varietà del materiale didattico dà ai suoi locali⁴⁵.

Nonostante il trend di continuità, le transizioni politiche in Eritrea non furono prive di conseguenze sugli assetti sociali. C. G., arrivato dall'Italia ad Asmara a 17 anni nel 1946, racconta a D'Agostino che, quando ancora l'Eritrea era possedimento nazionale, gli indigeni «erano abituati a vivere in un contesto loro; *ben difficilmente si vedeva un eritreo nel settore praticato dai bianchi*, tranne chi svolgeva attività come barista, come lavapiatti, come servo, ecc. ma la massa viveva nel quartiere loro»⁴⁶. Poi, con la dissoluzione dell'Impero fascista, «the aim of the [British Military] Administration was to operate on the basis of 'care and maintenance' with the existing Italian laws and with a small budget to maintain the status quo»⁴⁷. Benché le più alte cariche di governo fossero in mano britannica,

the Italian officials and police officers were retained in their former positions and the old machinery of Italian administration was at work. The Italians worked in manufactures, farms, public services, government departments; they worked as doctors, lawyers, teachers, clerks, mechanics and so on. [...] More fertile land was given to Italians. Export and import, wood-cutting, quarrying licences were restricted almost entirely to Italians⁴⁸.

Sennonché, con la nascita dello Stato eritreo in federazione all'Impero etiope, alcuni dei posti chiave negli apparati amministrativi furono occupati da indigeni: «Col cessare del governo coloniale [britannico]» – come osserva Onnis – «venne naturalmente [...] la sostituzione con indigeni [...] di molti italiani negli uffici direttivi più importanti: [da allora,] il sentimento di boriosa superiorità che nei tempi prosperi si accompagnava ad una specie di bonaria

⁴³ Taye, *A Historical Survey of State Education in Eritrea*, cit., pp. 71-72.

⁴⁴ La Casa dei Bambini Maria Montessori fu istituita nel 1957 – Cfr. Carini, La Cordara, *Storia della scuola italiana in Eritrea*, cit., p. 126.

⁴⁵ Onnis, *Aspetti e problemi educativi e scolastici nella città di Asmara*, cit., p. 268.

⁴⁶ D'Agostino, *Altre storie*, cit., intervista a C. G., p. 120 [corsivo mio].

⁴⁷ Taye, *A Historical Survey of State Education in Eritrea*, cit., p. 39.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 39-40.

condiscendenza protettiva si è cambiato in un sentimento che rasenta l'odio ed è troppo spesso disprezzo»⁴⁹. Inoltre, gli incarichi politici a livello statale furono destinati a notabili eritrei: «Con la Federazione qui fu costituito un governo esclusivamente eritreo, formato da ministri, sottosegretari eritrei; il capo del governo era eritreo [...]. In quel contesto, si avvertì l'esistenza di un'élite eritrea»⁵⁰.

Le mutate condizioni sociali si tradussero nella mutata percezione italiana della popolazione indigena, come emerge dalle parole di C.G.:

Con il raggiungimento della libertà [nel 1952], gli eritrei, che prima erano umili, modesti e anche amici, si sono un pochino gasati e quindi probabilmente pensano di essere diventati non i padroni dell'Eritrea, ma i padroni del mondo; e quindi il rapporto, il dialogo che poteva esistere prima, oggi è molto limitato. *Prima c'era un rapporto paritario* [sic!], senz'altro, senz'altro sì. [...] L'eritreo è un presuntuoso che dovrebbe spogliarsi della sua presuntuosità, è un arrogante che dovrebbe limitare la sua arroganza⁵¹.

Dinanzi agli accessi indigeni a prerogative un tempo riservate ai bianchi, l'atteggiamento di «bonaria condiscendenza protettiva» a cui accenna Suor Maria Nora, quello che il colonizzatore italiano aveva adottato all'interno di un rapporto paternalistico che implicava la considerazione del colonizzato eritreo come inferiore, non poté che tramutarsi in paura di perdere posizioni nella gerarchia sociale; paura che, nell'ingenerare insicurezza, era foriera di «odio» e «troppo spesso» di «disprezzo».

Onnis, da educatrice, afferma il convincimento che «il movimento spirituale [verso la cessazione della discriminazione razziale] [...] ha le sue radici nella scuola»⁵²: «la scuola ha il compito di dissipar[e] [il pregiudizio razziale] sul piano spirituale e su quello pratico»⁵³.

Ciò nondimeno, secondo Suor Maria Nora, alla «promiscuità [razziale] si tende, ma [ad essa] è necessario, per ovvie ragioni, giungere per gradi»⁵⁴; le «ovvie ragioni» sono quelle relative all'esistenza di differenze intercomunitarie così profonde da rendere la «convivenza indiscriminata dei vari gruppi razziali della città mista» un «obiettivo» di là da venire. Di conseguenza, la religiosa è del parere che

la necessità di accogliere nelle stesse classi ragazzi europei e ragazzi indigeni è di ostacolo più che di aiuto, perché le famiglie italiane in genere si irrigidiscono nella loro posizione adducendo non motivi ideologici di superiorità e inferiorità razziale, ai quali si potrebbe ribattere, ma motivi pratici come la poca igiene, le malattie contagiose, la differente

⁴⁹ Onnis, *Aspetti e problemi educativi e scolastici nella città di Asmara*, cit., p. 467.

⁵⁰ D'Agostino, *Altre storie*, cit., intervista a C. G., p. 120.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p. 124 [corsivo mio].

⁵² Onnis, *Aspetti e problemi educativi e scolastici nella città di Asmara*, cit., p. I.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, p. 536.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 52.

educazione ecc., ai quali non si può ribattere perché giusti⁵⁵: la convivenza indiscriminata dei vari gruppi razziali della città mista, infatti, è un obiettivo da raggiungere, ma occorre una preparazione sia spirituale che materiale, poiché mettere assieme [...] elementi dell'una e dell'altra razza equivale a mettere a fuoco le differenze, accentuando la reciproca incomprensione e ostilità⁵⁶.

Per far fronte all'opposizione alle classi miste che la «poca igiene», «le malattie contagiose» o la «differente educazione» della popolazione scolastica meticcica e indigena più povera suscitano nelle «famiglie italiane», non viene trovata altra soluzione se non quella dell'apartheid educativo su base anche classista, «formando, per quelli che provengono da quartieri non bonificati, classi separate [...] e mettendo nelle classi italiane i meticci e gli indigeni delle famiglie più evolute»⁵⁷.

Onnis, che postula un processo evolutivo in direzione dell'integrazione, è lontana dalla consapevolezza pedagogica che le classi separate fossero strumentali alla perpetuazione di gravi fratture nel corpo sociale.

2. Informazioni statistiche sulla popolazione scolastica asmarina

Al tempo dello studio di Onnis, come la stessa religiosa dichiara, Asmara contava intorno ai 130 mila abitanti, di cui circa 17 mila italiani: quindi, la percentuale di residenti italiani era pressappoco del 13%; la popolazione scolastica asmarina ammontava a circa 11 mila unità, di cui oltre 5 mila italiane: dunque, la percentuale di alunni italiani era all'incirca del 45%⁵⁸. Il forte scarto fra la percentuale di italiani che risiedevano nella piccola Roma eritrea (13%) e quella di alunni italiani che frequentavano le scuole asmarine (45%) rende evidenti, in quella che è «una città mista», le «notevolissime differenze economiche e sociali tra i vari nuclei che ne compongono la popolazione»⁵⁹.

Potentemente rivelatrice della disuguaglianza di accesso alle opportunità educative è altresì la messa in relazione di due cifre assolute, quella degli iscritti alle scuole asmarine e quella della popolazione potenzialmente scolarizzabile:

⁵⁵ «Motivi pratici», «non ideologici di superiorità o inferiorità razziale», sono anche quelli che C. G., nella testimonianza orale resa a D'Agostino, porta a giustificazione della prassi separatista: «Io mi rifiuto di credere che fosse perché quelli erano neri e noi eravamo bianchi. Era per una questione di igiene, per una questione di scarsa, molto scarsa pulizia, che si avverte anche oggi, per educazione e quanto altro; se vogliamo poi aggiungere anche parassiti, modo di comportarsi, modo di atteggiarsi, modo di mangiare, modo di vestire, beh tutto questo la diceva lunga». Si veda D'Agostino, *Altre storie*, cit., intervista a C. G., p. 126.

⁵⁶ Onnis, *Aspetti e problemi educativi e scolastici nella città di Asmara*, cit., p. 537.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 90.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 49.

Il 100% dei ragazzi italiani dai sei agli undici anni sono regolarmente iscritti [...]. Dagli undici ai quattordici anni di età la frequenza della scuola è per i ragazzi italiani in ragione del 90% [...]. Dai quattordici ai diciotto anni le iscrizioni dei ragazzi italiani a scuola presentano l'indice del 75%.

L'indice massimo di iscrizione [...] [per i ragazzi eritrei] si aggira sul 70% nel periodo elementare e sul 50/55% nel periodo medio per le classi socialmente elevate, europeizzate nel modo di vita, e scende a zero [nel periodo superiore] per le classi più misere che vivono nei quartieri indigeni più lontani dal modo di vita urbano.

Dai sei agli undici anni la percentuale di iscrizione a scuola è [per i ragazzi meticcii] del 70% [...]. Dagli undici ai quattordici anni gli iscritti a scuola sono il 30% [...]. Dai quattordici ai diciotto anni la media delle iscrizioni a scuola è del 15%⁶⁰.

Le scuole di Asmara prese in esame da Onnis⁶¹ sono 34⁶²: 8 scuole eritree⁶³, di cui 4 governative⁶⁴ e 3 cattoliche, di tipo inglese⁶⁵, «frequentate [quasi] esclusivamente da alunni indigeni», dalle elementari alle superiori, con insegnamento in tigrino e inglese o in tigrino e amarico⁶⁶; 20 scuole italiane,

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 120-123.

⁶¹ Le scuole di Asmara che Suor Maria Nora annovera sono quelle cosiddette organizzate; sono escluse le scuole tradizionali all'aperto, copte o musulmane: si trattava di istituzioni educative «dove non vi è ancora giunta l'influenza dell'organizzazione scolastica europea. [...] Non esistevano, insomma, tra il così detto maestro e i così detti scolari rapporti reciproci di diritti e di doveri. Gli scolari erano liberi di venire o meno a scuola [...]; il maestro, a sua volta, era libero [...] di fermarsi a conversare con essi e a far ripetere a memoria genealogie e testi sacri o di attendere alle sue faccende». *Ibid.*, pp. 5 e 6.

⁶² In realtà, Onnis, per una svista, indica 33 scuole. Infatti, la religiosa omette dall'elenco la scuola elementare Acria (cfr. *ibid.*, pp. 91-94).

⁶³ Alla voce scuole eritree è rubricata anche una scuola superiore etiope, di tipo governativo, con insegnamento in amarico e francese: si tratta della cosiddetta Ècole Supérieure Ethiopienne, di cui Onnis non offre ulteriori informazioni, cfr. *ibid.*, p. 91.

⁶⁴ Il giudizio che Onnis esprime sulle scuole governative eritree non è positivo: «[Gli] edifici [...] sono mediocrementemente arredati e scarsamente forniti di materiale [didattico]. Gli alunni che li frequentano sono in genere poverissimi ed avrebbero bisogno che la scuola passasse loro vesti e cibo, oltre che libri e quaderni. È quindi superfluo aggiungere che l'assistenza è del tutto inadeguata ai bisogni», *Ibid.*, p. 170. Dello stesso avviso è il giornalista Giuseppe Puglisi, autore, nei primi anni '50, di un'inchiesta sull'istruzione in Eritrea; relativamente alle scuole governative indigene, considerato che la «preparazione [degli insegnanti eritrei] lascia molto a desiderare», il pubblicista auspica un deciso miglioramento della qualità didattica. G. Puglisi, *La Scuola in Eritrea ieri e oggi*, «Africa», n. 7/8, luglio/agosto 1953, p. 212.

⁶⁵ «Nelle scuole indigene si segue l'indirizzo inglese» – scrive Onnis. Tipica di queste scuole è l'adozione di un metodo di insegnamento «a carattere esclusivamente informativo, basat[o] più sulla prontezza alla risposta standard immediata che sul ragionamento». «Tutti gli esami sono scritti [...], su tests». «Altro carattere che presentano le scuole di tipo inglese di Asmara è la spiccata tendenza alla specializzazione pratica. I programmi non includono quasi la trattazione generale della materia»: il focus è su argomenti specifici. Il metodo di insegnamento è di tipo pratico, incentrato su esercitazioni, con la conseguenza che le basi teoriche dell'istruzione sono deboli – Ead., *Aspetti e problemi educativi e scolastici nella città di Asmara*, cit., pp. 241, 371, 242 e 244-245.

⁶⁶ Nelle scuole indigene di tutta l'Eritrea, le lingue di insegnamento erano il tigrino nell'altopiano cristiano e l'arabo nel bassopiano musulmano, in abbinamento all'inglese o all'amarico. L'uso di quest'ultima lingua era uno dei segnali della volontà politica di etiopizzazione del sistema educativo eritreo, volontà che, dopo la soppressione della federazione, si manifestò in maniera compiuta: solo

di cui 9 governative e 11 cattoliche, a fruizione mista, dalle elementari alle superiori, con insegnamento in italiano⁶⁷; 1 scuola coranica; 1 scuola evangelica; 1 scuola della comunità nord-americana⁶⁸; 3 facoltà universitarie, a fruizione mista⁶⁹.

Sulla base dei dati statistici forniti da Onnis, gli alunni che frequentavano le scuole eritree erano all'incirca 4.450⁷⁰; quelli che afferivano alle scuole italiane erano 6.769⁷¹; gli studenti universitari risultavano essere 117.

Nelle scuole indigene, «il rapporto della popolazione scolastica femminile, già basso nelle classi elementari, 30%, si abbassa nelle classi superiori dove si riduce al 5%»⁷²; «nei corsi universitari», poi, la percentuale di studentesse che provengono dalle scuole eritree è pari a «zero»⁷³. Nelle scuole italiane, diversamente, «il rapporto tra la popolazione scolastica femminile [3.027] e quella maschile [3.859]» – secondo la definizione che ne dà Suor Maria Nora – «è normale»⁷⁴: la percentuale di alunne è del 48% alle elementari (2.118 su 4.420), del 49% alle medie (365 su 748) e del 45% alle superiori (197 su 435); nelle facoltà universitarie, la quota di presenza femminile è del 38% (45 su 117)⁷⁵: di conseguenza, le studentesse che frequentavano i corsi universitari erano le diplomate nelle scuole italiane.

l'amarico, difatti, fu impiegato come mezzo per l'insegnamento – Cfr. Taye, *A Historical Survey of State Education in Eritrea*, cit., pp. 92-93 e 99.

⁶⁷ «Alla cessazione del governo provvisorio occupante», con la costituzione dello Stato eritreo in federazione con l'Impero etiopico, «le scuole italiane [...] furono giuridicamente inquadrare tra le scuole italiane all'estero», Onnis, *Aspetti e problemi educativi e scolastici nella città di Asmara*, cit., pp. 22-23. Queste istituzioni educative, sia quelle governative sia quelle cattoliche legalmente riconosciute, erano alle dipendenze del Consolato generale d'Italia ad Asmara e quindi del Ministero degli Affari Esteri. Fermo restando che i programmi didattici erano quelli in vigore in Italia, l'unico obbligo, per queste scuole, era quello dell'inclusione nell'impianto curricolare dell'insegnamento della lingua amarica, della storia e della geografia dell'Etiopia. Da notare l'assenza dell'insegnamento in tigrino, che era, insieme all'arabo, la più diffusa delle lingue parlate in Eritrea – Cfr. *ibid.*, pp. 129-131, 184 e 240.

⁶⁸ Lo scenario scolastico asmarino descritto da Onnis è incompleto; infatti, mancano tre scuole di altrettante comunità straniere storiche dell'Eritrea: la comunità ellenica, quella indiana e quella ebraica (il funzionamento della scuola rabbinica, tuttavia, era discontinuo) – Cfr. Carini, *La Cordara, Storia della scuola italiana in Eritrea*, cit., p. 119.

⁶⁹ Le facoltà universitarie erano: la Scuola di Medicina, la Scuola di Giurisprudenza e l'Istituto Universitario Magistero Santa Famiglia; di quest'ultimo, come si è già affermato, Onnis fu co-fondatrice. Riguardo agli studi universitari ad Asmara, cfr. Onnis, *Aspetti e problemi educativi e scolastici nella città di Asmara*, cit., pp. 132-159. Si rinvia altresì a Carini, *La Cordara, Storia della scuola italiana in Eritrea*, cit., pp. 103-104 e 128-133.

⁷⁰ A giustificazione di una certa approssimazione numerica circa gli alunni che frequentavano le scuole eritree, Suor Maria Nora chiama in causa le difficoltà ad «avere statistiche esatte», Onnis, *Aspetti e problemi educativi e scolastici nella città di Asmara*, cit., p. 92.

⁷¹ Onnis, per alcuni errori di computo, ne segnala 6.573. Cfr. *ibid.*, pp. 92-93 e 107-109.

⁷² *Ibid.*, p. 97.

⁷³ *Ibid.*

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 99.

⁷⁵ Si veda la tabella *Scuole organizzate di Asmara*, *ibid.*, pp. 106-109.

Onnis opera una suddivisione della popolazione scolastica asmarina su base nazionale⁷⁶. Dei circa 4.450 alunni che fanno parte delle scuole indigene, 3.650 sono eritrei (82%), 350 italiani (8%)⁷⁷, 270 meticci (6%) e 180 di altre nazionalità (4%). I 6.769 alunni che frequentano le scuole italiane sono così distribuiti: 2.184 eritrei (32%), 1.923 italiani (28%), 2.336 meticci (35%)⁷⁸ e 326 di altre nazionalità (5%). Dei 117 studenti universitari, 41 sono eritrei (35%), 59 italiani (50%), 12 meticci (10%) e 5 di altre nazionalità (3%)⁷⁹.

Relativamente alle scuole italiane, Onnis qualifica come «alta» la «percentuale di alunni indigeni»; in realtà, a renderla tale era l'affluenza alle elementari serali: qui, infatti, la percentuale era «del 100% [1.166 su 1.166]»; poi, diveniva «del 20% alle elementari diurne [884 su 4.420], del 12% alla scuola media [90 su 748], del 10% alla scuola superiore [44 su 435]»⁸⁰. Anche il rapporto degli alunni meticci sul totale degli iscritti alle scuole italiane era decrescente: 50% alle elementari (2.210 su 4.420), 15% alle medie (112 su 748), 10% alle superiori (44 su 435)⁸¹. Diversamente, l'incidenza degli alunni italiani aumentava all'avanzare degli studi: 25% alle elementari (1.105 su 4.420), 64% alle medie (479 su 748) e 78% alle superiori (339 su 435)⁸². L'inferenza a cui queste cifre portano è che il meccanismo della selezione scolastica era ben funzionante per gli alunni indigeni e meticci; infatti, «il fenomeno della ripetenza ha proporzioni minime nel gruppo di popolazione scolastica rappresentata da alunni italiani, massime nel gruppo della popolazione scolastica indigena e meticcica»⁸³.

Assai interessanti sono anche le informazioni sulla provenienza sociale degli alunni: date le «speciali condizioni della popolazione di Asmara», «gli indici

⁷⁶ Cfr. la tabella N. 1 *Nazionalità degli alunni*, *ibid.*, p. 110.

⁷⁷ Onnis non entra in alcun modo nel merito della scelta, effettuata da una minoranza di famiglie italiane, di mandare i figli alle scuole eritree, né lo scrivente è riuscito a reperire elementi informativi al riguardo.

⁷⁸ La presenza dei ragazzi meticci a scuola sollevava la questione della classificazione come alunni italiani o come alunni eritrei: «non è facile» – osserva la religiosa – «compilare per [le scuole italiane] un quadro esatto perché i numerosi meticci [...] a volte figurano tra la popolazione scolastica italiana, a volte no» (*Ibid.*, p. 97). Tuttavia Suor Maria Nora, a meno che le statistiche da lei svolte non contengano una grave imprecisione, può aver quantificato la popolazione scolastica italiana di Asmara, dalle classi elementari fino ai corsi universitari, in circa 5 mila unità solo con l'inclusione, nel conteggio, dei giovani *di sangue misto* [italiani (1.923 + 59) + meticci (2.336 + 12)].

⁷⁹ Le cifre di questa classificazione in base alla nazionalità sono di valore orientativo perché nascono dalla conversione, praticata dello scrivente, delle percentuali presenti nella tabella N. 1 *Nazionalità degli alunni* in numeri decimali arrotondati. (Onnis, *Aspetti e problemi educativi e scolastici nella città di Asmara*, cit., p. 110).

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 98. A confronto con questa decrescenza percentuale (100% alle elementari serali, 20% alle elementari diurne, 12% alle medie, 10% alle superiori), la quota di studenti eritrei sul totale degli iscritti alle facoltà universitarie risulta aumentata (35%: 41 su 117) a causa dell'affluenza dei diplomati nelle scuole indigene.

⁸¹ Cfr. *ibid.*, p. 110.

⁸² Cfr. *ibid.*

⁸³ *Ibid.*, p. 124. Cfr. la tabella *Percentuale delle ripetenze* a p. 125.

economici» denotano «scarti fortissimi tra europei⁸⁴ e indigeni, e più ancora tra indigeni appartenenti a classi sociali diverse»⁸⁵. Infatti, solo il 10% degli alunni eritrei era di ceto medio o alto; mentre la rimanente

popolazione scolastica indigena [...] è costituita per il 90% da ragazzi che abitano nei quartieri non bonificati: in tukul o in casette di circa⁸⁶ di sei o sette metri quadrati, quindi dove non è conosciuta nessuna norma igienica e dove, naturalmente, sono presenti tutte le malattie tropicali dovute alla mancanza di igiene, alla miseria estrema e al vizio⁸⁷.

La quasi inconsistenza degli strati intermedi all'interno dell'ordinamento sociale asmarino rendeva più vertiginosa la distanza tra l'élite e la massa con la conseguenza che le opportunità di fruizione di risorse educative erano nettamente differenziate; in linea con le dinamiche classiste già operanti nelle scuole a fruizione indigena durante il periodo coloniale italiano⁸⁸,

la scelta dei ragazzi [eritrei] da avviare allo studio, e quindi ai posti direttivi della società di domani, è determinata da circostanze di fatto: studiano i ragazzi del ceto più abbiente o i cui genitori sono alla dipendenza di europei; gli altri, anche se più dotati ed atti a prendere il posto di responsabilità a cui un titolo di studio in un paese come l'Eritrea dà accesso, fanno un lavoro qualsiasi, senza preparazione né specializzazione⁸⁹.

Nell'Asmara degli anni '50, sempre in continuità con il periodo dell'occupazione italiana, quando ai sudditi coloniali spettavano per lo più funzioni di manovalanza a basso costo⁹⁰, i ragazzi indigeni e meticci del ceto più povero erano avviati all'orientamento professionale; tuttavia la lacunosità dell'addestramento ai mestieri impediva la formazione di maestranze specializzate suscettibili di mettere a repentaglio gli equilibri sociali:

L'apprendistato dei mestieri [...] è riservato quasi esclusivamente agli indigeni ed ai meticci, date le condizioni del lavoro materiale in cui la mano d'opera indigena sovrabbonda, a prezzo minimo anche se a buon rendimento [...]. Preparazione e specializzazione operaie ancora non esistono nè si ha interesse a organizzarle dato che la formazione di un certo

⁸⁴ Dalla testimonianza orale di C. G. a D'Agostino risulta che, prima della riforma di nazionalizzazione del capitale straniero attuata a metà degli anni '70 dal Derg, il governo etiope di ispirazione comunista, «italiani poveri ce ne erano pochi [...]. Gli italiani erano tutti autosufficienti e certamente, come in tutte le parti del mondo, il poveretto ci poteva anche essere, per l'amor di Dio, ma forse era anche insignificante, insignificante nel senso che la comunità stessa lo aiutava», D'Agostino, *Altre storie*, cit., intervista a C. G., p. 122.

⁸⁵ Onnis, *Aspetti e problemi educativi e scolastici nella città di Asmara*, cit., p. 102.

⁸⁶ «Fango misto a tritura di paglia ed escrementi bovini» – *Ibid.*, p. 342 [N.d.A.].

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 102.

⁸⁸ Nel periodo coloniale italiano, secondo la stima operata da Tekeste Negash, ricevette istruzione nelle scuole governative solo il 2% della popolazione eritrea in età scolare; questa percentuale era data dai rampolli dell'élite indigena – Negash, *Italian Colonialism in Eritrea*, cit., p. 83.

⁸⁹ Onnis, *Aspetti e problemi educativi e scolastici nella città di Asmara*, cit., pp. 505-506.

⁹⁰ Cfr. Minuto, *Educazione e autorità nella Colonia primogenita*, cit., pp. 31-32 e 39-40.

numero di operai qualificati [...] determinerebbe una complessa crisi sociale ed economica mutando i rapporti [...] esistenti tra capitale, lavoro e mano d'opera⁹¹.

Nelle scuole eritree, alle elementari, l'80% degli alunni faceva parte del ceto più povero, quello «degli operai non specializzati»⁹²: «è difficile» – commenta Onnis – «immaginare in Italia» tanta povertà; «ma [è] ancora povertà. In Eritrea c'è poi la vera miseria: i figli dei miserabili non vanno a scuola»⁹³; proseguendo con la descrizione della struttura sociale della popolazione scolastica alle elementari indigene, il 20% degli alunni era di ceto medio, quello «degli impiegati negli uffici meno importanti»⁹⁴; dal canto loro, «le famiglie appartenenti alle classi economicamente più abbienti e socialmente più elevate» – evidenzia Onnis – «non mandano i bambini alle elementari indigene, per ovvi motivi di igiene, ma nelle *classi europee*»⁹⁵. Diversamente, alle medie e alle superiori, sono percentualmente più rilevanti le cifre che interessano gli strati più alti della gerarchia sociale⁹⁶; infatti, alle medie, il 50% degli alunni appartiene alla classe più abbiente, il 40% a quella media, il 10% a quella

⁹¹ Onnis, *Aspetti e problemi educativi e scolastici nella città di Asmara*, cit., pp. 504 e 506 [corsivo mio].

⁹² *Ibid.*, p. 102.

⁹³ *Ibid.* – Questo distinguo tra «povertà» e «miseria» è aggiunto in nota.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 103.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.* [corsivo mio]. Onnis individua come lacunose 3 delle 5 scuole elementari eritree. Nelle due scuole governative, la Hailé Selassié e la Neghesti Menen, gli insegnanti indigeni, sebbene «diplomati maestri», «non sono all'altezza di affrontare né sul piano teorico né su quello pratico i molti e complessi problemi che presenta la situazione scolastica». Nella scuola cattolica copta Kidané Meherét, «il personale insegnante», che risulta di «sacerdoti indigeni», «non è specializzato ed è impreparato, anche se di un livello culturale un tantino più elevato di quello dei maestri delle scuole governative». Diversamente, nelle 2 scuole cattoliche, il Comboni College (maschile, dal corso elementare al superiore, con insegnamento in tigrino e inglese) e la Casa Comboni (femminile, dal corso elementare al medio, con insegnamento in tigrino e amarico), «il personale insegnante [...] è culturalmente e didatticamente preparato». *Ibid.*, pp. 161 e 163. Suor Maria Nora, quando asserisce che «le famiglie appartenenti alle classi economicamente più abbienti e socialmente più elevate non mandano i bambini alle elementari indigene [...], ma nelle classi europee», parrebbe alludere alla presenza di alunni eritrei di ceto alto nelle scuole elementari italiane. Nondimeno, a giudizio dello scrivente, la religiosa fa anche e soprattutto riferimento al Comboni College e alla Casa Comboni: vero è che questi due istituti di istruzione non rientravano nell'ordinamento scolastico italiano all'estero ed erano catalogati come scuole eritree; tuttavia, essendo gestiti da personale insegnante comboniano, facevano parte dell'offerta educativa europea – Cfr. Carini, La Cordara, *Storia della scuola italiana in Eritrea*, cit., pp. 110-113.

⁹⁶ Nonostante l'offerta di istruzione europea fosse, a giudizio di Onnis, qualitativamente superiore, rimane il dato che buona parte delle famiglie eritree di status sociale alto preferisse le scuole indigene giacché l'utilità della formazione ricevuta presso le istituzioni educative italiane appariva incerta. Al di là delle lezioni tenute nella lingua nazionale, come scrive Onnis, «è noto che nelle scuole italiane si esce con una ben scarsa conoscenza delle lingue estere», Onnis, *Aspetti e problemi educativi e scolastici nella città di Asmara*, cit., p. 248. La conoscenza dell'amarico o dell'inglese era importante perché «many Eritreans had access to secondary and university level of education in Ethiopia or were granted scholarship to study abroad», Taye, *A Historical Survey of State Education in Eritrea*, cit., p. 105.

più povera; alle superiori⁹⁷, la percentuale di alunni socialmente privilegiati sale al 60%, quella degli alunni di ceto medio cala al 40%, quella degli alunni socialmente più svantaggiati degrada a zero⁹⁸.

Nelle scuole italiane, alle elementari⁹⁹, il 60% degli alunni appartiene a «famiglie poverissime o addirittura misere»: per il 30%, questa «percentuale [...] è tenuta alta» – chiarisce Onnis – «dal numero dei meticci abbandonati [...]; un altro 30% è rappresentato dai figli di operai [non specializzati]»; poi, il 20% consta dei «figli di impiegati e piccoli commercianti» e un altro 20% dei «figli di professionisti, industriali e commercianti medi»¹⁰⁰. Significative sono le differenze di composizione sociale tra la scuola media e quella di avviamento professionale. Nella scuola media¹⁰¹,

il 60% circa della popolazione scolastica proviene dalla classe media, *operai specializzati italiani*, impiegati, piccoli commercianti, concessionari agricoli; il 20% dalla classe più abbiente; il 20% dalla classe più povera ed è in genere costituito da meticci¹⁰².

Nella scuola di avviamento professionale, articolata in due indirizzi, quello commerciale e quello industriale¹⁰³, il 50% degli alunni fa parte della classe più povera; l'altro 50% è formato da alunni di ceto medio. Alle superiori,

⁹⁷ Le scuole superiori indigene erano due: «They were developed during federation. Before federation, Eritrea had no secondary school. [...] Eritrea's first secondary school [...] was called Haile Selassie I Secondary School, named after the late Ethiopian Emperor, Haile Selassie I. Haile Selassie I Secondary School was said to be the most modern type ever created on Ethiopian soil. [...] Eritrean students used to go to Addis Ababa for secondary education before the building of Haile Selassie I Secondary School. The second secondary school was called Prince Makonnen Secondary School [dal nome del secondogenito dell'Imperatore]», *Ibid.*, pp. 77 e 81. Taye non menziona affatto l'Ecole Supérieure Ethiopienne che Onnis enumera tra le scuole superiori indigene – Si veda la nota n. 63. Nell'elenco stilato da Suor Maria Nora, d'altra parte, l'Istituto Principe Makonnen è assente; assenza che è forse spiegabile con il fatto che l'apertura della prima classe, risalendo all'a.s. 1956-1957, risultava abbastanza recente.

⁹⁸ Cfr. la tabella *Provenienza sociale degli alunni*, in Onnis, *Aspetti e problemi educativi e scolastici nella città di Asmara*, cit., p. 114.

⁹⁹ Le scuole elementari governative erano: la Leonardo da Vinci, la Michelangelo Buonarroti, la Raffaello Sanzio e la Alfredo Taglietti; vi rientravano anche le classi serali presso la Ferdinando Martini e la già citata Buonarroti. Cattoliche erano le scuole elementari seguenti: l'Amba Galliano o Santa Famiglia, la Daniele Comboni, la Sant'Anna, la La Salle, la Villaggio Genio o Sant'Antonio, la Campo Zuco e la Villaggio Acria – Cfr. *ibid.*, pp. 93 e 108-109. Si rinvia altresì a Carini, La Cordara, *Storia della scuola italiana in Eritrea*, cit., p. 127.

¹⁰⁰ Onnis, *Aspetti e problemi educativi e scolastici nella città di Asmara*, cit., pp. 103-104.

¹⁰¹ La Scuola Media, sebbene fosse governativa, aveva tre sezioni distaccate presso istituzioni religiose: il Collegio La Salle (Fratelli delle Scuole Cristiane), l'Istituto Santa Famiglia (Pie Madri della Nigrizia) e il Collegio Sant'Anna (Figlie di Sant'Anna). *Ibid.*, pp. 96 e 107.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, p. 104 [corsivo mio].

¹⁰³ La Scuola di Avviamento Professionale, che assunse il nome di Alessandro Volta a partire dal '60, vide la cospicua affluenza di ragazzi indigeni – Carini, La Cordara, *Storia della scuola italiana in Eritrea*, cit., p. 120.

all'istituto tecnico¹⁰⁴ e a quello magistrale¹⁰⁵, vengono pressappoco mantenute le stesse proporzioni della scuola media nella ripartizione sociale degli alunni. Diversamente, nei licei, scientifico¹⁰⁶ e linguistico¹⁰⁷, «i provenienti dalla classe più abbiente sono il 40% e l'altro 60% è dato dalla classe media»¹⁰⁸.

Queste emergenze statistiche non lasciano dubbi sulla provenienza della popolazione scolastica asmarina da ambienti sociali tra loro diversi più profondamente di quanto non fossero quelli delle città europee:

Basti pensare alla diversità che esiste, in una scuola indigena, tra la mentalità e la cultura dei ragazzi appartenenti a famiglie dal modo di vita europeizzato, da tempo stabilite in città e godenti di benessere economico che permette loro più larghi contatti con talune manifestazioni della civiltà occidentale, come la radio, la televisione, il cinema e la stampa, e la mentalità e la cultura dei ragazzi provenienti dall'ambiente originale dei paesi, dove il modo di vita è [...] lo stesso di quello degli agricoltori-pastori di duemila anni fa¹⁰⁹.

Lo stesso valeva per il *milieu* sociale quanto mai eterogeneo delle scuole italiane; in esse, infatti,

sono a contatto [...] ragazzi provenienti dalla classe europea economicamente e culturalmente più elevata – da un ambiente familiare, quindi, in cui molte informazioni naturalmente acquistate fanno parte della cultura abituale dei bambini anche nell'età elementare e pre-elementare – e ragazzi meticci provenienti da quartieri periferici indigeni non bonificati dove la civiltà europea non è penetrata ed il modo di vita è materialmente e moralmente anche più misero che nei villaggi indigeni delle regioni africane più interne¹¹⁰.

3. *I ragazzi meticci: «povere creature con tare fisiche e morali»*

Nella classificazione della popolazione scolastica asmarina, Onnis include i *Meticci* tra le comunità nazionali, accanto a *Eritrei, Italiani, Arabi, Indiani, Ebrei e Altri Europei*¹¹¹. Difatti, i figli di padre italiano e di madre eritrea, tanto più quelli nati fuori dal matrimonio, i cosiddetti illegittimati, erano percepiti

¹⁰⁴ Negli anni dal '50 al '57, le iscrizioni di giovani eritrei all'Istituto Tecnico Vittorio Bottego, nelle due sezioni Geometri e Ragioneria, «erano state limitatissime (1-3%), mentre dal 1957 al 1960 la percentuale [...] salì fino ad arrivare al 16,7%». *Ibid.*, p. 122.

¹⁰⁵ L'Istituto Magistrale Maria Assunta, attivato dalle Pie Madri della Nigrizia all'Istituto Santa Famiglia, ottenne la parificazione dal Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione nel 1955 – *Ibid.*, p. 125.

¹⁰⁶ Il Liceo Scientifico Ferdinando Martini, nell'a.s. 1955-1956, prese il posto dell'omonimo istituto di tipo classico – *Ibid.*, p. 123.

¹⁰⁷ Il Liceo Linguistico, aperto nel 1959 sempre all'Istituto Santa Famiglia per iniziativa comboniana, era privato.

¹⁰⁸ Onnis, *Aspetti e problemi educativi e scolastici nella città di Asmara*, cit., p. 104.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 355-356.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 356.

¹¹¹ Cfr. la tabella N. 1 *Nazionalità degli alunni*, in *ibid.*, p. 110.

come gruppo a sé¹¹²; doppiamente esclusi, vivevano «in a kind of social void: 'not quite/not white'»¹¹³; non erano riconosciuti né come del tutto bianchi né come del tutto neri. Nell'intervista rilasciata a D'Agostino, Giacomo Tutone, nato ad Asmara nel 1935, meticcio, riconosciuto dal fratellastro italiano, ha raccontato quanto segue:

Degli anni che ho vissuto ad Asmara¹¹⁴ mi ricordo che i meticci, sinceramente, vivevano in maniera molto disagiata perché non erano accettati né da una parte né dall'altra. Intanto, facevano una vita a sé, erano separati, completamente, non tutti è chiaro, però una buona parte era così, anche perché molti non erano riconosciuti; quindi, anche da parte italiana, diciamo, venivano disprezzati; dicevano «quel meticcio», «quel meticcio»; c'era questo razzismo. Anche da parte eritrea era così¹¹⁵, però era molto meglio, forse; i meticci erano più accettati da parte eritrea che da parte italiana¹¹⁶.

Quella che Onnis definisce «*piaga del meticcio*», «comune [...] tanto alla società europea che a quella indigena»¹¹⁷ (anche se quest'ultima, data l'inservanza degli obblighi paterni, «ne porta il peso, materiale e morale, maggiore»¹¹⁸), si aggravò nell'ultimo lustro del fascismo¹¹⁹. Con la promulgazione delle leggi razziali coloniali¹²⁰, la proibizione del riconoscimento dei figli avuti

¹¹² Si veda la nota n. 78.

¹¹³ Smith-Simonsen, «...all'Ombra della Nostra Bandiera.», cit., p. 152.

¹¹⁴ Fino al 1952.

¹¹⁵ A essere invisibili alla popolazione eritrea erano i meticci non riconosciuti. Infatti, secondo la consuetudine tigrina, la legittimazione, anche nelle unioni temporanee, avveniva automaticamente e il padre provvedeva al sostentamento della prole. I meticci non riconosciuti dal padre italiano, quindi, costituivano dinanzi alla collettività indigena un'anomalia. Nell'eventualità, frequentissima, di non riconoscimento, la madre eritrea era lasciata a occuparsi dei figli senza ricevere assistenza alcuna da parte della famiglia di origine – Cfr. B. Sorgoni, *Parole e corpi. Antropologia, discorso giuridico e politiche sessuali interraziali nella colonia Eritrea (1890-1941)*, Napoli, Liguori Editore, 1998, p. 123.

¹¹⁶ D'Agostino, *Altre storie*, cit., intervista a Giacomo Tutone, p. 84.

¹¹⁷ Onnis, *Aspetti e problemi educativi e scolastici nella città di Asmara*, cit., p. 404 [corsivo mio].

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁹ Riguardo allo status giuridico, nonché alle chance educative, dei meticci durante il periodo coloniale italiano, si rinvia a Minuto, *Educazione e autorità nella Colonia primogenita*, cit., pp. 63-70.

¹²⁰ Il Regio Decreto-Legge n. 880 del 19 aprile 1937 sanciva una punizione consistente nella «reclusione da uno a cinque anni» per «il cittadino italiano che [...] tiene relazione d'indole coniugale con persona suddita dell'Africa Orientale Italiana [...]». Il divieto di matrimonio interraziale fu anche motivato dalla considerazione del fatto che la prole che ne fosse nata sarebbe stata automaticamente legittima. Il testo della Gazzetta Ufficiale n. 145 del 24 giugno del 1937, contenente questo provvedimento chiamato *Sanzioni per i rapporti d'indole coniugale tra cittadini e sudditi*, è scaricabile in formato pdf dal sito internet: <augusto.digitpa.gov.it/gazzette/index/download/id/1937145_P1> (ultimo accesso: 30.07.2018). La legge n. 822 del 13 maggio 1940, dal titolo *Norme relative ai meticci*, dettava, all'art. 3, la disposizione seguente: «Il meticcio non può essere riconosciuto dal genitore cittadino [italiano]». Questo provvedimento, pubblicato nella Gazzetta Ufficiale n. 166 del 17 luglio 1940, è consultabile nel seguente sito internet: <http://www.akra.it/amis/testim.asp?idtes=113&idsch=107> (ultimo accesso: 25.07.2018).

da donne indigene fu «un vero disastro morale e sociale. Il numero dei meticci [...] non riconosciuti [...] si accrebbe in maniera vertiginosa. [...] Si crearono allora molte situazioni irregolari, penosissime e ancora oggi insanabili»¹²¹.

Intervistata da D'Agostino, Maria Bertellini, meticcina, nata a Cheren nel 1949, quando il divieto di riconoscimento della prole generata con donne indigene era oramai venuto meno, racconta una di queste «situazioni irregolari», quella in cui versavano lei e il fratello, sanata poi con l'acquisizione di un nome fittizio:

Mio padre si chiamava Salvatore Mauro, ma io non porto il suo cognome [...]. Mio padre *non aveva potuto* riconoscermi, né me né mio fratello, perché la moglie che aveva in Italia, Giuseppina Greco si chiama, non voleva saperne di riconoscerci. Io non è che volevo portargli via chissà che cosa... Io, per questo, portavo il nome di mia madre, ma a mia madre dava fastidio questo nome qui; diceva: «Perché la figlia di un italiano deve portare il mio nome?» I rapporti tra mio padre e mia madre erano belli, io me lo ricordo. C'erano però dei momenti che gridavano perché mia madre brontolava sempre per questo nome che lui non ci dava e voleva sapere perché. Lui non le faceva capire che era sposato [...]. L'ha scoperto dopo, mia madre; c'è stato un litigio, hanno gridato, io ero piccola... Credo che l'abbia scoperto perché era andata a chiedere al Municipio e lì c'erano le carte da cui risultava se gli italiani erano sposati e lì ha scoperto che mio padre era spostato e aveva due figli. Così, ha trovato questo signore Bertellini, che ci ha riconosciuti, me e mio fratello, come figli suoi¹²².

La percentuale di alunni meticci che, non «accolti volentieri nelle scuole indigene»¹²³, frequentavano quelle italiane era elevata: il 35% (2.336 su 6.769); il massimo valore percentuale

lo raggiunge la scuola elementare di Acria, frequentata quasi esclusivamente da meticci: in essa gli illegittimati sono il 90% della popolazione scolastica, e di questi meno di 1/10 portava il nome del padre: il quartiere di Acria, infatti, è uno dei più miserabili quartieri indigeni di Asmara¹²⁴.

Come si è visto, la quota degli alunni meticci sul totale degli iscritti alle scuole italiane era dal 50% alle elementari (2.210 su 4.420), passava al 15% alle medie (112 su 748) fino a scemare al 10% alle superiori (44 su 435). Le ragioni della diminuzione della presenza degli alunni meticci all'avanzare degli studi sono fatte ricadere da Onnis sui singoli che componevano il gruppo razziale misto; ad avviso della religiosa, il fenomeno della ripetenza era più accentuato in questo gruppo perché una *tranche* di ragazzi meticci, a dispetto dell'iscrizione scolastica, non si presentava a lezione; tuttavia

¹²¹ Onnis, *Aspetti e problemi educativi e scolastici nella città di Asmara*, cit., pp. 396-397. «Non furono mai permesse statistiche ufficiali. Dai registri dei battesimi e dai registri scolastici pare [che i meticci giunsero a] oltre 25.000». *Ibid.*, p. 396 [NdA].

¹²² D'Agostino, *Altre storie*, cit., intervista a Maria Bertellini (coniugata Mazzola), pp. 69 e 73-74 [corsivo mio].

¹²³ Onnis, *Aspetti e problemi educativi e scolastici nella città di Asmara*, cit., p. 97.

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 101.

gli indici di frequenza [scolastica] non danno [...] in maniera assoluta il quadro della ripetenza perché interferiscono altri complessi fattori che incidono sul rendimento [...]: il gruppo dei meticci [...] rende assai meno non solo degli italiani, ma anche degli indigeni, non per difetto di intelligenza, ma per inconsistenza di volontà e turbe psichiche, congiunte per lo più ad uno stato di grande debolezza fisica¹²⁵.

Suor Maria Nora trascura del tutto di mettere in evidenza che l'«inconsistenza di volontà», le «turbe psichiche» e la «debolezza fisica» potessero essere causalmente correlate all'irresponsabilità paterna, all'indigenza familiare e all'emarginazione sociale di cui i giovani meticci facevano esperienza¹²⁶.

La non prosecuzione degli studi rispondeva, almeno in parte, alle limitanti aspettative sociali riguardo all'istruzione da impartire alla gioventù meticcica, come può essere desunto da questo commento di Onnis:

L'apprendistato di un mestiere è [...] uno dei più sicuri mezzi di educazione e per i meticci è forse il più rispondente alle loro attitudini ed esigenze psicologiche perché dà loro la possibilità di pensare ad una propria famiglia di domani, nell'*ordine*, come essi non hanno mai conosciuto¹²⁷.

Dalla testimonianza resa a D'Agostino da Giovanni Mazzola, nato ad Asmara nel 1940, meticcio, abbandonato dal padre italiano ancorché riconosciuto, emerge con chiarezza che non erano contemplati, per quanto riguarda il gruppo razziale misto, percorsi educativi che differissero dalla formazione professionale:

Ho fatto le elementari e ho continuato con le commerciali¹²⁸ perché per passare al liceo bisognava aver fatto le scuole medie e per frequentare le medie bisognava superare un esame. La nostra condizione economica non ci permetteva di continuare quella scuola nonostante... È fastidioso raccontare dopo tanti anni di distanza, dire che c'era una specie di razzismo tra noi e gli italiani. [...] Il razzismo si manifestava nel fatto che noi ragazzi meticci non dovevamo andare nelle scuole superiori anche se alcuni di noi eravamo di una certa intelligenza, preparati per fare le scuole medie per poi andare al liceo, venivamo ostacolati e dunque finivamo con il fare le scuole commerciali, perché non c'erano posti sufficienti ed erano i figli degli italiani che potevano frequentare le altre scuole, anche se non capivano, anche se non erano all'altezza, loro avevano la precedenza assoluta. [...] Per questi ragazzi meticci, orfani, perché tali eravamo, una marchesa fondò l'Istituto Tecnico San Giuseppe¹²⁹ con annessa la tipografia. [...] Avevamo bisogno di questa educazione, era

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 124. A proposito della «debolezza fisica» degli alunni meticci, Onnis mette in nota la precisazione: «Forme sifilitiche: 90%».

¹²⁶ Eppure Onnis mostra di avere compreso la matrice della sofferenza psicologica di una ragazza meticcica di cui cita le parole pronunciate dinanzi all'ipocrisia paterna: «Mio padre è cattolico e quando era ad Asmara andava solennemente ogni domenica a messa in cattedrale per 'dare il buon esempio', ma mi ha lasciata senza nome». L'impegno a dare il *buon esempio*, come chiarisce in nota la religiosa, aveva ragione d'essere nello status sociale di questo padre inadempiente: «Era un'alta autorità del periodo coloniale». *Ibid.*, p. 490.

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 76 [corsivo mio].

¹²⁸ Si intende la scuola di avviamento professionale.

¹²⁹ Secondo le informazioni fornite da Carini e La Cordara, la Scuola di Arti e Mestieri per

molto importante. La scuola tecnica di San Giuseppe comprendeva oltre alla *tipografia*, la *falegnameria*¹³⁰, la scuola di musica, la scuola di torneria, di saldatura¹³¹.

Dal canto loro, le ragazze meticcie, in linea con le attese di ruolo femminile, «seguono corsi di economia domestica, taglio e confezione, maglieria e ricamo, e vengono formate al senso della responsabilità, all'amore di una *famiglia rientrante nell'ordine morale e sociale*»¹³².

Con tutta probabilità, commista a questo richiamo all'«ordine morale e sociale» di cui era considerato caposaldo l'istituto matrimoniale era una diffusa credenza stereotipata a carico di questi figli della colpa: quella della necessaria insorgenza di comportamenti devianti, la criminalità per i ragazzi, la prostituzione per le ragazze¹³³, a cui Onnis allude in maniera velata: ad avviso di Suor Maria Nora, i giovani meticci

sono desiderosi di rendersi indipendenti e di affermarsi emergendo sugli altri, specie sui coetanei italiani, ma incapaci a durare in uno sforzo di studio e di lavoro che li faccia realmente distinguere: lo stato di frustrazione diventa allora sempre più penoso e si muta in vera ribellione [...] contro l'ambiente da cui si sentono più che mai rigettati e incompresi [...]. Da questo stato d'animo all'afferrare il piacere, anche illecito, dove e come si presenta, il passo è breve e le occasioni in un ambiente come quello di Asmara purtroppo non mancano. [...] Le ragazze [dai contatti con il mondo esteriore] riportano uno scontento anche più profondo ed una più vasta inquietudine, perché incapaci [...] [di] quietare neppure per un poco quel prepotente bisogno d'affetto che non ha mai conosciuta la dolcezza di un focolare. [...] Ciò che più impressiona [...] nelle ragazze meticce è la labilità del loro senso morale: [...] nella maggior parte dei casi la barriera morale cade alla prima occasione con una facilità che sconcerta¹³⁴.

Quasi tutti i ragazzi meticci [...] solo raramente riescono a raggiungere un vero equilibrio di carattere e a trovare la pace, per lo più quando riescono ad avere una famiglia loro e la gioia dei figli [...]. I ragazzi, specie se avviati a un lavoro in uno degli apprendistati ad essi destinati, vi arrivano più facilmente: le ragazze, purtroppo, in gran parte si perdono prima. Senza contare quelle che dalla madre stessa sono spinte sulla via del male, la percentuale

meticci San Giuseppe, inaugurata nel 1932, era gestita dai Padri Cappuccini – Carini, La Cordara, *Storia della scuola italiana in Eritrea*, cit., pp. 87 e 113-114.

¹³⁰ Queste informazioni hanno riscontro nella tesi di Onnis: «I meticci [...] sono avviati quasi tutti al mestiere di tipografi o di falegnami». Onnis, *Aspetti e problemi educativi e scolastici nella città di Asmara*, cit., p. 508.

¹³¹ D'Agostino, *Altre storie*, cit., intervista a Giovanni Mazzola, pp. 59-60 [corsivo mio]. Mazzola esprime amarezza per la discriminazione razziale sperimentata in gioventù, forse anche con un'allusione alla questione delle classi separate: «Io andavo alla messa delle 8.00 in Cattedrale perché mi piaceva alzarmi presto al mattino e cantare in coro con tutti e vedevo che la suora, a un certo punto, mi levava da questo gruppo e mi metteva indietro. Io non capivo, Poi, aprivo gli occhi, mi guardavo attorno e vedevo che erano tutti italiani, tutti bianchi. Io avevo 11-12 anni, mio padre era già andato via e questo problema c'era nelle scuole e anche in Cattedrale». *Ibid.*, p. 59.

¹³² Onnis, *Aspetti e problemi educativi e scolastici nella città di Asmara*, cit., pp. 75-76 [corsivo mio].

¹³³ Sorgoni, *Parole e corpi*, cit., pp. 122-124 e 207-208.

¹³⁴ Onnis, *Aspetti e problemi educativi e scolastici nella città di Asmara*, cit., pp. 449-451.

delle ragazze meticcie, sia esterne che interne agli apprendistati, che cadono rovinando la propria vita prima di farsi una famiglia è assai alta perché si aggira sul 70, 80%!¹³⁵

Qualche attenuante a tanta facilità a *cadere* è riconosciuta da Suor Maria Nora:

Tale triste bilancio non è solo conseguenza dello speciale stato psicologico di queste povere figliole assetate di affetto, ma doloroso risultato di un costume sociale che rispetta i forti e insidia i deboli, lasciando poi ad essi tutta l'umiliante desolazione di cadute che chiamano altre cadute¹³⁶.

Attraverso oltre un decennio di esperienza missionaria in Eritrea, Onnis era persuasa di aver potuto cogliere la quanto mai complessa «psicologia dei ragazzi meticci»¹³⁷: questi giovani, ad avviso della religiosa,

presentano un carattere per lo più a sfondo psicastenico¹³⁸ chiaramente riconoscibile perché ai limiti o oltre ai limiti del normale, fissi spesso in una continua introspezione che raggiunge talora uno stato ossessivo, che ha per centro la propria presunta inferiorità fisica e morale. Tale ruminazione mentale [...] li porta ad idee fisse, sempre impennate intorno al sospetto che li si creda inferiori, chiusi in se stessi in una sorda ribellione contro tutto e tutti. Il loro complesso di inferiorità ha le manifestazioni più varie ed opposte: da un'abulia presso che completa che ha le sue radici nella persuasione di non essere capaci di far nulla e di non riuscire in nulla perché in partenza handicappati di fronte alla vita, alla superbia più violenta e sprezzante, espressione di una vera sete di autosufficienza ed autoaffermazione che li vendichi in qualche maniera del torto ricevuto. [...] La [...] condizione [di questi ragazzi] è segnata da[l] [...] marchio fisico e ne sono ossessionati a tal punto da andare soggetti a vere e proprie crisi di mutismo ostinato [...]. Molte volte le crisi scoppiano come impeti di ribellione e di orgoglio, che è uno dei sentimenti dominanti nel carattere dei meticci: un orgoglio atavico, selvaggio [...]. Un cosa terribile, che non è facile descrivere, e che li fa maledire nei momenti di ribellione ora il padre ora la madre¹³⁹.

Onnis accenna ad attribuire la formazione della personalità psicoastenica di questi giovani al condizionamento di fattori ambientali sfavorevoli: queste generazioni «di sangue misto [...] non si sentono né italiane né eritree, combattute da tradizioni opposte e da opposti orgogli di razza, come in bilico tra due società»¹⁴⁰; dunque, nell'intimo di questi ragazzi «si riflette il conflitto

¹³⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 439-440.

¹³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 440.

¹³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 425.

¹³⁸ La psicastenia è una «particolare varietà di psiconeurosi attribuita essenzialmente all'indebolimento della tensione psichica; ha come sintomi stati angosciosi di vario tipo, fobie e impulsi ossessivi, senso di dubbio, di scrupolo e d'incompiutezza». Questa definizione è ricavata dal vocabolario on-line Treccani: <<http://www.treccani.it/vocabolario/psicastenia/>> (ultimo accesso: 10.08.2018).

¹³⁹ Onnis, *Aspetti e problemi educativi e scolastici nella città di Asmara*, cit., pp. 431-432 e 434.

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 395.

di due morali e di due mondi, con la dolorosa coscienza di essere le vittime innocenti di quell'ambiente che, per non assumersene la responsabilità, troppo spesso li respinge»¹⁴¹.

Pur così, Onnis propende per spiegazioni a base ereditarista, del tutto infondate scientificamente e viziate da prese di posizione morali; ad avviso di Suor Maria Nora, i giovani meticci sono

per lo più [...] povere creature con *tare fisiche e morali*, dal carattere estremamente difficile, *destinate* a soffrire e far soffrire. Per ognuno di essi è una triste storia, sempre diversa e sempre la stessa, che scontano vivendo [...]. *Il dramma dei meticci, perciò, non è tanto nella società, quanto nel loro stesso carattere*¹⁴².

La religiosa, così, *naturalizza* una condizione sociale: non era la posizione di marginalità sociale a determinare lo stato psichico dei ragazzi meticci; viceversa, era la disarmonia di carattere di questi giovani a far sì che fossero socialmente esclusi.

Onnis illustra quali siano le deficienze fisiche, intellettuali e morali di queste «povere creature»:

Fisicamente sono per lo più *tarati*, eredosifilidi o affetti da turbe nervose *congenite*, da forme di raghitismo o di idrocefalia. [...] Il quoziente intellettuale che essi presentano è in media inferiore sia a quello dei loro coetanei europei che a quello dei loro coetanei indigeni. I tratti dal carattere morale e sociale, come normalmente avviene, sono in rapporto col quoziente intellettuale: quindi, a parità di condizioni, a un più basso livello che per i ragazzi europei ed indigeni. [...] L'*ereditarietà*, infatti, non si manifesta solo nel campo puramente intellettuale, ma anche in quello delle attività volontarie, tendenze e pulsioni¹⁴³.

Per Suor Maria Nora, la disfunzionalità psichica dei giovani meticci, una volta trasmessa in eredità dai genitori, trovava condizioni di sviluppo nella situazione familiare irregolare:

Per i meticci l'ambiente familiare non è certo tale da essere correttivo di quelle *tendenze ereditarie negative* che sono per lo più in essi: il padre è quasi sempre assente, la madre il più delle volte esercita un'influenza negativa con l'esempio di una vita sregolata, quando non spinge addirittura al male, e la miseria è tale da provocare le più varie forme di disadattamento sociale. [...] Non fa meraviglia, quindi, che i ragazzi meticci presentino per lo più notevoli forme di squilibrio psichico [...]; squilibrio in parte congenito e in parte dovuto a una serie di avvenimenti e condizioni abituali, tale quindi da costituire quasi un *fattore caratteriologico essenziale, una seconda natura*¹⁴⁴.

L'azione «abituale» di elementi familiari avversi, sostiene Onnis, rendeva ancor più questo «squilibrio psichico», già ereditato dai genitori, parte

¹⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 425.

¹⁴² *Ibid.*, pp. 425-426 [corsivo mio].

¹⁴³ *Ibid.*, pp. 427-428 [corsivo mio].

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 428-429 [corsivo mio].

della *natura* dei ragazzi meticci: pressoché inesorabilmente, «turbe nervose congenite», su sollecitazione dell'ambiente familiare peggiorativo, venivano a formare l'essenza del carattere di questi giovani.

Il profilo psicopatologico in esame, fa notare Suor Maria Nora, non è iscritto nello statuto biologico degradato della progenie di «sangue misto» rispetto agli elementi «di razza pura», come proclamato nelle farneticazioni del razzismo fascista; alla religiosa, le «tendenze ereditarie negative che sono per lo più» nei giovani meticci sembrano più il risultato di una sorta di nemesi genetica per la corruzione dei costumi familiari di cui si erano macchiati i loro genitori: con le unioni non matrimoniali, infatti, era andato «distrutto [ciò che] appartiene [...] alle più antiche tradizioni o al patrimonio spirituale più faticosamente acquistato»¹⁴⁵. Per Onnis, la colpa di quelli che si erano uniti senza il crisma matrimoniale era impressa come una sorta di marchio ereditario sulla personalità della prole; gli attributi morali dei genitori – uomini «amanti dell'avventura»¹⁴⁶ che avevano abdicato alle «tradizioni familiari»¹⁴⁷ e donne che, già dotate di una «libertà individuale veramente primitiva»¹⁴⁸, ne avevano abusato – si erano fissati sul patrimonio genetico tanto da divenire ereditabili dai figli. Così, gli illegittimi, come erano a quel tempo chiamati i nati fuori dal matrimonio, erano ereditariamente predisposti ad «anomalie psichiche e caratteriologiche». Il carattere «ai limiti o oltre i limiti del normale» dei ragazzi meticci, quindi, era imputabile alla filiazione extramatrimoniale, più che a quella da genitori di razze diverse; prova ne è, secondo la religiosa, il fatto che

lo scarto esistente tra il quoziente intellettuale e caratteriologico dei ragazzi meticci e quello dei loro coetanei di *razza pura* è assai minore o non esiste addirittura nel caso dei meticci eccezionalmente uscenti da una *famiglia regolare*, sia essa costituita da genitori ambedue meticci o da genitori rispettivamente europeo ed indigena, di uguale levatura morale e culturale, *sposati* e legati da reciproco affetto. Ciò fa supporre con fondamento che le anomalie psichiche e caratteriologiche che per lo più presentano i meticci siano dovute solo in minima parte al fattore biologico determinato dall'incontro di due razze diverse e in massima parte a fattori di *ereditarietà morale* e di influenza ambientale: quest'ultima, forse, in maggior misura¹⁴⁹.

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 393. Onnis sostiene che tra i residenti italiani in Eritrea, nel «contatto con genti e tradizioni nuove», complice la lontananza dal controllo sociale esercitato in madrepatria, è andato distrutto «proprio l'essenziale: il concetto di famiglia [...]». «Una confusione di principi e di apprezzamento di valori sconcertante [...] ha oggi invaso completamente l'ambiente familiare italiano, perché anche le *famiglie tradizionalmente sane e nell'ordine* risentono» della piaga delle unioni non matrimoniali; il lassismo morale è tale che il concubinato è «accettato come normale al modo di vita di una città europea in Africa». Ad Asmara, «le situazioni moralmente ambigue e negative sono all'ordine del giorno e nessun pudore ne impedisce una pubblicità fatta di indifferenza o addirittura di assenso». *Ibid.*, pp. 394, 395, 398 e 405 [corsivo mio].

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 392.

¹⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 394.

¹⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 404.

¹⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 427-428 [corsivo mio].

Per Suor Maria Nora, in linea con la posizione della Chiesa cattolica, oggetto di demonizzazione erano le unioni non matrimoniali e non quelle interraziali in sé. Quindi, a monte della valutazione psicologica perentoriamente negativa nei confronti dei giovani meticci era la riprovazione che l'oltraggio all'istituto matrimoniale suscitava nella religiosa.

4. *La mancata decolonizzazione culturale*

La storica norvegese Christine Smith-Simonsen valuta ben a ragione la dissertazione di Onnis come «a thorough study, very detailed»; tuttavia, allo stesso tempo, sostiene che la presentazione dell'organizzazione scolastica asmarina che la religiosa opera sia «biased concerning Italian motives behind educating the Eritreans, particularly when dealing with the ecclesiastical contribution»¹⁵⁰. This was probably due to her status as a nun, along with the general views of her own times»¹⁵¹.

Quella che Smith-Simonsen ha appena menzionato era la mentalità «ancora troppo coloniale» che dominava in Italia al tempo dello studio di Onnis. Alla smatellamento dell'Impero fascista non aveva corrisposto, sul piano culturale, un processo di decolonizzazione delle menti: infatti, resisteva a una revisione critica l'ideologia che, con la rappresentazione del colonialismo come strumento della storia per la civilizzazione di popoli arretrati, nascondeva quella realtà di oppressione che è il rapporto tra colonizzatori e colonizzati. Una presa di coscienza dell'ingiustizia coloniale non ebbe luogo perché la decolonizzazione politica avvenne a seguito della sconfitta nel secondo conflitto mondiale piuttosto che maturare sotto la spinta di rivendicazioni di indipendenza da parte dei popoli sottomessi: il dibattito che ne sarebbe derivato, come è accaduto in Francia o in Gran Bretagna, avrebbe sollecitato la formazione di segmenti di opinione pubblica che avrebbero messo in discussione la retorica del colonialismo civilizzatore. In Italia, l'attribuzione della perdita delle colonie all'essere stati battuti in guerra contribuì alla perpetuazione per inerzia della cultura coloniale¹⁵². Così, pur con la nascita della Repubblica, quella che era

¹⁵⁰ Nel suo studio della composita offerta di istruzione ad Asmara, Onnis riserva più ampia attenzione alle istituzioni educative cattoliche; ad avviso della religiosa, «in Asmara l'istruzione è largamente affidata ad Istituti Religiosi che ne sostengono l'onere [...] con quella serena fiducia nella Provvidenza che dà il coraggio di intraprendere, senza mezzi, opere che richiederebbero normalmente forti capitali. [...] Le opere missionarie rappresentano, anche in Asmara, quel miracolo della Provvidenza, non riducibile a dati statistici, che si verifica continuamente dove si pratica la carità dando senza misura». *Ibid.*, pp. 51 e 171.

¹⁵¹ Smith-Simonsen, «...all'Ombra della Nostra Bandiera.», cit., p. 11. Le brevi osservazioni della storica norvegese hanno acceso nello scrivente l'interesse per lo studio della tesi di Onnis.

¹⁵² Le ferme battaglie pubblicistiche dello storico Angelo Del Boca hanno posto, a partire dagli anni '60, una cesura con la narrazione assolutoria del passato coloniale italiano. Cfr. A. Del Boca,

stata l'esperienza coloniale italiana continuò a essere intesa come rimedio della generosità civilizzatrice nazionale all'inferiorità delle popolazioni africane¹⁵³; prova ne è che l'Italia del secondo dopoguerra tentò di perorare la causa della restituzione delle colonie con il ricorso all'argomento ideologico coloniale del mandato progressista. A titolo di esempio, una nota ministeriale, emanata quando, tra il '47 ed il '51, la guida della Farnesina era affidata a Carlo Sforza, recitava:

Mentre l'Italia, nei limiti delle sue possibilità, volenterosamente partecipa a tutte le forme della collaborazione internazionale, il popolo italiano non potrebbe intendere in alcun modo la sua esclusione dall'opera di civilizzazione che attende le nazioni occidentali in Africa¹⁵⁴.

L'ostinata riproposizione dell'idea di una missione occidentale rispetto ai popoli già dominati colonialmente è altresì riscontrabile nella relazione sul disegno di legge di riordinamento dell'Istituto Italiano per l'Africa: non può essere interrotta, leggiamo,

L'opera dell'Italia in favore della civilizzazione [...] [perché si è aperta] un'era nuova di sviluppo, di relazioni, di assistenza [...] per la valorizzazione economica del territorio africano e per il progresso materiale e morale di quelle parti della popolazione ancora in una fase di più arretrata civiltà. [...] V'è tutta un'opera da svolgere, tutta una collaborazione da mettere in atto, necessità da soddisfare, tanti compiti da assolvere; e l'Italia che ha contribuito tanto efficacemente alla risurrezione di buona parte del continente africano, e che si sente legata a quelle popolazioni da vivissime correnti di simpatia, non può essere assente ed essere estranea da tutto ciò¹⁵⁵.

Lo studio di Onnis riflette la continuità dello sguardo coloniale sull'Africa: ad avviso della religiosa, infatti, il popolo eritreo «più che mai sente il bisogno di portare la sua cultura al livello di quella dei *popoli più civili*. [...] In tutti i giovani [eritrei] è viva l'aspirazione di arrivare [...] alla pari con gli europei»¹⁵⁶. Nell'erogazione di servizi educativi, il tema della missione civilizzatrice, da sempre fondamento dell'ideologia coloniale, dettava i termini del rapporto tra italiani ed ex-colonizzati. L'Eritrea, alla stregua di un bambino da consegnare alle cure di un adulto, necessitava dell'aiuto europeo poiché non era «ancora in grado di risolvere con mezzi propri tutta la serie di problemi culturali,

Italiani, brava gente?, Vicenza, Neri Pozza, 2006.

¹⁵³ Riguardo alla mancata decolonizzazione culturale, cfr. Labanca, *Oltremare*, cit., pp. 427-471. Si rinvia altresì a Del Boca, *L'Africa nella coscienza degli italiani*, cit., pp. 111-139 e 165-172.

¹⁵⁴ Nota del MAE al governo di Washington, ASMAE, ex-possedimenti, senza data, b. 31 (cito da Calchi Novati, *L'Africa d'Italia*, cit., p. 353).

¹⁵⁵ Relazione sul disegno di legge di riordinamento dell'Istituto italiano per l'Africa, in ASMAE, DGAP, 1954, b. 956 (cito da E. Di Nolfo, *La persistenza del sentimento coloniale in Italia nel secondo dopoguerra*, in Ghezzi (ed.), *Fonti e problemi della politica coloniale italiana. Atti del Convegno internazionale, Taormina-Messina, 23-29 ottobre 1989*, cit., p. 1269).

¹⁵⁶ Onnis, *Aspetti e problemi educativi e scolastici nella città di Asmara*, cit., pp. 126 e 162 [corsivo mio].

pedagogici e psicologici¹⁵⁷ nata dal cessare del governo coloniale» e non poteva «quindi ancora creare una organizzazione didattica propria»¹⁵⁸. I «problemi» a cui la religiosa si riferisce erano di impreparazione culturale, pedagogica e psicologica. Tuttavia, all'interno di un rapporto di aiuto non paritario, il contributo straniero veniva a significare una risoluzione tutta europea di questi problemi. «L'autonomia del Paese è solo politica [...], non spirituale»¹⁵⁹; infatti, «lo Stato eritreo *dipende* nella sua organizzazione scolastica da schemi stranieri che non sempre si adattano alle sue esigenze», come Suor Maria Nora ammette senza comprendere le implicazioni di prevaricazione culturale che recava con sé «chi *collabora* con lo Stato [eritreo] a risolvere il problema [della scuola]»¹⁶⁰. Va da sé che lo svolgimento del processo di acculturazione secondo criteri di istruzione alloctoni protraesse le condizioni di dipendenza della società eritrea e inibisse la ricerca di possibilità di sviluppo autonome.

Ciò nondimeno, Onnis non è indifferente alla questione del prezzo pagato della popolazione scolastica indigena in termini di alienazione culturale a causa dell'esposizione all'istruzione all'europea: i più istruiti, infatti,

dopo essere stati a contatto con l'organizzazione scolastica europea [...], si sentono quasi estranei nel loro paese, che pure amano appassionatamente e che vorrebbero portare a quel livello di civiltà e di cultura al quale essi, isolatamente, sono giunti¹⁶¹.

Suor Maria Nora crede che sia possibile «raggiungere quel grado di progresso di cui il contatto con la civiltà europea ha suscitato il bisogno» senza rescindere il legame con le origini; addirittura la religiosa individua nel «culto delle tradizioni» «lo sprone più efficace»¹⁶² all'avanzamento civile del popolo eritreo: i giovani indigeni, attraverso l'attingimento alle fonti del sapere tradizionali, sono in grado di rielaborare in maniera creativa gli apporti culturali europei; questi ragazzi

accettano quindi senza esitazione la superiorità tecnica [di questi apporti] e tendono ad adottare tutto ciò che migliora il loro modo di vita avvicinandolo a quello europeo, ma esaminano con cautela teorie ed idee, accettandole solo se in armonia con le loro tradizioni millenarie¹⁶³.

La vivificazione dell'interesse per le manifestazioni culturali tradizionali era per Onnis l'antidoto alla de-africanizzazione:

¹⁵⁷ L'ascrizione ai popoli da assoggettare o assoggettati di uno stato di infanzia psicologica è uno degli stilemi dell'ideologia coloniale.

¹⁵⁸ Onnis, *Aspetti e problemi educativi e scolastici nella città di Asmara*, cit., p. 126.

¹⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 132.

¹⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 126-127 [corsivo mio].

¹⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p. 162.

¹⁶² *Ibid.*, p. 582.

¹⁶³ *Ibid.*, p. 471.

tutti gli usi folkloristici, infatti, [...] sono [...] per i giovani eritrei di oggi l'aiuto, *tanto più efficace quanto più indiretto*, a superare la crisi spirituale necessariamente determinata in essi dall'incontro con una cultura ed una civiltà che non affonda nessuna radice sul loro passato. [...] Il ragazzo eritreo che partecipa [...] alle feste tradizionali riprende tra la sua gente quel posto dal quale la scuola europeizzata sembra quasi averlo fatto uscire non materialmente ma idealmente¹⁶⁴.

Significativamente, Onnis non adopera mai il termine cultura in relazione al popolo eritreo; per la religiosa, la produzione culturale indigena era tutt'al più modulabile in termini di «folklore»¹⁶⁵. Così, nonostante il riconoscimento dell'importanza di non rompere l'«unità delle tradizioni», Suor Maria Nora giudica il ruolo degli «usi folkloristici» nella formazione delle nuove generazioni eritree «tanto più efficace quanto più indiretto». In altre parole, la religiosa non accorda al patrimonio culturale indigeno una dignità tale da ritenere che questo potesse trovare posto nelle pratiche trasmissive di tipo scolastico. Difatti, in accordo con il modello dell'educazione civilizzatrice, a cui Onnis si trovava allineata, l'impostazione eurocentrica dei contenuti di insegnamento nelle scuole italiane aveva insita in sé la totale svalutazione della cultura eritrea.

L'applicazione del canone eurocentrico all'impianto curricolare era legata a doppio nodo alla conservazione, dopo la cessazione della colonizzazione, delle posizioni di preminenza sociale del nucleo italiano della popolazione asmarina: l'egemonia culturale europea era la manifestazione della forza sociale della collettività italiana nell'ambiente «ancora troppo coloniale» di Asmara. La presenza esclusiva della cultura europea nei curricoli delle scuole italiane nell'Asmara degli anni '50 era una continuazione delle pratiche didattiche messe in atto durante la colonizzazione; durante il periodo coloniale italiano, infatti, i programmi in uso nelle scuole a fruizione indigena non incorporavano alcunché delle conoscenze dei colonizzati.

Oltre all'esclusione, dai curricoli scolastici italiani, delle espressioni culturali indigene, non era previsto né che le lezioni fossero tenute anche in tigrino¹⁶⁶ né, quantomeno, che questa lingua, la più parlata nella piccola Roma eritrea, fosse oggetto di insegnamento¹⁶⁷. Nato ad Asmara nel 1951 da genitori italiani, il già menzionato Vittorio Valpolicella dichiara nel 2004 a D'Agostino quanto segue:

¹⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 582-584 [corsivo mio].

¹⁶⁵ Cfr. *ibid.*, p. 582.

¹⁶⁶ Si ricorda che i bambini indigeni e meticci che frequentavano le scuole elementari italiane non erano italofoeni; pertanto, per loro, «l'attività scolastica è abbinata [...] allo sforzo di apprendere una lingua nuova». *Ibid.*, p. 430.

¹⁶⁷ Tuttavia alle scuole italiane era fatto obbligo, da parte del governo etiope, di insegnamento dell'amarico, «insegnamento che» – aggiunge Onnis – «del resto rientra nelle disposizioni di carattere generale riguardanti l'insegnamento nelle scuole italiane all'estero della lingua del paese ospite». L'imposizione dell'insegnamento dell'amarico, che era parlato dal gruppo etnico dominante in Etiopia, gli ahmara, sta a indicare due fatti: che era in atto, da parte etiope, la politica di annullamento dell'autonomia eritrea e che, di riflesso, le autorità consolari italiane di Asmara assumevano a «paese ospite» l'Etiopia e non l'Eritrea. *Ibid.*, p. 131.

«Si parlava italiano, esclusivamente italiano; non c'era bisogno di parlare nella lingua locale, [...] il tigrino, perché tutti sapevano l'italiano»¹⁶⁸. La predominanza dell'italiano, in associazione al disinteresse per l'apprendimento del tigrino, era sintomatica dello squilibrio di potere nei rapporti intercomunitari.

In questo saggio, che cerca di gettar luce sull'«ambiente di Asmara, ancora troppo coloniale», suonano conclusive le parole di Valpolicella sull'atteggiamento degli italiani nell'interazione con gli ex-colonizzati:

[Gli ex-coloniali] non riescono a capire, non vogliono percepire che la situazione non è più quella del passato. Non riescono a capire che si devono comportare come italiani all'estero. Si considerano a casa loro, un tempo definivano tutte le colonie come un pezzo dell'Italia, un pezzo della nazione italiana fuori dall'Italia [...]. Lo stesso facevano i francesi o gli inglesi con le loro colonie. Nei confronti della popolazione locale loro erano superiori. Oggi ci sono ancora italiani qui, ad Asmara, che mantengono questo atteggiamento di superiorità¹⁶⁹.

Conclusioni

Il presente saggio ha stabilito nessi di continuità intercorrenti, nonostante la cesura politica data dalla fine dell'Impero fascista, tra il periodo coloniale e quello postcoloniale. Attraverso lo studio della tesi di Onnis, la ricognizione della struttura organizzativa delle scuole asmarine negli anni '50 è stata coniugata a un'analisi socio-economica e socio-culturale, con il risultato di portare a galla i condizionamenti che la supremazia della comunità italiana e gli ancora imperanti stilemi ideologici coloniali esercitavano rispettivamente sulle maggiori opportunità di accesso della gioventù nazionale ai gradi di istruzione più alti e sulla configurazione eurocentrica dei curricoli scolastici italiani. Sono stati altresì colti, a partire dalla tematizzazione della separazione razziale nello spazio sociale della piccola Roma eritrea, i riflessi di questa compartimentazione sulla distribuzione della popolazione scolastica: frequentavano le scuole eritree in netta prevalenza ragazzi indigeni, mentre gli alunni italiani e meticci formavano la gran parte della popolazione delle scuole italiane; in queste ultime, le classi erano miste fintantoché le condizioni di miseria di taluni ragazzi meticci e indigeni non ne giustificavano il confinamento in classi separate. Infine, la considerazione sociale denigratoria dei ragazzi meticci è stata mostrata in tutta la forza di marchio a fuoco che era in grado di esprimere; un fardello psicologico che, anziché essere ridotto, veniva confermato dal processo di scolarizzazione.

¹⁶⁸ D'Agostino, *Altre storie*, cit., intervista a Vittorio Valpolicella, p. 139.

¹⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 140.

Posto che questo saggio riesca a contribuire all'individuazione delle coordinate socio-economiche e socio-culturali della fenomenologia educativa nel sistema asmarino degli anni '50, la complessità di ciò che è accaduto nel periodo postcoloniale in quello che era stato l'Oltremare eritreo è tale da sollecitare la storiografia all'apertura di ulteriori fronti di ricerca per portare avanti un lavoro ricostruttivo che è ancora allo stato incipiente.

History of Korean education and the Fourth Industrial Revolution

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ABSTRACT: This paper focuses on looking at teaching methods and programs for the era of the Fourth Industrial Revolution in Korean education. Korean education has gone through three stages of changes so far. The first stage was the education of nationalism driven by the government; the second, of liberalism, which emphasized autonomy; and the third, of creativity, preparing for the era of the Fourth Industrial Revolution. These changes reflect the history and reality of Korean education and the necessity of reform and innovation in the educational system. Until now, Korean education has focused on mass education and a standardized curriculum. However, these education policies do not fit with nurturing creative, talented students. Therefore, the Korean government is attempting to change all aspects of the education system and curriculum and target a personal learning system that considers each student's characteristics. Korean education currently stresses creativity, fusion, and collaboration and seeks better teaching methods and programs such as flipped learning, MOOCs, and online courses for the era of the Fourth Industrial Revolution.

EET/TEE KEYWORDS: History of education; Teaching methods; Creativity; The Fourth Industrial Revolution; Korea; XXth-XXIst Centuries.

Introduction

Education is considered as an important factor that determines a country's power and future value. For the past 58 years, the education system of Korea has experienced great changes, and more changes are currently underway. The Korean educational paradigm may be divided into three stages¹. The first stage is called education 1.0, which was driven by the central government and focused on nurturing mid-level, skilled workers through education. The second stage is called education 2.0, in which education consumers determined their

¹ S-I. Park, *The Fourth Industrial Revolution and future of Korean education*, in Proceeding of «Education Innovation Symposium», Seoul, Movement Federation for a Better Society, 2016.

subjects and participated in the curriculum. This education system is centered on learners to ensure autonomy. The final stage is called education 3.0, which is now in operation and designed for nurturing creative minds. These three stages have caused educational changes in Korea to establish a better educational system.

However, actual teaching methods have not been greatly changed in comparison with the past. Most teachers emphasize memorizing to their students and prefer theory classes. As society develops, teaching methods need to be changed and education programs adjusted. In this respect, Korean education currently faces a new challenge for preparing for the era of the Fourth Industrial Revolution, because the existing approach will not solve the various matters of education. The Fourth Industrial Revolution will be different from the current environment and will require creative people in a variety of fields. It will also improve the quality of our life and provide us with a better world. The Fourth Industrial Revolution is marked by emerging technology breakthroughs in a number of fields, including robotics, Artificial Intelligence, nanotechnology, quantum computing, the Internet of Things, 3D printer etc. It requires creativity, fusion, and collaboration. However, the actual education system of Korea raises the question as follows:

Q: Most teachers of schools or colleges in Korea still teach students in the rote-learning method. It is not effective for nurturing creative students. Therefore, what teaching method and educational system should the Korean government prepare for them?

The answer to this question cannot easily be found but ought to rely on education 3.0. The education 3.0 stage being conducted now in Korea puts weight on nurturing creative students. It means escaping from the existing education system and discovering new things by respecting and responding to an individual's ideas.

So, this paper focuses on looking at teaching methods and programs for the era of the Fourth Industrial Revolution in Korean education. As we mentioned earlier, The education 3.0 is for the era of the Fourth Industrial Revolution, which values collaboration and fusion between members. This is not a simple process, but it sends a signal of change in the Korean educational system. To cope with this change, we first need to go over Korean educational history, which we will examine in the next section.

History of Korean education: Nationalism era from 1960 to 1994

Since the 1960s, the Korean society has greatly developed. Due to the growth of light industry and heavy industries, many companies needed a

cheap labor force for mass-producing their products². The Korean government also gave weight to education, which nurtured unskilled and mid-level skilled employees. Practically, the government planned and determined education policy and direction. This means that the government intervened in all of the education systems and programs. In other words, education was controlled by the government and prioritized nationalism.

In these education conditions, the most efficient teaching method was memorization. That was an easy, simple, and passive method. It helped in the industrial area which needed many mid-level skilled laborers. This education system intended to meet social needs which required generalization and quantitative growth for mass production. The table³ below shows the contents of the development stage of Korean education called education 1.0.

Table 1. Development Stages of Korean Education

	1960 ~1980 Quantitative Growth: Education for Economic Development	1981 ~ 1994 Qualitative Change Period
Economy	Export-oriented industrialization Rapid growth period	Restructure of economy Stable growth period
Education	Secondary education extension	Higher education generalization
Focus	Quantitative growth Effectiveness and control	Quality of education Autonomy Accountability
Policy	Secondary education extension Equalization of education Vocation education and training	Local education autonomy Qualitative improvement of education Higher education generalization

Korean education is closely related to economic growth. The period from 1960 to 1980 was the time in which the country needed many mid-level skilled laborers due to rapid economic growth. In this period, most of the workers were secondary school graduates. Hard work and honesty were encouraged by education policies, such as the expansion and equalization of secondary education and vocation education⁴. Furthermore, the supply of education was, at this period, in harmony with the demand in the labor market, and education innovation was pushed for high-quality laborers with lower costs.

On the other hand, Korean education from 1981 to 1994 sought qualitative changes, such as higher education, adult retraining programs, and education

² S-I. Park, *The Fourth Industrial Revolution and future of Korean education*, Proceeding of «Education Innovation Symposium», Seoul, Movement Federation for a Better Society, 2016, p. 2.

³ J-H. Yoon, *Korean education development and prospect of the future education innovation*, «Issue Paper 2014 of Korean Education Development Institute», vol. 9, 2014, pp. 4-17.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 6-17.

informatization⁵. This period put more stress on autonomy in education and its qualitative improvement. In fact, the Korean Ministry of Education wanted to change the education system to favor appropriateness and autonomy over administrative controls and effectiveness. Most noteworthy was that parents and students had the opportunity to participate in education policy and direction. However, because Korean society focused on economic growth, there was a limit to giving autonomy to schools and colleges.

History of Korean education: Liberalism era from 1995 to 2015

In Korean education history, the period from 1995 to 2015 is called as the era of liberalism, or education 2.0. This was the time in which globalization began, following the fall of the socialist bloc⁶, and knowledge informatization such as IT, Bio, semiconductor, and IT devices were introduced to the public⁷. Accordingly, skilled workers and high-skilled people were in demand in the labor market. Korea's existing education policy could not respond to this social change using only nationalist education controlled by the government. The table⁸ below shows the contents of the development stage of Korean education called education 2.0.

Table 2. Development Stages of Korean Education

	1995 ~ 2015 Restructuring of Education
Economy	Restructuring into knowledge-based society
Education	Innovation of governance Academic achievement in the knowledge-based society
Focus	Competitiveness for globalization and knowledge-information society
Policy	Lifelong education system Restructuring of higher education Pursuit of education informatization

As you can see at the table above, the structure of Korean society suggests that the era of export-oriented industrialization was over and the era of knowledge

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 11-13.

⁶ Park, *The Fourth Industrial Revolution and future of Korean education*, cit., p. 3.

⁷ H-K. Jho, *The change of future society and educational environment according to the Fourth Industrial Revolution and the tasks of school science education*, «Elementary Science Education», vol. 36, n. 3, 2017.

⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 13-15.

informatization began. It means that the Korean educational system needed to break away from the standardized curriculum and allow students to engage in more personalized education programs. In other words, if a standardized curriculum focuses on the education suppliers such as teachers and education policy makers, personalized education programs focus on education consumers such as students and parents. It places great importance on nurturing high-skilled laborers which are needed in a knowledge-based society and producing people who are flexible amidst social changes.

With these social needs, Korean education introduced various new school systems, such as autonomous private high schools, special purpose high schools, and Meister high schools⁹. These education systems of liberalism permitted many colleges to loosen regulations and to have more freedom in their operations and at the same time heavier responsibility. However, most parents asked for an equalization of education and a standardized curriculum rather than personalized programs. This ultimately caused conflicts between nationalism and liberalism and between equalitarian education and market-oriented education policy. This confrontation led to a movement to block innovation and the evolution of Korean education for the Fourth Industrial Revolution.

History of Korean education: Creativity era from 2016

Many experts in Korea say that talented and creative people will become the new growth engines in the coming future. The Korean government has been trying to develop education programs for nurturing creative people and has been discussing education reforms for preparing for the era of the Fourth Industrial Revolution since 2016. These education processes are called creative education, or education 3.0 in Korea¹⁰. Creative education needs people who can handle Artificial Intelligence, Internet of Things, and 3D printers, etc. and can apply these to other sectors. To nurture these people, the Korean government is pushing forward the education reform¹¹ as follows:

- Capability-oriented education
- Self-directed learning
- Nurture people with creativity and collaboration

The education reforms above require capabilities beyond standardized knowledge. In the world in which social networking services are popular, collaboration with others can lead to new creativity and reforms. These

⁹ Park, *The Fourth Industrial Revolution and future of Korean education*, cit., p. 3.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 5.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 5-8.

capabilities are not obtained by various education programs but by the self-directed learning of education consumers. Namely, the education consumers think it is important to raise questions of self-interest and curiosity, discuss them, and answer them with their peers. For example, project learning will be one of the innovative learning methods required for the creative education.

Although the Korean education system offers varied and specialized education programs to schools and colleges on the basis of liberalism, creative learning cannot take place without changing to an innovative learning method. In this respect, education in the era of creativity is anticipated to bring about qualitative rather than quantitative changes. However, realistically, Korean education has several problems such as teaching methods, teacher retraining, and the lack of an evaluation system for nurturing students with creativity and collaboration. These problems are rooted in the nationalism and liberalism in Korea's educational history, but we should gradually expect this to be improved because digital technologies such as AI, IoT, and Big Data will begin to dominate in our society.

Beginning in 2016, education 3.0 highlights a creative and innovative education process different from conventional methods. Self-directed learning, communicative classes, and collaboration with peers provide possibilities to nurture a creative student with diverse capabilities¹². However, we need to systematically prepare for these education changes for the era of the Fourth Industrial Revolution. Thus, we will look at them in the next section.

Korean education changes for the era of the Fourth Industrial revolution: Characteristics of the Fourth Industrial Revolution

As mentioned at the 2016 World Economic Forum, the Fourth Industrial Revolution as digital revolution will bring about a breakthrough in the fields of science and technology. It will change the way we live, work and communicate with one another through the Internet of Things, the Internet of Systems, and Cyber-Physical Systems, etc. It will also be expected to impact all disciplines, industries, and economies and reshape government, education, and healthcare on a regional or global scale. This implies that the era of the Fourth Industrial Revolution will be fundamentally different from that of the present and will have significantly distinct characteristics. The Fourth Industrial Revolution is defined as follows:

¹² J-Y. Jeong, *A method for improvement of school system for the era of the Fourth Industrial Revolution: focused on establishment of personal learning system*, «The Journal of Politics of Education», vol. 24, n. 3, 2017.

The Fourth Industrial Revolution is the fourth major industrial era since the initial industrial revolution of the 18th century. It is characterized by a fusion of technologies that is blurring the lines between the physical, digital, and biological spheres, collectively referred to as cyber-physical system.

Like the definition above, the Fourth Industrial Revolution helps us to create a fusion of technologies and values of new world. Klaus Schwab¹³ carefully explained processes of industrial revolution in order to better understand it as shown below:



Fig. 1 The Fourth Industrial Revolution Process

As we can see in the figure above, He argued that the first industrial revolution happened between 1760 and 1840 with the advent of the steam locomotive and mechanized textile manufacturing. It was the time when the iron and textile industries, along with the development of the steam engine, played central roles in the Industrial Revolution. The second industrial revolution took place between 1870 and 1914 and was a period of growth of pre-existing industries and expansion of new ones, such as steel, oil, and electricity to create mass production. In addition, the third industrial revolution started in the

¹³ K. Schwab, *The Fourth Industrial Revolution: Graph Depicting Four Industrial Revolutions in progression from the 18th century to the 21st*, <<https://www.britannica.com/topic/The-Fourth-Industrial-Revolution-2119734>> (last access: 02.13.2019).

1980s and is ongoing. It refers to the advancement of technology from analog electronic and mechanical devices to the digital technology available today. Finally, the Fourth industrial revolution is described as the revolution of the current era, which is happening with the fusion of physical, digital and biological paradigms, impacting numerous disciplines, industries, and economies.

The Fourth Industrial Revolution creates a world in which virtual and physical systems of manufacturing globally cooperate with each other in a flexible way¹⁴. It will provide us with many new businesses in all sectors. It has characteristics¹⁵ as follows:

- Hyper-connectivity in which human and things, and things and things are connected by an Internet communication network
- Hyperintelligence which can grasp certain patterns by analyzing big data through connections
- Predictability which can predict and respond to human behaviors based on the results of analysis

The characteristics above show a new world that we do not now experience. Specific characteristics include the ability to connect humans with things, easily grasp certain patterns by big data analysis, and predict human behaviors. This implies that the technologies and knowledge of the Fourth Industrial Revolution will be available to almost all the population of the globe who can connect, communicate, and interact with one another. Particularly, the use of artificial intelligence and of robots in an increasing number of areas is not limited to business but includes health care, education, and even culture. The Internet of Things connects more and more devices both in the business and domestic areas in such a way that almost everybody and everything becomes part of a global network. In addition, Big Data collects and processes enormous amounts of data beyond human capabilities.

In terms of the educational sector, the Fourth Industrial Revolution will offer a substantial change in teaching methods, administrative management, and lectures, etc. In Korean education, it will cause a change in educational laws and institutions and lay the groundwork for creative learning methods. In other words, in order to succeed, the education for the Fourth Industrial Revolution needs new teachers and students, the reform of the college admission system, and the improvement of the evaluation system. So far, the private sector lacks participation in the reform of the Korean education system. Creative, self-directed learning is regarded as important in the Korean education system for

¹⁴ Id., *The Fourth Industrial Revolution*, World Economic Forum, Geneva, Switzerland, 2016, p. 12.

¹⁵ S-H. Jang, *Characteristics of the Fourth Industrial Revolution*, Last updated: 11.07.2017, <http://www.incodom.kr/4%EC%B0%A8_%EC%82%B0%EC%97%85%ED%98%81%EB%AA%85> (last access: 01.30.2019).

the era of the Fourth Industrial Revolution. Thus, we will take a closer look at the reality of and change in Korean education in the next section.

Korean education changes for the era of the Fourth Industrial revolution: Reality and change in Korean education

Korea students have become accustomed to the rote teaching methods unilaterally transferring the standardized education contents from the nationalism era. Their creativity and self-directed learning in educational contexts were permitted to some extent in the liberalism era, but practically, nationalistic and authoritarian practices have still been performed. Even today, Korean education does not get out of the past teaching methods in terms of education policy and direction, only advocating education for the era of the Fourth Industrial Revolution on the surface.

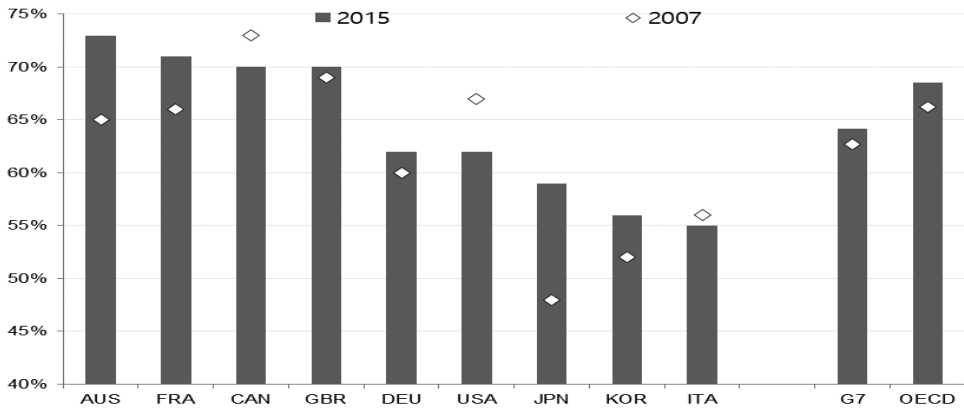
The reality of Korean education can be found in the classroom. Approximately 20 or 40 students in a classroom of primary and secondary schools learn the same educational content at the same time. Despite of the fact that there are differences in their academic levels, learning styles, and academic achievement, most of the students take standardized classes, and it causes some problems, such as maladjustment in learning, stress, and lack of learning motivation¹⁶. Moreover, the government has wanted schools to provide students with extracurricular lessons and to extend opening hours so that high school students almost mandatorily stay for self-study after their class is over.

In terms of teaching methods, most of the teachers use lecture-centered, crammed, and memorized approaches. These have some limits in meeting requirements, providing motivation and highlighting academic achievement. It also fails to diagnose and assess how much students understand and achieve the learning outcomes. Due to these educational environments, many parents cannot trust the system of public education and create fierce competition between the students. They spend more money on private educational expenses from elementary to high school students. Elementary school students attend private institutions for extra study, and almost all high school students receive private tutoring or lessons even after 11 p.m. This leads to low satisfaction in their school life among OECD member nations as shown below¹⁷.

¹⁶ B-H. Chun *et alii*, *An analysis of the attitude toward science, achievements motivation, and the peer relationship, and parents's attitudes to science gifted education*, «Journal of Gifted/Talented Education», vol. 18, n. 3, 2008, pp. 670-697.

¹⁷ OECD, *Citizens' satisfaction with the education system and schools, 2007 and 2015*, in OECD (ed.), *Government at a Glance: How Korea Compares*, Paris, OECD Publishing, 2016, p. 150.

Table 3. Citizens' satisfaction with the education system and schools, 2007 and 2015



As we can see in the table above, satisfaction with the education system and schools was for approximately 57% in comparison with the investment of study time by students in 2015. These data reveal problems with the nationalist and liberal education models which provide simple, uniform learning contexts. Those problems come from the fact that students have different interests and the educational system needs to offer classes which respect their opinions and communicate with one another.

The Korean government has begun to solve those problems, strived to change all aspects of the education system, and prepared for a better teaching method, curriculum, and evaluation method since 2016. The following shows education innovations suggested by the Korean Ministry of Education¹⁸.

- Spread of free semester education
- Normalization of public education
- Reform of local education finance
- Nurture of work forces customized to demands of industry

The education innovations above ironically provide evidence that the Korean education system has pursued very rigid education programs, school affairs, and curricula so far. It has made teachers and students subordinate to the needs of the education system for a long time. They could not come up with creative ideas and were ruled by conventional educational ways. However, this is no longer necessary for developing students' capabilities for the era of the Fourth Industrial Revolution.

¹⁸ Korean Ministry of Education, Education Innovation. c2019, Last updated: 12.08.2015, <<http://moe.go.kr/boardCnts/view.do?boardID=294&boardSeq=60283&lev=0&searchType=null&statusYN=W&page=127&s=moe&m=0503&opType=N>> (last access: 11.03. 2018).

The Korean government wanted some changes such as the education innovation described above and encouraged teachers and students to implement new flexible curriculum programs such as free semester education for creative, self-directed learning. The free semester system refers to the education program is introduced to middle schools to give students more opportunities to explore their career path and to freely explore their dreams and talents¹⁹. During the free semester, there are no paper exams, and students can exert their capabilities based on their own talents and creativities.

A second education innovation is the normalization of public education. The Korean education system has been biased toward formality and emphasized quantitative aspects of education. In this respect, many parents have depended on private education because they thought that their students would not have opportunities such as advanced learning through public education. This resulted in shaking up public education and causing confidence in it to plummet. Therefore, the Korean government struggles to improve the university entrance system and create an atmosphere that allows students to communicate with teachers freely. It also tries to decrease the number of students in a classroom, provide cooling and heating ventilation, and reconfirm what role the public education plays.

To achieve these education innovations, the Korean government plans to reform local education finance. Unlike for the central government, the financial status of local governments is in poor condition. This leads to a decline in educational services and a drop in the effectiveness of education. In educational services, teachers and schools are crucial factors, but investment in students is more important. Accordingly, the Korean government contributes to improving the quality of education, endeavors to ensure financial stability, and seeks ways of providing better educational service.

Finally, the Korean government pushes for educational innovation to nurture work forces customized to the demands of industry. Korea currently faces a decreasing population and aging society. To lead sustainable development in this environment, Korean education needs to nurture excellent human resources. High-skilled people will help to create the latest technologies and improve the productivity of companies. The education should practically reflect the change in the social structure and the demands of education or the job market. Likewise, high schools and colleges currently respond to changes in society and industry structure and have concentrated on activating programs for industrial needs-matched education since 2016.

Over the past half century, the Korean educational system has gone through many adversities and hardships. Now is the time to change all aspects of the educational system and curriculum. In the era of the Fourth Industrial

¹⁹ Global Education Leaders' Partnership, Free Semester Program-Korea, c2016, Last updated: 10.07.2017, <<https://www.gelponline.org/?q=node/54>> (last access: 12.11.2018).

Revolution, many jobs will be replaced by robots. This poses questions as to how Korean education should prepare for a future that will be different from today. In the next section, we will look at the future of Korean education and how to cope with changes for the era of the Fourth Industrial Revolution.

Future of Korean education for the era of the Fourth Industrial Revolution

The innovation in digital technologies known as the Fourth Industrial Revolution will create a crisis in traditional manufacturing and make 5.1 million jobs disappear in the global employment of major countries. Humanoid robots equipped with artificial intelligence will replace workers in the factory, and even professionals such as doctors, pharmacists, judges, and lawyers, will be deprived of jobs by artificial intelligence. Nevertheless, technologies such as the Internet of Things, self-driving cars, biotechnology, and 3D printing will allow us to develop whole new industries and to create new employment opportunities. They are a great driver for change and provide improved goods and services.

To keep up with these changes, the Korean government is attempting to create a new educational system. The Korean Ministry of Education promotes the reorganization of teaching methods, flexible curricula, and education programs, and intends to change schools²⁰ as follows:

Table 4. School Change for Personal Learning System Establishment

	Mass Education System	Personal Learning System
School Roles	Society Member's Nurturing Higher School Advancement	Student's Personal Growth Sustainable Learning Experience Accumulation
Education Program	National School Curriculum	Personal Curriculum
Education Course	Teacher-led education	Student-centered Education
Evaluation Methods	Relative Grading Overall Evaluation	Absolute Grading System Process Evaluation
Teacher's Roles	Knowledge Disseminator Rigid Evaluator	Personal Learning System Designer Learning Assistant

As we can see in the table above, many schools will undergo a paradigm shift from a mass education system to personalized learning. They will also focus

²⁰ Jeong, *A method for improvement of school system for the era of the Fourth Industrial Revolution: focused on establishment of personal learning system*, cit.

on student-centered learning or a personal learning system which fits students' individual characteristics. In other words, a personal learning system is meant to offer an optimal school curriculum including students' interests, talents, aptitudes, and learning experiences. The Korean government currently urges many colleges and schools to carry out the way of personalized and project-based learning. These learning ways mean mastery-based, student-centered education programs considering personal characteristics, sharing knowledge with peers.

Based on this personal learning system, schools will put more time and expense into personal growth, and the education program will also enable students to create a personal curriculum. In addition, evaluation methods will prefer an absolute grading system to relative evaluation and regard process-centered evaluation as important. Above all, many schools and colleges are attempting to change their teaching methods. For an example, teachers in many colleges are using the method of a flipped learning environment that delivers instructional content online, outside of the classroom²¹. This will help students to understand class contents more easily.

On top of this, there are other learning methods such as MOOC, TED, or online courses that can be used for student-centered learning. Particularly, as a course in which teacher and students can communicate online, a MOOC, can provide students with quality lectures from many good professors. Additionally, TED talks will help them to obtain knowledge and information in various fields from science to global issues. These types of online platforms have accessibility, autonomy of time and space, and convenience. In the online courses, teachers can lead off-line classes and utilize a tutoring system using artificial intelligence technologies. This system enables teachers and students to do student-centered learning activities, problem-solving learning, or teacher-assisted learning. As a good example, cyber colleges in Korea offer only online courses, and their programs intentionally designed to develop a student's intellect across multiple disciplines, as well as critical life skills, professional capabilities, and key aspects of personal character. These colleges will work for activating student's creativity and individual learning in the future.

In these ways, the Fourth Industrial Revolution will bring innovation to the school system and accelerate social change as well. In the future of Korean education, personalization and individualization will be emphasized by artificial intelligence which will allow customized learning and effectiveness. We will draw conclusions about this in the next section.

²¹ D-H. Cha, S-H. Kim, *Job killer: the fourth industrial revolution: the future of employment after the grand change due to the robot and artificial intelligence*, Seoul, Hans Media, 2016.

Conclusion

It is clear that education has many influences on individuals and society. Korean education has helped to build the foundation of its society and lifestyles. In spite of this fact, it still requires enormous changes and reforms in comparison with its long history. Korean education may be classified into three phases: nationalism, liberalism, and the creativity eras of education. The nationalism era of education refers to the time in which the central government intervenes and controls all of the education systems and programs from 1960 to 1994. We call this period education 1.0. The liberalism era of education, or education 2.0, represents the time in which the education system allows students to accept more personalized education programs from 1995 to 2015. Finally, the creativity era of education, or education 3.0, has been in progress since 2016, and the Korean government is pursuing a self-directed learning or a personal learning system which values students' creative capabilities beyond the standardized knowledge and their abilities to collaborate with others.

These three phases reflect the direction of the future of Korean education for the era of the Fourth Industrial Revolution. A self-directed learning or a personal learning system will be a crucial factor in determining the future of Korean education because it strengthens individual interests, talents, aptitudes, and experiences, unlike mass education. Thus, they can provide a creative and innovative education due to a qualitative leap rather than quantitative expansion. Along with this education policy, Korea is now carrying out a variety of educational programs such as flipped learning, MOOCs, online courses and TED and developing better teaching methods, curriculums, and school systems.

Supplement

Table of Korean Education Stage

Education Stage	Year	Age
University	4 years	19-22
High School	3 years	16-18
Middle School	3 years	13-15
Elementary School	6 years	7-12

Education and propaganda in the «Patriotic Postcards» distributed by the Lombard Committee of the General Union of Italian Teachers during WWI*

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ABSTRACT: Founded in 1915 by the Italian senator Vittorio Scialoja and a small group of professors, the *Unione Generale degli Insegnanti d'Italia* («General Union of Italian Teachers») was aimed at involving teachers from all grades and kinds of schools, to promote civil mobilization initiatives in support of the «internal front» during WWI. The Lombard Committee was the most active local committee, because the publication of local informational bulletins, propaganda materials and teaching materials. In particular, the propagandistic and educational nature of the «Patriotic Postcards» contributed to foster the process of the Italian nation building and the development of the Italians' civic-mindedness.

EET/TEE KEYWORDS: History of Education; Principles of education; War Propaganda; WWI; Italy; XXth Century.

* Although both authors have worked equally on the research and ideation of this essay, the actual writing was done by Evelina Scaglia in the first three sections and Alberta Bergomi in the remaining three.

1. A Mobilized «Internal Front»

WWI has been defined in many ways: a «myth», an «apocalypse of modernity», «the watershed of the twentieth century»¹ – just to mention a few expressions that have been coined to describe it. Regardless of the perspective adopted to analyze it, the Great War certainly was a multiform event, one that greatly affected the political structures, lifestyles, and socio-economic systems of entire populations. Because of this, historians such as Mario Isnenghi, Emilio Gentile, and Giovanna Procacci have called WWI «a great trial for the new century» and a moment of «social and political reset for the world»².

In Italy, even more so than other countries, the resilience of political and civil structures was put to a test by the war, which brought to the surface several weaknesses in these structures; the irreversible crisis of the liberal state which exploded in 1919-1921 made these weaknesses all the more apparent³. Following a heated debate between interventionists and neutralists, Italy joined the conflict on May 24, 1915, after stipulating a secret agreement (the «London Pact») with the forces of the Triple Entente (Great Britain, France, and Russia), although the country was still bound to the Triple Alliance with Germany and the Austro-Hungarian Empire, an alliance signed in 1882. There were many political reasons that prompted Italy to declare war on Austria, all fueled by the ideal of a «great Italy» that would reconquer the regions of Trentino, Venezia Giulia, Dalmatia, and the city of Fiume, which had been under Austrian domination until then, so as to conclude the process of national unification that had remained incomplete after the three Wars of Independence (1848-1866)⁴.

From the very beginning of Italy's involvement in the conflict, a process called «national mobilization» accompanied Italian military actions. National mobilization consisted in the deployment of the maximum possible amount of economic and human resources, which would enable the country to sustain a war of position and attrition that was mostly fought in the trenches⁵. In this

¹ These expressions have been used, respectively, in the following books: M. Isnenghi, *Il mito della grande guerra*, Bologna, il Mulino, 1989; E. Gentile, *L'apocalisse della modernità: la grande guerra per l'uomo nuovo*, Milan, Mondadori, 2008; G. Procacci, *Dalla rassegnazione alla rivolta. Mentalità e comportamenti popolari nella Grande Guerra*, Rome, Bulzoni, 1999.

² P. Pombeni, *Introduzione. Dalla grande prova per il nuovo secolo europeo alla risistemazione del mondo*, in Id. (ed.), *I cinque anni che sconvolsero il mondo: la prima guerra mondiale (1914-1918)*, Rome, Studium, 2015, pp. 7-19.

³ Procacci, *Dalla rassegnazione alla rivolta. Mentalità e comportamenti popolari nella Grande Guerra*, cit., p. V.

⁴ N. Labanca, *The Italian Front*, in J. Winter (ed.), *The Cambridge History of the First World War*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2014, Vol. I, pp. 266-296; E. Gentile, *Le Italie di fronte alla grande guerra*, in Pombeni (ed.), *I cinque anni che sconvolsero il mondo: la prima guerra mondiale (1914-1918)*, cit., pp. 64-74.

⁵ A. Fava, *Assistenza e propaganda nel regime di guerra (1915-1918)*, in M. Isnenghi (ed.), *Operai e contadini nella Grande Guerra*, Bologna, Cappelli, 1982, pp. 174-212. See also: A. Fava, *Longue durée: La guerra a scuola: propaganda, memoria, rito (1915-1940)*, «Materiali di lavoro»,

respect, the expression «internal front» was coined, referring to the economic, social, and moral support that civil society was asked to provide to both the troops stationed at the front as well as their families⁶. As Mario Isnenghi and Giorgio Rochat's put it: «The system that was developed to support the army is less known and less exciting, but equally crucial in determining the fate of the war: the complex and articulated mobilization of Italian economy and society provided troops with the necessary resources and, at the same time, generated long-lasting changes in the structures of states, production systems, and international relations»⁷.

National mobilization turned out to be of fundamental importance for the Italian social and political equilibrium, especially considering that the decision to join the war had been made unilaterally by the «Historical Right», which held liberal, conservative anti-Giolitti views and was aligned with the interests of both the nationalists and the industrial élite that opposed Giolitti's neutral stance. Thus, the decision to enter the conflict lacked the support of the Italian population, especially the peasants and factory workers who had been called to arms *en masse*⁸. The workers, in particular, who were directly involved in the progressive «factory militarization», reacted with strikes and protests against the establishment and the State, accusing the latter of having undertaken improvised and improvident political actions⁹. The petty and middle bourgeoisie, too, looked at these political choices with skepticism and did not unanimously side in favor of the intervention¹⁰.

From the very beginning, the convergence of private interests and public intervention (such as the «industrial mobilization») played a crucial role in achieving national mobilization, although, until the tragic defeat in Caporetto (suffered by the Italian Army in October-November 1917 by a joint Austro-German attack) there was no shared agenda and, consequently, a plurality of players (associations, committees, interest groups, etc.) carried out independent projects, driven mostly by local and/or private interests¹¹. As a result, a «diverse patriotic partnership» originated, in which the presence of civil volunteers, such as teachers, was a significant component, especially in urban settings. The

nn. 3-4, 1986, pp. 53-126.

⁶ A. Fava, *Il fronte interno e la propaganda di guerra*, in M.P. Critelli (ed.), *Fronte Interno. Propaganda e mobilitazione civile nell'Italia della grande guerra*, Rome, Biblioteca di storia moderna e contemporanea, 1988, pp. 7-27; G.L. Gatti, *Jusqu'au bout! Il fronte interno*, in M. Isnenghi, D. Ceschin (edd.), *La Grande Guerra. Uomini e luoghi del '15-'18*, Turin, UTET, 2008, Vol. 1, pp. 280-288.

⁷ M. Isnenghi, G. Rochat, *La grande guerra, 1914-1918*, Bologna, il Mulino, 2008, p. 297 [my transl.].

⁸ G.L. Gatti, *Jusqu'au bout! Il fronte interno*, in Isnenghi, Ceschin (edd.), *La Grande Guerra. Uomini e luoghi del '15-'18*, cit., pp. 280-282.

⁹ Procacci, *Dalla rassegnazione alla rivolta. Mentalità e comportamenti popolari nella Grande Guerra*, cit., p. V.

¹⁰ Isnenghi, Rochat, *La grande guerra, 1914-1918*, cit., p. 321.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 324.

liberal conservatives in the government, in particular, supported these forms of volunteering, as they were interested in promoting a form of «everyday patriotism» among regular citizens and opposed instead the voluntary military enlistment which was supported by the democratic parties and left-wing interventionists. In this way, the assistance provided by the civil population took on the function of «guaranteeing» more equilibrium in the delicate relations between government, parliament, and the rest of the country, as Prime Minister Antonio Salandra expressed in his speech of June 2, 1915¹².

In other words, this form of civil engagement turned out to be particularly useful in emphasizing the gravity of national needs and in adopting solving strategies that were not too charged politically and were instead framed within the shared aim of increasing social solidarity and national sentiment¹³. Italian «patriotic assistance» brought together three currents of actions: the first was inspired by the Catholic charitable tradition, the second was connected to the lay philanthropic tradition that was widespread in the most advanced areas of the country (such as the Società umanitaria – The humanitarian society – in Milan), and the third was related to the Italian female movement¹⁴. These three cultural and political currents had been in favor of Italy's neutrality at the time of the debate between neutralists and interventionists and, therefore, their involvement revealed the extent to which the war was bringing about important changes in the conception of «national collectivity» within the broader process of national acculturation and «societal mobilization»¹⁵. In this context, the so-called «umbrella organizations» played a primary role; among these were the *Opere federate di assistenza civile e propaganda nazionale* (Confederate works of civil assistance and national propaganda), which grouped associations created in the 19th century, the *Federazione nazionale dei comitati di assistenza* (National federation of assistance committees), the *Unione generale degli'insegnanti italiani* (General union of Italian teachers)¹⁶ and many women's initiatives devoted to fostering health care and «mass mothering» by sewing uniforms for the soldiers and performing the role of «war godmothers»¹⁷.

¹² A. Fava, *Tra nation building e propaganda di massa. Riflessioni sul “fronte interno” della Grande Guerra*, in D. Rossini (ed.), *La propaganda nella grande guerra tra nazionalismi e internazionalismi*, Milan, UNICOPLI, 2007, pp. 156-192.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 180.

¹⁴ A. Gibelli, *La grande guerra degli italiani 1915-1918*, Milan, BUR, 2011, p. 197.

¹⁵ Procacci, *Dalla rassegnazione alla rivolta. Mentalità e comportamenti popolari nella Grande Guerra*, cit., p. VIII.

¹⁶ J. Horne, *Introduction: mobilizing for ‘total war’, 1914-1918*, in Id. (ed.), *State, society and mobilization in Europe during the First World War*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1997, pp. 1-17; A. Fava, *Tra nation building e propaganda di massa. Riflessioni sul “fronte interno” della Grande Guerra*, in Rossini (ed.), *La propaganda nella grande guerra tra nazionalismi e internazionalismi*, cit., p. 185.

¹⁷ Isnenghi, Rochat, *La grande guerra, 1914-1918*, cit., p. 327; Gibelli, *La grande guerra degli italiani 1915-1918*, cit., pp. 180-205.

The Caporetto defeat, however, had made clear that the current system had not been enough to guarantee better «integration of the masses into the nation» and to reach a «generalized consensus towards the war». It was therefore urgent to move from «coercion discipline» to «persuasion discipline», if Italy was to change its fate in the war¹⁸. Emblematically, in January of 1918, the Supreme Command of the Italian Army decided to institute a Propaganda, Information, and Assistance Office (better known as «Service P») and to involve scholars such as Giuseppe Lombardo Radice, Giuseppe Prezzolini, and Gioacchino Volpe. Lombardo Radice, in particular, devised an innovative form of propaganda, one that would go beyond «patriotic conferences» and favor instead the institution of «liaison officials with the front» who would be responsible for «direct and indirect propaganda» on a national scale, through channels such as newspapers, theater, cinema, readings, and conversations with soldiers¹⁹. This new form of propaganda was characterized by the pursuit of a «better equilibrium between words and things, between propaganda and assistance», while at the same time having to deal with persistent high rates of illiteracy²⁰.

2. *The Founding of the General Union of Italian Teachers and its Contribution to the Formulation of a «Mass Pedagogy»*

As mentioned above, the General Union of Italian Teachers (henceforth «the UGII») was one of the associations funded in the summer of 1915 with the aim of contributing civil mobilization initiatives in support of the «internal front». The UGII brought together teachers from all grades and kinds of schools and merged with preexisting associations²¹. Its origins are to be found in the «humanistic» bourgeoisie's commitment to forming groups aimed at carrying out solidarity and assistance initiatives and bound together by the liberal notion of teachers as «civil educators». They viewed teachers as carriers of a twofold intellectual and moral mission²²: teachers were called to work in a school system that, over

¹⁸ G.L. Gatti, *Jusqu'au bout! Il fronte interno*, in Isnenghi, Ceschin (edd.), *La Grande Guerra. Uomini e luoghi del '15-'18*, cit., p. 283; Gibelli, *La grande guerra degli italiani 1915-1918*, cit., p. 134.

¹⁹ On Giuseppe Lombardo Radice and his involvement in these initiatives, see: M. Simonetti, *Il servizio «P» al fronte (1918)*, «Riforma della scuola», nn. 8-9, 1968, pp. 24-34; P. Melograni, *Storia politica della grande guerra, 1915-1918*, Milan, Mondadori, 1998, pp. 464-465; G.L. Gatti, *Dopo Caporetto. Gli ufficiali P nella Grande Guerra: propaganda, assistenza, vigilanza*, Gorizia, Libreria Editrice Goriziana, 2000.

²⁰ Isnenghi, Rochat, *La grande guerra, 1914-1918*, cit., p. 338; L. Bellatalla, G. Genovesi, *La grande guerra. L'educazione in trappola*, Rome, Anicia, 2015, pp. 98-102.

²¹ A. Barausse, *Processi di nazionalizzazione e insegnanti durante la guerra. L'Unione Generale degli Insegnanti Italiani (1915-1918)*, «Rivista di storia dell'educazione», n. 1, 2015, pp. 11-19.

²² Scholars like Marino Raich, Ester De Fort, Giovanni Vigo, Antonio Santoni Rugiu,

the course of the war, would become an «active center of mobilization» as well as a «hearth of solid propaganda» and consensus building²³.

As UGII president, liberal senator, and war propaganda minister-to-be Vittorio Scialoja stated, the UGII shared the expectations expressed in an appeal released in April of 1915 by a group of professors from the Royal University of Palermo (Colozza, Guastalla, Miceli, Orestano, and Troilo) in favor of the mobilization of all teachers and professors from all Italian schools and universities. A passage of that appeal reads as follows: «We are therefore convinced that our mission does not cease during a state of war; on the contrary, in the moment of crisis of all principles and human relations brought about by every war, our job is burdened by bigger responsibilities in front of the whole Nation and its history [...]. We feel as though we would fail our crucial duty as civil educators if we left the task of supporting and disciplining the national crisis of moral forces entirely to others»²⁴. This statement clearly outlines a position which, within the last spurts of the debate between interventionists and neutralists, coincided only in part with the statements released by one of the most important teachers' associations, the National Teachers Union (Unione Magistrale Nazionale, UMN), which instead «sought to reconcile its neutralist leanings [represented, for instance, by its president Giuseppe Soglia] with the willingness to grant a more active role to schools and teachers in initiatives of civil mobilization»²⁵.

On June 12, 1915, the UGII released an agenda which showed clear interventionist leanings and articulated three main aims: first, implementing acts of «persuasion, comfort, and counsel, directed especially towards the lower classes» (through the distribution of material aids and the institution of secretariats for moral, intellectual, and legal assistance); second, «divulging the idealistic, historical, and political reasons of the present war» (through a form of «mass pedagogy»); and, third, committing the ruling class and the Italian and foreign intellectual élite to offer a «documented and exhaustive scientific demonstration of the rights according to which Italy is engaged in the present war»²⁶. One can conclude that, as Scialoja himself confirmed in the same documents, the teachers interested in joining the association intended to assume onto themselves the task and responsibility to «discipline and support the Country's moral forces during the most high trial», by direct involvement in

Simonetta Soldani, Carmen Betti, Giorgio Chiosso, and Roberto Sani, among others, have authored pivotal studies on the matter in the past fifty years.

²³ Barausse, *Processi di nazionalizzazione e insegnanti durante la guerra. L'Unione Generale degli Insegnanti Italiani (1915-1918)*, «Rivista di storia dell'educazione», cit., pp. 15-16.

²⁴ Colozza-Guastalla-Miceli-Orestano-Troilo, *La prima idea*, in UGII, *Atti della Presidenza generale (maggio 1915-ottobre 1917)*, Rome, Tipografia dell'Unione editrice, MCMXVII, p. 4 [my transl.].

²⁵ A. Barausse, *L'Unione Magistrale Nazionale. Dalle origini al fascismo, 1901-1925*, Brescia, La Scuola, 2002, p. 438 [my transl.].

²⁶ UGII, *Atti della Presidenza generale (maggio 1915-ottobre 1917)*, cit., pp. 11-18.

actions of «oral propaganda», the drawing of «written orders», and by giving a «steady example» inspired by the ideal of a directly-engaged «civil educator»²⁷. A similar perspective was still particularly prominent in the UGII's Statute of February 22, 1917²⁸, issued with a lieutenant decree, which expressed an interest in applying «the model now consolidated in the liberal political class» to a new political and social dimension, that of the «masses», which had come to the fore following the Italian participation in the Great War²⁹.

After the defeat at Caporetto, however, the UGII had to face the imperative necessity of «equipping» Italy against the invasion of Austro-Hungarian forces into national territory and the consequent mass deployment of social, cultural, and material resources for both the army and the Country, whose survival was at stake³⁰. In this respect, the UGII was favored by the fact that, since its founding, it had been able to promote itself on the entire national territory, thanks to the collaboration between its central office in Rome and a plethora of regional committees (in the regions of Lombardy, Liguria, Lazio, Tuscany, and Sicily) as well as local sections (at the province level) and even smaller sub-sections which involved school officials (superintendents, headmasters, and teachers) and administrators (at the province or district level)³¹. The success of the UGII was certainly due to the participation of political and/or cultural personalities in its initiatives.

The materials produced by the UGII in this process – local informational bulletins, propaganda materials, and teaching materials for the lower classes – are of particular interest to the field of history of education. These materials are useful sources in studying how the UGII's choice to focus on modern techniques of «mass» verbal and visual communication was aimed at reaching an audience comprised of mostly lower-class members, in the name of the fruitful encounter between «academia» and «the people» auspicated by Scialoja³².

The frequent occurrence of elementary-school-sounding «mottos» and «slogans» in the UGII bulletins and postcards reveals the intent of adopting modes of communication that would appeal to a scarcely alphabetized audience who was constantly exposed to the stress of the conflict. Furthermore, the use of standard Italian exclusively (as opposed to local dialects) – the same choice made in the «trenches papers» – made these materials crucial in the diffusion

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 7.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 35-40.

²⁹ Barausse, *Processi di nazionalizzazione e insegnanti durante la guerra. L'Unione Generale degli Insegnanti Italiani (1915-1918)*, cit., p. 14.

³⁰ Isnenghi, Rochat, *La grande guerra, 1914-1918*, cit., p. 409. Isnenghi and Rochat borrowed the expression «Country-Italy» from Ruggiero Romano, *Paese Italia. Venti secoli di identità*, Rome, Donzelli, 1997.

³¹ Barausse, *Processi di nazionalizzazione e insegnanti durante la guerra. L'Unione Generale degli Insegnanti Italiani (1915-1918)*, cit., p. 13.

³² Gibelli, *La grande guerra degli italiani 1915-1918*, cit., p. 134.

of the national language³³, as they were effective tools in both raising literacy rates in the Italian population and fostering unification at a civil, linguistic, and cultural level, a unification which had until then existed only «on paper»³⁴. In this sense, the involvement of people of all ages – from school-aged children to adults – can be viewed as an attempt to encourage widespread involvement in supporting the Country's efforts in darkest and most uncertain moments of the war.

The analysis of the historical sources mentioned above has allowed us to investigate the UGII's contribution in promoting a kind of «mass pedagogy». This mass pedagogy, according to Antonio Gibelli's interpretation, was a process of «total mobilization» aimed to the «mass» education of Italians, both those at the front and those in the «internal front», within the context of a conflict that was assuming the contours of the «first large-scale operation of conditioning and shaping the public opinion in a national and patriotic way»³⁵. The middle class's «patriotic response» – in this specific case, the UGII teachers' response – favored the development of a «pedagogical» awareness and, consequently, a line of action aimed at limiting the danger of the political and social disintegration that Italy was undergoing³⁶. This patriotic response, then, was part of the broader task of «forming a national identity» that was assigned to the school system, in particular to elementary schools, which were viewed as prime places for the «consolidation of the internal front, to the point that they were massively involved in propaganda and consensus-building activities, thus anticipating the functions that [the school system] would go on to assume more markedly and systematically in the fascist years»³⁷.

3. *The Lombard Committee and Its Patriotic Postcards*

One of the most active sections of the UGII was the Lombard Committee, founded in Milan on 15 July 1915 and rooted in a city which took pride in having been, for years, Italy's «economic and moral capital» thanks to the fruitful collaboration between its industry and the business sector. Milan was among the major industrial centers in the vicinity of the front, so that it naturally

³³ T. De Mauro, *Storia linguistica dell'Italia unita* [1965], Rome-Bari, Laterza, 2005⁹, pp. 108-109.

³⁴ Gibelli, *La grande guerra degli italiani 1915-1918*, cit., pp. 140-141.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 131-135; Id., *L'officina della guerra. La Grande Guerra e le trasformazioni del mondo mentale*, Turin, Bollati Boringhieri, 2007, p. 89.

³⁶ On the patriotic response of the middle class, see: Procacci, *Dalla rassegnazione alla rivolta. Mentalità e comportamenti popolari nella Grande Guerra*, cit., pp. 318-322.

³⁷ C. Ghizzoni, *La scuola a Milano durante la Grande Guerra*, «Archivio storico lombardo», vol. CXXXI, 2005-2006, p. 308.

became a crucial point of reference for the «internal front» and its initiatives for civil mobilization³⁸.

The newborn Lombard Committee was able to promote numerous initiatives thanks to the involvement of people like Pietro Bonfante (the president of the Bocconi University), Corrado Barbagallo, Giuseppe Ricchieri, Adele Bianchi, and Maria Magnocavallo (the president of the Catholic teachers' association «Niccolò Tommaseo»). These initiatives ranged from the organization of seminars and conferences to the publication of local informative bulletins, to the distribution of materials of various kind (geographic maps, «Patriotic Postcards», and so on). As Carla Ghizzoni argues, these activities had both propagandistic and educational goals, an expression of which was the arrangement of propaganda groups to be employed in public spaces in different areas of the region. These groups would work together with local civil assistance committees, charitable institutions, doctors, and parishes to build «propaganda libraries», draft «civil sermons», and assure school functioning during the holidays, especially in the rural regions, so as to guarantee the continuation of educational activities for the creation of a national consciousness, teacher supervision, teachers' propaganda activities, and correspondence with the soldiers at the front. As Arrigo Solmi, one of the Committee's main members, stated: «After it was recognized as a legal entity in 1917, the Lombard Committee expanded its activities and reorganized its ruling organisms, recruiting teachers and principals who until then had not been part of these organisms, so as to acknowledge the contribution they had given in those years to the work of assistance and patriotic education through their work in schools»³⁹.

As the passage above shows, the Committee acquired a crucial role in managing the ever-growing discomforts caused by the war in the Lombard school system (such as the requisition of buildings and the consequent evacuation of students, the call to arms of teachers, and so on). The Committee also promoted teacher figures who were militant in fostering patriotic education, providing assistance, and shaping a «healthy political consciousness» in the internal front⁴⁰. The Committee's role strengthened further after Caporetto, also thanks to the funding of the Union of Milanese Teachers for the Motherland, which was directly linked to the UGII Lombard Committee and became its Milanese Section, housed at the Milan's Philological Circle⁴¹.

In the following pages, we will focus specifically on the propagandistic and educational function of the «Patriotic Postcards» issued by the Lombard

³⁸ M. Punzo, *La Grande Guerra e il primo dopoguerra*, in *Storia di Milano*, Vol. XVIII: *Il Novecento*, Rome, Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 1995, Vol. I, pp. 573-599.

³⁹ C. Ghizzoni, *Maestri e istruzione popolare a Milano negli anni della prima guerra mondiale*, «History of Education and Children's Literature», vol. I, n. 1, 2007, p. 164 [my transl.].

⁴⁰ A. Solmi, *L'Opera dell'Unione degli Insegnanti Italiani a Milano*, s.e., gennaio 1918.

⁴¹ Ghizzoni, *Maestri e istruzione popolare a Milano negli anni della prima guerra mondiale*, cit., pp. 168-169.

Committee. We will utilize research methodologies inspired to the most recent developments in history of education in the field of school memories, as both heuristic perspectives and new frontiers of historiographic development⁴². Following a study by Antonio Viñao and Maria José Martínez Ruiz-Funes in which they investigated these postcards as sources of educational memory, we view the Lombard Committee's patriotic postcards as picture postcards with a prominent nature as multi-faced objects, as «photography, in terms of all that surrounds its production, materialization, reception and interpretation; element that along with other images makes up the social imaginarium and, therefore the individual, institutional and social memory; means of expression, as regards its commissioning and production, and as a means of communication between people. Related to all this, there is also the element of advertising, propaganda and marketing»⁴³.

Our analysis sheds new light onto a repository of historical and iconographic documentation that has been so far dispersed and poorly known, that is, the patriotic postcards held at the Bertarelli Archive in Milan and those available in digital form on the ICCU's and the Town of Milan's websites⁴⁴. Because their propagandistic and educational aim was achieved primarily thorough the shaping of a certain social imaginary in the audience, one influenced by the ideas and values conveyed by the images and texts, we can rightfully maintain that these postcards belong among the sources of «collective memory». Our study supports Viñao and Martínez Ruiz-Funes's argument that: «The picture postcard extends and conforms the social imaginarium understood, in its strictest sense, as the set of images available to the members of a given society at a given time or, if one prefers, the visual memory of that society»⁴⁵. The processes of mental representation and social imagination elicited by the fruition of the postcards were fundamental in setting forth the psychological and social mechanisms that contributed to the shaping of a «mindset» of national cohesion and patriotic solidarity. For this reason, these patriotic postcards can be viewed as both social artifacts and as «historical documents embodying social and political messages», whose socio-political aims were based on soft-news-based

⁴² J. Meda, A. Viñao, *School Memory: Historiographical Balance and Heuristics Perspectives*, in C. Yanes-Cabrera, J. Meda, A. Viñao (edd.), *School Memories. New Trends in the History of Education*, Switzerland, Springer, 2017, pp. 1-9.

⁴³ A. Viñao, M. J. Martínez Ruiz-Funes, *Picture Postcards as a Tool for Constructing and Reconstructing Educational Memory (Spain, 19th-20th Centuries)*, in Yanes-Cabrera, Meda, Viñao (edd.), *School Memories. New Trends in the History of Education*, cit., p. 31.

⁴⁴ The ICCU, Istituto Centrale per il Catalogo Unico delle biblioteche (Central Institute for a Unified Library Catalog) is part of the Italian Ministry of Cultural Heritage. It supervises the digitalization of Italian's cultural patrimony.

⁴⁵ A. Viñao, M. J. Martínez Ruiz-Funes, *Picture Postcards as a Tool for Constructing and Reconstructing Educational Memory (Spain, 19th-20th Centuries)*, in Yanes-Cabrera, Meda, Viñao (edd.), *School Memories. New Trends in the History of Education*, cit., p. 33.

propaganda and intertwined with the aim of building a national public opinion which, for the first time, included the lower classes⁴⁶.

4. *The Postcards, a Widespread Success*

The Lombard Committee's decision to use special postcards for propaganda purposes was rooted in the well-established practice of mailing postcards⁴⁷, which reached its peak between the end of the nineteenth century and WWI⁴⁸. German university students had been sending greeting postcards to families and teachers since the beginning of the modern age⁴⁹, and this, so to speak, «relational» function of the postcards was supplemented at the end of the nineteenth century by a second function, which we might call «educational-didactic», thanks to the introduction of photography⁵⁰. End-of-century illustrated postcards were produced serially and they portrayed, thus showing to the receiver, the places, public personalities, and artistic manifestations dominating the collective imaginary of the epoch. In some cases they became like actual reportages, for instance those regarding the Messina earthquake, the Dreyfuss Affair, and Queen Victoria's funerals⁵¹.

During WWI, the volume of correspondence grew exceptionally (it has been calculated that during the years of the conflict the total of correspondence mailed

⁴⁶ J.D. Carlson, *Postcards and Propaganda: Cartographic Postcard as Soft News Images of the Russo-Japanese War*, «Political Communication», n. 26, 2009, pp. 212-237 (in particular, pp. 212-213).

⁴⁷ Besides postcards, the national propaganda supporting the internal front utilized other channels of communication, such as advertisement posters, art exhibitions, cinematographic representations, and musical incisions. As far as we know, however, the UGII was not directly involved in these cultural activities. See the study conducted by Dario Cimorelli and Anna Villari's research team: *La grande guerra. Società, propaganda, consenso*, Cinisello Balsamo, Silvana Editoriale, 2015.

⁴⁸ The first 'official' postcard appeared after the 1867 World Postal Conference in Karlsruhe and was issued by the Austrian postal administration. In Italy, the use of postcards was introduced with the law number 1442, series II, of June 23, 1873. In the first year (1874), Italian postcards were printed only on the *recto*, with a frame surrounding the space where the stamp would be affixed, marked by a portrait of Vittorio Emanuele II. The postcard also displayed the Savoia's emblem, a space for the postmark, and lines to write the address. Beginning in 1889 (official decree of August 1), the printing of «Government authorized» postcards, illustrated by photographic reproductions, was allowed. See G. Peraldo, *Poste & Cartoline. Storia delle origini dei servizi postali e delle cartoline*, Vercelli, Gallo Arti Grafiche, 1998, pp. 25-27.

⁴⁹ A. Gilardi, *Origini splendore e decadenza della cartolina postale*, «Ferrania. Rivista mensile di fotografia e cinematografia», n. 10, 1961, p. 2.

⁵⁰ Regarding the origin of illustrated postcards, G. Peraldo states that: «It seems that towards the end of the 18th century a German typographer circulated postcards illustrated with landscape drawings. It also seems that, in 1865, a French typographer printed postcards illustrated with lithographic reproductions of works of art» (cfr. Peraldo, *Poste & Cartoline. Storia delle origini dei servizi postali e delle cartoline*, cit., p. 25 [my transl.]).

⁵¹ Gilardi, *Origini splendore e decadenza della cartolina postale*, cit., pp. 22-29.

within Italy reached almost four billion items)⁵². For the soldiers, writing was a way to maintain relations with their families, keep professional communication alive, and, in general, preserve a sort of «normalcy». Military forces, too, resorted to postcards in order to reinforce their messages. The upper echelons liked postcards because they made it easier to implement censorship and, on the other hand, the lower and less literate social classes preferred postcards to letters because of both their brevity and the cheaper cost, since each soldier was only granted seven free mail postings per week. Based on these premises, one can easily see why postcards were chosen as the preferred tools to lift the national spirit, and it is therefore not a chance that UGII used them, although together with other, more conventional methods of communications such as public talks, flyers, lectures in schools and hospitals (for instance, the organization of courses for hospitalized soldiers, like the one promoted by Riccardo Galeazzi at the Rickets' Institute), and so on.

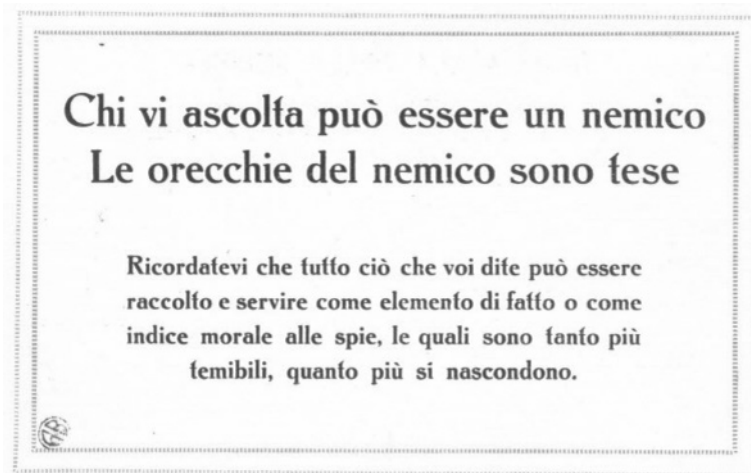
Because of the exceptional success of this low-cost, high-impact communication tool, it is clear why the UGII chose to deploy postcards for its purposes. To be precise, the UGII published two lines of postcards, a more «popular» line featuring simple mottos and pieces of advice, and a more sophisticated line featuring political texts written by prominent men of letters, both past and contemporary. In the following section, we will analyze both lines of postcards more closely.

5. A «War Decalogue»: The Popular Line of the UGII's Lombard Committee's Postcards

As a rule, the postcards published during WWI were illustrated. The illustrations were not photographic (it was forbidden to take photographs in the front areas, in order not to provide the enemy with logistic information and not to demoralize the public with shocking images); rather, they were drawings, which could be rhetorically tweaked. For this reason, painters and graphics such as Duilio Cambellotti, Alberto Martini, Guido Marussig, Attilio Mussino, Antonio Rubino, Mario Sironi, and Sergio 'Sto' Tofani were involved in creative activities, their styles ranging from liberty to symbolism, from expressionism to futurism⁵³.

⁵² See: C. Stiacchini, *Scrivere dal fronte*, in N. Labanca (ed.), *Dizionario storico della Prima guerra mondiale*, Rome-Bari, Laterza, 2016, p. 30; A. Dessardo, *Le ultime trincee. Politica e vita scolastica a Trento e Trieste (1918-1923)*, Brescia, La Scuola, 2016, p. 5. For a more comprehensive overview of illiterate Italians' writings during WWI, see: A. Gibelli, *La letteratura degli illetterati*, in S. Luzzatto, G. Pedullà (edd.), *Atlante della letteratura italiana*, Vol. III: *Dal Romanticismo a oggi*, Turin, Einaudi, 2012, pp. 473-476.

⁵³ E. Sturani, *Le cartoline della grande guerra. Quali?*, in Cimorelli, Villari (edd.), *La grande*



Pic. 1. «Those listening to you might be enemies. The enemy has vigilant ears. Remember that everything you say could be recorded and could serve as a fact or moral indicator to spies, who are all the more fearsome as much as they are hidden»

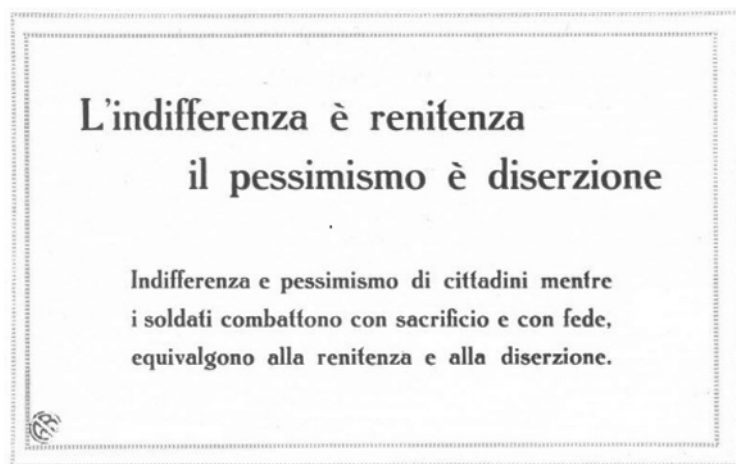
The UGII's postcards, on the contrary, utilized exclusively the written word, in the form of short didascalical sentences framed by ornamental lines in the colors of the Italian flag (as we can see in Picture 1, belonging to a series named «War Decalogue» and probably distributed after Caporetto)⁵⁴.

Printed against a white background, in big fonts, these postcards were easy to decode for readers with low levels of literacy (Pic. 2).

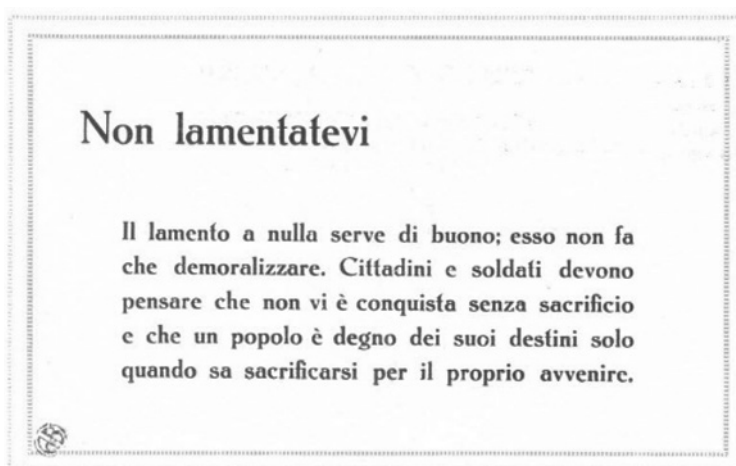
As the two examples above show, the «War Decalogue» favored apodictic tones, emphasized by the recurrent presence of bare and peremptory «mottos» and «slogans». As a matter of fact, the UGII's bulletins aimed to broadcast advisories and behavior advice to all Italian citizens, both civil and military. The «precepts» they expressed («Indifference is reluctance, pessimism is desertion»; «Those listening to you might be enemies. The enemy has vigilant ears»; «Do not complain»; «Emulate the fighters' sacrifices»; «Everyone can and must collaborate») were phrased like orders and intended to support the nation's morale and fight the enemy's propaganda. The insistent use of harsh consonant combinations (-rz-, -tr-, -cr-, -nz-, -chi-, -rv-) and close vowels (o, u)

guerra, Società, propaganda, consenso, cit., p. 83.

⁵⁴ Unione insegnanti per la guerra nazionale, sezione lombarda, *Il decalogo della guerra: dieci cartoline-manifesto*, s.l., s.d. (tra 1915 e 1918), 90x140 mm. The postcards in this series can be viewed online at <<http://graficheincomune.comune.milano.it/GraficheInComune/raccoltaimmagini/CartRaccoltaBertarelli/PrimaGuerraMondiale>> (last access: 30.04.2019).



Pic. 2. «Indifference is reluctance, pessimism is desertion. Civil indifference and pessimism, while our soldiers are fighting with faith and sacrifice, equal reluctance and desertion»



Pic. 3. «Do not complain. Complaining doesn't serve any good; it does but demoralize. Citizens and soldiers must think that there is no conquest without sacrifice and that a people is worthy of its destiny only when it knows to sacrifice itself for its future»

was indirectly evocative of negative sensations and feelings of danger, against which everyone was called to combat (Pic. 3).

On a syntactic level, the frequent occurrence of a simple and plain communicative register, the use of short and incisive sentences, and the paratactic style – stylistic features that had been popularized by the literary avantgardes



Pic. 4. «The War Decalogue. Ten postcards-manifesto from the Union of Teachers for the National War (Lombardy Section)»

since the beginning of the twentieth century – rendered these texts immediately understandable even to less literate social classes. Moreover, catchphrases and slogans based on binary oppositions belonged to a communicative style typical of advertising which, presupposing that the audience was easy to influence, anticipated Benito Mussolini's and the Fascist regime's rhetoric⁵⁵.

As stated above, many of the postcards published during WWI had a clear educational intent. What, then, was the educational paradigm they revealed? The UGII's pedagogy was clearly «authoritarian», as is demonstrated by several elements; first and foremost, by the very title of the series⁵⁶. For the UGII's members, naming a series of popular postcards «War Decalogue» was tantamount to positing themselves in the role of leaders in matters regarding collective behavioral norms, and implicitly placing themselves in a higher position than the audience. The very use of the word «Decalogue», rich in biblical reverberations, reinforced their authority even further, by conferring the texts a sacral aura that left no room for dissent (Pic. 4).

⁵⁵ M.R. Capozzi, *I linguaggi della persuasione: propaganda e pubblicità*, «Gentes», n. 1, 2014, pp. 99-106. On the language of politics at the beginning of the twentieth century, see also: P.V. Mengaldo, *Storia della lingua italiana. Il Novecento*, Bologna, il Mulino, 1994.

⁵⁶ A definition of «authoritarian» pedagogical model has been articulated, among others, by Giovanni Maria Bertin: «The 'authoritarian' [pedagogical] model reflects a pedagogy requiring, in its strictest form [...], full submission to the chief's orders, who embodies the superior will of the State. Such pedagogy intends to eradicate any individual inclination to live in the spontaneity of one's own existence, to impose iron discipline and self-abnegation habits, and to channel fanatic enthusiasms towards collective myths such as race, blood, and nation» (cfr. G.M. Bertin, *Educazione alla ragione. Lezioni di pedagogia generale*, Rome, Armando editore, 1995, p. 61).

Furthermore, the use of the plural form of the pronoun «you» evokes the traditional pedagogical setting of the «one-to-many» kind, which postulates a hierarchy between the interlocutors, implying the receiver's inferiority. Although schools at the time were far from this model, the UGII viewed its actions as «popularizing» elitist culture, not as valorizing popular culture. This cultural position was indeed deeply rooted, so much so that Giuseppe Lombardo Radice had criticized it in his 1915 essay *Come si uccidono le anime*:

We used to have a *popular culture* (of the people); now we have a *popularized culture* (given to the people). The former was a coarse plant that could be refined; the latter is a garden plant that becomes barbaric. The former was an ascent; the latter is a descent. The culture of the people once lied in its legends, its fables, [...]. The culture of the people nowadays is no longer born within it. It is the culture of the superior class... which is given to, descends onto the people⁵⁷.

In opposition, then, to the idealist thinking expressed by Lombardo Radice, it seems that the UGII's pedagogy took shape functionally to a war pedagogy, in which the popular classes were viewed as strategic tools, in a mixture of paternalism and social engagement. However, as we mentioned above, the exclusive use of the Italian language – in the postcards as well as in the trenches magazines⁵⁸ – rendered these materials tools for the learning of the national language in addition to the traditional learning foundations, the school system and the army⁵⁹. Therefore, these patriotic postcards became instrumental in fighting illiteracy and promoting the realization of the much-wished-for unification process on a civil, linguistic, and cultural level, potentially addressing everyone from school-aged children to the adult population.

6. *Patriotic Postcards and the Building of a Collective Memory: The Series «Italia» and Mazzinian Writings.*

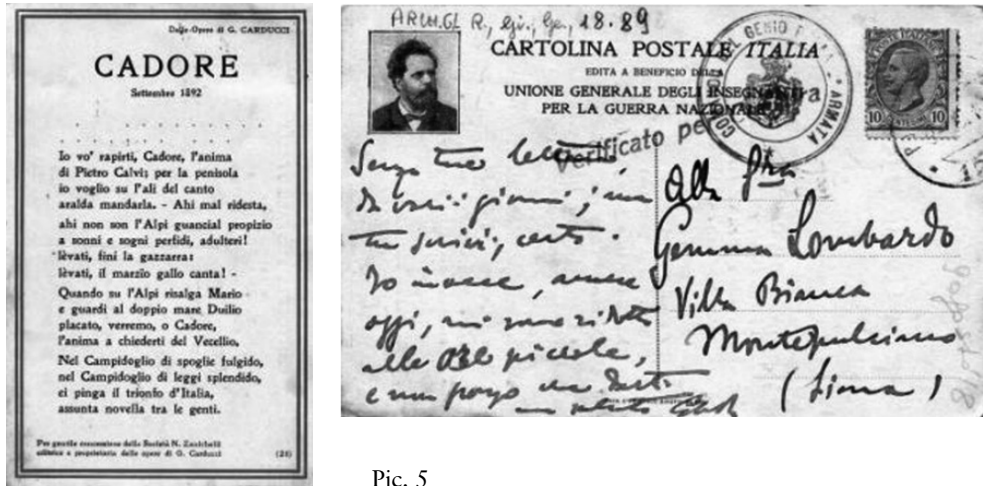
Another aspect that should not be overlooked is the possibility of interpreting these postcards as expressions of a «collective memory» shaped through authors and key episodes of Italian history. The group of postcards that the Lombard UGII dedicated to the popularization of Risorgimento, through excerpts taken from the great classics of Italian literature, has precisely these characteristics⁶⁰.

⁵⁷ G. Lombardo Radice, *Come si uccidono le anime*, Catania, Francesco Battiato Editore, 1915, pp. 75-76.

⁵⁸ I. Mattioni, *Quale futuro? L'educazione delle giovani generazioni*, «Nuova Secondaria», n. 9, 2018, pp. 38 ff.

⁵⁹ On the trenches magazines, see: L. Giuliani, A. Villari (edd.), *Offensiva di carta. La Grande Guerra illustrata. Catalogo della mostra (Udine, 1 aprile 2017-7 gennaio 2018)*, Cinisello Balsamo, Silvana Editoriale, 2018.

⁶⁰ The term «Risorgimento» refers to the process of Italian political unification, as well as the



Pic. 5

These postcards celebrated emblematic figures of the Italian Risorgimento in emphatic late-Romantic style or quoted excerpts from literary texts written by the great authors of Italian literature, from Dante to Petrarca, from Giuseppe Mazzini to Giovanni Pascoli and Giosuè Carducci. In this case, the intended audience belonged to higher social classes, and it is perhaps not a coincidence that in 1918 Giuseppe Lombardo Radice used one of these postcards to try and contact his wife Gemma, from whom he had not had news in a long time (at that time, Lombardo Radice was enrolled in the «Servizio P» which, as we mentioned above, had been established after Caporetto in order to increase vigilance, assistance, and propaganda activities within the army (Pic. 5)⁶¹.

The political and ideological reasons behind such a «high brow» project might be connected to the «idealization of the conflict» recently defined by Edoardo Bressan: WWI started as a traditional conflict to regulate political tensions «with other means», but it soon assumed «different characteristics in relation to the ability to involve the entire population» and, after 1917, it became more ideologized, «if only to justify the sacrifices it required». In this

period of time when this happened. The process ended in 1861 with the proclamation of the Regno d'Italia, with Turin as its capital (Rome became the Italian capital only in 1871).

⁶¹ Even pedagogist Giuseppe Lombardo Radice utilized patriotic postcards to communicate with his wife, Giovanna Harasim. In this case, he chose a poem by Giosuè Carducci celebrating the area of Cadore, one of the war zones during WWI. See: G. Carducci, *Cadore*, but also G. Mazzini, *La neutralità è un errore*, Milan, Tipografia sociale, 1918, <http://www.14-18.it/cartolina/MSD_ALR191880A/002?search=37a6259cc0c1dae299a7866489dff0bd&searchPos=50> (last access 30.04.2019).

sense, Bressan continues, the conflict had to «move up to a higher level» and be presented «as a clash of value systems», which is in fact what happened⁶².

In building a value system that would justify the conflict, Carducci's and Mazzini's works took on a particularly relevant role, at least for the Lombard UGII, which largely utilized both authors' works. Carducci's poems were featured in a series of twenty-four poems entitled *Italia*⁶³, and excerpts from Mazzini's works were featured in at least ten postcards aimed at popularizing his works⁶⁴.

What are the reasons behind the preference given to these two authors? One reason is certainly the literary nature of their works, Mazzini and Carducci being presented as champions of Italian prose and poetry respectively. Choosing both authors ensured to reach all categories of readers, but it is also obvious that, in such a delicate moment for Italian national life, literary and stylistic reasons alone are not enough to explain the committee's editorial choices. A deeper reason is to be found in the contents and political messages expressed by the two authors, both in their works and through their personal lives.

By choosing Mazzini's writings, the UGII sided with the cultural avantgardes (the Futurists, the *Lacerba* and *La Voce* writers, Giuseppe Ungaretti, and so on) which posited themselves among those who thought the Risorgimento revolution was incomplete from the point of view of moral and territorial unification⁶⁵. This feeling was shared throughout the country, where the «restless generation of those born in the [18]70s» and «the number of young intellectuals of the [18]80s, born too late to participate in the Independence Wars and too early to take part in the Africa campaign», aspired, through the conquest of the unredeemed lands, to go beyond Giolitti's politics pragmatism and resume the project their grandparents had left interrupted⁶⁶. Thus, in the postcards dedicated to Mazzini, one finds some of the recurrent themes in the cultural debate of the time: the fatherland as a space for freedom and law (Pic. 6)⁶⁷, the national borders extending all the way to Northern Friuli, Trieste,

⁶² E. Bressan, *La democrazia perduta e ritrovata: l'Italia dal dopoguerra all'età dei totalitarismi*, «Nuova Secondaria», n. 9, 2018, p. 43.

⁶³ *Italia dalle opere di Giosuè Carducci: serie di ventiquattro cartoline edite a beneficio della Unione generale degli insegnanti per la guerra nazionale, sezione Lombardia*, Milan, prem. stab. Enrico Bonetti, [1917?], postcards 14x9 cm.

⁶⁴ So far we have traced ten titles to Mazzinian writings: *I nostri confini* (exceroted from *La pace*), *La nazionalità è santa*, *La patria* (from *Lettera a tre tedeschi*), *La neutralità è ateismo politico*, *La neutralità è un errore* (from *Scritti politici*), *La Monarchia universale e le Nazioni*, *Nazione è missione*, *La parola di Caino* (from *Politica internazionale*), *La vita* (da *La réforme intellectuelle et morale* di E. Renan), *Il compito dei viventi* e *Spirito di associazione e d'idealità* (from *Doveri dell'uomo*). We have researched both in libraries and on line, even on collectors' websites.

⁶⁵ R. Gennaro, *La Grande Guerra e l'italianità: Il discorso nazionale di Giuseppe Ungaretti*, «Forum Italicum», n. 1, 2016, p. 70.

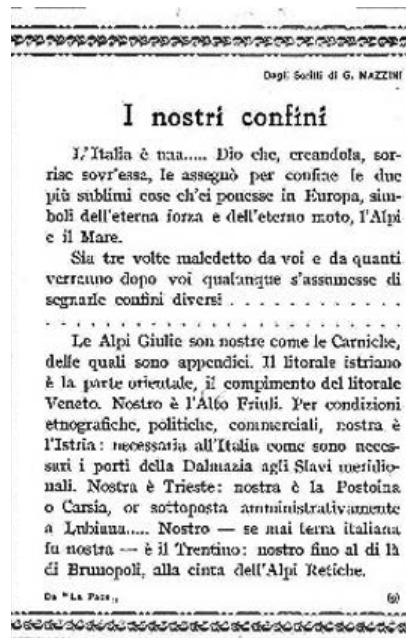
⁶⁶ Dessardo, *Le ultime trincee. Politica e vita scolastica a Trento e Trieste (1918-1923)*, cit., pp. 27-60.

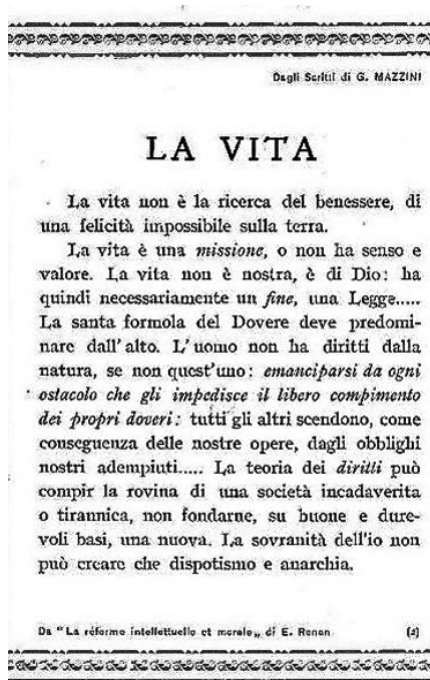
⁶⁷ For this and the following images, see the collectors' website Del Campe, accessed on April

Pic. 6. «Fatherland. I adore my fatherland, because I adore my fatherland; [I adore] our freedom, because I believe in freedom; [I adore] our rights, because I believe in rights... Our fatherland, benefitting al fatherlands... I abhor a usurping country, soaked with monopoly which views its own power and greatness only in the weakness and poverty of others»

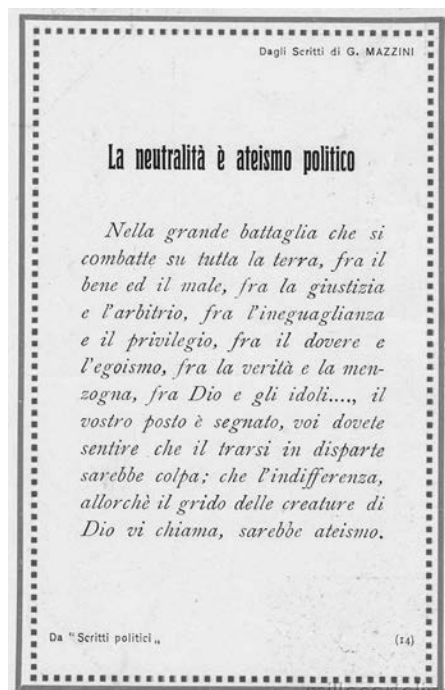


Pic. 7. «Our borders. Italy is one. God who, in creating her, smiled upon her, established as her borders two among the most sublime things he placed in Europe: the Alps and the Sea, symbols of eternal strength and eternal motion. Three times be cursed by you and those who will come after you anyone who decided to give her different borders... The Giulie Alps belong to us, as do the Carniche [Alps], of which they are appendixes. The Istrian coast is our eastern part, completing the Venetian coast. Ours is Northern Friuli. Because of ethnographic, political, and commercial reasons, also ours is Istria, which is necessary to Italy in the same way that Dalmatia's ports are necessary to southern Slavs. Ours is Trieste: ours is Postoina or Carsia, now administratively subjected to Lubiana... Ours – if ever Italian land was ours – is Trentino: ours up beyond Brunopoli, to the belt of the Retiche Alps»





Pic. 8. «Life. Life is not the research for well-being, for a happiness unattainable on earth. Life is a *mission*, otherwise it does not have meaning nor value. Life is not ours, but God's: therefore it has, by necessity, a *purpose*, a Law... Duty's saintly formula must prevail from above. Man does not have any rights from nature, except for this one: *to emancipate oneself from every obstacle which prevents him from fulfilling his duties*: all other rights are consequences derived from our works, from the duties we have fulfilled... The theory of *rights* can ruin a corpse-like or tyrannical society, it cannot build a new society on new and long-lasting bases. The sovereignty of the I cannot but create despotism and anarchy»



Pic. 9. «Neutrality is Political Atheism. In the great battle which is being fought on earth between good and evil, justice and personal whim, inequality and privilege, duty and selfishness, truth and lies, God and false idols..., your place has been assigned, you must feel that it would be a fault to step to the side; that indifference, whenever the cry of God's creatures calls you, would be atheism»

Istria and Brunico (Pic. 7)⁶⁸, the subordination of individual rights to a higher spirit of duty (Pic. 8)⁶⁹, and neutrality as a disaster for the peoples (Pic. 9)⁷⁰.

Of course, similarly to what Giovanni Gentile and the Fascist movement would do a few years later⁷¹, the UGII omitted those aspects of Mazzini's work that were, at the time, less acceptable, that is to say his Republican ideals. On the contrary, they emphasized:

His spiritualist conception of the world; his religious character; his aversion to individualism; his notions of State and Nation [...]; his belief in an all-encompassing way of understanding human life; his diffidence towards the mechanic liberalism put forward by abstract classical economics, and therefore the reorganization of social forces into a body subjugated to the ethical State by way of economic laws⁷².

Mazzini expressed his Risorgimento aspirations using abstract images, as well as mottoes, slogans, and a «solemn, literary, at times even conventional» language that was close to the UGII's expressive style (as Gentile put it, Mazzini didn't aim «to educate, but to shake and inflame»)⁷³.

The postcard *Il compito dei viventi* («The Task of the Living», Pic. 10) is a telling example of this. In this postcard, the biblical exhortation to «contemplate the creation» is juxtaposed to crude realism («The world is not a spectacle, it is a fighting arena»), and the whole army («soldiers or ranks, victors or martyrs») are called to defend «the just, the saintly, the beautiful» – the ethical, religious, and aesthetic values, that is, on which Italy should be founded as a nation⁷⁴.

30, 2019: <<https://www.delcampe.net/it/collezionismo/cartoline/scuole/cartolina-postale-patria-e-umanita-edita-da-unione-generale-insegnanti-lombardia-con-frasi-di-giuseppe-mazzini-132058220.html>>.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, <<https://www.delcampe.net/it/collezionismo/cartoline/scuole/cartolina-postale-patria-e-umanita-edita-da-unione-generale-insegnanti-lombardia-con-frasi-di-giuseppe-mazzini-132058225.html>>.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, <<https://www.delcampe.net/it/collezionismo/cartoline/scuole/cartolina-postale-patria-e-umanita-edita-da-unione-generale-insegnanti-lombardia-con-frasi-di-giuseppe-mazzini-132058203.html>>.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, <<https://www.delcampe.net/it/collezionismo/cartoline/scuole/cartolina-postale-patria-e-umanita-edita-da-unione-generale-insegnanti-lombardia-con-frasi-di-giuseppe-mazzini-132058213.html>>.

See also the postcards held at the Bertarelli Archive: <<http://graficheincomune.comune.milano.it/GraficheInComune/immagine/CART.GUERRA.1914-1918.3.133>>.

⁷¹ C. Gigante, *Scrittori del Risorgimento «precursori del fascismo»? A proposito di un luogo comune della storiografia letteraria fascista*, «Intersezioni», n. 3, 2011, pp. 349-368.

⁷² G. Gentile, *I profeti del Risorgimento italiano*, Florence, Vallecchi, 1923, pp. 151-152.

⁷³ These are Francesco De Santis's words, quoted in G. Petronio, *L'autore e il pubblico*, Pordenone, Studio Tesi, 1981, p. 168 and more recently in L. Fournier-Finocchiario, *L'évolution de l'inspiration poétique républicaine de Mameli à Carducci: de l'antimonarchisme mazzinien et jacobin à la «démocratie dynastique»*, «Laboratoire italien. Politique et société», n. 19, 2017, available online at <<https://journals.openedition.org/laboratoireitalien/1287>> (last access: 30.04.2019).

⁷⁴ <<https://www.delcampe.net/it/collezionismo/cartoline/scuole/cartolina-postale-patria-e-umanita-edita-da-unione-generale-insegnanti-lombardia-con-frasi-di-giuseppe-mazzini-132058194.html>> (last access: 30.04.2019).



Pic. 10. «The Task of the Living. We are here to transform, not to contemplate, creation. The world is not a spectacle, it is a fighting arena, where those who care about what is just, saintly, and beautiful must do their part, be they soldiers or ranks, victors or martyrs»

Together with Mazzini, the poet Giosuè Carducci was also often quoted in the UGII's patriotic postcards; in particular, a series of twenty-four poem was dedicated to his works. It is well known that Carducci, a professor and poet close to the post-unitarian democratic left, went from the Jacobin leanings of his youth to full acceptance of the monarchy as a legitimate institution. By proposing Carducci's poems, then, the UGII sided with the Italian radical left currents that supported military intervention and, at the same time, broadcasted typical interventionist themes such as the myth of Rome (see Carducci's poem *Nell'annuale della fondazione di Roma*, «On the Anniversary of the Founding of Rome») and Italy's greatness (see Carducci's poems *La società Dante Alighieri*, «The Dante Alighieri Society»; *Per il tricolore*, «For the Tricolor»; *Saluto italico*, «Italic Salute»), commemorating emblematic figures of the national building process such as Dante, Petrarch (*Presso la tomba di Francesco Petrarca*, «By Francesco Petrarca's Grave»), Leopardi (*Allo scoprimento del busto di Giacomo Leopardi*, «At the Unveiling of Giacomo Leopardi's Bust»), and Pascoli (*La grande proletaria s'è mossa*, «The Great Proletarian Has Moved»), or figures of emblematic moral stature such as Giuseppe Garibaldi (*Per la morte di Giuseppe Garibaldi*, «In Giuseppe Garibaldi's Death»), Guglielmo Oberdan (*XXI dicembre 1882*, «December 21, 1882») and the Mazzinian Antonio Fratti (*Ad Antonio Fratti*, «To Antonio Fratti»).

However, the UGII's predilection for Carducci was not unambiguous, as was its broader cultural agenda. As Tullio De Mauro has repeatedly underlined in his *Storia linguistica dell'Italia unita*, Carducci «the democrat», he who had wanted to «make himself a teacher of the youth»⁷⁵, had been a fierce opponent of mandatory schooling, like many other members of the Italian ruling class, «from the most conservative Catholics to the moderate liberals like Sonnino, to the radical liberal»⁷⁶. This contradiction was analogous to another ambiguity in Carducci's thought because, while he claimed the centrality of the popular element in literature and history, he saw Roman antiquity and its artistic forms as the origins of the literary culture onto which a newly-found national unity should be founded⁷⁷. There was, therefore, a discrepancy between Carducci's educational goal to form the younger generations by inciting them to «participate constructively in the Nation's civil life»⁷⁸, and the high and classical-sounding expressive style through which he conveyed this very message, a style which excluded the same «people» that Carducci wanted to attract. Marcello Ciccuto draws attention to this discrepancy. In his words:

What leaves us at a loss is precisely the ambiguity of Carducci's solution, the contrast between, on the one hand, his insisted affirmation of popular values, his assertion of collective creativity on the part of the whole people, of the work of art and, lastly, the 'Romantic' values of reality and, on the other hand, his choices for aulic expressive classicism and highly refined, neoclassic poetic solutions akin to the tones of Vergil and Horace especially⁷⁹.

Such a contradiction applied not only to Carducci, but also to the UGII's whole cultural endeavor: on the one hand, the UGII had the ambition to revive the patriotic and civil spirit of all Italians; on the other, in order to do so, it utilized a medium – the written word – that could reach only the literate part of the population. This medium was quantitatively less efficient than iconographic representations, yet it did attract those readers who knew the rudiments of reading and writing and had the opportunity to strengthen their skills thanks to the UGII's patriotic postcards.

⁷⁵ E. Elli, *Un'idea di canone. Foscolo, Carducci, Pascoli*, Novara, Interlinea, 2006, p. 95.

⁷⁶ «In his dispute against mandatory schooling, Carducci 'the democrat' came to agree with the most conservative fringes of Italy's Catholic and liberal factions» (cfr. De Mauro, *Storia linguistica dell'Italia unita*, cit., pp. 47, 147 [my transl.]).

⁷⁷ Elli, *Un'idea di canone*, cit., p. 94.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 95.

⁷⁹ M. Ciccuto, *La poesia di Giosuè Carducci tra luci classiche e ombre medievali*, Modena, Mucchi, 1994 [my transl.]. On Carducci's legacy to post-Risorgimento generations as an «incessant re-elaboration of the theme or origin», see: A. Scotto di Luzio, *Udire Carducci*, in Luzzatto, Pedullà (edd.), *Atlante della letteratura italiana*, Vol. III: *Dal Romanticismo a oggi*, cit., pp. 294-300.

Periodical press for University professors in Italy between war and post-war period (1939-1960)

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ABSTRACT: This contribution intends to introduce and to analyse the origin, the development and the main topics published in the most important journals for University professors in Italy between the Second World War and the Second Post-War period. In particular, the author examines three periodicals which can be considered as the indispensable reference point for Italian academic world during the other following periods. They deal with «Gli Annali della Università d'Italia» (1939-1943) [The Annals of the University of Italy], edited by Giuseppe Giustini and founded by the Fascist Minister of National Education, Giuseppe Bottai, with the declared aim «at examining the study of our University in the multiple aspects of its structures and functions»; «L'Università italiana» (1946-1949) [The Italian University], edited by Giuseppe Caronia and mainly inspired by Nicola Spano, immediately considered the national journal of the entire academic community and «faithful mirror of the different currents of thought and material and spiritual needs of all the Italian universities»; and «Il Giornale dell'Università» (1951-1960) [The University Journal], as the expression of the National Association of Professors and the «journal of the Italian university life in the multiplicity of its aspects». Through a careful and meticulous analysis of the contents of several issues for the three publications examined – that are important communication tools within the academic world, as well as a sounding-board of university problems within the society of the time –, it is possible to reconstruct the most significant steps of a delicate period for the Italian university from a historical and legislative point of view: first, between anxieties and fears linked to the difficulties of the Second World War, then in the urgent need for moral and material reconstruction of the entire university system.

EET/TEE KEYWORDS: History of university; Higher education; Journals; Italy; XXth Century.

Introduction

Italian historiography on Higher Education and Universities¹ paid little attention to the numerous periodical publications for professors. In fact, contrary to what happened to school magazines for primary and secondary teachers of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries around which a systematic investigation was developed by a real national research team composed of a large number of scholars from different Italian universities², specialists in History of Higher Education and Universities preferred to concentrate mainly on student magazines³ starting from the late 1980s. Only in recent years, some scholars have decided to launch a series of preliminary reflections on periodical publications for professors, a source which has been ignored or scarcely used up to now, but it seems destined to be very useful in rebuilding the most significant steps in the History of the whole Italian Higher Education System⁴ with a rigorous wealth of details, if properly investigated.

¹ See 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; M. Moretti, *La storia dell'Università italiana in età contemporanea. Ricerche e prospettive*, in *ibid.*, pp. 335-381; G. Fois, *La ricerca storica sull'Università italiana in età contemporanea. Rassegna degli studi*, «Annali di storia delle università italiane», vol. 3, 1999, pp. 241-257; J. García Martín, *Historiografía sobre universidades en Italia. Épocas Moderna y Contemporánea*, in L.E. Rodríguez-San Pedro Bezares, J.L. Polo Rodríguez (edd.), *Historiografía y líneas de investigación en historia de las universidades: Europa Mediterránea e iberoamérica*, Salamanca, Ediciones Universidad de Salamanca, 2011, pp. 137-178; 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.

² See 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.), *Il libro per la scuola tra Sette e Ottocento*, Brescia, La Scuola, 2000; Id. (ed.), *TESEO. Testi e Editori Scolastico-Educativi dell'Ottocento*, Milan, Editrice Bibliografica, 2003; Id. (ed.), *TESEO '900. Editori scolastico-educativi del primo Novecento*, Milan, Editrice Bibliografica, 2008. On this investigation see also R. Sani, *Il mio itinerario formativo e di ricerca nell'ambito della Storia dell'educazione*, in S. Ulivieri, L. Cantatore, F.C. Ugolini (edd.), *La mia Pedagogia. Atti della prima Summer School SIPED*, Pisa, Ets, 2015, pp. 133-173.

³ For what concern the nineties, see G. Quagliariello, *Studenti e politica: dalla crisi della goliardia prefascista al primo congresso nazionale universitario (1925-1946)*, Manduria, Lacaita, 1987; *Gaudeamus igitur. Studenti e goliardia 1888-1923*, Bologna, University Press, 1995. But see also the important works which appeared in these years on undergraduates' journals and university students' associationism: N. De Giacomo, G. Orsina, G. Quagliariello, *Catalogo delle riviste studentesche*, Manduria, Lacaita (Archivio per la storia dell'associazionismo e delle istituzioni studentesche), 1999; M. Griffo, *L'Archivio per la storia dell'associazionismo e delle istituzioni studentesche*, «Le Carte e la Storia», vol. 1, 1995, pp. 133-137; P. Dessi, D. Negrini, M. Zuccoli, *Stampa studentesca e digital library: l'esperienza dell'Università di Bologna*, «Annali di storia delle università italiane», vol. 10, 2006, pp. 407-411.

⁴ See in particular G. Ricuperati, *Per una storia dell'università italiana da Gentile a Bottai: appunti e discussioni*, in I. Porciani (ed.), *L'Università tra Otto e Novecento: i modelli europei e il caso italiano*, Naples, Jovene Editore, 1994, pp. 311-377; M. Moretti, «Noi e le nostre università».

Now, it seems indispensable to point out that, unlike the numerous school periodicals, expression of many varied ideological positions, the university periodical press had as its peculiar aspect a few permanent newspapers, rarely overlapped on a chronological level. As pointed out by Mauro Moretti, if it is true that important generalist magazines such as «Nuova Antologia» [New Anthology], «Il Marzocco» [The Marzocco], «Rivista d'Italia» [The Italian Magazine], «Il Regno» [The Kingdom], «Rassegna nazionale» [The National Review]; sectorial magazines such as «Rivista pedagogica» [The Pedagogical Magazine] and «Nuovi doveri» [New Tasks]; «political» bodies in a broad sense such as «Civiltà Cattolica» [Catholic Civilization] or «Critica sociale» [Social Critics]⁵, or association periodicals such as «Studium», as well as press bodies referring to different academic-professional fields (from legal magazines to medical ones)⁶ also devoted themselves to universities between the nineteenth and the twentieth centuries, it is equally undeniable that the subset made up of periodicals for professors – mainly showing the positions of professors on the permanent staff – is extremely reduced in size and mainly composed of publications which, although in different periods, acted not only as internal communication tools within the academic world, but above all as a sounding-board for considerable national university problems, until they are considered – in some cases – as real *cahiers de doléances* about various and complex problems for Higher Education with the clear intent to root out that developed negative public image of the academic world in the respective coeval societies from one hand and to influence the decisions of the political class of the time from the other hand.

These goals were obviously destined to also reflect on the editorial structure of edited publications which, therefore, aimed at acting as information and orientation tools about everything referring to universities. In fact, they ended up offering the reader several pages which can be commonly found in all periodicals for professors. So, for example, in addition to more institutional pages showing parliamentary and legislative page news with the reproduction of official texts and documents or news about minor legislation and administrative measures

Schede sulle riviste professorali italiane fra Otto e Novecento, in G. Angelozzi, M.T. Guerrini, G. Olmi (edd.), *Università e formazione dei ceti dirigenti. Per Gian Paolo Brizzi, pellegrino dei saperi*, Bologna, Bononia University Press, 2015, pp. 521-538; L. Pomante, *Giuseppe Bottai e il rinnovamento fascista dell'Università italiana (1936-1942)*, Milan, FrancoAngeli, 2018 (in particular pp. 31-54).

⁵ See E. Morgana, *Il problema universitario nell'ultimo decennio del secolo XIX attraverso le pagine di «Civiltà Cattolica»*, in F. De Vivo, G. Genovesi (edd.), *Cento anni di università. L'istruzione superiore in Italia dall'Unità ai giorni nostri*, Naples, Edizioni Scientifiche Italiane, 1986, pp. 155-163; G. Genovesi, «Critica Sociale» e questione universitaria, in *Scuola e società nel socialismo riformista (1891-1926). Battaglie per l'istruzione popolare e dibattito sulla "questione femminile"*, Florence, Sansoni, 1982, pp. 145-182.

⁶ Moretti, «Noi e le nostre università». *Schede sulle riviste professorali italiane fra Otto e Novecento*, cit., pp. 525-526.

taken in university education or containing information about competitions and commissions or reports for academic ceremonies in each venue (inaugural speeches, texts of prologues, etc.), there were other parts of these publications containing reconstructions and examinations about the history of the Italian Universities which were able to claim the 'glorious' traditions of the oldest Italian universities, reflections on various aspects of the international situation in Higher Education, as well as real concerted discussions with harsh and irritated tones about questions on current and broad-ranging issues raised by the editorial staff of each newspaper and mainly referring to more urgent needs or the main critical aspects of the Italian Higher Education System. Of course, we do not have to forget that each issue of these magazines constantly has current and retrospective bibliographies and detailed press reviews on conferences or university events which allowed the professor a continuing education about the scientific production of their colleagues and also constituted an open window on the entire national and international academic world.

If we exclude numerous university periodicals published by individual firms from our reconstruction, because they were real occasional editorial adventures, often linked to the initiative of individual rectors or professors and, therefore, exhausted in a few numbers without any regular periodicity, the real start year of this series of national periodicals for professors can be identified in 1887, with the congress of professors held in Milan. On that occasion, the so-called «Società dei professori» [Society of Professors] was precisely set up by the will of some academics, mostly coming from Bologna, with the publication of «L'Università: rivista dell'istruzione superiore pubblicata da una società di professori» [University: a Higher Education Magazine published by a society of professors], published in Bologna between 1887 and 1891⁷. The goals of this publishing initiative were clearly stated during the conference in Milan: it was a matter of ensuring a «'competent treatment', able to provide the Parliament with a 'new light in order to carry out the organic reforms within the Higher Education'»⁸ to the «unresolved» and serious problems of the Italian University System.

The birth of «L'Unione Universitaria. Periodico mensile tra i professori universitari italiani» [The University Union. Monthly Periodical among Italian Professors] dates back to the year 1894, published by the editor Carlo Nava

⁷ See Società per la pubblicazione del periodico «L'Università», *Statuto della Società per la pubblicazione del periodico L'Università, rivista dell'istruzione superiore*, Bologna, Tip. Fava e Garagnani, 1887 and A. Verrocchio, *I docenti universitari tra Ottocento e Novecento. Carriere, condizione economica e stato giuridico*, «Italia contemporanea», vol. 49, n. 206, 1997, pp. 65-86. As Verrocchio emphasizes this Society of Professors was not yet a real trade association, or organization that is the result of maturing within the higher education of a spirit of body, but an associative reality engaged exclusively in the preparation of a journal on problems of the higher order.

⁸ A. Labriola, *La laurea di filosofia*, in N. Siciliani De Cumis, *Filosofia ed Università. Da Labriola a Vailati 1882-1902*, Urbino, Argalia, 1975, p. 116.

and edited by the Medicine Professor Domenico Barduzzi⁹ in Siena until 1897. This new publication, which would have welcomed articles by celebrities such as Domenico Zanichelli, Arturo Labriola, Cesare Lombroso, Enrico Morselli and Vittorio Emanuele Orlando in a common front «without distinction of political leanings»¹⁰, was animated by the precise will of «offering all the means to those who are in university life in order to expose their ideas and to discuss [...] all the different opinions which are inspired by the loyal conviction of bringing benefit to studies and their dignity»¹¹.

A few years later, in 1902, what can be considered the most long-lived periodical for professors, «L'Università italiana: rivista dell'istruzione superiore» [The Italian University: Higher Education Magazine] saw the light for the publishing house Zamorani and Albertazzi in Bologna again and would have suspended its publications only in 1942. This magazine, which would have had a fortnightly issue for the first nine years of life and would have been then changed into a monthly periodical from 1911, was indeed the ideal continuation of the above-mentioned «L'Unione Universitaria» [The University Union] and would have had on its pages – in about forty years of activity¹² – all the opinions and the points of view of the most important Italian intellectuals and academics during the first half of the twentieth century, which were often different from the ideological point of view, but connected by the shared will of making the magazine «a potential place of condensation for the academic community»¹³.

If another important periodical for professors, that is the «Bollettino dell'Associazione nazionale fra i professori universitari» [Bulletin of the National Association among Professors], initially published by the editor Prosperini¹⁴ in Padua as an official body of the new-born ANPU – Associazione Nazionale fra i Professori Universitari [National Association among Professors] – and born in October 1905, after a gestation of almost two years¹⁵, can be traced to the period

⁹ See D. Cherubini, *Alle origini dei partiti: la Federazione socialista toscana, 1893-1900*, Manduria, Lacaita, 1997; *Dal villaggio al villaggio: il giornalismo a Siena dalle origini alla rete*, Siena, Protagon editori toscani, 2001; A. Cardini, *Storia di Siena dal Risorgimento al Miracolo economico: la città medievale in età contemporanea. Un paradigma italiano (1861-1961)*, Florence, Nerbini, 2009.

¹⁰ G. Pansini, *La Toscana nell'Italia unita: aspetti e momenti di storia toscana, 1861-1945*, Florence, Unione regionale delle province toscane, 1962, p. 542.

¹¹ L. Andreassi et al., *Domenico Barduzzi (1847-1929)*, Siena, Accademia delle Scienze di Siena detta dei Fisiocritici, 1987, p. 22.

¹² In reality the publications were suspended from 1920 to 1922 and then resumed uninterruptedly until 1942.

¹³ Moretti, «Noi e le nostre università». *Schede sulle riviste professorali italiane fra Otto e Novecento*, cit., pp. 529-530.

¹⁴ The journal's press office will be closely linked to the academic location of the various presidents of the Association.

¹⁵ On ANPU see M. Moretti, *L'Associazione Nazionale fra i Professori Universitari e la politica universitaria nell'età giolittiana. Note ed osservazioni*, in A. Romano (ed.), *Università*

preceding the first world war and more precisely to the chronological period from March 1906 to the first months in 1915, the prestigious magazine «Gli Annali della Università d'Italia. Rivista bimestrale dell'istruzione superiore» [The Annals of the University of Italy. Bimonthly Higher Education Magazine], published by the Ministry of Public Education in Rome from 1939 to 1943 with the declared aim «at examining the study of our university in the various aspects of its structure and its functions»¹⁶ dates back to the year of the outbreak of the Second World War. This publishing initiative, strongly supported by the Minister Giuseppe Bottai, dates back to the precise and intricate historical period of the last years of the Fascist regime, when the Italian University was preparing to directly and dramatically live the misfortune of the conflict but, above all, it already appeared more and more inadequate compared to an almost definitely changed society.

In this difficult phase of transition between the Fascist and the Republican Italy, two other important and closely related periodical publications for professors took root: «L'Università italiana. Quindicinale di informazioni universitarie» [The Italian University. Fortnightly publication about university information], printed between 1946 and 1949 and considered the national newspaper of the entire academic community since the first number, and its declared continuation «Il Giornale dell'Università. Organo degli atenei d'Italia» [The University Journal. Body of the Italian universities], edited by ANPUR – Associazione Nazionale dei Professori Universitari di Ruolo [National Association of Professors on the permanent staff]¹⁷ – and published in Florence from 1951 to 1960 not as a mere valuable newspaper, but as a «newspaper of Italian university life in its several aspects»¹⁸.

With the main goal of laying the basis for a first series of rigorous examinations and reflections on the Italian magazines for professors, this work modestly intends to focus its attention to the last three mentioned periodicals, which lived with more participation a period of delicate and fundamental transition for the whole country between Fascism and Post-Fascism. Specifically, their

in Europa. Le istituzioni universitarie dal Medio Evo ai nostri giorni. Strutture, organizzazione, funzionamento. Atti del Convegno Internazionale di Studi. Milazzo (28 settembre-2 ottobre 1993), Soveria Mannelli, Rubbettino, 1995, pp. 581-600; 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, pp. 370-380. On the first ANPU congresses see D. Zanichelli, Per i professori universitari, «Nuova antologia», vol. 41, November 1906, p. 466 and Un Congresso di professori universitari, «Il Marzocco», n. 34, 20 August 1906.

¹⁶ G. Giustini, «Gli Annali della Università d'Italia», «Gli Annali della Università d'Italia», vol. 1, n. 1, 29 October 1939, pp. 3-6.

¹⁷ On ANPUR see L. Pomante, «To bring our universities back to their former glory». The debate on the legal and economic status of university professors in the years after World War II on the pages of «L'Università italiana» (1946-1949), «History of Education & Children's Literature», vol. 12, n. 1, 2017, pp. 435-463.

¹⁸ E.P. Lamanna, Responsabilità, «Il Giornale dell'Università», vol. 1, nn. 1-2, p. 3.

pages offer a varied fresco about the complexities and the contradictions which characterized the Italian University in those years, from the Minister Giuseppe Bottai's attempt of starting a real «university revolution»¹⁹, going through the devastating years of the world war up to the second post-war period, when the University struggled to find the optimal set-up, in order to face new democratic challenges and to live those deep and radical transformations which the changed social needs would have imposed on its own physiognomy between the anxieties of the anti-Fascist purge²⁰ and the concrete ministerial commitment for a moral and material reconstruction of the Higher Education System²¹, which definitively and irreversibly changed it from an elite university into a mass one²².

¹⁹ See Pomante, *Giuseppe Bottai e il rinnovamento fascista dell'Università italiana (1936-1942)*, cit.

²⁰ See C. Washburne, *La riorganizzazione dell'istruzione in Italia*, «Scuola e Città», nn. 6-7, 1970, pp. 273-277; S.F. Withe, *Italian popular education between fascism and democracy 1943-1945: the work and legacy of the Allied Control Commission – Education Subcommission*, Charlottesville, University of Virginia Press, 1985; Id., *America and Reconstruction of Italian Education 1943-1962*, New York-London, Garland, 1991; A. Ascenzi, *Metamorfosi della cittadinanza. Studi e ricerche su insegnamento della storia, educazione civile e identità nazionale in Italia tra Otto e Novecento*, Macerata, eum, 2009; E. Pelleriti, «Italy in transition». *La vicenda degli Allied Military Professors negli Atenei siciliani fra emergenza e defascistizzazione*, Acireale, Bonanno, 2013.

²¹ For a careful evaluation of the Italian school and university conditions in the post war period, see: *La politica e la legislazione scolastica in Italia dal 1922 al 1943. Con cenni introduttivi sui periodi precedenti e una parte conclusiva sul periodo post-fascista, preparato dalla Sotto-Commissione dell'Educazione della Commissione Alleata in Italia e offerto al Ministero della P.I.*, Rome, Garzanti, 1947; Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione, *La scuola italiana dal 1946 al 1953*, Rome, Istituto Poligrafico dello Stato, 1953; *La rinascita dell'Italia (1945-1952)*, «Documenti di vita italiana», vol. 3, nn. 14-15, 1953, pp. 1003-1014; M. Di Domizio, *L'Università italiana. Lineamenti storici*, Milan, AVE, 1952, pp. 248-257; R. Fornaca, *I problemi della scuola italiana dal 1943 alla Costituente*, Rome, Armando, 1972; G. Ricuperati, *La scuola nell'Italia unita*, in *Storia d'Italia*, 6 vols., Turin, Einaudi, 1973, Vol. 5, Tome II, pp. 1695-1722; T. Tomasi, *La scuola italiana dalla dittatura alla Repubblica*, Rome, Editori riuniti, 1976; L. Ambrosoli, *La scuola in Italia dal dopoguerra ad oggi*, Bologna, il Mulino, 1982; M. Gattullo, A. Visalberghi, *La scuola italiana dal 1945 al 1983*, Scandicci, La Nuova Italia, 1988; G. Cives, *La scuola italiana dall'Unità ai nostri giorni*, Florence, La Nuova Italia, 1990 (in particular G. Luzzatto, *L'Università*, pp. 153-198); S. Sani, *La politica scolastica del Centro-Sinistra (1962-1968)*, Perugia, Morlacchi Editore, 2000 (in particular pp. 1-50); F. Bonini, *La politica universitaria nell'Italia repubblicana*, in G.P. Brizzi, P. Del Negro, A. Romano (edd.), *Storia delle Università in Italia*, 3 vols., Messina, Sicania, 2007, Vol. 1, pp. 425-459; M.G. Di Renzo Villata, *L'università al bivio. Dal fascismo alla democrazia: un vero rinnovamento? (1943-1948)*, «Annali di storia delle università italiane», vol. 22, n. 1, pp. 11-42.

²² See A. Romano, *A trent'anni dal '68. "Questione universitaria" e "riforma universitaria"*, «Annali di storia delle università italiane», vol. 2, 1998, pp. 9-35; G. Ricuperati, *Sulla storia recente dell'università italiana: riforme, disagi e problemi aperti*, «Annali di storia delle università italiane», vol. 5, 2001, pp. 9-30; A. Graziosi, *L'Università per tutti. Riforme e crisi del sistema universitario italiano*, Bologna, il Mulino, 2010; P. Prodi, *Università dentro e fuori*, Bologna, il Mulino, 2013.

1. «*Gli Annali della Università d'Italia. Rivista bimestrale dell'istruzione superiore*» [*The Annals of the University of Italy. Bimonthly Higher Education Magazine*]

On October 29th, 1939, the first number of «*Gli Annali della Università d'Italia. Rivista bimestrale dell'istruzione superiore*» [*The Annals of the University of Italy. Bimonthly Higher Education Magazine*], a successful and wise mixture «between men from ministerial bureaucracy, who led the game, and considerable professors, who gave more importance not only to their scientific skills, but also to each university»²³, was published by the publishing house Fratelli Palombi in Rome, thanks to the Ministry of Public Education.

Strongly desired by the Minister of Public Education Giuseppe Bottai, the new periodical, which would have changed its subtitle into «*Rivista bimestrale dell'ordine universitario*» [*Bimonthly Magazine of the University Order*] since the fourth issue on April 29th, 1940, was edited by Giuseppe Giustini, a Ministry Official of Public Education (he was a Higher Education General Headmaster from 1934) and a reliable man for the Minister²⁴. An Advisory Committee, mainly composed of national and international professors, coming from various disciplinary sectors (jurists, doctors, mathematicians, architects, historians, philosophers, scientists) – among them there were in particular «magnates» of the Italian academy, such as the historian Gioacchino Volpe, or former ministers such as Balbino Giuliano and Pietro De Francisci, as well as important constitutionalists such as the Head of State, Santi Romano²⁵ –, supported the editor's work. Instead, a specific editorial board, mainly composed of university

²³ Ricuperati, *Per una storia dell'università italiana da Gentile a Bottai: appunti e discussioni*, cit., p. 353. On «*Annali della Università d'Italia. Rivista bimestrale dell'Istruzione Superiore*», see *ibid.*, pp. 353-367, but also Pomante, *Giuseppe Bottai e il rinnovamento fascista dell'Università italiana (1936-1942)*, cit., pp. 31-54 and F. Casadei, «*Gli Annali della Università d'Italia*», 1939-1943, «*Italia contemporanea*», vol. 48, n. 204, 1996, pp. 545-554.

²⁴ Giuseppe Giustini was a senior official of the Ministry of National Education who, at that precise moment, held the position of Director General of Higher Education (in practice he was the Head of Cabinet of the Ministry held by Bottai) after having long been responsible of that average. In 1916 he had been secretary of Paolo Boselli.

²⁵ The Advisory Committee of the journal was formed by Gaspare Ambrosini (Ecclesiastical Law in Rome), Celestino Arena (Finance and Financial Law in Naples), Ugo Bordoni (Technical Physics in Rome), Rodolfo Bottacchiari (German Literature in Naples), Giuseppe Cardinali (Roman History in Rome), Dante De Blasi (Hygiene and Epidemiology in Rome), Pietro De Francisci (History of Roman Law in Rome), Gian Maria Fasiani (General Surgical Clinic and Surgical Therapy in Milan), Cesare Frugoni (Medical Clinic in Rome), Francesco Giordani (Electrotechnics in Naples), Balbino Giuliano (Moral Philosophy in Rome), Federico Millosevich (Mineralogy in Rome), Marcello Piacentini (Urban Planning in Rome), Santi Romano (Constitutional Law in Rome), Francesco Severi (Infinitesimal Analysis) in Rome), Filippo Silvestri (Entomologist in Naples), Giancarlo Vallauri (Electrotechnical Engineering in Rome), Gioacchino Volpe (Modern History in Rome). The only change inherent to the journal's advisory committee will be the replacement of the late Federico Millosevich, whose position, starting from the third issue of the fourth year of 28 February 1943, will be taken by Giotto Dainelli (Geology in Florence).

or ministerial administrative staff, represented an indispensable reference point for the ministry itself and the teaching staff and would have provided for the editorial management and the real functioning of the magazine (for example, Nicola Spano, managing director of the University of Rome, who will be the leading spirit of another important university periodical a few years later, as we shall see)²⁶.

Published every two months and consisting of issues with a variable number of pages, «Gli Annali della Università d'Italia» [The Annals of the University of Italy] were uninterruptedly published from October 29th, 1939, to September 1st, 1943, with rare black-and-white illustrations inside and a progressive numbering of the pages for the entire year²⁷. In all the twenty-four published numbers, the homogeneous editorial structure of the magazine had a first part usually containing an opening editorial and various in-depth articles, where the aim of the periodical and its main collaborators is discussing issues about university reform and educational reorganization and focusing the attention on current problems for Higher Education; and a second part, less substantial from the point of view of the number of pages, characterized by some fixed columns, which mainly provided information about daily university life and what was happening at the academic and scientific level in various Italian universities. The columns in all the issues of the magazine were: «Legislazione e amministrazione» [Legislation and administration] which, far from representing a duplicate of the «Bollettino ufficiale del Ministero» [Official Bulletin of the Ministry] or other legislative publications, intended «to pay attention [...] to some legislative measures or some administrative acts with [...] special or immediate interest»²⁸; and «Le opere e i giorni» [Works and Days], an «overview» about life and daily work of the universities, their professors and their learners so that the «memories» of such events «are not lost»²⁹. Instead, the significant column «Rassegna di bibliografia universitaria» [Review of university bibliography] was irregularly published and, as it can be deduced from the name itself, «intended to follow and to focus its attention on both periodic and occasional scientific production of Faculties and University Institutes, which is the result of an organized and collective activity and comes

²⁶ The editorial board, at least at the time of the foundation of the periodical, was formed by Francesco De Filippis, Gerardo Padula, Giuseppe Sangiorgio, Giuseppe Spadaro (starting from the second year of the third year II of 29 December 29 1941 will be replaced by Giacomo Gaetani d'Aragona), Nicola Spano, Enrico Vallerini. Starting from the first year of 29 October 1940, the editorial board will be integrated by Felice De Carli, who will no longer appear in the committee from the sixth issue of the fourth year of September 1, 1943 (this is actually the last issue of the published journal).

²⁷ In the frontispiece of the journal there is no reference to the year of the Christian era.

²⁸ *Legislazione e amministrazione*, «Gli Annali della Università d'Italia», vol. 1, n. 1, 29 October 1939, p. 95.

²⁹ *Le opere e i giorni*, «Gli Annali della Università d'Italia», vol. 1, n. 1, 29 October, 1939, p. 109.

to light under the auspices, the moral responsibility and the expenses of the University»³⁰. Two other occasionally published columns contributed to further enrich the issues of «Gli Annali della Università d'Italia» [The Annals of the University of Italy]. The first one, which was very traditional and edited in many academic and cultural magazines, was entitled «Recensioni ed annunci» [Reviews and Announcements] and consisted of short reviews of volumes of contemporary publication and the reproduction of announcements for prizes or competitions addressed to young scholars and students³¹; the second one was certainly more original and entitled «Attraverso le città universitarie» [Through university towns], appeared for the first time in the number of December 29th, 1939, and would have led the reader in an imaginary and fascinating journey through the university buildings and the beauties of the historical, artistic and cultural heritage of the Italian universities of «glorious tradition», a journey among the «works of the Regime» which, «if it is not through the wonderland, it is still enough to fill every Italian soul with satisfaction and admiration», as we can read in the introduction of the column³².

Thanks to very important names in the Advisory Board, concretely engaged in the drafting of the articles, together with other academics and personalities of the time, the contributions reported in the first part of each issue undoubtedly arouse greater interest in interpretation and historiography and are a valuable reflection on the most important current issues related to University and Higher Education, in perfect agreement with the most general intention of Minister Giuseppe Bottai who aimed at the reorganization of educational institutions and intellectual forces between war and first hypothetical post-war prospects.

In the first number of the magazine, the editor Giustini clearly defined which purposes the new publication intended to pursue. Created in order to fill the «gap generated by the absence» of a periodical concerning university education³³, which was designated to welcome «the most intellectually

³⁰ *Rassegna di bibliografia universitaria*, «Gli Annali della Università d'Italia», vol. 1, n. 1, 29 October 1939, p. 137.

³¹ See, for example, *Recensioni ed annunci*, «Gli Annali della Università d'Italia», vol. 1, n. 3, 29 February 1940, p. 137.

³² *Attraverso le città universitarie*, «Gli Annali della Università d'Italia», vol. 1, n. 2, 29 December 1939, p. 207. This section describes: University of Rome, edited by Nicola Spano («Gli Annali della Università d'Italia», vol. 1, n. 2, 29 December 1939, pp. 207-215 and «Gli Annali della Università d'Italia», vol. 1, n. 4, 29 April 1940, pp. 401-407); University of Bologna, edited by Alessandro Chigi («Gli Annali della Università d'Italia», vol. 2, n. 2, 29 December 1940, pp. 138-142, «Gli Annali della Università d'Italia», vol. 2, n. 4, 28 April 1941, pp. 339-343 and «Gli Annali della Università d'Italia», vol. 2, n. 5, 29 June 1941, pp. 444-447); University of Genoa, edited by Bruno Minoletti («Gli Annali della Università d'Italia», vol. 3, n. 1, 29 October 1941, pp. 51-56 and «Gli Annali della Università d'Italia», vol. 3, n. 2, 29 December 1941, pp. 155-159); University of Pavia, edited by Carlo Vercesi («Gli Annali della Università d'Italia», vol. 3, n. 5, 29 June 1942, pp. 395-398 and «Gli Annali della Università d'Italia», vol. 4, n. 3, 29 February 1943, pp. 205-207).

³³ In reality there were journals that were interested in university education. Think, for example,

active forces of Italian young people [to prepare them] for the most difficult conquests in science and the noblest missions inside and outside the borders of the Motherland», «*Gli Annali della Università d'Italia*» [The Annals of the University of Italy] were intended

to examine the study of our University in the multiple aspects of its structure and its functions and to seek someone who can have an adequate knowledge about it not only in the world of learned people, but also in a wide sphere of educated people. Since [...] a definite and precise knowledge can only arouse and spread a sense of conscious esteem and legitimate pride for the highest institution of the national school³⁴.

However, the University, which Giustini and his group of intellectuals intended to examine, had to necessarily escape from that isolation, that immobility and that indifference which had often characterized its past to try to settle and to confront with the «world which moves around it, among the multiple forces which are boldly hatching the plot of the history», in order to «adapt and to harmonize with the activities and the needs of the ever renewing life of the Nation». Intellectuals and, more generally, everyone who would have been involved in the editorial project launched by the new magazine, professors or distinguished men, «who are magnificently at the command posts in various sectors of social life»³⁵, were in charge of accomplishing a scrupulous and diligent examination of and how the Italian University was still able to fulfil the assigned «Triune» function, making the undisputed merits of the Italian Higher Education world brilliant, but also emphasizing deficiencies and gaps to be filled as soon as possible.

Without denying the evident and inevitable specialist falling back of a part of columnists and analysing the contents of the contributions published in the first part of the magazine³⁶, it is irrefutable saying how the pages of «*Gli Annali della Università d'Italia*» [The Annals of the University of Italy] had the merit of having given the reader of the time and the descendants a polychromatic frame of the university world of that period, highlighting the most important and interesting problems, the main critical issues of the system, the most urgent needs to be faced, as well as the educational challenges to be undertaken, without outlining an overall organic project for a new university model.

An inevitable aspect was obviously that the new magazine could have innumerable and strong points of contact in its contents and ideas with the almost coeval university interventions by Giuseppe Bottai and, above all, with *La Carta della Scuola* [The School Charter], which has just come to light³⁷. After

at the recalled journal «*L'Università italiana: rivista dell'istruzione superiore*», whose first issue was published in May 1902.

³⁴ Giustini, «*Gli Annali della Università d'Italia*», cit.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 5.

³⁶ See Casadei, «*Gli Annali della Università d'Italia*», 1939-1943, cit., pp. 553-554.

³⁷ See G. Bottai, *La Carta della Scuola*, Milan, Mondadori, 1939; T. Tomasi, *Idealismo e*

the editorial of the editor, it is no coincidence that the first article published in «Gli Annali della Università d'Italia» [The Annals of the University of Italy] was just entitled *L'Università nella Carta della Scuola* [The University in the School Charter] and was even written by the minister³⁸. In a very eloquent manner, the owner of Minerva recognized to the University the extremely complex and ambitious task of educating a small competent future ruling class and not simply the new generations who would be up to primary and secondary schools. In order not to fail the goal within the Italian academic world, a real «university revolution» was nevertheless necessary and should have been starting from the renewal of the teaching methods adopted, keeping up with the times and with the changes made by the surrounding society. In fact, according to Bottai, the problems concerning «the art of teaching and scorned by the *ex-cathedra* thaumaturgy» were not to be considered less important, but to be counted among those to be solved in order of priority:

and not only in Italy, the University is in crisis; it is a crisis of teaching methods, created in very different periods from ours, for student masses who are very different in size, quality and aspirations from the current ones. Now, the 'professional one' tends to surpass the scientific one; and surpassing it, it spoils it, it undermines it at the roots. Balance must be restored; and more than balance: the clear, definitive and undisputed advantage of the 'scientific one'³⁹.

Precisely, as a result of these specific programmatic statements by the minister since the first year, but even more in the following ones, the magazine has given a specific attention to reflections and interventions on educational and organizational issues in order of priority. Thus, in addition to numerous 'classical' contributions on university teaching which, for example, gave a report on the teaching system of the Faculty of Humanities over the years (Giuseppe Cardinali)⁴⁰ or the task of teaching some specific disciplines inside university

Fascismo nella scuola italiana, Florence, La Nuova Italia, 1969, pp. 165-180; Ricuperati, *Per una storia dell'università italiana da Gentile a Bottai: appunti e discussioni*, cit., pp. 351-352; D. Pasqualini, *Giuseppe Bottai e la Carta della scuola: una riforma mai realizzata*, Chieti, Solfanelli, 2013; M.A. D'Arcangeli, *Note su Giuseppe Bottai, «il problema di un umanesimo moderno» e la Carta della Scuola (1939)*, «Rivista di Storia dell'Educazione», vol. 3, n. 2 (cd-rom), 2016, pp. 207-215.

³⁸ G. Bottai, *L'Università nella Carta della Scuola*, «Gli Annali della Università d'Italia», vol. 1, n. 1, 29 October 1939, pp. 7-11.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 9-10. On the importance of didactic and on the «valuable art of teaching» Bottai would have personally returned in another article published in «Gli Annali della Università d'Italia» and more specifically in the contribution G. Bottai, *Formazione dei Centri didattici nella rinnovata Scuola fascista*, «Gli Annali della Università d'Italia», vol. 3, n. 2, 29 December 1941, pp. 99-109. This intervention reproduced on the pages of the journal was actually held by Minister Bottai on October 28, 1941 in Florence on the occasion of the inauguration of the First National Educational Center.

⁴⁰ G. Cardinali, *L'ordinamento didattico della Facoltà di Lettere negli ultimi quaranta anni*, «Gli Annali della Università d'Italia», vol. 1, n. 2, 29 December 1939, pp. 167-174.

classrooms, such as Latin in the Faculties of Letters (Vincenzo Ussani)⁴¹ or in the Faculties of Education (Onorato Tescari)⁴², Romance Philology (Giulio Bertoni)⁴³, Modern History (Niccolò Rodolico)⁴⁴ and Medieval History (Raffaello Morghen and Ettore Rota)⁴⁵, Physics (Quirino Majorana)⁴⁶, Biology (Aldo Spirito)⁴⁷, Geography (A. Renato Toniolo)⁴⁸, Economics and Finance (Celestino Arena)⁴⁹ or Engineering (Federico Giordano)⁵⁰, on the pages of the magazine there were also contributions related, for example, to desirable and imminent reforms of the teaching systems in certain specific disciplinary sectors, such as Medicine (Pietro Rondoni, Antonio Gasbarrini, Italo Simon and Bruno Borghi)⁵¹, or concerning the status of legal studies (and related courses), before or after the coming into force of the new Civil Code in 1942 (Marco Tullio Zanzucchi, Francesco Santoro Passarelli, Costantino Mortati and Luigi Raggi)⁵², up to interventions intended to open a real debate among professors

⁴¹ V. Ussani, *Per l'insegnamento del Latino nella Facoltà di Lettere*, «Gli Annali della Università d'Italia», vol. 2, n. 2, 29 December 1940, pp. 111-122.

⁴² O. Tescari, *Il latino nelle Facoltà di Magistero*, «Gli Annali della Università d'Italia», vol. 3, n. 3, 28 February 1942, pp. 248-252.

⁴³ G. Bertoni, *L'insegnamento della Filologia romanza nelle Università italiane*, «Gli Annali della Università d'Italia», vol. 1, n. 1, 29 October 1939, pp. 31-39.

⁴⁴ N. Rodolico, *Sull'insegnamento universitario della storia moderna*, «Gli Annali della Università d'Italia», vol. 2, n. 3, 28 February 1941, pp. 221-229.

⁴⁵ R. Morghen, *Storia medievale e storia moderna nell'insegnamento universitario*, «Gli Annali della Università d'Italia», vol. 1, n. 6, 29 August 1942, pp. 542-548; E. Rota, *Doveri e responsabilità delle cattedre di storia medievale*, «Gli Annali della Università d'Italia», vol. 4, n. 4, 29 April 1943, pp. 252-261 and vol. 4, n. 5, 29 June 1943, pp. 320-329.

⁴⁶ Q. Majorana, *L'insegnamento della Fisica*, «Gli Annali della Università d'Italia», vol. 1, n. 1, 29 December 1939, pp. 178-187.

⁴⁷ A. Spirito, *L'insegnamento della Biologia nelle Università*, «Gli Annali della Università d'Italia», vol. 1, n. 3, 29 February 1940, pp. 302-305.

⁴⁸ A.R. Toniolo, *La geografia nelle Università*, «Gli Annali della Università d'Italia», vol. 1, n. 6, 29 August 1940, pp. 561-566.

⁴⁹ C. Arena, *Sull'ordinamento degli studi di economia e finanza*, «Gli Annali della Università d'Italia», vol. 3, n. 3, 28 February 1942, pp. 233-240 and vol. 3, n. 4, 28 April 1942, pp. 301-308.

⁵⁰ F. Giordano, *Per la riforma degli studi d'ingegneria*, «Gli Annali della Università d'Italia», vol. 4, n. 1, 29 October 1942, pp. 36-48 and «Gli Annali della Università d'Italia», vol. 4, n. 2, 29 December 1942, pp. 117-123.

⁵¹ P. Rondoni, *Proposte per un riordinamento delle Facoltà di Medicina e chirurgia*, «Gli Annali della Università d'Italia», vol. 3, n. 4, 29 April 1942, pp. 291-300; A. Gasbarrini, *Per il progresso degli studi medici*, «Gli Annali della Università d'Italia», vol. 4, n. 1, 29 October 1942, pp. 25-35; I. Simon, *A proposito della riforma degli studi di Medicina*, «Gli Annali della Università d'Italia», vol. 4, n. 3, 28 February 1943, pp. 183-193; B. Borghi, *A proposito della riforma degli studi di Medicina*, «Gli Annali della Università d'Italia», vol. 4, n. 5, 29 June 1943, pp. 316-319.

⁵² M.T. Zanzucchi, *La nuova codificazione e gli studi universitari di diritto privato*, «Gli Annali della Università d'Italia», vol. 3, n. 1, 29 October 1941, pp. 41-44; F. Santoro Passarelli, *La riforma degli studi universitari di Giurisprudenza*, vol. 3, n. 4, 29 April 1942, pp. 309-314; C. Mortati, *Funzione e contenuto dell'insegnamento delle Istituzioni di diritto pubblico nelle Facoltà di Giurisprudenza*, «Gli Annali della Università d'Italia», vol. 4, n. 3, 28 February 1943, pp. 197-204; L. Raggi, *La riforma della Facoltà di Giurisprudenza*, «Gli Annali della Università d'Italia», vol. 4, n. 5, 29 June 1943, pp. 330-334.

on the specific university didactic and scientific function (Felice Corini)⁵³ or what had to be understood with the concept of «teaching» or, still better, the «art of teaching» (Arturo Farinelli)⁵⁴, also indicating possible prospects and innovative solutions about the teaching methodologies to be followed in some cases. As pointed out by Francesco Casadei, it strikes that there is no single intervention on the subject of political sciences in this wide range of discussions, despite the considerable importance attributed by the Regime to this sector of studies and the debate which was developed around it during the years of war⁵⁵.

A particular relevance on the columns of «Gli Annali della Università d'Italia» [The Annals of the University of Italy] was also reserved for some large unresolved questions about the Italian Higher Education System or for certain interesting issues which emerged in more recent times, due to their considerable importance. In the first case, the immediate reference is both to the question about the poor quality of the university studies and the urgent need to change the required courses – now, reduced to a «mere talk among souls»⁵⁶ – into something more objective and technical, as observed by Father Agostino Gemelli in more contributions⁵⁷; and the need to make a scrupulous rationalization about the university expenses through a careful reorganization of the faculties (with the inevitable reduction of their number) within a renewed Fascist University, as postulated by Umberto Borsi⁵⁸. There were also some contributions, such as the one by Giovanni Perez, which placed their *focus* on the estimated moral and material deficiencies of professors – a question which has always been the focus in periodicals for professors –, in the hope that the high offices of the Regime protected their interests and significantly improved, above all, their legal and economic *status*⁵⁹.

⁵³ F. Corini, *La funzione scientifica e la funzione didattica dell'Università*, «Gli Annali della Università d'Italia», vol. 2, n. 6, 29 August 1941, pp. 37-43.

⁵⁴ A. Farinelli, *Il mio insegnamento universitario*, «Gli Annali della Università d'Italia», vol. 4, n. 2, 29 December 1942, pp. 100-116.

⁵⁵ See Casadei, «Gli Annali della Università d'Italia», 1939-1943, cit., p. 549. On the Faculty of Political Science see M. Caravale, *Per una storia della Facoltà di Scienze Politiche in Italia. Il caso di Roma*, «Le carte e la storia», vol. 1, n. 2, 1995, pp. 17-28; F. Lanchester (ed.), *Passato e presente della Facoltà di Scienze Politiche*, Milan, Giuffrè, 2003; V.I. Comparato, R. Lupi, G. Montanari (edd.), *Le scienze politiche. Modelli contemporanei*, Milan, FrancoAngeli, 2011; G. Simone, *La facoltà cenerentola: scienze politiche a Padova dal 1948 al 1968*, Milan, FrancoAngeli, 2017.

⁵⁶ Ricuperati, *Per una storia dell'università italiana da Gentile a Bottai: appunti e discussioni*, cit., p. 355.

⁵⁷ A. Gemelli, *Il problema degli esami di profitto e di laurea nelle Università*, «Gli Annali della Università d'Italia», vol. 1, n. 1, 29 October 1939, pp. 48-59; Id., *Orientamento e selezione nelle Università. I – Come il problema è stato posto ed è stato risolto nei vari Paesi*, «Gli Annali della Università d'Italia», vol. 2, n. 1, 29 October 1940, pp. 18-29; Id., *Orientamento e selezione nelle Università. II – Come si pone e come si risolve il problema in Italia*, «Gli Annali della Università d'Italia», vol. 2, n. 3, 28 February 1940, pp. 205-216.

⁵⁸ U. Borsi, *Il riordinamento delle Facoltà universitarie ed i rapporti d'ordine didattico fra le medesime*, «Gli Annali della Università d'Italia», vol. 1, n. 1, 29 October 1939, pp. 71-79.

⁵⁹ G. Perez, *Carta della scuola. Elevamento materiale e morale dei professori universitari*, «Gli

Instead, among the criticalities of more recent origin, we must necessarily remember the impetuous growth of university population and the following overcrowding of the universities, too delicate and «perilous» phenomena for the future of the University and on which a periodical for professors «could not be silent in any way». But if, in the first issue of the magazine, Manlio Udina formulated some alarmed considerations about the increase of registered people throughout the 1930s⁶⁰, two years later Mattia Moresco could absolutely recognize that the further increase in this phenomenon was directly attributable to the fact that Italy went to war, denouncing the bad faith of many students, «without merit and dignity», who were ready to benefit from the exceptional historical contingency, on the one hand, and «the too rapid growth of a certain social class, who wants their children at university, while the opportunities for absorption offered by the country are not increased at the same rate», on the other hand⁶¹. As stressed by Arrigo Serpieri, a leading representative of the agricultural policy of the Regime, it derives from here the opportunity «to empty the University, making its access more rigorous, better distributing its registered people in each faculty and eliminating every university financial interest for many bad students»⁶².

As everybody knows, the requests of the most Italian academic world were accepted by the Chamber of Fasces and Corporations and the Senate of the Kingdom with the approval of the bill on the introduction of a limit for matriculation. On the pages of «Gli Annali della Università d'Italia» [The Annals of the University of Italy], the news could only be greeted with enthusiasm and gratitude to the Regime. As a token of this fact, in the number of February 28th, 1943, there was an article by Riccardo Del Giudice, the outgoing undersecretary in the Ministry of Public Education, who considered the application of this new law a fundamental element «to make the progress of the university choices more harmonious with the trends of development of Italian economic and social life», also evaluating the provision as a further fundamental step «for the renewal and the elevation of all the Italian studies»⁶³.

Instead, other interventions published in the magazine edited by Giuseppe Giustini, concerning reflections on the peculiarities of the University and its specific functions as a Higher Education institution, are attributable to individual and authoritative people related to the academic world and the Fascist society

Annali della Università d'Italia», vol. 1, n. 2, 29 December 1939, pp. 162-166.

⁶⁰ M. Udina, *L'ordinamento universitario e la Carta della Scuola*, «Gli Annali della Università d'Italia», vol. 1, n. 1, 29 October 1939, pp. 85-94.

⁶¹ M. Moresco, *L'affollamento degli Atenei*, «Gli Annali della Università d'Italia», vol. 3, n. 1, 29 October 1941, pp. 3-8 (quot. on p. 8).

⁶² A. Serpieri, *Due tipi di laurea?*, «Gli Annali della Università d'Italia», vol. 3, n. 2, 29 December 1941, pp. 110-115 (quot. on pp. 110-111).

⁶³ R. Del Giudice, *La limitazione delle iscrizioni universitarie*, «Gli Annali della Università d'Italia», vol. 4, n. 3, 28 February 1943, pp. 162-168 (quot. on p. 165).

of the time. This is the case of the mathematician Francesco Severi, the founder of the prestigious «Istituto Nazionale di Alta Matematica» [National Institute of Higher Mathematics] in Rome, who reflected on the task and the purposes to be attributed to university system, as well as its particular and demanding mission of «educating young people to research»⁶⁴; or the intervention by Celestino Arena, the leading spirit of the *Postgraduate School of Corporate Sciences* and the active collaborator of the prestigious magazine «Archivio di studi corporativi» [Archive of corporate studies], founded by Bottai in 1930⁶⁵, who assigned to University the precise task of «selecting the intelligence of the country and making it able to manage public affairs», defining it as a «depository and training reality of Italian Higher Culture»: «only in this way, the excluded classes [will be] able to penetrate the ruling class with the best members; and, on the other hand, the worst members of the ruling class [will have to] be rejected towards the lower strata by rigorous selection»⁶⁶. After warmly inviting the business world to take an interest in university fate, the article by Giuseppe Volpi di Misurata, a former Minister of Finance of the government under Mussolini⁶⁷, can be also considered illuminating, because he hoped for a university system kept abreast of the times, especially with reference to a necessary renewal of the education offered, which took into consideration the real needs to be satisfied in an economically growing Italy and also incentivized the enrolment in less traditional faculties. According to the president of the Fascist Confederation of Industrialists, the time for courageously invest, above all, on the technical faculties (including, in particular, Chemistry, Engineering, Architecture and Agriculture) had particularly come, in order to encourage the increase in the number of graduates at this time of great industrial and technological development and to ward off the danger of backwardness compared to other countries, without disregarding the leading role which has always been occupied by culture and humanistic studies in Italian academic tradition⁶⁸. The contribution by Alessandro Visconti also deserves special mention, because he led to a stimulating reflection on the importance of the so-called «minor universities» within the Italian educational system, an excellent

⁶⁴ F. Severi, *La funzione scientifica dell'Università*, «Gli Annali della Università d'Italia», vol. 2, n. 3, 28 February 1941, pp. 195-204 (quot. on p. 204). See also A. Chigi, *Ricerca scientifica e ricercatori*, «Gli Annali della Università d'Italia», vol. 1, n. 2, 29 December 1939, pp. 175-177.

⁶⁵ On Celestino Arena see G. Melis, *Arena Celestino*, in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, Rome, Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 1988, Vol. 34, pp. 170-173.

⁶⁶ C. Arena, *Funzione politica dell'Università*, «Gli Annali della Università d'Italia», vol. 1, n. 3, 29 February 1940, pp. 288-293. On the subject see Pomante, *Giuseppe Bottai e il rinnovamento fascista dell'Università italiana (1936-1942)*, cit., pp. 48-51.

⁶⁷ On Giuseppe Volpi Misurata see S. Romano, *Giuseppe Volpi: industria e finanza tra Giolitti e Mussolini*, Milan, Bompiani, 1979.

⁶⁸ G. Volpi di Misurata, *L'Università e la vita industriale della Nazione*, «Gli Annali della Università d'Italia», vol. 1, n. 3, 29 February 1940, pp. 257-264. On the subject see Pomante, *Giuseppe Bottai e il rinnovamento fascista dell'Università italiana (1936-1942)*, cit., pp. 45-47.

symbol of the glorious Italian university history, which the Fascist dictatorship intended to revive and to put among the primary justifications at the basis of Bottai's work of renewal⁶⁹, but it was not unfortunately developed by Visconti's colleagues of on the pages of the periodical.

On the columns of a magazine published in the years when the Regime was warmly approved and, moreover, edited by the Ministry of Public Education, there were also articles which fought for Fascist ideals or celebrated their organizational, propagandistic, paramilitary and extracurricular structures. Thus, besides some contributions characterized by a marked celebratory rhetoric, such as the weighty one about the «unredeemed Corsica» by Gino Bottiglioni, the one about the «revolutionary function of the academic culture» by Carlo Curcio, the one about the identification of science and culture as «factors of political power» for the country by Rodolfo Bottacchiari, or the one about the importance and the role of the Fascist University Groups (GUF) in the diffusion of the Fascist «creed» within the lecture rooms by Salvatore Gatto⁷⁰, it is not surprising the publication of a special monographic number of the periodical with the title *Scienza e università italiane in un ventennio di regime fascista* [Science and Italian Universities in twenty years of Fascism], which was printed outside the normal bimonthly publication, on the occasion of the Roman Christmas on April 21st, 1943, when the Regime gathered together the most important academic personalities «with the task of tracing and commenting the development lines of the main disciplinary areas after 1922»⁷¹. After the introduction assigned to the opening article by Carlo Alberto Biggini, where Bottai's successor, who was the head of Minerva, attributed to Fascism the merits of «setting up the university building problem on a level of national dignity, instituting new faculties, creating the National Research Council, rearranging the teaching, governing the institute of free teaching, launching the problem of didactic plans and, above all, giving the university a new aspect and new terms»⁷², most of the authors involved in this editorial initiative explicitly chose to link their own reflections to the political anniversary (as Balbino Giuliano,

⁶⁹ A. Visconti, *Le Università cosiddette minori e la loro missione culturale*, «Gli Annali della Università d'Italia», vol. 1, n. 3, 29 February 1940, pp. 283-287. On the Minister's attempt to recover the ancient Italian university traditions see Pomante, *Giuseppe Bottai e il rinnovamento fascista dell'Università italiana (1936-1942)*, cit.

⁷⁰ G. Bottiglioni, *L'Università e la cultura italiana per la Corsica irredenta*, «Gli Annali della Università d'Italia», vol. 1, n. 6, 29 August 1940, pp. 550-560 and «Gli Annali della Università d'Italia», vol. 1, n. 6, 29 August 1940, pp. 30-39; C. Curcio, *Funzione rivoluzionaria della cultura universitaria*, «Gli Annali della Università d'Italia», vol. 2, n. 3, 28 February 1941, pp. 217-220; R. Bottacchiari, *Scienza e cultura fattori di potenza*, «Gli Annali della Università d'Italia», vol. 2, n. 4, 28 April 1941, pp. 315-321; S. Gatto, *I Gruppi Universitari Fascisti*, «Gli Annali della Università d'Italia», vol. 1, n. 1, 29 October 1939, pp. 45-47.

⁷¹ Casadei, «*Gli Annali della Università d'Italia*», 1939-1943, cit., p. 547.

⁷² C.A. Biggini, *Il ventennale e l'Università*, «Gli Annali della Università d'Italia», *Scienza e università italiane in un ventennio di regime fascista*, vol. 4, special issue (21 April 1943), pp. 2-7.

Ivo Ranzi and Giuseppe Menotti De Francesco did)⁷³. Others did not skimp on magniloquent praises to Fascism about university buildings or the classic topics on the battle for grain and the comprehensive land improvement⁷⁴, while a smaller group cautiously preferred to maintain a measured attitude, especially hoping to find the life blood of the country in new generations⁷⁵.

However, the decision to devote an entire number of the magazine to a specific event or a precise historical period did not represent a novelty for «Gli Annali della Università d'Italia» [The Annals of the University of Italy]. On the occasion of the Italian coming to war, which was desired and made official by Mussolini about twenty days before, Giustini and his collaborators had already decided to distort the traditional editorial structure of the magazine in the issue of June 29th, 1940, eliminating its standard pages and giving life to a special monographic issue, periodically published as the usual magazine and entirely devoted to the Italian participation in war and the immediate and desired involvement of various Italian universities in it. The issue was divided into two parts: the first one, expression of war-mongering of the Fascist propaganda, was composed of just five articles⁷⁶, which aimed at evoking and reviving the irredentism of Risorgimento and the interventionist agitations in view of war operations in 1915, emphasizing the university approval to the «its proud sons of yesterday and today, those who fought and those who fight for the same idea: the greatness of Italy»⁷⁷; instead, the second one, entitled *L'Università per la guerra* [The University for War], was composed of correspondences

⁷³ See B. Giuliano, *Il ventennale del fascismo e il pensiero filosofico italiano*, «Gli Annali della Università d'Italia», *Scienza e università italiane in un ventennio di regime fascista*, vol. 4, special issue (21 April 1943); I. Ranzi, *Le discipline fisiche e geofisiche in Italia nel primo ventennio di regime fascista*, «Gli Annali della Università d'Italia», *Scienza e università italiane in un ventennio di regime fascista*, vol. 4, special issue (21 April 1943); G. Menotti De Francesco, *Il pensiero giuridico italiano nel ventennale fascista*, «Gli Annali della Università d'Italia», *Scienza e università italiane in un ventennio di regime fascista*, vol. 4, special issue (21 April 1943).

⁷⁴ See N. Spano, *Edilizia universitaria*, «Gli Annali della Università d'Italia», *Scienza e università italiane in un ventennio di regime fascista*, vol. 4, special issue (21 April 1943) and G. Tassinari, *Due grandi realizzazioni: battaglia del grano e bonifica integrale*, «Gli Annali della Università d'Italia», *Scienza e università italiane in un ventennio di regime fascista*, vol. 4, special issue (21 April 1943).

⁷⁵ See C. Morandi, *Gli studi di storia medievale e moderna nell'ultimo ventennio*, «Gli Annali della Università d'Italia», *Scienza e università italiane in un ventennio di regime fascista*, vol. 4, special issue (21 April 1943).

⁷⁶ The articles of the first part are: La Direzione, *L'Università ai suoi eroi*, «Gli Annali della Università d'Italia», vol. 1, n. 5, 29 June 1940, pp. 449-459; N. Rodolico, *Come il tricolore divenne la nostra bandiera*, «Gli Annali della Università d'Italia», vol. 1, n. 5, 29 June 1940, pp. 460-468; E. Breccia, *Rievocando Curtatone e Montanara*, «Gli Annali della Università d'Italia», vol. 1, n. 5, 29 June 1940, pp. 469-473; A.M. Ghisalberti, *Gli studenti universitari in guerra dal Risorgimento a Vittorio Veneto*, «Gli Annali della Università d'Italia», vol. 1, n. 5, 29 June 1940, pp. 474-478; G. Magnoni, *I litorali della cultura e dell'arte. Fede, maturità, ansia di combattimento della gioventù fascista degli Atenei*, «Gli Annali della Università d'Italia», vol. 1, n. 5, 29 June 1940, pp. 479-485.

⁷⁷ La Direzione, *L'Università ai suoi eroi*, cit., p. 451.

coming from all the thirty-five Italian universities and was entirely focused on the closing ceremonies of the academic year held in the second half of May, as a symbol of political and ideological mobilization of the university world in the face of the imminent world war⁷⁸.

Besides promoting more traditionalist contributions in aid of the war cause supported by the Duce, such as the one edited by Rizzardo Rizzetto on the necessity to implement the teaching of military subjects in the university faculties, in order to satisfy the «necessities of life and defence of a modern state»⁷⁹, with the outbreak of the Second World War it seems appropriate to note how «Gli Annali della Università d'Italia» [The Annals of the University of Italy] also developed a new argument, «first kept sufficiently hidden by the proud intellectual autarchy»⁸⁰, related to the comparison between University and Italian Culture on the one hand and cultural and university systems in the countries of the Axis on the other hand. Moreover, through a new comparative interpretation key and fully in agreement with Minister Bottai who let Italy gain a leading role in the international university context⁸¹, there was also the highly appreciable work about cultural and academic relationships between Fascist Italy and Spain under Franco by Arturo Farinelli⁸², the one about the peculiarities of the Japanese highly professional university system by Giuseppe Tucci⁸³, or the more specific one about the University of Ljubljana by Ettore Raymondi⁸⁴, regarding a territory temporarily annexed to the Kingdom of Italy on April 6th, 1941, when the Kingdom of Yugoslavia – which was born from the dissolution of the Habsburg and Ottoman Empires after the First World War – was invaded by Germany, Italy and Hungary during the so-called «April War», with the subsequent division of the Balkan territory among the winners and the transfer of the current Slovenia (precisely, the Province of Ljubljana) under the Italian rule.

⁷⁸ L'Università per la guerra, «Gli Annali della Università d'Italia», vol. 1, n. 5, 29 June 1940, pp. 486-522.

⁷⁹ R. Rizzetto, *L'insegnamento di materie militari nelle Facoltà universitarie e la guerra*, «Gli Annali della Università d'Italia», vol. 3, n. 1, 29 October 1941, pp. 45-50 (quot. on p. 50).

⁸⁰ Ricuperati, *Per una storia dell'università italiana da Gentile a Bottai: appunti e discussioni*, cit., p. 359.

⁸¹ 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.

⁸² A. Farinelli, *Per una più stretta intesa fra Italia e Spagna nei loro rapporti culturali*, «Gli Annali della Università d'Italia», vol. 2, n. 5, 29 June 1941, pp. 387-391.

⁸³ G. Tucci, *L'Università nipponica e le sue finalità*, «Gli Annali della Università d'Italia», vol. 3, n. 6, 29 August 1942, pp. 431-435.

⁸⁴ E. Raymondi, *L'Università di Lubiana. 1. Cenni storici*, «Gli Annali della Università d'Italia», vol. 3, n. 4, 29 April 1942, pp. 315-322; Id., *L'Università di Lubiana. 2. Il Suo ordinamento generale*, «Gli Annali della Università d'Italia», vol. 3, n. 5, 29 June 1942, pp. 388-394; Id., *L'Università di Lubiana. 3. Insegnanti e studenti*, «Gli Annali della Università d'Italia», vol. 3, n. 6, 29 August 1942, pp. 462-470.

For our purposes, it is interesting to underline how a lot of useful information about the development of bilateral cultural agreements, which the Regime decided to establish with politically related countries when Italy came to war, can be also found inside the above-mentioned page «Le opere e i giorni» [Works and Days], in the second part of each issue of the magazine. In this section, you can also find with a wealth of details the reports of conferences, seminars, study meetings and other similar international initiatives, held in Italy or in the countries connected to it, having as main characters Italian scholars or colleagues coming from other countries, who were able to establish *ex novo* or to strengthen relationships of cultural and scientific collaboration between Italy and numerous European countries. On this page, it is also possible to get news about the cultural activities promoted by Italian universities regarding the most important questions of the Regime (such as, for example, colonial studies or corporate economy) or about daily university life during war, as well as a constant updating about Fascist professors and students' behaviour «at the front», through the detailed reports provided by the Fascist University Groups⁸⁵.

As mentioned in the opening of this paragraph, «Gli Annali della Università d'Italia» [The Annals of the University of Italy] ceased their publication with the fourth year's final sixth issue, only composed of six articles in the first part and without the second part related to the feature pages. Although they were characterized by the undeniable ideological conditioning linked to the particular historical period, when the periodical must be placed and through which it must be necessarily studied and interpreted, a significant editorial adventure ended, even if it had represented the essential reference point for the entire Italian academic world for all the four years, just as it was in the first *desiderata* of its editor Giuseppe Giustini and its *deus ex machina* Giuseppe Bottai.

2. «L'Università italiana. Quindicinale di informazioni universitarie» [The Italian University. Fortnightly publication about university information]

During the first months of the immediate second post-war period, after the fall of Fascism and the terrible and bloody days of war of liberation, Italian University had a rather disheartening sight. The ministerial budgets and the ones of each university were unbalanced and irremediable, most of the historic buildings were sacked and destroyed, while the scientific equipment, which was available to professors, appeared damaged or very old. Even the libraries of each

⁸⁵ See, in particular, G. Magnoni, *L'Asse Universitario italo-tedesco*, «Gli Annali della Università d'Italia», vol. 2, n. 1, 29 October 1940, pp. 73-76 and R.M., *I G.U.F. in guerra*, «Gli Annali della Università d'Italia», vol. 4, n. 2, 29 December 1942, pp. 139-140.

faculty or institution were almost at a standstill for 1942 Italian publications and for 1939 foreign ones and the means available to the country – also under reorganization – were not certainly sufficient, in order to face many of these necessities⁸⁶. In addition to this context, which was already alarming and fostered by strong manifestations of scepticism and mistrust, there was the difficult situation of a teaching class to be reconstituted and, above all, to be “purified” from Fascist ideology⁸⁷ and the obvious and dangerous uneasiness of a plethora of restless students, who were more in need of titles than eager for culture. In fact, back from war, deportation and imprisonment, the young university students copiously flocked into the Italian universities, because they were impatient to regain lost time and to conclude their cycle of studies interrupted by hostilities. In addition to the traditional and still unresolved deficiencies and difficulties inherited by a state of neglect because of war in the previous period, there were also the innumerable structural and organizational problems and conditions of serious material and spiritual uneasiness produced by war⁸⁸.

In order to offer a critical and rigorous analysis on the complex and worrying situation of the contemporary Higher Education System and, even more specifically, with the aim at reaffirming and asserting their rights and supporting their economic, legal and cultural demands, Italian professors have thought well to make their voices audible through the pages of a new publication since 1946. Therefore, on April 1st, 1946, the first number of «L'Università italiana. Quindicinale di informazioni universitarie» [The Italian University. Fortnightly publication about university information] was published in Rome: it was a periodical which borrowed its name from the above-mentioned prestigious university magazine «L'Università italiana» [The Italian University], ceased in 1942, and was actually connected to the periodical «Studium Urbis», a sheet occasionally published by the Capitoline University in the two previous years (1944 and 1945) and written in order to only bring space and honour to Rome, a city of studies⁸⁹. However, this new magazine intended not to be a merely

⁸⁶ On the conditions of the Italian school and university immediately after the Second World War, see note 21 of this paper.

⁸⁷ On the legal and economic status and on the moral condition of Italian university professors after Second World War see in particular Pomante, «*To bring our universities back to their former glory*». *The debate on the legal and economic status of university professors in the years after World War II on the pages of «L'Università italiana» (1946-1949)*, cit.

⁸⁸ See Sani, *La politica scolastica del Centro-Sinistra (1962-1968)*, cit., pp. 1-10.

⁸⁹ The periodical «Studium Urbis» was the internal bulletin, irregularly published, of the University of Rome that, from the autumn of 1944 and for eighteen months, published laws, ministerial circulars and news on the Capitoline university. «L'Università italiana», as a formal continuation of this magazine, will start again with its numbering from the third year. On «L'Università italiana» see Pomante, «*To bring our universities back to their former glory*». *The debate on the legal and economic status of university professors in the years after World War II on the pages of «L'Università italiana» (1946-1949)*, cit. and M.R. Di Simone, *L'università italiana nella prima legislatura repubblicana: dibattiti, progetti, «leggine»*, «Annali di storia delle università

local publishing reality, but a national newspaper for the entire academic community. In fact, as reported in a box placed in full view on the first page of the first number, this new publishing reality clearly declared to address to the academic authorities of all the Italian universities and, in particular, to the rectors,

so that they consider the task of creating an informative journal common to all the universities; so that they may dignify us with active correspondents who know how to keep those who live and work in universities well-informed with useful and current news; so that they make this sheet a faithful mirror of the different currents of thought and the material and spiritual needs of all the Italian universities⁹⁰.

«L'Università italiana» [The Italian University], which was fortnightly written⁹¹, was continuously published by the University of Rome for four years until the last number on July 15th, 1949: it was firstly under the direction of the rector of the Capitoline University, prof. Giuseppe Caronia⁹², and then, since March 15th, 1948, when the new rector, prof. Giuseppe Cardinali, expressly decided to appear no longer as the editor of the periodical, unlike his predecessor⁹³, it has been directly under Nicolò Spano, a competent administrative university dean and a real inspirer of the periodical since its foundation⁹⁴. In the first two years and the fourth one of the periodical, the issues are mainly composed of eight pages, while during the third year, the most profitable one for the magazine, numbers of twelve or sixteen pages with a progressive and continuous numbering were published. Since the last issue of the second year, the one dated back to December 15th, 1947⁹⁵, the magazine has regularly had a useful summary sheet of the articles published in each number.

Although the editorial structure of the publication was very changeable during the four years from the formal point of view, it could be clearly divided into two parts: the first one, which was the most relevant in terms of content

italiane», vol. 22, n. 1, 2018, pp. 43-66.

⁹⁰ «L'Università italiana. Quindicinale di informazioni universitarie», vol. 3, n. 1, 1st April 1946, p. 1.

⁹¹ The double numbers of the journal were few and above all concentrated in the summer.

⁹² Giuseppe Caronia, who was trained as a doctor at Palermo School of Rocco Jemma and prominent professor of pediatric clinic at the University of Rome, became in 1944 dean of the same Capitoline university, a role he held until 1948. Member of the Constituent Assembly of the Christian Democrats, he was elected to the Chamber of Deputies in the Catholic party in the first and second legislature (1948-1958). On him, see especially A. Pavan, *Caronia, Giuseppe*, in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, Rome-Bari, Laterza, 1988, Vol. 34, pp. 363-366.

⁹³ See Archive University of Rome, Academic Senate, Reports, reg. 23, *Session of 11 June 1948*, pp. 122-123.

⁹⁴ On Nicola Spano see G. Fois, *Nicola Spano. Vita e opere di un funzionario universitario*, in N. Spano, *L'Università di Roma. Ristampa anastatica*, Rome, Casa Editrice Università La Sapienza, 2008.

⁹⁵ «L'Università italiana. Quindicinale di informazioni universitarie», vol. 4, n. 21, 15 December 1947, p. 1.

and about which we will talk later, was composed of articles by professors coming from various Italian universities and by eminent men from Italian and foreign culture, which dealt with the serious post-war problems of the Italian University, the hypothesis of a university rebirth and the possible ways of reorganizing the Italian Higher Education; the second one, which was divided into numerous feature pages without the same name and in a discontinuous manner in various issues, provided «all those who worked in the university world, from the wise professor to the last first-year student»⁹⁶ a constant and precise updating on «daily life» of the Italian and foreign academic and cultural world of the time, as well as the current school and university legislation.

Thus, since the first year, on the pages of the masthead there have been various feature pages with the collaboration of professors and students, such as: «Notiziario Italia-Estero» [News from Italy and abroad] (a name which was soon changed into «Istituti-Accademie-Istituzioni» [Institutes-Academies-Institutions]), containing information about the activities promoted by trade unions and cultural associations, or news about life of academies and universities, as well as an updating on the appointments and the transfers of professors; «Leggi-Decreti-Regolamenti» [Laws-Decrees-Regulations] (this name is sometimes replaced by «Leggi e circolari» [Laws and Memoranda] and other times by «Leggi e decreti» [Laws and Decrees]), with the reproduction of provisions, regulations and ministerial memoranda concerning the universities, the functioning of the institutions, the economic facilities for professors and students, the fees and any other legislative and regulatory provision which could affect the university world; «Conferenze-Lettere-Commemorazioni» [Conferences-Readings-Commemorations], concerning the concrete scientific university life and, therefore, seminars, conferences and commemorative study days organized with the participation of Italian and foreign professors; «Dalle varie Università» [From various Universities], a real chronicle on daily university life with information ranging from the simple communication of a professor's death⁹⁷ to specific indications on the most considerable decisions taken by the academic Senate of a specific university; «Borse di studio» [Scholarships] (which was later enriched by the supplement of the title «Fondazioni-Premi-Concorsi» [Foundations-Prizes-Competitions]), with the announcement and the publication of the regulation of various kinds of scholarships, competitions, initiatives and prizes. Although they were mainly addressed to the professorial world, it is right to emphasize that the columns of this new magazine also paid a specific attention to the student dimension, thanks to the page «Attività studentesca» [Student activities], where the reader was updated on the main activities and the peculiar initiatives, which saw university students and, in

⁹⁶ «L'Università italiana. Quindicinale di informazioni universitarie», vol. 3, n. 1, 1st April 1946, p. II.

⁹⁷ The obituaries were part of a subsection called «Lutti» occasionally present in the journal.

particular, those ones gathered in special associations (such as, FUCI or the Youth Front)⁹⁸ as protagonists during the difficult years of the second post-war.

After the wicked management of the last Fascist period, in the light of the post-war need to morally «rebuild» and to concretely give a specific economic-juridical dignity back to the entire Italian university world (professors *in primis*, without forgetting the administrative staff), it is also important to mention a real tool which supported professors and their related interests, in almost all the numbers of the magazine, the wealthy page «Appendice sindacale» [Appendix of Trade Unions], which was considered by the authors of «L'Università italiana» [The Italian University] a real cause of pride for a periodical, as expressly stated in the first number of the magazine:

University trade union organizations are becoming increasingly important at a national level; and the urgency of troubled problems, which involve economic and moral claims, requires an updated information sheet. While retaining its cultural and academic nature, the Italian University will periodically devote an appendix of trade unions to discuss the most serious problems⁹⁹.

During its four years of publication, «L'Università italiana» [The Italian University] gradually enriched with other more or less significant pages, among which we remember «Libri ricevuti» [Books received], which had been officially published for the first time since the issue of July 1st, 1946¹⁰⁰, and represented the classic “corner” of the periodical reserved for reviews and reports of the most important university and cultural texts published in Italy and abroad; «Notiziario parlamentare e politico» [Parliamentary and Political News]¹⁰¹ and «Notiziario culturale» [Cultural News], which had a constant updating on the current debates in Italy and the political decisions taken in the field of education and the most significant cultural reflections launched in Italy and in other parts of the world, respectively¹⁰²; but, above all, the page «Opinioni» [Opinions], which had been launched since 1946 issue but, after a few numbers, it changed the name into «Rassegna della Stampa» [Review of the Press] (the subheading «Opinioni» [Opinions] will have definitively disappeared since the number of

⁹⁸ On FUCI see L. Pomante, «Fiducia nell'uomo e nell'intelligenza umana». *La Federazione Universitaria Cattolica Italiana (FUCI) dalle origini al '68*, Macerata, eum, 2015. On student youth organizations see M. Busani, *Gioventù studentesca: storia di un movimento cattolico dalla ricostruzione alla contestazione*, Rome, Studium, 2016.

⁹⁹ «L'Università italiana. Quindicinale di informazioni universitarie», vol. 3, n. 1, 1st April 1946, p. III.

¹⁰⁰ «L'Università italiana. Quindicinale di informazioni universitarie», vol. 3, n. 7, 1st July 1946, p. 4.

¹⁰¹ In some issues there is only the title «Parliamentary newsletter», in others there is the title «Political newsletter».

¹⁰² «L'Università italiana. Quindicinale di informazioni universitarie», vol. 3, nn. 9-10, 1-15 August 1946, pp. 9-11.

January 15th, 1948)¹⁰³, which can be considered as one of the most relevant and awaited sections of the magazine, where the editorial staff offered a careful selection of articles and contributions published by distinguished professors and men of culture in Italy and abroad, concerning opinions, proposals and controversies regarding culture and universities, in order to trigger off a fruitful and productive debate among the readers and within the Italian academic world, after a careful work of sorting out newspapers or publications or following the report of those who were directly involved.

Finally, a last feature page was also very interesting, which was on the pages of the periodical later than the others (on January 15th, 1948, on the occasion of the first issue of the third year)¹⁰⁴, called «Sportello» [Counter] and addressed «to those who do not like to queue at the counters for a long time, or those who lose hope thinking about the heap of laws, regulations and circulars», as we can read in a few editorial lines, which were in the first publication. These people were invited to write to the newspaper which would have assumed responsibility for answering and dissolving simple doubts on very useful issues for the entire university community (for example, the first question asked was related to the persistence or not of the compulsory attendance in the Faculties of Law)¹⁰⁵.

Besides the undeniable importance of the above-mentioned pages and their transversal and heterogeneous contents, it should be underlined that the part of the magazine destined to arouse more echo in the Italian academic world and in public opinion was certainly the first one, which was composed of articles about the main problems, which gripped University after the fall of Fascism, and, above all, had concrete proposals about university reconstruction and revival in a new democratic Italy. In fact, in its four years of publication and in the sixty-three published issues, «L'Università italiana» [The Italian University], a periodical of culture and reflection, was undoubtedly able to analyse in a detailed and precise manner the whole Italian Higher Education System and the condition of all its actors (from teachers to students and the administrative staff), highlighting their specific peculiarities, atavistic problems, unresolved structural questions, but also managing to offer the reader interesting solutions and possible ways out, in order to put University in a position to face the new challenges of the republican society, thanks to the competent and purposeful contribution of its writers.

Even in the appreciable attempt to deeply examine all the aspects of the Higher Education System back from the difficult experience of the Fascist twenty years, the pages of the periodical inevitably affected anxieties and problems

¹⁰³ «L'Università italiana. Quindicinale di informazioni universitarie», vol. 3, n. 7, 1st July 1946, p. 4.

¹⁰⁴ «L'Università italiana. Quindicinale degli atenei d'Italia», vol. 5, n. 1, 15 January 1948, p. 9.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*

concerning the second post-war period, mainly related to the reconstruction of the country. Thus, some issues, such as the need for the anti-Fascist purge of the teaching body and the entire Italian culture or, even more, the urgent need for a material rebuilding of university structures, despite the lack of economic university availability or their leading role in the work of the Italian 'revival', initially ended up getting the upper hand over other questions (for example, the delicate issue of autonomy or, even, some educational matters, such as, for example, the one relating to the role to be attributed to interesting degree theses, which have become a subject of discussion only later, since the latest numbers of the magazine)¹⁰⁶.

Moreover, the magazine's *mission* was well explained by the editorial staff, since the opening editorial appeared in the first number with the title *Risorgere* [Reviving], where there was in a concise and effective manner a precise picture of the contemporary Italian university world, torn in full relief by the difficult and censorial «years of consent» and the miseries of the Second World War:

As written in the editorial – The moral and cultural economic liabilities caused by war and Fascism are known in a rather vague and generic way today. Too much is ignored to what extent universities languish: with insufficient and provisional budgets; without the possibility of carrying out research and publishing its results; with didactic exercises abolished or reduced, due to lack of material and staff; with numerous students, now increased by irregular crowds of survivors and evacuees; with new, transitory, unknown and difficult rules to apply; with the teaching body reduced in number or transferred or suspected or impoverished; with an indifferent public opinion about several moral and practical problems of assistance, places, staff and endowments¹⁰⁷.

However, even in the face of a very black picture, the academic authorities and the teaching body were invited to react, to come together again and to collaborate with the awareness of their high-profile role within society, in order to examine the situation according to their skills, to identify the most urgent problems to be solved and to point out their possible solutions through the pages of «L'Università italiana» [The Italian University] as soon as possible.

Therefore, on the columns of the magazine there were contributions by authoritative men, such as Guido Sensini, Giacomo Cavallucci, Arnaldo Volpicelli, Ugo Spirito, Antonio Marongiu, who tried to highlight the main contemporary university problems as a sort of results of a heavy Fascist heritage to be dispatched and also referable to previous periods such as, for example, the question of university fees, 'altered' by war facilities and to be brought

¹⁰⁶ See in particular G. Cassinis, *Autonomia universitaria*, «L'Università italiana. Quindicinale degli atenei d'Italia», vol. 6, n. 2, 31 January 1949, pp. 11-12; E. Pistolesi, *Autonomia e riforma*, «L'Università italiana. Quindicinale degli atenei d'Italia», vol. 6, n. 5, 15 March 1949, pp. 34-35; B. Lavagnini, *Le aboliamo queste tesi di laurea*, «L'Università italiana. Quindicinale degli atenei d'Italia», vol. 6, n. 2, 31 January 1949, pp. 10-11.

¹⁰⁷ La Direzione, *Risorgere*, «L'Università italiana. Quindicinale di informazioni universitarie», vol. 3, n. 1, 1st April 1946, p. 1.

back to normality¹⁰⁸; the scarce rigor of required courses in most of the Italian universities¹⁰⁹; their evident overcrowding with the atavistic diatribe between the supporters of the restricted entry and its detractors¹¹⁰; the need for a structural and organizational change of some faculties (for example, the growing faculty of Education or the more traditional and «didactically backward» faculty of Arts and Philosophy)¹¹¹ or even the restoration of other faculties previously and suddenly suppressed (such as the faculty of Political Sciences)¹¹². In order to further awaken the entire academic body and to encourage them to start serious and motivated considerations on «troubles» and needs of Italian Universities, Nicola Spano proposed a broad reflection on the difficulties which the higher

¹⁰⁸ N. Spano, *Le tasse*, «L'Università italiana. Quindicinale di informazioni universitarie», vol. 3, n. 11, 1st September 1946, pp. 1-3; Id., *Altre considerazioni sulle tasse*, «L'Università italiana. Quindicinale di informazioni universitarie», vol. 3, n. 12, 15 September 1946, p. 2; Id., *Tasse ed educazione*, «L'Università italiana. Quindicinale di informazioni universitarie», vol. 3, n. 11, 1st October 1946, pp. 1-3; Id., *Delle tasse*, «L'Università italiana. Quindicinale di degli atenei d'Italia», vol. 6, n. 3, 15 February 1949, pp. 17-18; G. Frisella Vella, *Tasse e propine d'esami*, «L'Università italiana. Quindicinale degli atenei d'Italia», vol. 5, n. 1, 15 January 1949, p. 7.

¹⁰⁹ Aros, *Il problema universitario attraverso gli esami*, «L'Università italiana. Quindicinale di informazioni universitarie», vol. 3, n. 3, 15 April 1946, pp. 1-3; L.T., *Il problema universitario visto attraverso gli esami*, «L'Università italiana. Quindicinale di informazioni universitarie», vol. 3, n. 6, 15 June 1946, pp. 1-4;

¹¹⁰ *L'ammissione all'università in una discussione al centro di studi sulla scuola*, «L'Università italiana. Quindicinale di informazioni universitarie», vol. 3, n. 3, 1st May 1946, pp. 1-2; G. Cavalucci, *Ancona sul 'numerus clausus'*, «L'Università italiana. Quindicinale di informazioni universitarie», vol. 4, n. 3, 1st February 1947, p. 1; A. Gemelli, *Per migliorare le nostre università*, «L'Università italiana. Quindicinale di informazioni universitarie», vol. 4, n. 8, 15 April 1947, pp. 1-2. M. Ponzio, *Non chiudere ma spalancare le porte dell'Università*, «L'Università italiana. Quindicinale di informazioni universitarie», vol. 4, n. 16, 15 September 1947, pp. 1-3; F. Perussia, *Lo sfollamento delle università*, «L'Università italiana. Quindicinale degli atenei d'Italia», vol. 5, n. 12, 30 June 1948, p. 1.

¹¹¹ U. Spirito, *La Facoltà di Magistero*, «L'Università italiana. Quindicinale degli atenei d'Italia», vol. 5, n. 6, 31 March 1948, pp. 69-70; M. Porena, *Lettera aperta a Ugo Spirito*, «L'Università italiana. Quindicinale degli atenei d'Italia», vol. 5, n. 8, 30 April 1948, p. 102; R. Avallone, B. Tecchi, *Sulle Facoltà di Magistero. Opinioni e proposte*, «L'Università italiana. Quindicinale degli atenei d'Italia», vol. 5, n. 10, 30 May 1948, pp. 118-119; P. Pieri, *La Facoltà di Magistero*, «L'Università italiana. Quindicinale degli atenei d'Italia», vol. 5, n. 11, 15 June 1948, pp. 140-141; E. Codignola, *Sulla Facoltà di Magistero*, «L'Università italiana. Quindicinale degli atenei d'Italia», vol. 5, nn. 19-20, 15-30 October 1948, pp. 187-188; L. Stefanini, *Per una riforma della Facoltà di lettere e filosofia*, «L'Università italiana. Quindicinale degli atenei d'Italia», vol. 4, n. 15, 30 August 1948, p. 1.

¹¹² A. Volpicelli, *La Facoltà di Scienze Politiche*, «L'Università italiana. Quindicinale degli atenei d'Italia», vol. 5, n. 4, 29 February 1948, pp. 45-46; M. La Torre, *Sulla Facoltà di Scienze politiche e amministrative*, «L'Università italiana. Quindicinale degli atenei d'Italia», vol. 5, n. 6, 31 March 1948, pp. 71-72; A. Marongiu, *Sul piano di studi di Scienze politiche*, «L'Università italiana. Quindicinale degli atenei d'Italia», vol. 5, n. 8, 30 April 1948, p. 95; N. Naldoni, *Vexata quaestio*, «L'Università italiana. Quindicinale degli atenei d'Italia», vol. 5, n. 12, 30 June 1948, p. 151; R. Almagià, *Sulla Facoltà di Scienze politiche*, «L'Università italiana. Quindicinale degli atenei d'Italia», vol. 5, nn. 15-16, 15-31 August 1948, p. 166; A. Volpicelli, *Il Consiglio superiore della P.I. e le Facoltà di Scienze Politiche*, «L'Università italiana. Quindicinale degli atenei d'Italia», vol. 6, n. 2, 31 January 1949, pp. 9-10.

education in Italy and, in particular, the teaching body had in the number of January 1st, 1947. He clearly defined with a very effective style the three most serious «illnesses» which afflicted Italian University at that precise period and required immediate action: «undernourishment due to lack of economic food, dropsy for excess of students and depressive melancholia of professors»¹¹³.

As it was predictable and in the wishes of its author, the article kindled the considerable interest of many professors on the permanent staff, who asked the Roman periodical to publish their distraught interventions on the pages of the magazine, proposing their own clue to understand university problems and, at the same time, offering possible concrete solutions for its revival. Among the most influential people who took part in the debate, there are, in particular, several important men of the Italian academy (someone is also a rector), such as Luigi Carnera, Salvatore Citelli, Felice Perussia, Francesco Angelico, Felice Gioielli, Italo Simon, Father Agostino Gemelli and Mario Ponzio¹¹⁴.

Especially during the first and the second year of the magazine's life, the editorial staff of «L'Università italiana» [The Italian University] also took the initiative to launch a further and shared reflection on the possible identification of a new university model from which they could be inspired for the rebirth of higher education studies. Hence, in the right perspective of making the periodical international, there was the publication of a considerable number of articles, which gave rise to a real concerted comparison between Italian University and other European and extra-European (in particular, American) universities, with detailed and enthusiastic reports by Italian students or professors about the functioning of foreign universities¹¹⁵ or real comparisons between Italy and the rest of the world about some specific teaching practices such as, for example, the methods for developing lessons or exams¹¹⁶.

On the pages of the periodical, there were obviously articles strictly related to the specific historical contingencies or the specific political changes which characterized the first years of the second post-war period. Hence, for example, there were inevitably numerous contributions which highlighted the precious work of the professors within the Constituent Assembly, who were called to be part of it with the specific goal of «laying the foundations of a new Italian

¹¹³ N. Spano, *Auguri per l'anno nuovo*, «L'Università italiana. Quindicinale di informazioni universitarie», vol. 4, n. 1, 1st January 1947, pp. 1-2.

¹¹⁴ See in particular the various contributions published in «L'Università italiana. Quindicinale di informazioni universitarie», vol. 4, n. 6, 15 March 1947, pp. 1-2 e vol. 4, n. 7, 1 April 1947, pp. 2-4.

¹¹⁵ M. Ponzio, *Prime impressioni di vita universitaria americana di uno studente italiano*, «L'Università italiana. Quindicinale di informazioni universitarie», vol. 3, n. 16, 15 November 1946, p. 3; *Italia e Sud America*, «L'Università italiana. Quindicinale di informazioni universitarie», vol. 4, n. 4, 15 February 1947, pp. 1-2.

¹¹⁶ *Gli esami in...*, «L'Università italiana. Quindicinale di informazioni universitarie», vol. 3, n. 2, 15 April 1946, pp. 1-2.

cultural and scientific life»¹¹⁷, or interventions aimed at explaining and analysing how the Assembly, who was chaired by Giuseppe Saragat first and Umberto Terracini then, and the entire Italian political and cultural world had devoted themselves to the main university problems¹¹⁸.

In the light of this discussion, it is worth pointing out that one of the main protagonists of the pages of «L'Università italiana» [The Italian University] was Guido Gonella, the Christian Democrat Minister of Education, who planned and developed his project to reform the entire public educational system¹¹⁹ during the years of the publication of the magazine. Many of his interventions at the conferences or his official institutional statements about university education, as well as his informal or more general announcements on the role to be assigned to school, culture and knowledge in a new democratic Italy were periodically on the columns of the periodical¹²⁰; just as his most significant ministerial initiatives, including the well-known *Inchiesta per la riforma della scuola italiana* [Investigation for the reform of Italian school] in 1948¹²¹, aroused the attention, the consent and the lively participation of

¹¹⁷ *Docenti universitari eletti alla Costituente*, «L'Università italiana. Quindicinale di informazioni universitarie», vol. 3, n. 7, 1st July 1946, pp. 1-2.

¹¹⁸ *Interrogazioni alla Costituente*, «L'Università italiana. Quindicinale di informazioni universitarie», vol. 3, n. 18, 15 December 1946, pp. 1-4; *Problemi universitari alla Costituente*, «L'Università italiana. Quindicinale di informazioni universitarie», vol. 4, n. 5, 1st March 1947, pp. 1-4.

¹¹⁹ On the work of Gonella as Minister of Education see: G. Chiosso, *Motivi pedagogici e politici nei lavori dell'inchiesta Gonella (1947-1949)*, «Pedagogia e Vita», vol. 45, n. 3, 1983-1984, pp. 295-321; R. Sani, *Da De Gasperi a Fanfani: La civiltà cattolica e il mondo cattolico italiano nel secondo dopoguerra (1945-1962)*, Brescia, La Morcelliana, 1986; G. Chiosso, *I cattolici e la scuola dalla Costituente al centro-sinistra*, Brescia, La Scuola, 1988; L. Pazzaglia, *Ideologie e scuola fra ricostruzione e sviluppo (1946-1958)*, in *Chiesa e progetto educativo nell'Italia del secondo dopoguerra (1945-1958)*, Brescia, La Scuola, 1988, pp. 495-543; A. Gaudio, *La politica scolastica dei cattolici 1943-1953. Dai programmi all'azione di governo*, Brescia, La Scuola 1991; Sani, *La politica scolastica del Centro-Sinistra (1962-1968)*, cit., pp. 21-38; G. Bertagna et alii (edd.), *Guido Gonella tra governo, parlamento e partito*, Soveria Mannelli, Rubbettino, 2007; L. Pomante, *La politica universitaria del ministro Guido Gonella negli anni della ricostruzione postbellica: dall'Inchiesta per la riforma della scuola al D.D.L. n. 2100*, «Annali di storia delle università italiane», vol. 22, n. 1, pp. 67-92. See also G. Gonella, *Cinque anni al Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione*, 3 vols., Milan, Giuffrè, 1981 and G. Ignesti (ed.), *Guido Gonella: discorsi parlamentari, 1946-1973*, Rome, Camera dei deputati, 2005.

¹²⁰ G. Gonella, *L'Italia rinascerà dalla scuola*, «L'Università italiana. Quindicinale di informazioni universitarie», vol. 3, nn. 9-10, 1-15 August 1946, p. 1; Id., *La Costituzione e la Scuola*, «L'Università italiana. Quindicinale degli atenei d'Italia», vol. 5, n. 3, 15 February 1948, pp. 29-33; Id., *Il discorso del ministro*, «L'Università italiana. Quindicinale degli atenei d'Italia», vol. 6, n. 7, 15 May 1949, pp. 49-50.

¹²¹ For a framework of the Inquiry promoted by Gonella and for an assessment of its conclusions see in particular Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione, *La scuola italiana dal 1946 al 1953*, cit., pp. 243-248; Chiosso, *Motivi pedagogici e politici nei lavori dell'inchiesta Gonella (1947-1949)*, cit. On the tasks and objectives of the Commission established to promote this inquiry see in particular G. Gonella, *L'Inchiesta nazionale sulla riforma della scuola*, «La Riforma della scuola», vol. 1, n. 1, November 1947, pp. 3-6; *Schemi di questionari per l'inchiesta sulla riforma della scuola*

the entire Italian academic world, who has had the opportunity to show the most complete confidence in the new minister on the pages of the magazine, edited by Caronia since Gonella's accession to Minerva's Ministry. Acting as a spokesperson for the entire university teaching body, it is no coincidence that in September 1946, just two months after Gonella's arrival at the Ministry of Education, one of the most authoritative men of the magazine, the above-mentioned Giacomo Cavallucci, a professor on the permanent staff at the University of Naples "L'Orientale", agreed with Gonella's will in the article entitled *Scuola e riforme* [School and reforms], promoting a reform of public educational system, which was launched by lower people and started from the suggestions and the proposals of those who actually worked at School and at the University, and trying to understand how and what was necessary to change, in order to meet the new needs of a society just emerging from war:

It is said on the pages of «L'Università italiana» [The Italian University] – It will be enough to make sure that this reform is devised and meditated not only by men in office – such as ministers or members of the Superior Council – but also and, above all, by real experts: who are the men who daily live school life. [...] So the professors will have to be listened to because of so many scientific and didactic problems, which are linked to a higher education reform. Every professor, who passionately studies and teaches his/her discipline, can express his/her opinion about it. [...] Therefore, we are very pleased that Minister Gonella intends to promote [...] a more lively awareness of school problems and that, unlike some of his predecessors, he thinks that the revival of School cannot be the 'exclusive work of a government action'. These words of his are the most solid guarantee of a better future for us¹²².

Even two years later, in 1948, when the *Investigation* had got to the heart as a real «diagnostic consultation for public educational system»¹²³, as well as an «examination of conscience» that Italian Schools and Universities were called to be, «in view of an interior renewal of men and an exterior renewal of means and institutions»¹²⁴, on the columns of «L'Università italiana» [The Italian University], Giacomo Cavallucci insisted on the need to answer all the questions with clear attention, without precipitation and in a reasoned manner, advancing «clear, precise and conscientious proposals about the topics for which they are firmly prepared»¹²⁵, reaffirming again the importance of the method chosen by Gonella in conducting the Investigation, that is starting

elaborati dalle competenti sottocommissioni, «La Riforma della scuola», vol. 2, n. 2, March 1948, pp. 40-45. On the results of the inquiry see also *L'Inchiesta nazionale per la riforma della scuola (1947-1949)*, «La Riforma della scuola», vol. 3 n. 16 supplement to the number of June 1949 and *I risultati dell'Inchiesta sulla scuola*, «L'Università italiana. Quindicinale degli atenei d'Italia», vol. 6, n. 7, 15 May 1949, pp. 49-54.

¹²² G. Cavallucci, *Scuola e riforme*, «L'Università italiana. Quindicinale di informazioni universitarie», vol. 3, n. 12, 15 September 1946, pp. 1-2.

¹²³ Sani, *La politica scolastica del Centro-Sinistra (1962-1968)*, cit., p. 22.

¹²⁴ Gonella, *L'Inchiesta nazionale sulla riforma della Scuola*, cit., p. 4.

¹²⁵ G. Cavallucci, *Evitiamo la precipitazione*, «L'Università italiana. Quindicinale degli atenei d'Italia», vol. 5 nn. 13-14, 15-31 July 1948, p. 159.

«from lower people» and directly consulting the university protagonists, an event not experienced for the Gentile reform, «precipitately brought about» and without that «professors were called to discuss it». In the following month, the editorial staff of the magazine laid it on thick, harshly condemning the coldness of a minority part of the teaching body, who appeared too disinterested in this *Investigation*, and underlined how much it was necessary «to enter a period of greater constructive fervour and better coordinated work», in order to avoid the umpteenth and unsuccessful reform imposed from outside¹²⁶.

Guido Gonella's image, which emerges from the pages of the magazine, seems to be that of a man close to the teaching body and, above all, to which most of the Italian academic world intended to appeal in the attempt to lift up the overall university destiny and to improve its legal-economic condition. Contrary to the common way of thinking and acting of most of the Italian political class of the time, during his Ministry, Gonella would have undoubtedly demonstrated on several occasions, even with concrete legislative interventions, to firmly believe in the role of culture and scientific research as a mean to revive the country and, above all, the desire to attribute to professors a leading position in this complex process¹²⁷. The law no. 1477 of December 30th, 1947, on the *Riordinamento dei Corpi consultivi del Ministero della pubblica istruzione* [Rearrangement of the Consultative Bodies in the Ministry of Public Education]¹²⁸, an excellent epilogue of a specific project strongly desired by Gonella and urgently launched in June, which sanctioned the rearrangement of three technical consultative bodies, such as the Superior Council of Public Education, the Superior Council of Antiquities and Fine Arts and the Superior Council of Academies and Libraries (in this case, it was a real creation *ex novo*), as well as the precise revision of their functions, was followed on the columns of the magazine with a lot of attention and participation both in the phase of its gestation and after its coming into force¹²⁹ as an appreciable expression of

¹²⁶ *Le Facoltà e il questionario*, «L'Università italiana. Quindicinale degli atenei d'Italia», vol. 5, nn. 15-16, 15-31 August 1948, pp. 166-168 (quot. on p. 166).

¹²⁷ For a detailed historical reconstruction of the university professors' social *status* and salaries over the centuries see the extensive essay A. Zannini, *Stipendi e status sociale dei docenti universitari. Una prospettiva storica di lungo periodo*, «Annali di storia delle università italiane», vol. 3, 1999, pp. 9-38 and Verrocchio, *I docenti universitari tra Otto e Novecento. Carriere, condizione economica e stato giuridico*, cit.

¹²⁸ See Law of 30 December 1947, n. 1477, *Reorganization of the consultative bodies of the Ministry of public education*, published in «Gazzetta Ufficiale della Repubblica Italiana», General series, n. 3, 5 January 1948. See <http://www.edizioneuropee.it/LAW/HTML/45/zn80_09_114.html> (last access: 30.06.2018).

¹²⁹ *La riforma dei supremi Organi Consultivi della Pubblica Istruzione*, «L'Università italiana. Quindicinale di informazioni universitarie», vol. 4, n. 14, 15 July 1947, pp. 1-7; *L'ordinamento dei corpi consultivi della Pubblica Istruzione*, «L'Università italiana. Quindicinale degli atenei d'Italia», vol. 5, n. 1, 15 January 1948, pp. 3-6; *L'elezione del Consiglio Superiore della P. Istruzione*, «L'Università italiana. Quindicinale degli atenei d'Italia», vol. 5, n. 4, 29 February 1948, p. 48; *I problemi dell'Università al Consiglio Superiore della Pubblica Istruzione*, «L'Università italiana.

a truly «democratic» Regime, where these three new, «simplified and efficient» bodies would have allowed the administrative agencies of Public Education «to carry out their vast and delicate tasks [...] with a more realistic and effective view of social life»¹³⁰.

The professors' adherence to Minister Gonella's work finds a further testimony in the eloquent words used by the editor Nicola Spano on the pages of «L'Università italiana» [The Italian University] on December 31st, 1948, because he did not skimp words of praise for the proactive and determined attitude of the professors in defending their own interests at all and drawing up a budget of the academic year 1947-1948, but also for the «concrete» response which had come from the Ministry, a response which also made hope in terms of future:

Unlike the financial one, the budget of a school year is always uncertain and elastic like an examination of conscience, because it is full of political and personal interferences. [...] Despite human failings and mistakes, it cannot be said – of course – that 1947-1948 was not a year full of works and rich of promises, all devoted to till and to sow with passion a field which was naturally lacking in thorns and shrubs and always full of beautiful flowers and tasty fruit¹³¹.

And in the next number of the magazine, Spano firmly asserted again that:

We will not stop [...] because it was truly understood that money, or better still billions, are the *humus* and the oxygen even for high sciences and divine art. And, for this reason, we are sure that the MP Gonella will multiply his efforts and will give no peace to his colleague of the Treasury, reminding him – now, a banal truth, – that Italy cannot attempt a competition with other nations, except in the arts and sciences¹³².

Precisely reconnecting to the contents of the two contributions just reported, it seems appropriate to underline how the articles in support of the claims made by trade unions operating within university and concerning the moral, legal and economic conditions of the entire university staff and, in particular, the professors were also important for all the four years of publication on the columns of «L'Università italiana» [The Italian University], together with the above-mentioned large space occupied by the page «Appendice sindacale» [Appendix of Trade Unions]. Besides, there were also regularly heartbroken

Quindicinale degli atenei d'Italia», vol. 5, n. 7, 15 April 1948, p. 88; *Inaugurazione del Consiglio Superiore*, «L'Università italiana. Quindicinale degli atenei d'Italia», vol. 5, nn. 15-16, 15-31 August 1948, p. 168.

¹³⁰ *La riforma dei supremi Organi Consultivi della Pubblica Istruzione*, cit., p. 1.

¹³¹ N. Spano, *Bilancio dell'anno 1947-48*, «L'Università italiana. Quindicinale degli atenei d'Italia», vol. 5, n. 24, 31 December 1948, pp. 221-222.

¹³² *Id.*, *Problemi finanziari*, «L'Università italiana. Quindicinale degli atenei d'Italia», vol. 6, n. 1, 15 January 1949, p. 1.

appeals with solid arguments addressed to the Minister, so that he had the proper amount of respect for the demands of the academic world¹³³.

Even on the pages of the magazine, two specific investigations in support of the interests of the academic world were promoted and would have mobilized and invited the entire Italian university assembly to reflect. The first one, which was almost involuntarily launched by a controversial and irreverent article by Nicola Spano on December 15th, 1947, entitled *Il collocamento fuori ruolo dei professori al settantesimo anno di età. Alcune domande* [The professors' placement out of the permanent staff in the seventieth year of their age. Some questions]¹³⁴, ended up generating a lively discussion on the highly controversial issue about the professors' placement out of the permanent staff, who had interested the academic world so much, especially after the Royal Decree no. 565 of April 24th, 1935, which had anticipated the professors' retirement of five years, i.e., when they were 70 years old, at the behest of the Fascist Minister Cesare De Vecchi¹³⁵. Within a few weeks, the interventions by thirty-six professors on the permanent staff, whose contributions were integrally published on the numbers of the periodical from January to April 1948, came to the Roman editorial office of «L'Università italiana» [The Italian University]¹³⁶. Instead, the second

¹³³ See Pomante, «To bring our universities back to their former glory». The debate on the legal and economic status of university professors in the years after World War II on the pages of «L'Università italiana» (1946-1949), cit.

¹³⁴ N. Spano, *Il collocamento fuori ruolo dei professori al settantesimo anno di età. Alcune domande*, «L'Università italiana. Quindicinale di informazioni universitarie», vol. 4, n. 21, 15 December 1947, pp. 1-2.

¹³⁵ This decision of the Minister Cesare De Vecchi greatly limited what the Italian law had previously established about the age of retirement of teachers. The Casati Law, in fact, in 1859, established that the quality of university professor was «lifelong». The age limit at 75 years was introduced only with the law 19th July 1909, no. 496, which, however, included the possibility that the professors were, for exceptional reasons, kept in their chair with no age limits. The age limit was later confirmed by Gentile in 1923 before being lowered, in fact, with de Vecchi. On the various age limits set in different eras by the Italian law for the retirement of university teachers see the interesting excursus proposed in G. Gonella, *Stato giuridico dei docenti, discorso tenuto dal Ministro Gonella al Ministero della P.I., il 19 aprile 1951, nella seduta d'apertura del Convegno dei Rettori delle Università e Politecnici italiani, indetto a cura dell'ANPUR e del Ministero della P.I.*, in Id., *Cinque anni al Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione*, cit., Vol. 2: *Libertà della Scuola e nuovi ordinamenti scolastici*, pp. 281-286.

¹³⁶ The following professors participated to the investigative inquiry: Guido De Ruggiero, Gino Cassinis, Gaetano Boschi, Giuseppe Lugli, Arnaldo Volpicelli (vol. 5, n. 1, 15 January 1948); Michele Mitolo, Francesco Gabrieli, Ettore Rossi, Raffaele Paolucci (vol. 5, n. 2, 31 January 1948); Gaetano Martino, Giuseppe Ugo Papi, Francesco Piccolo, Mario Praz (vol. 5, n. 3, 15 February 1948); Raffaele Pettazzoni, Luigi Russo, Giacomo Cavallucci, Widar Cesarini Sforza (vol. 5, n. 4, 29 February 1948); Luigi Galvani, Francesco Tricomi, Arrigo Colarizzi, Alessandro Della Seta, Giovanni Favilli, Paolo Toschi, Ernesto Vergara-Caffarelli (national secretary of SUN), Rodolfo Margaria, Gennaro Mondaini (vol. 5, n. 5, 15 March 1948); Italo Simon, Giorgio Pasquali, Giulio Cotronei, Paolo Lamanna (vol. 5, n. 6, 31 March 1948); Corradino Mineo, Fabrizio Cortesi, Ettore Paratore, Oddone Fantini (vol. 5, n. 7, 15 April 1948); Margherita Piazzolla Beloch, Guido Sensini (vol. 5, n. 8, 30 April 1948).

investigation had as a purpose the assessment of the role to be assigned to the professors within university system, the extent of their economic remuneration and the modalities for conferring the internal and external appointments in each university, often managed in an arbitrary manner or, in any case, according to rules, which were not well-defined and uniform throughout Italy. In this case, on the issue from 15th to 30th November, 1948, after an article by the editor Spano with the title *Gli Incarichi* [The appointments]¹³⁷, which introduced this matter and started from the provocative definition, which a professor on the permanent staff had provided about the «appointment», as «a source of conflicts, desires and troubles, a reason for injustices and nepotisms» and, therefore, to be abolished or «to be limited only in case of temporary teaching posts for the main subjects and never more than a year»¹³⁸, a questionnaire consisting of eight questions was formulated and the Italian professors were invited to answer to. In this case, the participation of the university world was massive and would have occupied numerous pages of the periodical until the issue of March 15th, 1949¹³⁹.

For the purposes of our research, it is also worth mentioning both the large space (sometimes, almost entire issues) reserved by the university magazine to the three national congresses of the above-mentioned ANPUR, – Associazione Nazionale dei Professori Universitari di Ruolo [National Association of Professors on the permanent staff], held in June 1947¹⁴⁰, in June 1948¹⁴¹ and in June 1949¹⁴² respectively, with the detailed description, or even the complete reproduction of the reports, the motions approved and the requests made by

¹³⁷ N. Spano, *Gli incarichi*, «L'Università italiana. Quindicinale degli atenei d'Italia», vol. 5, nn. 21-22, 15-30 November 1948, pp. 197-199.

¹³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 197.

¹³⁹ See *Gli incarichi*, «L'Università italiana. Quindicinale degli atenei d'Italia», vol. 5, n. 24, 31 December 1948, pp. 222-224 (Benigno di Tullio, Giuseppe Frisella Vella, Guido Gambardella, Gabrio Lombardi, Sabatino Moscati, Andrea Piola, Pietro Scotti); *Gli incarichi*, «L'Università italiana. Quindicinale degli atenei d'Italia», vol. 6, n. 1, 15 January 1949, pp. 2-3 (Ettore Onorato, Tommaso Pontano, Attilio Omodei-Zorini, Angelo Chiasserini, Tullio Viola); *Gli incarichi*, «L'Università italiana. Quindicinale degli atenei d'Italia», vol. 6, n. 2, 31 January 1949, pp. 12-13 (Emilio Nasalli Rocca, Massimo Cimino, Carlo Gasparini); *Gli incarichi*, «L'Università italiana. Quindicinale degli atenei d'Italia», vol. 6, n. 3, 15 February 1949, pp. 19-20 (Pietro Romanelli, Gaspare Santangelo, Mario Ghiron, Felice Jerace); *Gli incarichi*, «L'Università italiana. Quindicinale degli atenei d'Italia», vol. 6, n. 4, 28 February 1949, p. 28 (Antonio Falchi, Carmelo Privitera, Gaetano Stammati); *Concorsi per gli incarichi*, «L'Università italiana. Quindicinale degli atenei d'Italia», vol. 6, n. 5, 15 March 1949, p. 36 (Ermanno Mingazzini).

¹⁴⁰ See *Il Primo Convegno Nazionale dell'Associazione dei Professori Universitari di ruolo*, «L'Università italiana. Quindicinale di informazioni universitarie», vol. 4, nn. 12-13, 1st July 1947, pp. 1-6.

¹⁴¹ See *Il Secondo Congresso Nazionale dell'A.N.P.U.R.*, «L'Università italiana. Quindicinale degli atenei d'Italia», vol. 5, n. 11, 15 June 1948, pp. 133-138 and N. Spano, *Di chi la colpa?*, «L'Università italiana. Quindicinale degli atenei d'Italia», vol. 5, n. 12, 30 June 1948, pp. 149-151.

¹⁴² See *Il III Congresso Nazionale dell'ANPUR*, «L'Università italiana. Quindicinale degli atenei d'Italia», vol. 6, nn. 8-10, 15 July 1949, pp. 57-61.

the teaching body; and the precise and detailed report of the first two national conferences of the administrative heads from universities and higher education institutions, held in October 1947¹⁴³ and in September 1948¹⁴⁴ respectively, and aimed at underlining the peculiar and precious role played by the administrative staff within this new democratic system, who was already directly involved by Minister Gonella in his *Investigation* and increasingly called to concretely and rigorously manage the functioning of more consistent universities from a numerical point of view and complex issues, such as the taxation and the increased bureaucratic practices related to that process of decentralization of the system launched after the fall of the Fascist Regime.

Despite the considerable national importance of «L'Università italiana» [The Italian University], a real undisputed and privileged reference voice of the academic world in the immediate second post-war period, during 1948, which was a very fruitful year for the magazine from the point of view of the articles published and the initiatives promoted, the first signs of economic difficulty related to the creation and the printing of the periodical were shown. In the session of the Academic Senate of the University of Rome on June 11th, 1948, the above-mentioned Capitoline rector Giuseppe Cardinali pointed out with a lot of criticism in his speech, how the very expensive newspaper was becoming nationally important, while a more modest internal bulletin would have been sufficient at the university, such as the «Studium Urbis» published in the two-year period 1944-1945¹⁴⁵. Precisely, for this reason, the highest academic position of the Roman University expressed serious doubts about the concrete possibility of carrying out this demanding and burdensome publishing initiative for a long time, inviting the editor to work, in order to find the alternative resources necessary for publication. In September, on the occasion of the above-mentioned second conference of the administrative heads from universities and higher education institutions, the proposal which provided the financial support from the governing bodies of all the Italian universities was approved «to the life of the periodical with an annual contribution proportional to the number of members of its own University [...], in order to equally share the costs of a publication, which indiscriminately affects all the Italian universities and scientific institutes»¹⁴⁶. Probably exploiting the content of this decision, in the session of the Academic Senate of the University of Rome on October 1st, after a long discussion, where Spano was indicated several times as the one who could have even personally taken the management of the masthead, it was

¹⁴³ See *Il Primo Convegno dei direttori amministrativi*, «L'Università italiana. Quindicinale di informazioni universitarie», vol. 4, n. 18, 1st November 1947, pp. 1-4.

¹⁴⁴ See *Il Secondo Convegno nazionale dei direttori amministrativi*, «L'Università italiana. Quindicinale degli atenei d'Italia», vol. 5, nn. 19-20, 15-30 October 1948, pp. 181-186.

¹⁴⁵ Fois, *Nicola Spano. Vita e opere di un funzionario universitario*, cit., p. 69.

¹⁴⁶ See *Salvare e migliorare «L'Università italiana»*, «L'Università italiana. Quindicinale degli atenei d'Italia», vol. 5, nn. 19-20, 15-30 October 1948, p. 186.

decided that the periodical should no longer be only the «emanation of the University of Rome», but rather «the emanation of an inter-university body in Rome», who would have shouldered the funding¹⁴⁷. Despite Spano's illusory hopes and some desperate and vain requests for help appeared in the magazine during 1949¹⁴⁸, this decision would have soon practically determined the last definitive publication of this prestigious and appreciated periodical (with the number of July 15th, 1949).

3. «*Il Giornale dell'Università. Organo degli atenei d'Italia*» [*The University Journal. Body of the Italian universities*]

In 1949, the publication end of «L'Università italiana» [The Italian University] undoubtedly ended up depriving the Italian professorial world of a particularly useful tool for making its voice heard, claiming its rights and, above all, trying to influence the future ministerial policies, especially in a politically and historically very delicate phase, when Minister Gonella was concretely working for the realization of his project to reform the public educational system. Therefore, just to try to avoid that the academicians were left out from the important debate on the contents of the bill in preparation, for the whole year 1950, ANPUR had been working hard to create the favourable conditions, in order to see a new periodical publication for professors come to light. These efforts were satisfied at the beginning of the new year. In fact, the first number of «*Il Giornale dell'Università. Organo degli atenei d'Italia*» [The University Journal. Body of the Italian universities], an official expression of ANPUR who economically guaranteed the publication¹⁴⁹, was printed and published by the Florentine publishing houses «E. Ariani» and «L'Arte della Stampa» in January, 1951. This new periodical, monthly published in the first three years and then bimonthly published since September 1954, had issues of 32 or 64 pages (especially, in case of double numbers) with their annual constant numbering. At the end of each year, a useful and accurate index summarized what was published in various numbers, providing bibliographical details.

Prof. Eustachio Paolo Lamanna, an established and illustrious professor of History of Philosophy at the University of Florence and dean of the Faculty of Arts and Philosophy at the same university in those years (then, he would have

¹⁴⁷ Archive University of Rome, Academic Senate, Reports, reg. 23, *Session of 1st October 1948*, pp. 220-223.

¹⁴⁸ See [Corsivo redazionale], «L'Università italiana. Quindicinale degli atenei d'Italia», vol. 6, n. 6, 31 March 1949, p. 41.

¹⁴⁹ On «*Il Giornale dell'Università*», see Di Simone, *L'università italiana nella prima legislatura repubblicana: dibattiti, progetti, «leggine»*, cit., pp. 56-60.

become rector from 1953 to 1961)¹⁵⁰, was chosen as the editor of the magazine. The deputy-dean Luigi Campedelli, a professor of Geometry at the Tuscan University¹⁵¹, and the editorial secretary Eugenio Garin, a professor of History of Medieval Philosophy, who would have precisely succeeded Lamanna on the chair of History of Philosophy since 1955¹⁵², supported Lamanna in the new publishing adventure.

The Editorial Board of the new publication, whose logistic and operational headquarters were obviously set in Florence, was also very authoritative and scientifically appreciated and composed by prof. Bruno Borghi, rector of the University of Florence; prof. Agostino Capocaccia, Professor of Engineering at the University of Genoa and an ANPUR representative at the IAUPL, the International Association of University Professors and Lecturers; prof. Giacomo Devoto, a linguist and glottologist at the Florentine University; prof. Guglielmo Nocera, a Romanist at the University of Perugia; prof. Giorgio Pasquali, an illustrious philologist in Florence; prof. Alberto Pincherle, a historian of religions at the University of Rome; and prof. Francesco Vito, a professor of Political Economics at the Catholic University of the Sacred Heart in Milan and an ANPUR representative at the IAUPL, like Capocaccia.

Despite the inevitable and physiological changes in style, which a period of almost ten years of publication requires, the editorial structure of «Il Giornale dell'Università» [The University Journal] remained essentially unchanged for all the time, when the newspaper was published. The main section of the magazine, often opened by an editorial written by the editor or illustrious men of the Italian academy, was undoubtedly the one entitled «Problemi culturali e di struttura» [Cultural and structural problems], which reviewed the main national (but sometimes also international) topics in each issue concerning Italian University and Higher Education System, highlighting their strengths and weaknesses and, above all, the pressing problems to be faced, to which they had to give an immediate solution and about which we reserve the right to talk again later.

¹⁵⁰ For a significant bio-bibliographic profile of Eustachio Paolo Lamanna see in particular P. Donatelli, *Lamanna, Eustachio Paolo*, in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, Rome, Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 2004, Vol. 63, pp. 128-131.

¹⁵¹ On Luigi Campedelli see P.P. Angelini (ed.), *Luigi Campedelli*, Garfagnana, Edizioni della Rocca, 1987 and *Atti del Convegno internazionale Cultura matematica e insegnamento nel decimo anniversario della scomparsa di Luigi Campedelli*, 30, 31 maggio, 1 giugno 1988, Florence, s.e., 1989.

¹⁵² For a significant bio-bibliographic profile of Eugenio Garin see in particular M. Ciliberto, *Eugenio Garin. Un intellettuale nel Novecento*, Rome-Bari, Laterza, 2011; F. Audisio, A. Savorelli (edd.), *Eugenio Garin. Il percorso storiografico di un maestro*, Florence, Le Lettere, 2003; M. Ciliberto, *Garin, Eugenio*, in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, Rome, Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 2013, on line <[http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/eugenio-antonio-garin_\(Dizionario-Biografico\)/>](http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/eugenio-antonio-garin_(Dizionario-Biografico)/>) (last access: 30.06.2018).

Although not always easily identifiable, due to the absence of the identification title in some numbers of the magazine, the section called «Problemi sindacali» [Trade union problems] was also important and is constantly in various issues, confirming the attention which the periodical intended to reserve to problems related to the economic and legal treatment of the protagonists of university life, with an almost exclusive concern for the situation of the teaching staff. In this section, together with specific reflective articles on the topic of the employment of professors (with *focus* on the competitions and the education of the committees) or their juridical-economic status, or controversial contributions against presumed wrongs and injustices suffered by the teaching body, or reflections, which were the expression of their specific claims¹⁵³, some detailed reports of the annual and extraordinary ANPUR congresses and the board of directors of the same association, as well as reports of the rectors' conferences found a large space at least until 1955, when they compared in an *ad hoc* page entitled «Congressi e Riunioni» [Congresses and Meetings], thanks to which it was possible to have a general overview of the university problems of the time.

In addition to these two main sections of the magazine, which specifically connoted it as a professorial periodical and occupied a substantial part also in

¹⁵³ See E.P. Lamanna, *Saranno dunque costretti a scioperare anche i professori universitari?*, «Il Giornale dell'Università», vol. 1, nn. 8-9, 15 August-15 September 1951, pp. 235-245; C. Mortati, *Aspetti giuridici del provvedimento per l'indennità di lavoro straordinario ai professori universitari*, «Il Giornale dell'Università», vol. 1, n. 11, 15 November 1951, pp. 303-306; *Proroga a vita della posizione di professore universitario fuori ruolo*, «Il Giornale dell'Università», vol. 2, nn. 1-2, 15 January-15 February 1952, p. 4; G. Frisella Vella, *Trattamento economico e morale dei professori*, «Il Giornale dell'Università», vol. 2, n. 4, 15 April 1952, pp. 63-64; V. Nobile, *Ancora sul progetto circa i professori universitari fuori ruolo*, «Il Giornale dell'Università», vol. 2, nn. 5-6, 15 May-15 June 1952, pp. 102-103; M. Lelli, «Escogitate», «Il Giornale dell'Università», vol. 2, nn. 7-8, 15 July-15 August 1952, pp. 126-130; O. Vannini, *In tema di super-indennità accademica*, «Il Giornale dell'Università», vol. 3, nn. 5-6, 15 May-15 June 1953, pp. 103-105; G. Frisella Vella, *Riscatto pensione e accertamenti tributari*, «Il Giornale dell'Università», vol. 4, nn. 3-4, March-April 1954, pp. 79-80; A. Corti, *Solo per un po' di decoro*, «Il Giornale dell'Università», vol. 5, n. 1, January-February 1955, p. 20; L. Campedelli, *I consueti incoraggiamenti ministeriali*, «Il Giornale dell'Università», vol. 5, nn. 4-5, July-October 1955, pp. 181-182; G. Gambardella, *I parenti poveri*, «Il Giornale dell'Università», vol. 6, n. 2, March-April 1956, p. 62. See also, on the same subject but in other sections of the journal, G. Pasquali, *Ancora scelta dei professori*, «Il Giornale dell'Università», vol. 1, n. 4, 15 April 1951, pp. 103-105; A. Piola, *Coscienza della missione universitaria*, «Il Giornale dell'Università», vol. 1, n. 4, 15 April 1951, pp. 111-112; G. Pasquali, P. Mingazzini, *Ancora la designazione e composizione delle commissioni per i concorsi universitari*, «Il Giornale dell'Università», vol. 1, n. 5, 15 May 1951, pp. 135-136; I. Fazzari, *Vexata quaestio: concorsi universitari*, «Il Giornale dell'Università», vol. 1, n. 7, 15 July 1951, pp. 199-200; R. Ciferri, *Per la nomina dei ternati nei concorsi universitari*, «Il Giornale dell'Università», vol. 1, n. 12, 15 December 1951, pp. 334-335; E. Battaglia, *Per l'istituzione di un ruolo di professori ricercatori*, «Il Giornale dell'Università», vol. 2, n. 3, 15 March 1952, p. 45; L. Silipo, *Incarichi e incaricati*, «Il Giornale dell'Università», vol. 3, nn. 3-4, 15 March-15 April 1953, pp. 55-58; C. Zappulli, *Chi ci salverà dal diluvio dei «Prof.»?*, «Il Giornale dell'Università», vol. 6, n. 3, May-June 1956, pp. 87-88; N. Petruzzellis, *Problemi di vita universitaria: stipendi, concorsi, trasferimenti*, «Il Giornale dell'Università» vol. 6, n. 4, July-August 1956, pp. 125-127.

terms of number of pages, it is possible to identify a series of feature pages which allowed the reader to know and to examine university reality thoroughly, in its multiple and heterogeneous aspects. Among the most interesting pages, regularly published and not limited to a few occasional numbers of the periodical¹⁵⁴, it is worth mentioning: «Bollettino delle associazioni universitarie» [University Association Bulletin], a precious tool, thanks to which it was possible to constantly remain updated on the associative and cultural activities, as well as the main university reform proposals advanced and supported by associations, such as the above-mentioned International Association of University Professors and Lecturers, the National Association of University Professors with a temporary Appointment (ANPUI), the National Union of University Assistants (UNAU), the Association of Free Professors (ALP), the Italian University Trade Union Federation (FUSI) and many other associations operating in that period within the university world; «Cronache Universitarie» [University Chronicles], containing university information about the scientific and cultural events organized, the inaugurations of the academic years or similar celebratory or commemorative events, the elections of the rectors, significant sessions of the academic senates, the decorations conferred and the mourning which had struck each academic body; «Atti legislativi e amministrativi» [Legislative and Administrative Acts], which will be then transformed from 1954 into «Atti amministrativi» [Administrative Acts] and from 1956 into «Rassegna di Giurisprudenza e legislazione universitaria» [Review of Law and University Legislation], which was the most classic one of the pages in university periodicals and reported not only the main legislative measures on higher education taken by various governments in office and ministerial circulars, but also the lists of the selection boards of the competitions for professorships and the examining boards for free teachings; «Notizie di movimenti culturali» [News about cultural movements], then «Notizie culturali» [Cultural News], up to the final denomination «Notiziario» [News], a page which periodically offered useful and appreciated summary tables containing the results of the competitions for professorships held during the solar year, in addition to also offering a polychrome fresco of all the most important cultural and scientific events organized in Italy and abroad, a detailed list of all the scientific prizes and the scholarships announced, as well as giving news about articles and interventions related to higher education, appeared on generalist periodicals or newspapers¹⁵⁵.

¹⁵⁴ As instead, for example, the interesting section «Rassegna della stampa scolastica» which was published only on the number 7-8 of 15 July-15 August 1953. It was a valuable list of contributions appeared in newspapers, journals and books on aspects and problems of university life. See *Rassegna della stampa scolastica*, «Il Giornale dell'Università», vol. 3, nn. 7-8, 15 July-15 August 1953, pp. 151-153.

¹⁵⁵ See *Notiziario*, «Il Giornale dell'Università», vol. 8, nn. 3-4, May-August 1958, pp. 111-116.

In addition to inevitable canonical pages, such as the one called «Recensioni e notizie bibliografiche» [Reviews and bibliographic news], with precise reports and examinations on what was published at the university, or the one entitled «Necrologi» [Obituaries], annually composed of very few selected obituaries of illustrious professors since 1952¹⁵⁶, it is worthy of particular mention the page entitled «Le Università italiane» [The Italian Universities], which was not regularly published and where it was possible to find organic reconstructions about the history of each university and descriptions of the organization and the functioning of the institutes inside on the one hand, and precise indications about the aspects related to the practical life of each university, from the canteen to the health service provided for students and professors on the other hand. The protagonists of this page were the University of Florence¹⁵⁷, the Catholic University of the Sacred Heart in Milan¹⁵⁸, the University of Naples «L'Orientale»¹⁵⁹, the University of Ferrara¹⁶⁰ and the city of Piacenza and its university tradition¹⁶¹. The same editorial and descriptive structure was also adopted for the page «Le Università estere» [Foreign Universities], which was only published in two numbers of the magazine, where the *focus* was paid on

¹⁵⁶ On the importance of obituaries as a source for the history of education, see in particular A. Ascenzi, R. Sanì, *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. The obituaries published in the journal were those of Guido Castelnuovo («Il Giornale dell'Università», vol. 2, nn. 5-6, 15 May-15 June 1952, p. 106); Giorgio Pasquali («Il Giornale dell'Università», vol. 2, nn. 7-8, 15 July-15 August 1952, p. 147); Ettore Bianchi («Il Giornale dell'Università», vol. 3, nn. 3-4, 15 March-15 April 1953, p. 80); Ettore Bignone («Il Giornale dell'Università», vol. 3, nn. 7-8, 15 July-15 August 1953, pp. 140-141); Alfredo Pochettino («Il Giornale dell'Università», vol. 2, nn. 7-8, 15 July-15 August 1953, p. 142); Alessandro Levi («Il Giornale dell'Università», vol. 4, nn. 1-2, January-February 1954, pp. 35-38); Filadelfo Insolera («Il Giornale dell'Università», vol. 6, n. 2, March-April 1956, p. 67); Giuseppe Capograssi («Il Giornale dell'Università», vol. 6, n. 3, May-June 1956, pp. 95-96); Enrico Carrara («Il Giornale dell'Università», vol. 8, n. 1, January-February 1958, p. 26); Rodolfo Ambrosino («Il Giornale dell'Università», vol. 8, nn. 5-6, September-October 1958, pp. 159-160); Gino Funaioli («Il Giornale dell'Università», vol. 8, nn. 2-3, March-June 1959, pp. 93-94); Vincenzo Ricchioni («Il Giornale dell'Università», vol. 10, nn. 1-2, January-April 1960, p. 37); Mario Di Domizio («Il Giornale dell'Università», vol. 10, nn. 1-2, January-April 1960, p. 38).

¹⁵⁷ See «Il Giornale dell'Università», vol. 1, n. 4, 15 April 1951, pp. 113-118; «Il Giornale dell'Università», vol. 1, n. 5, 15 May 1951, pp. 147-151; «Il Giornale dell'Università», vol. 1, n. 7, 15 July 1951, pp. 207-224; «Il Giornale dell'Università», vol. 1, nn. 8-9, 15 August-15 September 1951, pp. 255-259; «Il Giornale dell'Università», vol. 1, n. 10, 15 October 1951, pp. 294-295; «Il Giornale dell'Università», vol. 1, n. 11, 15 November 1951, pp. 310-322; «Il Giornale dell'Università», vol. 1, n. 12, 15 December 1951, pp. 345-357.

¹⁵⁸ See «Il Giornale dell'Università», vol. 2, n. 3, 15 March 1952, pp. 46-49; «Il Giornale dell'Università», vol. 2, n. 4, 15 April 1952, pp. 65-68; «Il Giornale dell'Università», vol. 2, nn. 5-6, 15 May-15 June 1952, pp. 104-105.

¹⁵⁹ See «Il Giornale dell'Università», vol. 2, nn. 7-8, 15 July-15 August 1952, pp. 131-136.

¹⁶⁰ See «Il Giornale dell'Università», vol. 2, n. 12, 15 December 1952, pp. 250-252.

¹⁶¹ See «Il Giornale dell'Università», vol. 3, nn. 3-4, 15 March-15 April 1953, p. 73.

universities in England and a comparison between the Italian universities and the German ones respectively¹⁶².

The peculiar *mission* of this new university magazine was already well outlined by the editor Lamanna in the first number of January-February 1951. «Il Giornale dell'Università» [The University Journal], which officially proposed to collect the inheritance and the functions of «L'Università italiana» [The Italian University], was born from the ANPUR clear desire «to respond to a need, which was as indispensable as the university problems became urgent during the reorganization and renewal after the smashing of war»¹⁶³. Therefore, the new periodical rose to «a training ground of free debates to those who belong to the big university family or, in any case, show interest in our High School and High Culture destiny, in its internal movement and its relationship with the scientific and teaching activities of foreign universities», with the clarification of not being considered as a mere simple newspaper, aimed at protecting particular interests, but as «a newspaper of Italian university life in the multiplicity of its aspects; a periodical in which all the Italian universities are interested and where those who are able to bring a contribution of their experience and an expression of their needs to the delineation of a general university and scientific needs make their voices heard».

In view of the evident university decadence, which has begun «since the other post-war period and has become [...] even more alarming in recent years», and in the face of the concrete danger of seeing universities transformed from institutions of high culture into «modest professional schools», the main goal to which the entire Italian academic body was called to fulfil was «to oppose with all our strengths both the aggravation of a university crisis and the attempts to give fictitious – and, for this reason, deleterious – solutions, consisting in definitively consolidating as a normal situation the hypothetically exasperated effects of a process of decay, which we consider due to the action of contingent and provisional factors», in the firm awareness that «Universities are the only repositories of the forces promoting the progress of science, as in the past, but they are not substitutable by collateral private institutions», according to Lamanna.

In this work of appropriate and undeletable improvement and strengthening of university institutes, a particular and specific attention had to be also paid to the condition of material and moral uneasiness, where the professors have been

¹⁶² See C.M. Mac Innes, *Le Università in Inghilterra*, «Il Giornale dell'Università», vol. 6, n. 1, January-February 1956, pp. 10-23 and M. Cappelletti, *Università italiane e università tedesche*, «Il Giornale dell'Università», vol. 7, nn. 3-4, May-August 1957, pp. 82-89. Very similar is the section «La Scuola all'estero», however present in only one issue of the journal (see S. Atzeni, *Le condizioni degli studi superiori nell'U.R.S.S.*, «Il Giornale dell'Università», vol. 5, n. 2, March-April 1955, pp. 53-58 and C.M. Mac Innes, *L'istruzione secondaria in Inghilterra*, «Il Giornale dell'Università», vol. 5, n. 2, March-April 1955, pp. 59-63).

¹⁶³ Lamanna, *Responsabilità*, cit., p. 3. The subsequent citations are taken from this article.

for a long time, an aspect which Lamanna considered «not less relevant for the university crisis». Precisely for this reason, the professors' claims for a legal status in accordance with their high functions could not be seriously taken into consideration by ministerial bodies and public opinion, who were constantly informed about what happened within Italian universities.

Hence, the need to assign to the new periodical the task of «giving a national resonance to the voice of alarm for the danger of death which threatens University», in an attempt to overcome that «spirit of individualistic overcoming and indifference, which is unfortunately so widespread among us scholars». Therefore, «Il Giornale dell'Università» [The University Journal] was configured as «the ideal meeting point – and, if necessary, also a point of fruitful conflict – of all the ideas and the practical initiatives, which have their root in this awareness of responsibility». The editorial staff and the competent journalists of this new periodical had the concrete duty to highlight the obvious complexities and the unequivocal shortcomings of the Italian University System, trying to offer concrete solutions to improve an evidently deficient situation.

Especially in the above-mentioned section «Problemi culturali e di struttura» [Cultural and structural problems], we find a series of authoritative interventions, which sought to see what the situation was within Italian universities during the decade of publication of the magazine, in the hope of offering the reader a glimmer of light in a rather gloomy and controversial picture. Obviously, during 1951, Minister Gonella's bill no. 2100 attracted the attention of those who published on the pages of «Il Giornale dell'Università» [The University Journal]. In fact, many aspects of the Christian Democrat education reform were subject to an extensive debate during the meetings and, especially, the fourth national ANPUR congress, which did not disguise its appreciation for the reform contents in its motions at all¹⁶⁴. The reflection and the comparison on the text of law prepared by Gonella were not only confined to the official assemblies of the Association, but they have interested the entire Italian academic world for the first two years of publication of the magazine (although, Gonella's reform proposal had already been put away in 1952). However, together with more positive and gratifying judgments, such as the ones of Alessandro Levi, a Professor of Philosophy of Law at the University of Florence, who particularly showed to appreciate the non-confessional approach of the University designed by Gonella, the need for a greater rigor in the exams, as well as the proposed distinction between the diploma, useful for the professional qualification, and the scientific degree¹⁶⁵, there were also authoritative men, such as Agostino Gemelli, rector of the Catholic University of the Sacred Heart in Milan, who did

¹⁶⁴ See *Il Quarto Congresso dell'A.N.P.U.R.*, «Il Giornale dell'Università», vol. 1, nn. 1-2, 15 January-15 February 1951, pp. 6-29.

¹⁶⁵ A. Levi, *L'Università nel progetto Gonella*, «Il Giornale dell'Università», vol. 2, n. 12, 15 December 1952, pp. 237-245.

not share certain specific solutions proposed by the Minister and categorically disapproved the neutrality of the project, which had the serious fault of not expressing the intent to educate young people according to principles of moral elevation inspired by Christianity at all¹⁶⁶.

On the pages of the periodical edited by Lamanna, there were also interesting topics over the years, such as the inflation of registered people and graduates in Italian universities, which was considered the main cause of the decline in level of studies, especially in some traditional important faculties in Italian system, such as Law and Medicine, which were more and more crowded by lazy young people, who were scarcely interested in legal or medical science but, above all, animated by the cynical interest in obtaining a title¹⁶⁷. In view of the increasingly imminent Italian university danger of «shattering», repeatedly denounced by ANPUR and well reiterated by Andrea Piola, a Professor of Ecclesiastical Law at the University of Genoa, who sought to revive in «passive» professors the forgotten concept of «university mission conscience» in his contribution¹⁶⁸, the comparison with other foreign higher education systems ended up representing a possible stimulus for an Italian renewal. For example, the analysis of the American university model offered the opportunity to criticize the rigidity of study plans and the excessive importance attributed to degree in Italy on the one hand and allowed to also outline alternative solutions applicable in Italy on the other hand, such as the possibility of establishing higher taxes, accompanied by measures in favor of the less well-to-do, in order to favour the access to University only to really interested students, who were ready to sacrifice linked to intense years of studies¹⁶⁹.

As already stressed for other magazines, the topics on the pages of «Il Giornale dell'Università» [The University Journal] were also of a transversal

¹⁶⁶ See A. Gemelli, *L'Università è in crisi?*, «Il Giornale dell'Università», vol. 2, n. 3, 15 March 1952, pp. 237-245.

¹⁶⁷ See V. Castrilli, *Lo sviluppo della studentesca universitaria nell'ultimo ventennio*, «Il Giornale dell'Università», vol. 1, n. 3, 15 March 1951, pp. 67-72; S. Lessona, *La crisi universitaria nella Facoltà di Giurisprudenza*, «Il Giornale dell'Università», vol. 1, n. 4, 15 April 1951, pp. 105-107; G. Benassi, *La crisi universitaria nella Facoltà di Medicina*, «Il Giornale dell'Università», vol. 1, n. 7, 15 July 1951, pp. 200-203; Id., *Ancora sulla crisi universitaria*, «Il Giornale dell'Università», vol. 1, n. 12, 15 December 1951, pp. 331-334; G. Cassini, *Numero «chiuso» o numero illimitato nelle iscrizioni di studenti alle Università?*, «Il Giornale dell'Università», vol. 2, n. 3, 15 March 1952, pp. 37-39; P. Mingazzini, *Una proposta per lo sfollamento delle Università*, «Il Giornale dell'Università», vol. 3, nn. 11-12, 15 November-15 December 1953, pp. 220-221; L. De Regibus, *L'accesso all'Università*, «Il Giornale dell'Università», vol. 3, nn. 11-12, 15 November-15 December 1953, pp. 222-223; E. Berni, *Il doppio problema del «numero chiuso»*, «Il Giornale dell'Università», vol. 1, n. 1, January-February 1955, pp. 13-16;

¹⁶⁸ S. Piola, *Coscienza della missione universitaria*, «Il Giornale dell'Università», vol. 1, n. 4, 15 April 1951, pp. 111-112 (quot. on p. 111).

¹⁶⁹ See F. Vito, *Il destino dell'Università in un mondo diviso*, «Il Giornale dell'Università», vol. 1, nn. 1-2, 15 January-15 February 1951, pp. 30-33; G. Salvemini, *Scuole pubbliche e private negli Stati Uniti*, «Il Giornale dell'Università», vol. 1, n. 3, 15 March 1951, pp. 76-78; A. Levi, *Aver fiducia nei giovani*, «Il Giornale dell'Università», vol. 1, n. 5, 5 May 1951, pp. 132-134.

and different nature. Not by chance, besides some discussions on problems of purely didactic reorganization of the university system, which was still firm to the Fascist model or even to the Casatian model in some ways, with many proposals in order to improve each faculty, in an attempt to make the study plans, the subjects studied and the contents of each discipline most suitable and functional to the needs of contemporary society and the world of work¹⁷⁰, it is also very easy to find on the pages of the periodical disquisitions on broader topics, such as the cultural and social role to be attributed to University¹⁷¹, or the concept of science and research freedom, often endangered by real deplorable political and economic interferences¹⁷².

There was also a lot of debate on the atavistic problem concerning the number and the correct distribution of the universities throughout the territory¹⁷³: this was a topic which was particularly 'hot' and would have stirred up a debate in the entire academic community within a few years, in light of the questionable ministerial decisions implemented by the political class of the 1950s, which would have led to a determined change in the Italian academic geography. In fact, in 1951, that prospect of an organic and global school renewal, which Gonella had tenaciously cultivated and continued during his long ministry, had failed with a lot of uncertainty and difficulty at his farewell to Minerva's Ministry. The new Minister Mario Segni had immediately appeared particularly interested in devoting himself to «good administration» and not to the school reform project destiny, so that he preferred to let them extol the reform and its polemics, with the implicit warning that he would not have certainly taken the

¹⁷⁰ See A. Bertolino, *Per un riordinamento della Facoltà di Economia e Commercio*, «Il Giornale dell'Università», vol. 2, nn. 1-2, 15 January-15 February 1952, pp. 5-13; *Per un riordinamento degli studi universitari di filosofia*, «Il Giornale dell'Università», vol. 2, n. 11, 15 November 1952, pp. 185-201; R. Ciasca, *Sul riordinamento delle Facoltà di Scienze Politiche*, «Il Giornale dell'Università», vol. 9, n. 1, January-February 1959, pp. 7-14.

¹⁷¹ See F. Vito, *L'università davanti alla crisi sociale del nostro tempo*, «Il Giornale dell'Università», vol. 2, nn. 5-6, 15 May-15 June 1952, pp. 81-93; A. Gemelli, *Università e società*, «Il Giornale dell'Università», vol. 5, n. 1, January-February 1955, pp. 237-245; U. Bosco, *L'equivoco dell'Università*, «Il Giornale dell'Università», vol. 6, n. 1, January-February 1956, pp. 1-4; G. Colonnetti, *L'Università: ieri, oggi, domani*, «Il Giornale dell'Università», vol. 9, n. 1, January-February 1959, pp. 19-21; F. Vito, *Compito scientifico, aspetto professionale e carattere sociale degli studi universitari*, «Il Giornale dell'Università», vol. 10, nn. 1-2, January-April 1960, pp. 1-10.

¹⁷² See J.-R. De Salis, *La libertà della scienza*, «Il Giornale dell'Università», vol. 3, nn. 1-2, 15 January-15 February 1953, pp. 17-27; N. Terzaghi, *Contributo alla discussione sulla libertà della scienza*, «Il Giornale dell'Università», vol. 3, nn. 3-4, 15 March-15 April 1953, pp. 53-55; *L'opinione del Prof. Bianchi Bandinelli*, «Il Giornale dell'Università», vol. 3, nn. 5-6, 15 May-15 June 1953, pp. 98-99; *Nuove riflessioni del prof. Terzaghi*, «Il Giornale dell'Università», vol. 3, nn. 5-6, 15 May-15 June 1953, pp. 99-101; N. Terzaghi, *Sulla libertà della scienza*, «Il Giornale dell'Università», vol. 3, nn. 7-8, 15 July-15 August 1953, pp. 121-124.

¹⁷³ See V. Rivera, *Il numero e la distribuzione delle Università*, «Il Giornale dell'Università», vol. 3, nn. 1-2, 15 January-15 February 1953, pp. 29-32.

role of a reforming minister during his ministry¹⁷⁴. Segni's attitude, constantly repeated by his successors at least until the last phase of the decade, can be taken as a symbol of school events in the 1950s. In fact, there was a school and university policy made of disconnected small steps and sectorial measures, which was more careful to mainly give partial and episodic solutions to many small emerging problems than to introduce significant changes. This season, which the school historiography of the second post-war period defined as the one of school and university «administrative management»¹⁷⁵, would have caused bitterness and confusion among those who had shared and supported the reforming aspirations of the previous phase on the one hand and would have restored vigour to the corporate and local tendencies, often in sharp contrast with the needs of an organic and rational expansion of the Italian Higher Education System on the other hand¹⁷⁶. Due to the political pressure of the local ruling classes¹⁷⁷ and the will to face the university overcrowding through a policy of decentralization, which did not agree with the particular Italian academic geography¹⁷⁸, the concern which most gripped the office holders of the Ministry of Public Education during the 1950s was, above all, to mainly concentrate on the wild and irrational development of new faculties and universities throughout Italy, which was not led by an organic plan¹⁷⁹.

On the pages of «Il Giornale dell'Università» [The University Journal], the debate on this topic was immediately very intense and participated, with a hard stance taken by many individual professors¹⁸⁰ and the ANPUR itself,

¹⁷⁴ See in particular R. Sani, *Le associazioni degli insegnanti cattolici nel secondo dopoguerra (1944-1958)*, Brescia, La Scuola, 1990, p. 99 and Sani, *La politica scolastica del Centro-Sinistra (1962-1968)*, cit., pp. 38-50.

¹⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 39.

¹⁷⁶ See U.M. Miozzi, *Lo sviluppo storico dell'Università italiana*, Florence, Le Monnier, 1993, pp. 152-166.

¹⁷⁷ See R. Semenza, *Una proliferazione eccessiva dell'offerta formativa?*, in M. Regini (ed.), *Malata e denigrata. L'Università italiana a confronto con l'Europa*, Rome, Donzelli, 2009, pp. 19-30 (in particular pp. 20-21).

¹⁷⁸ See M. Moretti, *Sulla geografia accademica nell'Italia contemporanea (1859-1962)*, in L. Bianco, A. Giorgi, L. Mineo (edd.), *Costruire un'Università. Le fonti documentarie per la storia dell'Università degli Studi di Trento (1962-1972)*, Bologna, il Mulino, 2011, pp. 59-100 and L. Pomante, *Per una storia delle università minori nell'Italia contemporanea. Il caso dello Studium Generale Maceratense tra Otto e Novecento*, Macerata, eum, 2013 (in particular pp. 257-260).

¹⁷⁹ On the university policy of this period, in addition to what already mentioned, see also G. Luzzatto, *L'Università*, in G. Cives (ed.), *La scuola italiana dall'Unità ai nostri giorni*, Florence, La Nuova Italia, 1990, pp. 153-198; G. Marsiglia, *L'Università di massa: espansione, crisi e trasformazione*, in S. Soldani, G. Turi, *Fare gli italiani. Scuola e cultura nell'Italia contemporanea*, 2 vols., Bologna, il Mulino, 1993, Vol. I, pp. 129-168; G. Capano, *La politica universitaria*, Bologna, il Mulino, 1998; G. Luzzatto, 2001: *l'odissea dell'università nuova*, Milan, La Nuova Italia, 2001; Romano, *A trent'anni dal '68. "Questione universitaria" e "riforma universitaria"*, cit; Graziosi, *L'Università per tutti. Riforme e crisi del sistema universitario italiano*, cit.; Pomante, «Fiducia nell'uomo e nell'intelligenza umana». *La Federazione Universitaria Cattolica Italiana (FUCI) dalle origini al '68*, cit., pp. 319-330.

¹⁸⁰ See M. De Luca, *Una nuova università a L'Aquila!*, «Il Giornale dell'Università», vol. 2,

who explicitly invited the Ministry to ensure that every proposal for new institutions was subject to two specific conditions: «first, old universities should be strengthened and, then, an adequate scientific and educational equipment should be given to the new ones»¹⁸¹, in order to prevent «that science falls lower and lower and university is reduced to be less than a secondary school not provided with seriousness, only to give ten or twenty or one hundred good people the honour of being able to write on their business card: ‘Prof. at the University of X’»¹⁸².

Beyond the condemned and despicable proliferation of new universities, which would have proved to be an unstoppable process and would have changed the face of the whole Italian University System in two decades or so¹⁸³, it should be noted how Italian University has been experiencing an already particularly critical situation from a structural point of view since the early 1950s. In fact, with the post-war development of the Italian society, it had revealed clear signs of crisis, failing to give adequate answers either to the strong demands for social mobility emerging in the country, nor to the need to modernize the knowledge resulting from the significant growth of technical-scientific culture and the rapid industrialization of an Italy, which needed a considerable number of graduates, especially in scientific fields. Forced by the events, University found itself involved in a process of change perfectly related to the evolutionary process which involved a society in rapid and chaotic development, according to complex and contradictory parameters.

As effectively illustrated by Andrea Romano, the Higher Education System of that period in Italy was a jumble of contradictions, unable to face the new challenges of contemporary society:

Curricula inadequate to different realities, obsolete and poorly effective didactic forms, insufficient structures, high relationship between professors and students, low attendance and professors who often considered teaching (and even research) an indispensable commitment – because it was prestigious and imposed substantial economic or patronage relapses – made the Italian University System globally unsatisfactory and scarcely productive, although excellent in some sectors and in some *élites*, as it was highlighted by a significant number of

nn. 9-10, 15 September-15 October 1952, p. 184; *A proposito dell'annunciata istituzione d'una nuova università a L'Aquila*, «Il Giornale dell'Università», vol. 2, n. 11, 15 November 1952, pp. 201-209; E.P. Lamanna, *Ancora nuove università*, «Il Giornale dell'Università», vol. 1, n. 1, 15 January-15 February 1953, pp. 27-32; Id., *A proposito della nuova Università di Lecce*, «Il Giornale dell'Università», vol. 7, n. 6, November-December 1957, pp. 157-159; *Ancora sulla nuova Università di Lecce*, «Il Giornale dell'Università», vol. 8, n. 1, January-February 1958, pp. 18-25; *Una nuova Università a Verona*, «Il Giornale dell'Università», vol. 9, nn. 4-5, July-October 1959, p. 150.

¹⁸¹ *A proposito dell'annunciata istituzione d'una nuova università a L'Aquila*, cit., p. 209.

¹⁸² *Ibid.*, p. 208.

¹⁸³ See D. Gabusi, *La svolta democratica nell'istruzione italiana. Luigi Gui e la politica scolastica del centro-sinistra*, Brescia, La Scuola, 2010, pp. 265-305 e Graziosi, *L'Università per tutti. Riforme e crisi del sistema universitario italiano*, cit., pp. 46-49, 58-59 e 73-77.

students, who had failed to take their degree in the time prescribed: that was 37% of all the registered people in the academic year 1950-51, while the ratio between registered people and graduates was less than 10% during the same year. An apparently relentless selection which has not always found a justification in the quality and the right rigor of the studies¹⁸⁴.

This sense of widespread uneasiness for the difficult moral and material university conditions was destined to inevitably reverberate also on the pages of «Il Giornale dell'Università» [The University Journal], which chose to primarily devote itself to denounce all what did not work within Italian university world, having overcome the initial propositional enthusiasm of the first two years of the magazine, mainly linked to the lifeblood of Minister Gonella's reformist instances and characterized by both theoretical and practical reflections of the academic world on Italian Higher Education System, as we have already seen. Therefore, between 1952 and 1953, some interesting articles by authoritative professors, such as Gaetano Salvemini, a professor of Modern History in Florence, appeared in the magazine, under the common title of *Scandali universitari* [University Scandals], where the didactic malfunctioning and the disorganization of many Italian universities, as well as the rampant moral corruption, which partly dominated the teaching staff, especially belonging to the southern universities, were contested¹⁸⁵; then, between 1954 and 1956, a series of contributions were published in the periodical with the common task of identifying and, precisely, describing the main school and university problems both from an organizational and an ethical point of view¹⁸⁶. However, the magazine edited by Lamanna, who was aware of the unsustainability of the situation and the only real voice heard within Italian university professorial world, tried to go beyond the simple operation of denunciation. For this reason, especially with the incentive of some famous members of Parliament,

¹⁸⁴ Romano, *A trent'anni dal '68. "Questione universitaria" e "riforma universitaria"*, cit., p. 12.

¹⁸⁵ See G. Salvemini, *Scandali universitari*, «Il Giornale dell'Università», vol. 2, nn. 7-8, 15 July-15 August 1952, pp. 124-125; S. Scaglione, *A proposito della lettera di Salvemini su «Scandali universitari»*, «Il Giornale dell'Università», vol. 2, n. 11, 15 November 1952, p. 214; G. Salvemini, *Ancora sugli scandali universitari*, «Il Giornale dell'Università», vol. 3, nn. 1-2, 15 January-15 February 1953, pp. 32-35; *Ancora sugli scandali universitari*, «Il Giornale dell'Università», vol. 3, nn. 3-4, 15 March-15 April 1953, pp. 67-70; *Strascichi polemici*, «Il Giornale dell'Università», vol. 3, nn. 5-6, 15 May-15 June 1953, pp. 106-107; *Ancora su scandali universitari*, «Il Giornale dell'Università», vol. 3, nn. 7-8, 15 July-15 August 1953, pp. 131-133; *Strascichi polemici*, «Il Giornale dell'Università», vol. 3, nn. 9-10, 15 September-15 October 1953, pp. 190-194; *Conclusione dell'inchiesta ministeriale sull'Università di Catania*, «Il Giornale dell'Università», vol. 3, nn. 11-12, 15 November-15 December 1953, pp. 228-230.

¹⁸⁶ See M. Bracci, *Per un'inchiesta ministeriale sui problemi universitari*, «Il Giornale dell'Università», vol. 4, nn. 3-4, March-April 1954, pp. 53-55; V. Rivera, *Crisi nelle università italiane*, «Il Giornale dell'Università», vol. 4, nn. 3-4, March-April 1954, pp. 57-59; G.M. De Francesco, *I problemi dell'istruzione universitaria*, «Il Giornale dell'Università», vol. 4, nn. 9-10, September-October 1954, pp. 181-187; D. Pieraccioni, *La scuola grande malata*, «Il Giornale dell'Università», vol. 5, n. 3, May-June 1955, pp. 99-106; G. Calogero, *Problemi della scuola italiana*, «Il Giornale dell'Università», vol. 6, n. 2, March-April 1956, pp. 42-50.

such as prof. Emilio Trabucchi, a professor of Pharmacology at the University of Milan¹⁸⁷, prof. Giuseppe Ermini, rector of the University of Perugia, and prof. Raffaele Resta, a professor of Administrative Law at the University of Rome, between 1957 and 1958, it even set up a sort of *dossier*, developed in three separate issues of the periodical and entitled *La crisi universitaria nella fase acuta* [The university crisis during the acute phase]¹⁸⁸, which was further enriched by some articles of reflection published in 1959¹⁸⁹, where it aimed at provoking the Italian political class of the time, outlining the global university context of those years, made of a few lights and many shadows, and pushing it, before the obvious difficulties of Higher Education in Italy *in primis*, to finally put the above-mentioned ministerial policy devoid of great outbursts, ambitious intentions and broad prospects aside, in favour of a special legislative intervention, which turned out to be organic and complete and, above all, able to renew the entire Italian educational system¹⁹⁰.

In the light of this just outlined context, it is very clear the reason why a special attention was paid to the so-called *Plan for school development in the decade from 1959 to 1969* on the pages of the periodical by Fanfani II Cabinet (with Aldo Moro at the Ministry of Public Education)¹⁹¹. This provision, introduced to the Senate on September 22nd, 1958 (bill no. 129), provided for the allocation of substantial funds, aimed at implementing reforms and restructuring the organization, which the school system needed. It established that, during the 1959-69 decade, the State would have prepared financial measures for a total amount of 1,386 billion in favour of the school buildings, the teaching and scientific equipment, the school and university assistance, the funding and the development of nursery schools and the increase of managerial and teaching staff for primary and secondary schools and universities.

Accepted with moderate optimism by most of the political line-ups at the beginning, the *ten-year Plan* was ideally placed in the wake of the trends and

¹⁸⁷ See E. Trabucchi, *Sui problemi dell'Università italiana*, «Il Giornale dell'Università», vol. 6, n. 4, July-August 1956, pp. 107-122.

¹⁸⁸ See *La crisi universitaria nella sua fase acuta*, «Il Giornale dell'Università», vol. 7, n. 5, September-October 1957, pp. 112-134; *La crisi universitaria nella sua fase acuta*, «Il Giornale dell'Università», vol. 7, n. 6, November-December 1957, pp. 144-156; *La crisi dell'Università*, «Il Giornale dell'Università», vol. 8, n. 1, January-February 1958, pp. 9-11.

¹⁸⁹ See G. Ermini, *Problemi universitari*, «Il Giornale dell'Università», vol. 9, nn. 4-5, July-October 1959, pp. 118-130 and R. Resta, *Problemi delle Università italiane*, «Il Giornale dell'Università», vol. 9, n. 6, November-December 1959, pp. 174-176.

¹⁹⁰ See 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 (in particular pp. 481-484).

¹⁹¹ On *Piano decennale della scuola* see T. Codignola, *Nascita e morte di un Piano*, Florence, La Nuova Italia, 1962; Ambrosoli, *La scuola in Italia dal dopoguerra ad oggi*, cit., pp. 85-96; Chiosso, *I cattolici e la scuola dalla Costituente al centro sinistra*, cit., pp. 185-193; Pazzaglia, *La politica scolastica del Centro-Sinistra*, cit., pp. 481-485; Sani, *La politica scolastica del Centro-Sinistra (1962-1968)*, cit., pp. 51-74.

the inspiring motifs of the school reform project prepared by Minister Gonella almost a decade before, although it largely wandered from the latter, due to its nature and its approach. Beyond the undeniable elements of continuity with Gonella's project in 1951, what appears to us to be the most important one is that the *Plan* proposed by Fanfani II Cabinet launched the prospect of an overall and structural education and school reform again, which took place by parliamentary means and, above all, was supported by a precise economic planning. It reflected the affirmation of a «programming culture» within the political class, by which the State was called to lead great periods of socio-economic transformation of the country. In the light of this process, which would have been taken on with further conviction by the following centre-left governments, «school ceased to constitute an independent element, in order to become part of a wider system, where factors of various genre – from the economic ones to the most educational ones – interacted»¹⁹².

Therefore, this hypothesis of an organic reformist intervention in the educational sector, which was set aside with Gonella's reform failure, strongly returned to the centre of the political and parliamentary debate, involving both the government and the opposition forces in the decisive and common need to activate a serious initiative of school policy as a condition which could no longer be postponed for the overall growth of the Italian society, as well as for the improvement of living conditions of the citizens, in addition to productive investments. The Italian professorial world, whose position found its voice on the columns of «Il Giornale dell'Università» [The University Journal], could only look at this new reformist prospect with confidence, because it was probably considered as the only real last hope for the university rampant crisis. Precisely for this reason, in the last number in 1959, the Editorial Board thought to publish the text of the bill proposed by the Government with the amendments proposed by the Senate Commission, for the only part specifically concerning University, as well as a commentary article by Giulio Maceratini¹⁹³; while, in the January-April 1960 number, a specific and detailed questionnaire, prepared by the national ANPUR presidency and addressed to the presidents of the local sections of the Association, appeared in the periodical to know the opinion of the entire university teaching world on the contents of the bill¹⁹⁴. During the following months, the magazine was committed to gather, to examine and to publish the answers received, in order to offer the Minister of Public Education a summary and exhaustive report, which was an expression of the Italian academy's thought. However, the determined deterioration in the health conditions of the editor and the main leading spirit of the magazine,

¹⁹² Pazzaglia, *La politica scolastica del Centro-Sinistra*, cit., p. 483.

¹⁹³ See *Il Piano Decennale della Scuola*, «Il Giornale dell'Università», vol. 9, n. 6, November-December 1959, pp. 183-192.

¹⁹⁴ *Questionario relativo al Piano Decennale della Scuola*, «Il Giornale dell'Università», vol. 10, nn. 1-2, January-April 1960, pp. 32-33.

prof. Lamanna, would have meant that the above-mentioned first number of «Il Giornale dell'Università» [The University Journal] in 1960 was also the last publication¹⁹⁵ and, therefore, the project of a collaboration between Ministry and ANPUR would have been put aside. Precisely, during the crucial months of gestation and delicate development of the *ten-year Plan*, which was then drastically reduced in a more modest three-year write-off, Italian professors unfortunately found themselves lacking in an official periodical, which had been a spokesperson for their needs and their requests and, above all, was an expression of the widespread and shared desire for rebirth of the whole Italian Higher Education System, as seen on the columns of «Il Giornale dell'Università» [The University Journal].

¹⁹⁵ See G. Sensini, *Il professore d'Università*, Florence, Vallecchi, 1963, p. 145.

Italian missionary schools in the Ottoman Empire since XVIII Century

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ABSTRACT: This study aims to shed light on the historical development of Italian missionary schools in the Ottoman Empire and their activities, based on archived documents of the Ottoman Empire. In the first part of the article, the history of the Italian missionary institutions and the activities before the Ottoman state are examined. In the second part, the establishment, activities, and effects of the missionary schools on the Ottoman society are determined. Up until the 19th century, the Italian missionary institutions attempted to disseminate Christianity in Ottoman territories under the protection of France, although they were unable to significantly develop. The basic activities were limited to the teaching of the Bible and Italian. After the colonization movements and the political unity of Italy in the 19th century, they changed into institutions serving Italian interests. In addition to Constantinople, the capital of the Ottoman Empire, the number of Italian schools increased across regions such as the Balkans, the Middle East, and North Africa. These schools also served as an Italian agency to the building of an Italian identity among Italian citizens. Up until World War I, Italian schools continued to exist within the Ottoman Empire, although most were closed after the war. Only the Italian High School continued to exist during the Republican period, continuing to provide training within Turkey but having ended its missionary efforts.

EET/TEE KEYWORDS: History of school; Missionary; Ottoman Empire; Turkey; XVIIIth-XXth Centuries.

Introduction

Missionary activities can be attributed to the attempts of the apostles to propagate Christianity after the death of Jesus, with missionaries having taken on this post after the apostles. These missionaries, who were appointed by the church, conducted religious, educational, and economic activities in their region through the creation of religious institutions. When thinking of a missionary, the Protestant missionaries come to mind first, but the Catholic missionaries started their activities earlier than the Protestants. After the crusade wars, the Catholic missionaries moved into the Middle East and Asia. As the capital of Catholicism moved to Rome, the Papacy became the main authority for organizing missionary activities. Catholic missionaries have been very powerful in the Middle East and Asia since that time. Some Italian Catholics arrived in Constantinople after the 14th century, but before the Catholic missionaries. With the political authority of the Papacy and the political protection of France, the missionaries continued their activities in Constantinople, teaching the children of Catholic Italian tradesmen, sailors, and other professionals living there a basic religious education and the Bible. Later, however, they wanted to unite the Orthodox Church and the Roman Catholic Church, causing conflict among the other communities¹.

It is difficult to explain precisely what motivated these missionaries other than their determination to propagate the Gospel. They had probably imbibed much of the idealism of the revolutionary and post-revolutionary generation and were utterly convinced of the divineness of their faith. The aim of these activities changed direction and were accelerated by geographical discoveries that led to the beginning of the West's worldwide exploitation. It is also remarkable that the missionaries exerted extreme efforts to disseminate Catholicism. After Sultan Mehmed II's conquest of Constantinople, the Latin people retained a special status and continued their religious freedom. People from Pisa and Genoese assumed certain privileges and were allowed to settle in Constantinople and within other Ottoman territories. The Genoese Colony had been stronger in the Galata² district when Sultan Mehmed II captured Constantinople in 1453. During this period, the Italian families living in

¹ R. Etteldorf, *The Catholic church in the middle east*, New York, The Macmillan Company, 1959. See also: C.A. Frazee, *Catholics and Sultans: The church and the Ottoman Empire 1453-1923*, London-New York, Cambridge University Press, 1983; H.B. Hansen, M. Twaddle, *Christian missionaries & the state in the Third World*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2002; J. Currey, H. Gilley, Introduction, in S. Gilley, B. Stanley (edd.), *The Cambridge history of christianity: world christianities c.1815-c.1914*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2006; E. Dalleggio d'Alessio, *Les origines dominicaines du couvent des SS. Pierre-et-Paul a Galata; un texte définitif*, «Echos d'Orient», vol. XXIX, n. 4, 1930, pp. 459-60; D.J. Grange, *L'Italie et la Méditerranée (1896-1911). Les fondements d'une politique étrangère*, Rome, École Française de Rome, 1994.

² The Galatan churches were: St Francis, St Anne, St Anthony, St Benedict, St Catherine, St Claire, St George, St John the Baptist, St Michael, St Paul, St Dominic, St Nicholas, and St Sebastian.

Constantinople enjoyed certain privileges with their high-level jobs in shipping, trading, banking, pharmacy, and medicine. Apart from Constantinople, the Genoese lived on the Black Sea coast where they engaged in maritime trade, as well as working in trade and pharmacy in the city of Edirne and throughout the Balkans. The Italians, as a nautical and merchant nation, began to spread into the Ottoman territories through various trade agreements after the 16th century. In addition, Catholic missionaries appeared again to teach Christianity³. Both Catholic and Protestant missionaries paid special attention to the Biblical lands and the birthplace of Jesus. Therefore the missionary activities engaged in the Ottoman territories started by the 16th century, but under the pioneer of the French Catholic influence after France held the Capitulations in 1569 in the Ottoman Empire⁴.

This article examines the activities of the Italian missionaries in the Ottoman Empire. Firstly, the Ottoman-Ottoman historical affairs are discussed. Then, the educational activities of the Italian missionaries are studied from the early period and after the Tanzimat period of 1839. It is necessary to analyze the history of the Italians in the Ottoman Empire in order to better understand the activities of the Italian missionaries. This article discusses the educational activities of the missionaries, especially in the light of archived documents obtained from the Ottoman archives.

History of Italian Community in the Ottoman Empire

It is necessary to determine how the Italians arrived to Constantinople and Anatolia in order to study the situation of Italian missionary schools during the Ottoman area. Italians were living in separate states prior to the establishment of the Italian Union. The Italian merchants and sailors were the first Europeans to arrive in Constantinople in the 10th century, long before the Ottoman Empire captured the city in 1453. The Italians-Italiophones, namely the Venetians and Genoese of the Venice Trade Colony, arrived in Constantinople around the 10th century. At the time of the Byzantine Empire, Emperor Konstantinos bestowed certain commercial rights to the Venetians. This was the starting point of the subsequent Latin reign by the late Byzantine Empire. After 1453 and the Ottoman conquest of Constantinople, Sultan Mehmed II endorsed the Genoese, and then the Venetians, Livorno and other Italians, to settle in the Galata, and

³ A. Camps, *Catholic Missionaries (1800-1860)*, in N. Standaert, R.G. Tiedemann (edd.), *Handbook of christianity in china*, New York, Brill, 2009, Vol. 2, pp. 115-132

⁴ J.P. Tudesco, *Missionaries and French imperialism: the role of Catholic missionaries in French colonial expansion, 1880-1905*, Doctoral Thesis (Supervisor: Edmond S. Wherle). Department of History, University of Connecticut, Academic Year 1980-1981

Pera near to the Levant district. Therefore, most Italian residents under the Ottoman rule were commonly known as the «Levantine». The Ottoman Empire recognized their community status as Latin and allowed them to organize their own community. However, this group were not classified as «millet»⁵ (nation), but as Taiifé (class, group human), though it was a legal status in Rome⁶. The Levantines worked as dragoman, traders or bankers, and they integrated very well into the local community⁷. As Ortaylı mentioned, the Levantines built local trade and cultural relations with the Byzantine and Ottoman Orient and transferred the scientific and philosophical knowledge of Western Europe and the cultural life of their Italian cities to the Eastern Mediterranean⁸. The Italians dispersed to different parts of the Ottoman dominions, from Egypt, Tunisia and Tripoli, to the Turkish-Anatolian area including Smyrna and the Aegean coast, as well as Constantinople with a digression up to Thessalonica and the Aegean islands; as a result, information held about the Italian residents was somewhat limited. Some Italian groups spoke different languages such as Greek or the local language. However, the majority of Italians in Constantinople spoke Italian. As a language, Italian was one of the eastern Mediterranean languages since the Middle Ages, and was used for trade. Later it became the Ottoman diplomatic language up until at least 1774; after which, French replaced Italian⁹, even among the Italians living in Constantinople. It is possible to recognize these changes from correspondences found in the archived manuscripts. The Italians who lived in the Ottoman dominions were recognized as having spoken Italian up until the 19th century.

Development of Italian Missionaries in the Ottoman Empire

The missionaries engaged in covert activities within Ottoman dominions such as the Middle East, Anatolia, the Balkans, and Constantinople during the period when the Ottomans were strong, but their activities became overt as the Ottoman Empire weakened. They established schools, hospitals and

⁵ «Millet system»: The Ottoman Empire's system of rule through religious communities. The group itself administered legal issues among members of individual millets, or religious groups, and the millets on behalf of the empire collected taxes. *Millets* kept in close contact with their coreligionists in other countries, sometimes undermining the power of the Ottoman government.

⁶ I. Ortaylı, *Gli italiani di Istanbul*, in A. De Gasperi, R. Ferrazza (edd.), *Italiani di Istanbul, figure, comunità e istituzioni dalle riforme alla Repubblica 1839-1923*, Turin, Fondazione Agnelli, 2007, p. 2.

⁷ L. Zuccolo, *Gli Italiani All'estero. Il Caso Ottomano*, «Diacronie. Studi di Storia Contemporanea», vol. 5, n. 1, 2011, <http://www.Studistorici.Com/2011/01/29/Zuccolo_Numero_5/> (last access: 15.01.2019).

⁸ Ortaylı, *Gli italiani di Istanbul*, cit., p. 46.

⁹ See Correspondences between Italy Kingdom and Ottoman Empire embedded into text.

settled not only as preachers, priests, clergy, and nuns, but also as doctors, engineers, teachers, technicians, social workers and other missionary roles. In the Ottoman Empire, various religious communities opened their own community schools in different times as church schools with the help of missionaries. The first Catholic (Jesuit and Franciscan) missionaries arrived at the dominions of the Ottoman Empire in the late 16th and 17th centuries¹⁰. The main purpose of the missionaries was to take back the holy lands from the Muslims and to propagate Christianity in these regions. They kept up their activities under the protection of different embassies in the Ottoman Empire without explicitly expressing their purpose. Hitherto, the French embassies undertook the task of the missionaries' protection, joined later by the Italian and Austrian embassies who claimed themselves as the protectors of Catholic citizens. The Russian embassy protected the Orthodox population, while the British and US Embassies protected the Protestants in the empire¹¹. The missionaries were transformed into institutions serving the political, political and commercial interests after the 19th century and influenced the historical and cultural structure of the region. The fact that they continued their existence despite decreases in student numbers over time is significant proof of their colonizing function¹². The missionaries acted as pioneers of the colonialist countries, and the British, French, US and Italian governments themselves sent missionaries to regions they wanted to colonize. The Catholics and later the Protestants who succeeded in settling Ottoman lands, interacted with the Christian people and influenced the development of missionaries in the Near East. The Italians, and particularly the Catholic missionaries, emerged in the Ottoman lands before the Protestants arrived in the 19th Century. The primary aim was the education of their coreligionists, as well as to disseminate their outlook among other people from different sects. However, the phenomenon of the missionary usually ended with clashes between the different Christian sects¹³. Subsequent to the Italian merchants successful establishment of trade relations with those settled in Constantinople, the Italian immigrants also participated in social and economic life as they populated these regions. The

¹⁰ Frazee, *Catholics and Sultans: The church and the Ottoman Empire 1453-1923*, cit., pp. 55, 72; Grange, *L'Italie et la Méditerranée (1896-1911). Les fondements d'une politique étrangère*, cit., p. 479.

¹¹ O. Sabev, *Spiritus Roberti, "Shaping new minds and Robert College in late Ottoman society" (1863-1923)*, İstanbul, Boğaziçi Üniversitesi Yayınevi, 2014; H. Murre-van den Berg (ed.), *New faith in ancient lands: western missions in the Middle East in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries*, Leiden, Brill, 2006.

¹² U. Kocbaşoğlu, *Anadolu'daki Amerika kendi belgeleriyle 19. yüzyılda Osmanlı imparatorluğu'ndaki amerikan misyoner okulları* [America in Anatolia: American missionary schools in the nineteenth century-Ottoman Empire], Ankara, Imge Kitabevi, 2000.

¹³ B. Küçüköğlu, *Türk dünyasında misyoner faaliyetleri (Missionary activities among Turkish spoken people)*, İstanbul, Yayınevi, 2003, p. 107; Grange, *L'Italie et la Méditerranée (1896-1911). Les fondements d'une politique étrangère*, cit., pp. 481-483.

Italian merchants shaped commerce and administration in the Ottoman Empire after the Ottoman capture of Constantinople. The missionaries became an integral part of their homeland, particularly the Roman Church. The Italian missionaries educated the Italian (Sicilian, Venetian, and others) citizens freely up until the 19th century for religious aims. However, missionary activities then changed based on the colonialism movement. They started to create a moderate missionary expansion by means of their educational activities. These activities also comprised a patriotic trend to empower an Italian identity and for cultural dissemination. They acted in North Africa and European, close to the Italian peninsula in the Ottoman dominions. Studies have been published on the missionary education in the Ottoman Empire¹⁴.

Number of missions in the Orient (1907)¹⁵

Orders	Dioceses	Missions	Priests
Conventicles	Jassy		28
	Constantinople	6	29
Capucins	Sofia		31
	Constantinople	2	11
	Zante et Céph.	1	5
	Sira Chio	1	3
	Smyrne	3	4
	Babylone (Mardin)	9	15
	Alep	9	15
	Arabie	4	76
Dominicains	Constantinople	3	13
	Smyrne	1	20
	Babylone (Mossoul)	5	23
	Jérusalem	1	36
Carmes	Babylone	7	12
	Jérusalem	2	25
	Alep	4	11
Jésuites	Scutari	2	17
	Constantinople	6	42
	Sira	1	5
	Ténos et Myconos	1	10
	Alep	10	189
	Egypte	2	29
	Delta	2	31

¹⁴ Etteldorf, *The Catholic Church in the Middle*, cit.; See also: Frazee, *Catholics and Sultans: The church and the Ottoman Empire 1453-1923*, cit., pp. 73-83; C. Yetkiner, *American Missionaries, Armenian community, and the making of Protestantism in the Ottoman Empire, 1820-1860*, Doctoral Thesis (Supervisor: Beth Baron), Graduate Faculty in History The City University, New York, Academic Year 2009-2010.

¹⁵ Grange, *L'Italie et la Méditerranée (1896-1911). Les fondements d'une politique étrangère*, cit., p. 749.

There have been various studies conducted on the influence of missionaries in Ottoman society. The majority of studies suggest that the missionaries accelerated the collapse of the state by encouraging nationalism among non-Muslim communities of the empire in Ottoman society. The majority of these studies, however, addressed the activities of the protestant missionaries. For this reason, the activities of the Italian Missionary schools in the context of Catholic missionary activities in the Ottoman Empire are to be analyzed within the current study. The Italian missionary schools followed a different understanding and historical line from the traditional missionary schools¹⁶.

Early Missionary Activities: Recapturing holy lands from Muslims, plus Christian faith propagation

The Catholic Church, led by the Pope in Rome, partially overtook political, cultural, and educational responsibilities of Christians in diaspora, and the dissemination of Christianity to other territories in the west following the collapse of the Roman Empire in 476. It can also be regarded as the starting point of the missionaries' educational objective. The missionaries established churches and monastic schools, providing basic biblical and formal primary education to Christians first hand. The Italian-originated missionaries also established a church and formal school in order to meet the religious and educational needs of the Italian citizens, then they aimed at transforming the members of other Christian communities. The first Franciscans arrived in Constantinople in 1220. After staying in the Venetian colonial area along the Golden Horn, they crossed into Galata where they set up Franciscan (or San Francesco) monasteries and churches. The Byzantine and Ottoman territories were the most important Franciscan centers in the Near East. The Franciscan fathers, also known as Mineurs Conventuels, were among the first to assign priests to gather and raise poor or abandoned children. The Conventuels founded an Italian school next to their church in Constantinople¹⁷. The priests, delivering simple information about Christianity, taught the children reading, writing, and accounting. These schools taught Latin at first, then Greek later. Besides the Conventuel missionaries, Dominican Silesian priests also established monasteries and schools. These sects were under the French patronage up until

¹⁶ C. Yetkiner, *Türkçede misyonerlik literatürünün gelişimi* [Development of missionary literature in Turkish], «Journal of Human and Society», vol. 4, n. 7, 2014, pp. 163-178.

¹⁷ The Conventual Franciscans (sometimes referred to as «The Grey Franciscans» due to the color of their habits) are one of the three branches of the First Order of St. Francis. The word Conventual is derived from the Latin *convenire*, [to come together]; hence, they live together in convents or friaries.

the end of the 19th century, before transferring into the Italian patronage during the 20th century¹⁸.

Jesuit missionaries, known as Dominicans and Franciscans, intermittently continued their existence in Constantinople, now Istanbul, since the Byzantine period. A group of those St. Francesco d'Assisi were sent to Emperor Mihail Paleologos by Pope Gregory X in order to discuss reunification with the Latin Church. The church "Minori Conventuali" in Galata, on behalf of the Pope, later became a major subject of dispute between France and Venice. Then, both the Jesuit and Franciscan activities were banned. After the Ottomans captured Constantinople, the Catholic Jesuit and Franciscan missionaries began to appear in the Ottoman Empire by the late 16th century. Their aim was to promote the Christian faith among Italian citizens, and received certain privileges from Sultan Mehmed II. However, they also started to intervene in other Christian communities, which caused clashes resulting in their having to leave because of the disapproval. In 1583, five Jesuits came to Constantinople under the apostle of Italian-born Pere Mancinelli as the Catholics living there had demanded. They were invited through the French ambassador and the Venetians in Constantinople. Jesuit missionaries established the St. Benoit Monastery in Galata District in Constantinople on November 18, 1583. Afterwards they founded missions in Thessalonica, Smyrna and other islands such as Naxos, Chio, and Santorini. The Popes also sent Jesuits with special missions to territories such as the Lebanon, Syria, and Egypt by the 16th century, founding stable establishments there during the following century. In 1622, Pope Gregory XV began to send missionaries to non-Christians in order to propagate Catholicism through establishment of the Propaganda Office. However, by the end of the 17th century, the Jesuits stayed much further to the east, in Trebizond for example¹⁹.

The French Catholic missionaries attempted to make Catholicism a world religion in the Middle East with the collaboration of the spiritual leadership of the Catholic Vatican. The Franciscans and Dominicans delivered the missionary activities of the Catholic Church, with the missionaries becoming a mixture of Roman and French traditions. Pope Gregory XV brought together these diverse missionaries into a centralized institution under papal authority called the *Congregatio de Propaganda Fide* or *Sacred Congregation for the Propagating of the Faith* in 1622. This institution became a dominant power for representing political and religious authority in the Ottoman Empire. The ambassadors of France granted the protection of the missionaries, known as the

¹⁸ Frazee, *Catholics and Sultans: The church and the Ottoman Empire 1453-1923*, cit.

¹⁹ P. Luisier, *Présence des Jésuites en Turquie au XIX^e et au XX^e siècle*, «Mélanges de l'Ecole française de Rome. Moyen-Age», vol. 110, n. 2, 1998, pp. 783-794; L. Biskupski, *L'origine et l'histoire de la Représentation officielle du Saint-Siège en Turquie (1204-1967)*, Istanbul, Ümit Basımevi, 1968, pp. 81-83.

Capuchins, Franciscans, Carmelites, Dominicans, Augustinians, and Jesuits, up until the French Revolution of 1789²⁰.

The San-Francesco Church burned in 1639 and was eventually turned into a mosque by the Turks. This (new) mosque also later burned in 1762, at which point the San-Antonio da Padua church was built. Jesuit clerics became engaged in the church and monastery, as well as schools in the Beyoğlu district of Constantinople. There were about 50 children attending the school. The teaching program included lectures similar to Latin grammar, language, seven of the liberal arts, and also mathematics. The sermons given in the church were in Turkish, Italian, and French languages. At the end of the 17th century, some Armenian communities proselytized to Catholicism. In 1703, Jesuits founded a sanctuary in Constantinople, but as their propaganda increased, they began to clash with other Christian communities. They continued their activities in Constantinople for around two centuries until Pope Clement dismissed their activities. Beside the Dominicans and Franciscans, there were three religious women's organizations in Constantinople. These were Ivrea swords, Dominican swords, and Terziera di Gemonia Sisters. Dominican missionaries were provided in French, Latin, Italian, Turkish, Greek and Armenian in order to train interpreters at the request of the Kingdom of the Two Sicillies. They opened a language school called the «Georges Language Boys College» with a three-year teaching period. The school was the primary means for the Ottoman Empire to train dragomen, who became known as the «Language Boys» [Jeunes de Langues], who worked on behalf of the government in the Ottoman Empire²¹. In 1745, the same college was opened in Constantinople on the rite of the Kingdom of the Two Sicillies. The training of Italian citizens abroad was not of interest as Italy was not then a political union, but a number of small states. For this reason, Italian families had to send their children to French schools primarily in the Ottoman Empire. In the 16th and 17th centuries, intensification of the Ottoman Empire's relations with the French and the British pushed Italy to the backseat. Therefore, some of the Catholic states in Italy had to accept the supremacy of France from time to time²².

Jesuits were also involved in propagandizing for the Armenians and other communities in churches and in the hospitals of the Ottoman dominions. They also provided prayers to prisoners at night. The Jesuits also worked for the unification of Roman and Byzantine churches, putting themselves at discord

²⁰ Frazee, *Catholics and Sultans: The church and the Ottoman Empire 1453-1923*, cit., p. 88; See also, Gilley, *Introduction*, cit., pp. 1-9.

²¹ N. Polvan, *Türkiye'de Yabancı öğretim* [Foreign Schools in Turkey], Istanbul, Milli Eğitim Basımevimi, 1952, pp. 88-91.

²² Frazee, *Catholics and Sultans: The church and the Ottoman Empire 1453-1923*, cit., p. 87.

with the Ottoman reign²³. The monastic schools aimed at to meet the moral, religious and intellectual needs of the Catholic community. The curriculum of monastic schools comprised only of simple skills such as recitation of Biblical verse, grammar, the life of Saints and Bible history; the simplicity resembling «the Three R's». The main activity was the rapid teaching of reading Latin to students, «with all the peculiar tones and modulations that were essential in biblical literacy». The teachings of the early church fathers were also taught in Latin in the elementary school (*schola minor*), where reading, writing, psalmody etc. were taught. The Ottoman Empire offered greater security and liberty for foreigners, meaning that the Italian missionary schools could be easily opened. As educators, the parishes conveyed the principles of disseminating Catholicism among other Christian communities settled in Constantinople. Simply put, the monastic schools committed to make children into 'real' Christians, with a Catholic outlook in the Ottoman Empire. Parish and monastic schools and churches were the primary educational institutions, and they educated children based on the scholastic approach during the Ottoman era. Italian missionary groups targeted the Christian community members, rather than the Muslims²⁴. The Sacred Congregation of Rome and the French ambassadors protected them politically, and helped them to function within the Ottoman Empire²⁵. The Jesuits restored their activities in the Middle East in 1814, but faced rivals such as Protestant missionaries from Britain and the US²⁶.

As previously shown, the Italian missionary schools established by the Franciscans and Dominicans, aimed to train true believers and to disseminate Catholicism within Ottoman territories with the support of the French government. The political agenda of the Italian missionaries was to unite the Catholic Church and the Greek Church. The missionary schools were projected and established as religious educational institutions, connected to the Papacy in Rome. The missionary schools embodied the combination of Christian faith and ideals with the training of children in basic literacy skills. These schools were sectarian in their scope; thus, the Ottoman Empire regarded them as part of credendum, or free religious education within the Ottoman Empire. In fact,

²³ In the capitulations given to France, the Jesuits were under the protection of French ambassadors. See also: F. Carter, *Bureaucratic Reform in the Ottoman Empire. The Sublime Porte, 1789-1922*, Princeton UK, Princeton University Press, 1996; F. Boyacıoğlu, *The historical development of the foreign language education in the Ottoman Empire*, «Procedia-Social and Behavioral Sciences», vol. 174, 2015, pp. 651-657.

²⁴ Sabev, *Spiritus Roberti*, cit., pp. 25-26.

²⁵ Etteldorf, *The Catholic Church in the Middle East*, cit.; See also: H. Murre-Van den Berg, *The Middle East: Western missions and eastern churches, Islam and Judaism*, in S. Gilley, B. Stanley (edd.), *The Cambridge History of Christianity*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2006, pp. 458-472; G. Antonius, *The Arab Awakening: the Story of the Arab National Movement*, Safety Harbor, Simon Publications, 2001, pp. 35-36.

²⁶ Etteldorf, *The Catholic Church in the Middle East*, cit. See also Cemal Yetkiner, *American Missionaries, Armenian Community*, cit., p. 123.

the Ottoman Empire was not skeptical about the activities of these missionary schools until they started to clash with the Eastern Orthodox Church. After the 19th century, the missionaries changed the characteristics of the education they provided. Colonial movements had impacted on certain European countries, and they infused into the colonies by way of utilizing the missionary institutions. Italian missionaries changed the organization of missionary education and entered a new stage. The pioneers of these were the Latin schools inherited from the Byzantium Empire following the conquest of Constantinople. The priests mostly supported these small schools, created under the patronage of the church and designed to provide religious instruction to Italian children so as not to forget the religion or nationality of their birth. These schools were permitted on the basis of religious and ritual freedom. However, over time, the characteristics of these schools changed into more formal educational institutions. The missionaries established churches, children's dormitories, and schools in Constantinople. The Dominicans had four churches, with 130 students in the Bakırköy district school and an orphanage connected to a school when the Ottomans conquered Constantinople. There were Cappucinies. There was also a small church (cappella) in Yedikule, with a girl school, a boys school, and a children's house attached. The Dominicans entered Italian patrimony in 1906, commencing a new era for the Italian missionary schools²⁷.



Italian Primary School in Levent District

²⁷ Polvan, *Türkiye'de Yabancı Okullar*, cit., pp. 52,54. See also A. Mori, *Gli Italiani a Costantinopoli: monografia coloniale presentata dalla Camera di commercio italiana di Costantinopoli alla Mostra degli Italiani all'estero. Esposizione internazionale*, Milano, 1906, Milan, Tipografia Soliani, 1907, pp. 251-252.

Emergence of Colonialism and Italian missionary schools in the Ottoman Empire

Christian missionaries filled with Catholic zeal traveled to the Ottoman Empire in the early 19th century. However, they soon found that both the Muslim and Jewish communities were unlikely to apostatize or even to accept Christian education. The missionary schools then concentrated their efforts on the Gregorian Armenian, Greek Orthodox, and other smaller Christian groups of the Near East at that time²⁸. The political agenda of the missionary and foreign schools changed after the 19th century. In the beginning, their main purpose was to provide religious education, with the curricula of these schools theologically-based and with Biblical information given in the vernacular language. The primary object of Italian missionary schools was to reach Italian citizens. Contrary to other missionary schools, Italian schools did not aim at proselyting the Turkish people. However, they later moved to transform their religious orientation into political activities. Their origin countries supported them intervening in the internal affairs of the Ottoman Empire and to use them as sources of information for international affairs, identity formation, secularization, centralization, and citizenship building. Though the missionary activities could theoretically not be brought to a common denominator, in practice the rising of the Italian missionaries explicated its legitimacy since the 19th century through its own existence within the Ottoman Empire. Emulating Britain and France, the Italians raised a claim to their share of the world after the 19th century, and participated in acquiring territories in the Ottoman Lands. Italian missionaries and their schools became a driving force for the creating of an Italian identity among Italians living in the Ottoman dominions. They lobbied for the expansion of Italian culture and power. Colonial sites of remembrance and their culture of monuments recall to this day the conflicts and ambivalences of European colonial rule in public memory. The Ottoman Empire did not prevent the cultural war of foreign missionaries who threatened the integrity of the empire²⁹. Both France and Britain were keen to protect their interests, either through the establishment of new missionaries, or the regeneration of old missionaries in the Ottoman Empire, and Italy followed suit. Missionaries also fostered the nationalist sentiments among people such as Latin and Orthodox. Italian schools under the patronage of the Roman Church delivered education to the Italian community settled in Constantinople, and to other dominions of the Ottoman Empire³⁰. International and political transitions in the Ottoman Empire allowed the missionaries to spread throughout the Ottoman dominions.

²⁸ R.H. Davison, *Essays in the Ottoman and Turkish History, 1774-1923*, Vol. XVI: *The impact of the West*, Texas, University of Texas Press, 2011.

²⁹ S. Deringil, *The well-protected domains: ideology and the legitimation of power in the Ottoman Empire*, London, IB Tauris, 1999, pp. 112-115.

³⁰ Luisier, *Présence des Jésuites en Turquie au XIX^e et au XX^e siècle*, cit.

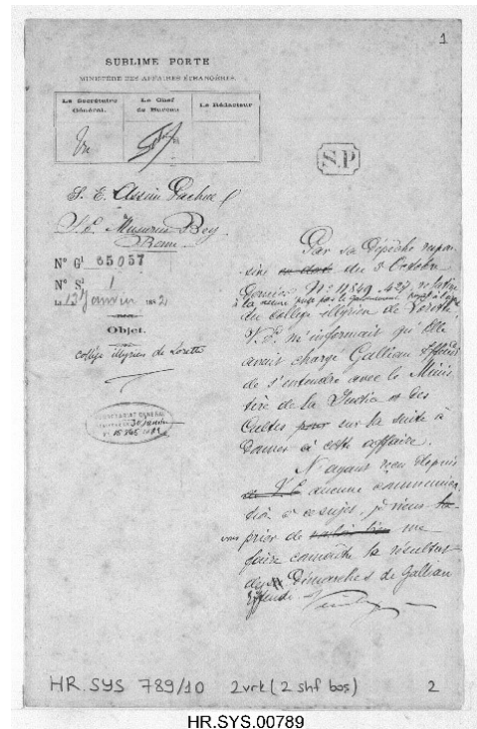
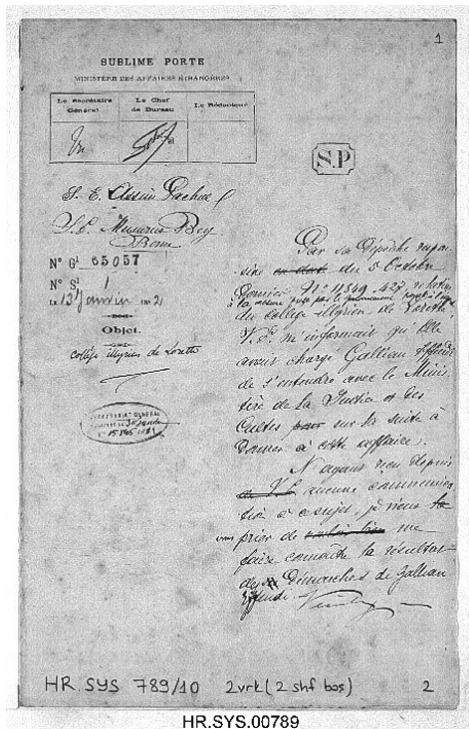
The social and political structure changed radically in the 19th century, and the Ottoman Empire restructured the *millet* system; thereby recognizing the Italian people as *millet* in acknowledgement of the Pope's authority. New schools emerged after the 1860's that were tied to the Catholic Italian orders of the Ottoman Empire. Three Catholic orders³¹ called the Augustinian, the Resurrections, and later, the Conventuel Franciscans, moved to the Balkans and established Catholic schools mainly for the local Christian communities, in addition to Constantinople. These Catholic orders established schools to erode prejudgments against Catholicism. These schools later fostered nationalism among the Ottoman Catholics. French consular reports show that the number of Catholic schools increased in the province during the last quarter of the 19th century. This Catholic community continued to exist in the Balkan region until the end of World War I. According to the 1927 general census, the first conducted in the Republican period, only 155 Catholic Christians remained residency in Edirne. At the end of the 18th century, the network of missionary schools had already expanded in the Ottoman Balkans. The medium of communication for these schools was Greek, and were concentrated on the Balkan Peninsula and the western part of Asia Minor³².

The Italian missionary schools became impoverished during that period under the auspices of the French. However, this collaboration escalated into a competition between the French and the Italians. The Crimean War played a role in the establishment and development of the Italian union, resulting in a nationalist influence among the Italians living in Constantinople. Decrees about religious liberty provided equal rights to all Christian communities in 1856, securing religious liberty and changed attitudes of the government towards the missionaries' activities. After this, a workers' union called «Società Operaia» was opened in Constantinople. In 1861, they wanted to open an Italian male-only school for the proliferation of the Italian language as an official authority for the education of Italian minority children. Italian language, arithmetic, geometry and history courses were taught during the evenings and on Sundays, but the school only remained open for a year. Later other schools organized by Italian missionaries appeared³³. After 1861, schools led by Garibaldi's officers were opened in St. Maria and Loggia Massonica churches, and in St. Maria's Daperis churches, but these did not adequately meet the needs. In 1863, the Karmelitan Society in Hatay near the Middle East opened an Italian private school. This school made a considerable contribution in terms of language tuition and

³¹ The sects affiliated with the Catholic sect were Salésien, Dominicain, Immaculée, Conception, St. Joseph, Ivree Franciscain, Alloatti.

³² İ.P. Haydaroglu, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Yabancı Okullar*, İstanbul, Kültür Bakanlığı Yayınları, 1990. See also I. Guven, *Türk Eğitim Tarihi* [History of Turkish education], Ankara, Baskı, 2017.

³³ A. Sezer, *Osmanlı Döneminde Misyonerlik Faaliyetleri* [Missionaries in the Ottoman Empire], Ankara, Onsmali, 1999.



An official letter on the Illerian College of Vanetelli, the Papal Deputy in Istanbul (Source: Ottoman Archives)³⁵

education. Besides the organized educational institutions, the different Italians' associations settled in Constantinople organized Italian language courses in other missionary schools. Founded in 1863, the Italian workers' association «Società Operaia» organized Italian courses and conferences in 1864. Efforts were made to place Italian lessons in other missionary schools in order to reduce the influence of the French, which were especially dominant in Constantinople. Italian was first taught in the Armenian School of Mechatrists and later in the Greek School of Italian³⁴.

³⁴ Mori, *Gli Italiani a Costantinopoli: monografia coloniale presentata dalla Camera di commercio italiana di Costantinopoli alla Mostra degli Italiani all'estero. Esposizione internazionale, Milano, 1906*, cit., p. 270.

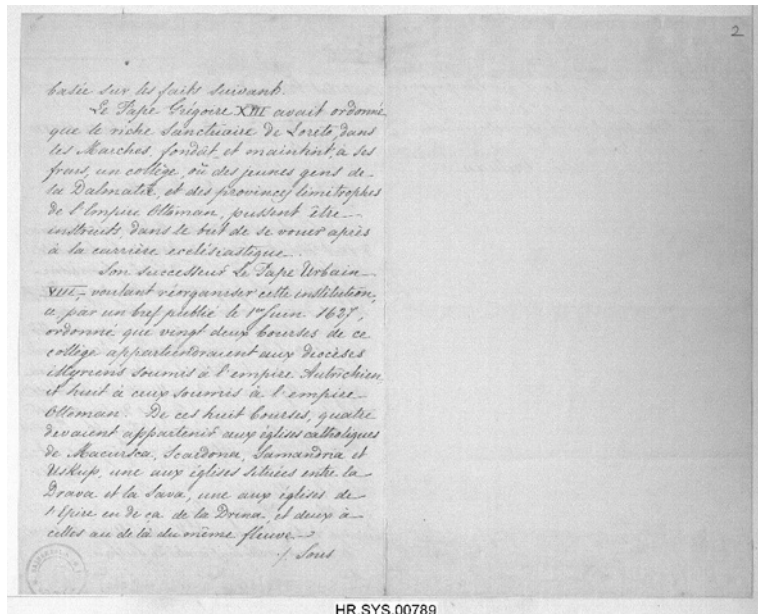
³⁵ The correspondences written in French as it was the official language for international affairs in Ottoman Empire.

Prosperous Italian families (Timoni, Testa, Chirico, Franchini, and Giustiniani), who resided in Constantinople and different parts of the Empire, became the nucleus and the 'community elite' within the «Italians of Constantinople» after the Ottoman conquest. These families had the privilege of serving as dragomen within various European or Ottoman embassies. After the Crimean War of 1853-1854, the consular convention of January 28, 1866 «structured and promised the application» of the capitulations, and «favored the development of the Italian community» after the midst of the 19th century in the Ottoman dominions. After that, people from different Italian territories migrated to the Ottoman Empire, and in particular to Constantinople. They held prominent roles in the Ottoman administrative reforms. They also contributed to the creation of bonds between the Kingdom of Italy and the Ottoman and Italian communities. The Italian community in Constantinople opened clubs and associations and increased the number of Italian schools for the improvement of the Italian culture and language. The «Società Opera di Mutuo Soccorso»³⁶, the «Associazione Dante Alighieri», and the oldest (from 1839), the «Associazione Commerciale Artigiana di Pietà» all played important roles besides prominent figures in the art world, Donizzetti, Zonaro, D'Aronco, and Italia Giorgio (an opera singer)³⁷. The embassies also concentrated on supporting the missionaries after Article 62 of the Berlin Treaty was enacted on July 13, 1878, by using «the right to official protection» and «to diplomatic immunity». Pope Leo XIII sent Jesuits to the Ottoman Empire in order to hamper the influence of the Protestants. After 1881, Italian Jesuit missionaries also settled in Constantinople and started to publish missionary journals³⁸.

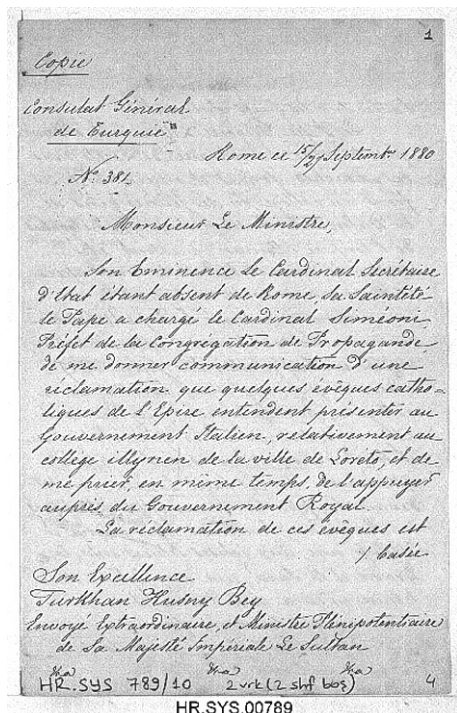
³⁶ Zuccolo, *Gli Italiani All'estero. Il Caso Ottomano*, cit. See also archive documents: BOA, Başbakanlık Orsmanlı Arşivi (Ottoman Archive of Prime Ministry) (hereafter referred to as BOA) Osmanlı HR.HMŞ.İŞO.204 90 «İtalyan hayır kurumları, mali kurumları ve okullarıyla ilgili yazışmalar» (Correspondence on Italian charities, financial institutions and schools) H-14-01-1330, 1911-1912.

³⁷ S. De Nardis, *La Società Dante Alighieri da Costantinopoli a Istanbul. 1895-1922: diffusione della lingua e pedagogia nazionale*, «Diacronie. Studi di Storia Contemporanea», vol. 20, n. 4, 2014, <<http://journals.openedition.org/diacronie/1785>> (last access: 18.12.2018). See also O. Karakartal, *Türk Kültüründe İtalyanlar* [Italians in Turkish History], Istanbul, Eren Yayıncılık, 2002; E. Makzume, E., Öndey, *Fausto Zonaro, Ottoman Court Painter*, Istanbul, YKY & İİCI, 2003; E. Kutlay Baydar, *Osmanlıda Görevli İki İtalyan Müzisyen: Giuseppe Donizetti ve Callisto Guatelli* [Two Italian Musicians in Ottoman Empire: Giuseppe Donizetti & Callisto Guatelli], «Zeitschrift für die Welt der Türken», vol. 2, n. 1, 2010, pp. 283-293.

³⁸ Luisier Philippe, *Présence des Jésuites en Turquie au XIXe et au XXe siècle*, cit., pp. 783-794.



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Official Letter of the Italian Ministry of Foreign Affairs with the Ottoman State on the Establishment of a College in Istanbul (from Ottoman Archives).

Italian schools have continued their education sporadically due to clashes among the Christian communities and the attacks of Italians in Ottoman territories. The Salesiens attempted to proselyte the other Christians, but due to severe reactions to them, they had to leave Constantinople by 1901. With the support of Augusto Bonetti, the Apostolic Delegate to Turkey, the Salesien priests returned to Constantinople and opened a vocational and elementary school in the Pangaltı district in 1903. The prosperous Italian families supported and later enlarged the school; however, it was subsequently closed in 1911 due to war between Italy and the Ottoman Empire. After the signing of the First Treaty of Lausanne, at Ouchy near Lausanne, between the Ottoman Empire and Italy, the school was reopened in 1912 but closed once more due to World War I, and the Salesien priests returned to Italy. After the Armistice of Mudros on October 30, 1918, Italian soldiers occupied the Guistiniani Institute in Constantinople and education was interrupted. It reopened in 1920; however, the Institute did not survive due to the years of war³⁹.

*Italian Schools transferred from French Patronage*⁴⁰

After 1856, the number of foreign and missionary schools increased and diversified across the Ottoman territories. Catholic and protestant missionaries increased the number of schools at every level; however, the Italian missionaries only were able to open a few girls and boys primary schools and high schools. The Italian government supported the creation of these schools, particularly after the establishment of the Italian Union. The schools were tied to missionaries or to the Italian embassy. Italian schools, like other foreign schools, continued to proselyte other Christian and Jewish communities. While the population of Italian nationality families did not exceed five or ten, the number of students attending these schools sometimes reached as many as 500. However, the governors prohibited Muslims from attending these schools⁴¹. The schools were usually at the primary education level and opened by French patronage.

³⁹ Polvan, *Türkiye’de yabancı öğretim*, cit., p. 125.

⁴⁰ Haydaroglu, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Yabancı Okullar*, cit., p. 192.

⁴¹ Grange, *L’Italie et la Méditerranée (1896-1911). Les fondements d’une politique étrangère*, cit., pp. 487-488; I. Polat, *Türk İtalyan İlişkileri Çerçevesinde İtalyan Okulları* [Italian Schools in international affairs of Turkey-Italy], «Atatürk Yolu Dergisi» [«Atatürk Yolu Journal»], vol. 1, n. 4, 1989, pp. 563-575.

St. Antoine School

This school, founded in Beyoğlu, was reorganized in 1885 and the number of students was around 40-60. The school was under French patronage until 1907, after that went under the auspices of the Italian government. St. Antoine was a church school at the primary level. It was closed during the years of World War I, and reopened after 1918⁴².

Italian Boys' High School

The school was opened in Büyükdere. It was named Rodolphe after Archduke Rodolphe, the heir to the Austrian crown and protector of the school. The school continued its activities until a fire in 1898. After the fire, the Austrian Consulate revealed an interest in the rebuilding of the Austrian Charity school building. A high mission Priest called Piere Caneve created a new building to cover the cost of the mission. 40 students enrolled to the school at first, then the number of students increased to 80 after the patronage of Italy. A Girls' School division also was opened later on. The school still provides education as the Italian High School in Istanbul in Turkey, although there is no longer any missionary activity⁴³.

Beykoz Italian School: Beykoz Italian School for Adults

Conventuel missionaries also founded an evening school called the «Italian School» for teaching Italian for adults in the Beykoz district of Constantinople in 1889. The school was established by the French, but later transferred to Italian patronage in 1907. The number of students was 12, and it continued its activities until World War I. However, the school did not open after the war⁴⁴.

⁴² Haydaroglu, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Yabancı Okullar*, cit., p. 568.

⁴³ Mori, *Gli Italiani a Costantinopoli: monografia coloniale presentata dalla Camera di commercio italiana di Costantinopoli alla Mostra degli Italiani all'estero. Esposizione internazionale*, Milano, 1906, cit., pp. 252-251.

⁴⁴ Polat, *Türk İtalyan İlişkileri*, cit., pp. 565-570 and Polvan, *Türkiye'de Yabancı Öğretim*, cit., p. 134 and A. Mori, *Gli Italiani a Costantinopoli: monografia coloniale presentata dalla Camera di commercio italiana di Costantinopoli alla Mostra degli Italiani all'estero. Esposizione internazionale*, Milano, 1906, cit., p. 270.

Conventuel Paşabahçe Italian School

The Conventuel priests opened a small church in Paşabahçe in order to train Catholic children. Training was primarily at the primary level and the curriculum included Bible reading, math, Italian, and Latin. The number of students was 45, and the school was active between 1891 and 1894 and was then closed⁴⁵.

Italian School of Riformates

Beyoğlu Sainte Marie Italian School

Establishment and closure dates of the school, which was adjacent to the Church of Sainte Marie are unclear. However, the school was active from the 15th century⁴⁶.

Yeşilköy Sacré Cour Italian School for Girls

The school opened in 1893 in the village of Yeşilköy, on the inner side of Constantinople. Since it was mentioned in the list of Ottoman-French reconciliation in 1913, it was deemed to be under French patronage at that time. The Socré Cour School, which closed during World War I, was reopened by the Italians after the Armistice of Mudros in 1918⁴⁷.

Italian Originated Missionary Primary Schools for Girls and Boys in Constantinople

Galata Saint Pietro Italian School for Girls

The school was opened in 1906 by a Priest named Clotild Boglione of Dominicaine, who was of Italian descent. The school was located in the Saint Pietro church in the Galata district of Constantinople. The main school was at the primary level with a total of five classes. The number of students increased

⁴⁵ Polvan, *Türkiye’de Yabancı Öğretim*, cit., p. 52.

⁴⁶ Grange, *L’Italie et la Méditerranée. Les fondements d’une politique étrangère*, cit., p. 490.

⁴⁷ Polvan, *Türkiye’de Yabancı Öğretim*, cit., p. 135.

up to 100 students by 1915, and then reopened as a school with three classes after the 1918 Armistice of Mudros, having been closed during World War I⁴⁸.

Yedikule Italian School for Girls

Dominicain priests opened this school in 1884 in the Yedikule district. The school was initially under the patronage of the French, but later took Italian protection in 1910. It was then expanded with the addition of two classrooms⁴⁹.

Bakirkoy Italian School

Dominicain priests founded this school in Bakırköy Sakızağacı in 1881. Then, the Ivrea Sisters who came to Constantinople in 1882 from Mondobi, Italy, took over the school's administration. Although the school was initially opened to educate the children of Catholic families living in the nearby Bakirkoy Domanicain Church, there were also children attending from other religions and sects. On January 1, 1907, the school moved to an Italian protectorate from French patronage⁵⁰. The school was then closed during World War I, and reopened after the 1918 Armistice of Mudros.

Italian Girls Schools – a summary

The Italian government directly supported the opening of primary schools after the establishment of the Italian Union. The Ivrea Sisters played an important role in the opening of the Italian Girls school in Constantinople. The general chancellor, Luicia Kanegrati, an Ivrea Sister, opened a primary school for girls in 1870 with the help of the Italian government⁵¹. This school became the core of today's Italian Secondary Girls Schools in Constantinople.

⁴⁸ Mori, *Gli Italiani a Costantinopoli: monografia coloniale presentata dalla Camera di commercio italiana di Costantinopoli alla Mostra degli Italiani all'estero. Esposizione internazionale, Milano, 1906*, cit., p. 250.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 270.

⁵⁰ BOA, DH.ID., 154/9; Ş. Mutlu, *Osmanlı Devleti'nde Misyoner Okulları* [Missionary Schools in the Ottoman Empire], İstanbul, s.e., 2005; N.Sevinç, *Osmanlı'dan Günümüze Misyoner Faaliyetleri* [Missionary Activities Since Ottoman Era], İstanbul, s.e., 2002; See also Polat, *Türk İtalyan İlişkileri*, cit., p. 572; Polvan, *Türkiye'de Yabancı Öğretim*, cit., pp. 141-142.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p. 150.

Lucia Kanegrati also established an Italian hospital with financial assistance from the Italian government. The school aimed to train girls from the Christian community. Unfortunately, the registers and all the documents and books were lost during World War I. The school had five classes for children ages four to seven years, with primary education in the Italian language owing partly to the Conventuel nuns. The curriculum of the school consisted of Italian, Latin, Turkish, French, English, math, physics, chemistry, botany, zoology, history, geography, commercial accounting, bookkeeping procedure, stenography, painting, music, beautiful writing, gymnastics, and housekeeping. There were a total of 95 orphanage students, 35 boarders and 150 day students by 1892⁵².

Another Italian girls primary school with five grades in two classes was established in 1870, and was licensed on behalf of Gianniana Macci. There was also a mixed dormitory for orphaned children. The Ivrea Sisters also established the R. Scuole Femminiledi Büyükdere primary school in 1895. This school was transformed into a coeducational school after 1925. The Ivrea Sisters also opened and administrated another school called the Santa Maria Girls primary school in 1880. There was a kindergarten tied to the school and it provided coeducational education. There was also one orphanage as well⁵³. The Italian government supported the school by sending books and covering the costs of rent etc. There were 83 students in these schools in 1898. The numbers of Italian schools increased after 1880. The Franciscan monasteries opened a primary school under Italian and French patronage called the Bakırköy Italian School in 1881. The Dominican pastors also established a primary school next to the «Bakırköy Dominican Church» for the education of students from Catholic families, and later the school went on to accept students from other orders in 1881. Due to the Turkish-Italian war, the school administration was transferred to the Franciscans nuns. In 1884, the Dominican priests opened «Yedikule Italian Primary School» for girls in Constantinople. The Dominican priests also provided Italian, French and German, as well as sewing, housekeeping and religion lessons. The Italian embassy supported this school, but it was closed due to the Ottoman-Italy war of 1912. The Dominican priests reorganized the Italian School as a four-class primary school after the 1918 Armistice of Mudros. Another school that opened in 1893 was the Italian girls school of «Yeşilköy Sacre Coeur Scuole Italia Femminilee San-Stefano», which later changed its name to «Sacre Coeur» or «Des Soeurs Fransiscaines» school in memory of its founders⁵⁴.

⁵² Polvan, *Türkiye'de Yabancı öğretim*, cit., pp. 141-142.

⁵³ Mori, *Gli Italiani a Costantinopoli: monografia coloniale presentata dalla Camera di commercio italiana di Costantinopoli alla Mostra degli Italiani all'estero. Esposizione internazionale, Milano, 1906*, cit., p. 286.

⁵⁴ Polvan, *Türkiye'de Yabancı öğretim*, cit., p. 218.



Italian Girl School in Smyrna

The Dominican nuns opened another girls school in 1906 called the «San-Pietro Italian Primary Girls School» which was a primary school with five classes located next to the San-Pietro Church in Galata. In the years 1910-1911, the «Dante Alighieri» community opened a boy's public school next to the Italian Hospital of the same name. These two schools merged and became a coeducational «high school». Later, the school closed in 1912, and then became an Austrian School until 1919. After the union of Italy, the Italian government also supported the Italian Schools. The Kadıköy Italian Primary Girls School was opened under the patronage of the Princes of Italy in 1912⁵⁵.

⁵⁵ Grange, *L'Italie et la Méditerranée. Les fondements d'une politique étrangère*, cit., p. 478.

Italian Missionary Vocational School for boys

Italian Missionary Vocational School for boys in dedicated to a school founded by the Italian workers' union. Even though the school founded by the Italian workers' union it still can be considered a missionary school. As mentioned earlier, foreigners or minorities could only open schools depending on their religious communities due to the nation system in the Ottoman state. Although Italian worker's unions opened the school, it was under the supervision of the Catholic community at the highest level and some of the priests delivered some lessons there. In addition, the school closed down after a while, but the Salesian priests reopened and organized courses, as will be seen below. Therefore, this school was included under missionary schools.

The Italians also opened academic and vocational schools at the secondary as well as the primary level. As the Italian community engaged in banking, insurance, and trade in Constantinople, they also needed people with technical skills. The «Italian Workers' Union» opened the «Technic-Trade School» in 1885⁵⁶. The school had five classes and was free of charge until the start of the 1904-1905 academic year when students started to pay a tuition fee of 20 piasters (4.20 lire) after 1905. It was first a private school belonging to the colony and in 1888-1889 it transformed into an official school with the Crispi decree. The school, with its library of 500 books, provided Italian courses in the evenings in addition to vocational courses. There was also a course at the middle school level and the Salesian priests restored this course. The school's director was Professor Corbelli and provided practical education about banking and trading affairs. There was an example bank branch (Banco Modello) set up at the school for the study of trade and banking transactions. The students earned a technical diploma in their 3rd year and a Commerce diploma in the 4th year, subject to their success. Students with these diplomas were then accepted to the Oriental Institute in Naples. The school had a gymnasium and an Italian Library, which was built under the initiative of Consolos Solimbergo and with the help of the Dante Alighieri Institute in 1904. Guglielmo Marconi, also visited and gave a theoretical-practical series of lectures on the radio-telegraph system. The number of students in the 1888-1889 school year was 54, which increased to 151 student by the 1903-1904 academic year. The school was facilitated to a high standard, with even a central heating system, which was rare for that time. There were also physics, chemistry and general science laboratories with experimental equipment at the school⁵⁷.

⁵⁶ Ottoman archives maintains the opening date of Trade School 1885, but Angiolo Mori gave that Italian government initiated this school called Prince Amedeo di Savoia in 1888.

⁵⁷ Grange, *L'Italie et la Méditerranée. Les fondements d'une politique étrangère*, cit., pp. 783-794; Mori, *Gli Italiani a Costantinopoli: monografia coloniale presentata dalla Camera di commercio italiana di Costantinopoli alla Mostra degli Italiani all'estero. Esposizione internazionale, Milano, 1906*, cit., p. 286.



Correspondence of Italian Technic Trade Schools (Source: Ottoman Empire)

Bartelemeo Giustinian Italian Primary and Vocation School

The Salaisen's priests opened the Bartolomeo Giustiniani Italian School at Feriköy with three classes at the primary school level in 1903. In 1904, the school was moved to another location and tailoring and shoe-making workshops added to the school curriculum. The name of the school changed to the «Bartolomeo Giustiniani Institute», in memory of the building's donor. The school moved once again to a larger building in the Feriköy district in 1910, and a library was also added in 1911. Later, technical branches and Latin were also added to the curriculum⁵⁸. The school was closed due to the Turkish-

⁵⁸ Grange, *L'Italie et la Méditerranée. Les fondements d'une politique étrangère*, cit., p. 478.

Italian war in 1911-1912 and its building was used by the Ottoman army and later by Italian soldiers between 1918 and 1920. The school reopened in 1920 as the Guistiniani Institute. According to a pamphlet about its history, the school consisted of primary, middle, and vocational sections, and was directed by Don Giovanni Bosco⁵⁹ from «Pia Societa of the Venerable Salesiani». It was a boarding school, with both educational and religious instruction provided according to the Preventivo system. The scientific, religious and personal development of children were paid special attention. The school provided an education equivalent to the schools back in Italy. The main lessons were religion, Italian, French, Turkish, history, geography, basic law, accounting, marketing, science, arts, and gym for all students. In addition after this primary education, students were divided into technical branches such as carpentry, blacksmithing, and tailoring. This branch was called «arts craft» that contained religion, Turkish, French and music lessons too. The school claimed fees and additional contributions from the students⁶⁰.

The rules of school were very strict. Parents who lived in the city could see their children on Friday and Sunday, whereas parents who resided outside of the city were only able to visit their children during rest hours. Except for family members, without written permission from the parents, no other visitors were allowed to see the children. All kinds of publications, including newspapers, magazines and letters, were given to the students, but only after the supervision of the school administration. Students had to send a letter to their families once a month. The school administration wrote an informative letter to parents about the health, general conditions, and attitudes of their children. It was clear that the students received precise and strict discipline every month. These strict implementations were aimed at making children obey the rules and authority. Perhaps one of the best methods in all these schools was the rewarding of students. In addition to encouraging student discipline and adaptation to the rules, this method of incentive and guiding was also included in the school, as it is now in many schools. In 1926, the Bartolomeo Giustiniani Italian School was converted into a standard school and classes were requested to continue at the secular Italian School under Turkish Ministry of Education Rule 36. The Bartolomeo Giustiniani School then continued to provide education at the high school level, and even today is one of the most prestigious schools in Turkey.

⁵⁹ Don Giovanni Bosco is mentioned in the archive document about Italian schools published by the Ministry of Education in 1903. Since the text provides name as Don Giovanni Bosco in Ottoman Turkish, it has not been investigated whether or not he has the title of saint. Due to the suggestion of the journal referees, the researcher dealt with the subject and confirmed that it could not be Saint Giovanni Bosco as Saint Giovanni Bosco died 1888 and document point out 1903 as opening year of school. (Thanks to referees): See: G.B. Lemoyne, *The Biographical Memoirs of Saint John Bosco*, New York, Salesiana Publishers, 1964.

⁶⁰ Polat, *Türk İtalyan İlişkileri*, cit., p. 571. See also, Grange, *L'Italie et la Méditerranée. Les fondements d'une politique étrangère*, cit., p. 483.



Italian High Schools for Boys

List of Italian Schools in Constantinople⁶¹

Establishment	School Type
1861	Italian Boys School
1863	Italian School
1864	Italian Girls school
1870	Italian Girls School (primary school in A ahamamı)
1880	Italian School (mixed primary school in Büyükdere)
1881	Bakırköy Italian School (mixed primary school)
1884	Italian Elementary School (mixed school in Yedikule)
1885	Italian Male School (in Beyoğlu, primary school and technical-trade school)
1889	Maria Church School
1893	Sacre Coeur Italian Girls School (at Yesilköy)
1902	Italian Male School (primary school in Büyükdere)
1903	Feriköy Constantinople Bartolomeo Giustiniani Institute
1906	San-Pietro Italian Girls School (Italian Hospital center in building)
1910	Italian High School (in Beyoğlu)
1912	Kadıköy /Moda (Constantinople) Primary Schools for girls

⁶¹ Polvan, *Türkiye’de Yabancı Öğretim*, cit., p. 140.

The Italians also opened schools in other territories of the Ottoman Empire such as Hatay (Antakia), Andalia (Mediterranean coast of Turkey), Beirut in the Middle East, Benghazi, Derna, Homs, and Tripoli in North Africa, Shkodër, Thessalonica, Durres, in the Balkan territories⁶². The Italian State supported these schools, situated where the majority of its colonies were placed, and where economic, political and religious aspects were deemed important by means of missionaries following the unification of Italy. For instance, for Italians trade interests they established schools in Beirut, whilst for political reasons they established them in Tripoli and Benghazi. The number of Italian schools increased in the Balkan territories as the Italians wished to spread Italian among the some of the Balkan countries, but particularly in Albania. However, the majority of Italian schools were actually established opened illegally⁶³.

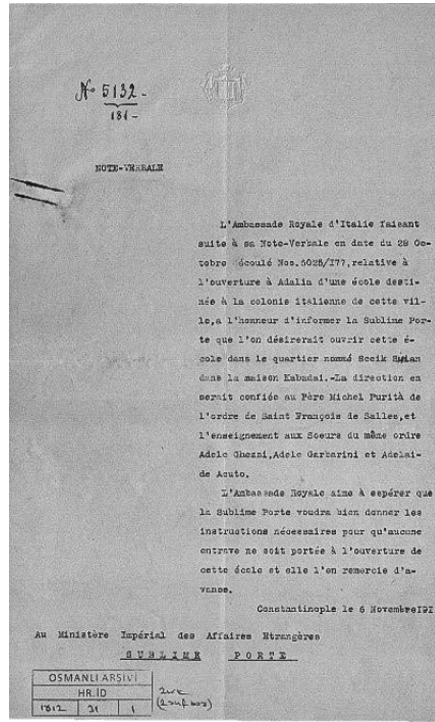
The decrees of the Ottoman Empire made it easier to open schools for foreigners after 1856. The Italians opened 16 schools at different levels but generally at the primary level in the Ottoman territories and mostly in Constantinople after 1863. Through the Union of Italy and Italian missionaries, Italian-originated organizations such as the Italian Workers' Union played an important role in increasing the number and influence of Italian schools in the Ottoman territories such as in Durres, Benghazi, Derna, Homs, Shkodër, and Constantinople⁶⁴. Italian nationalism and identity grew in importance and almost all of the Italian schools prioritized teaching of the Italian language and culture based on the Italian education system in order to combat the influence of the French. Thus Catholic schools were opened under French patronage transmitted to the Italian government. Some of the Italian schools disappeared after the establishment of Republic of Turkey in 1923, but some schools such as the Italian High School, the Italian Commercial High School, and the Bartolomeo Giustiniani School still continued to provide education⁶⁵.

⁶² BOA: Osmanlı DH.ŞFR. 138 85 0 Bingazi'de yapılan okulların açılması için resmi izin gerektiğinin defalarca İtalya Devleti Bingazi konsolos vekiline söylendiği ve konunun kendisine posta ile bildirildiği. (The official permission for the opening of the schools in Benghazi was required to repeatedly report to the Benghazi consul of the State of Italy and was reported to him by mail). Also the number of schools identified from the Turkish Archives was 16.

⁶³ Grange, *L'Italie et la Méditerranée. Les fondements d'une politique étrangère*, cit., p. 502, BOA, Y. PRK. UM 44/96, Lef. 19,23,25 203, BOA, ŞD. 1960/5 204.

⁶⁴ BOA Osmanlı HR.TH. 284 21 0 «Bingazi, Hums, Draç ve Derne'de belli şarlar çerçevesinde İtalyan okulları açılmasına izin verildiği halde Derne'deki İtalyan Kız Okulu'na Müslüman öğrencilerin devam ettiği bildirildiğinden bu durumun kabul edilemez olduğunun İtalya Sefareti'ne tebliği» (notification to the Italian Embassy that this situation was unacceptable because Muslim students were reported to attend the Italian Girls School in Derna, although Italian schools were allowed to be opened in Benghazi, Homs, Durres and Derna).

⁶⁵ Polyan, *Türkiye'de Yabancı öğretim*, cit., p. 135; Grange, *L'Italie et la Méditerranée (1896-1911). Les fondements d'une politique étrangère*, cit., pp. 501-503, BOA HR.SYS. 2975 77 Yabancı okullara karşı uygulanan rejim hakkında Almanya, Avusturya, İtalya ve Amerika sefaretlerine verilen nota (notes to the German, Austrian, Italian and American embassies about the regime against foreign schools.) M-27-01-1915.



Correspondence about Italian Schools in Antalya (Source: Ottoman Archives)

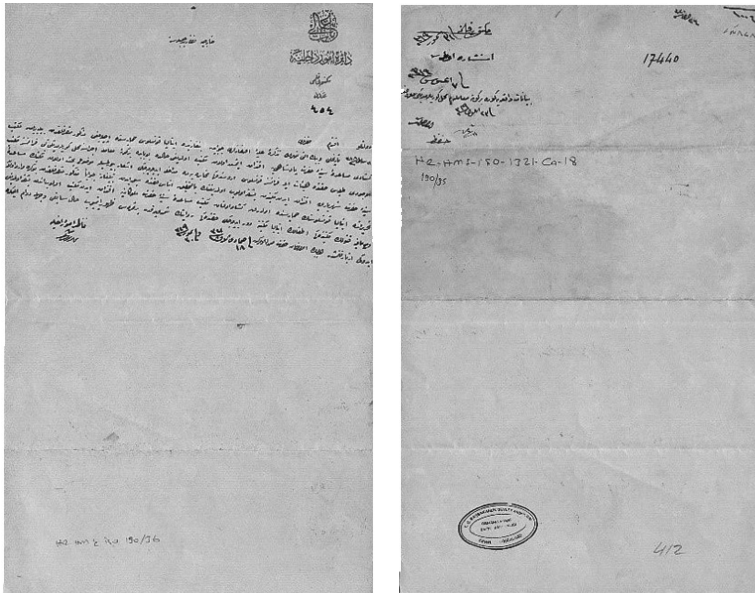
Italian Missionary Schools in North Africa

Colonization efforts of European countries such as France, Britain, Russia, and Italy gained momentum after the 19th century, targeting the Middle East and North Africa under the Ottoman Empire after their quests in the Far East and India. The Italians also targeted North Africa in competing to maintain support for its Italian citizens. Italian schools appeared in the Middle East, the Balkans, and North Africa particularly; with the Italian occupation of Tripoli geographically very close to Italy. The Italians occupied Tripoli, citing problems of Italian-born merchants and sailors living in the region⁶⁶. When the Italians attempted to invade Tripoli and Benghazi, the Ottoman Empire terminated their activities, closed down the Italian schools and deported Italians from the Empire, and especially from Constantinople⁶⁷.

⁶⁶ L. Anderson, *Nineteenth century reform in the Ottoman Libya*, «IJMES», vol. 16, 1984, pp. 325-348.

⁶⁷ BOA Osmanlı HR.SYS. 2967 38 0 Hayfa, Tabriye ve Nasıra'da kapatılan, el konulan İtalyan okulları (confiscated Italian schools in Haifa, Tabriye and Nazareth.) M-24-01-1917.

However, the Ottoman Empire regarded Catholic missionaries as harmless compared to the Protestants. As the Ottoman Empire attempted to seek improved relations with the Papacy, in 1880 the Pope prohibited Roman clergy from intervening in local Catholic communities in the Ottoman provinces. Whilst the local Patriarchates only controlled their schools, the Italian consulates started to take responsibility for the education of its Italian citizens. They opened schools in Benghazi and Tripoli, but this resulted in clashes between the French and the Italians⁶⁸. In order to resolve these kind of problems, in 1893 the Ottoman Empire passed a decree that obliged minorities to seek approval for their activities from the Sultan. After the withdrawal of Papal influence, Italian governmental bodies aspired to open schools within the Ottoman dominions, but these also caused problems between the Ottoman Empire and Italy. Only the Italian schools in Durrës, Homs, and Derna were permitted, and only on the proviso that they would not accept Muslim children, and adhere to the requirements of the Ottoman Education Regulations⁶⁹.



Correspondences about Italian Schools in Benghazi (Source: Ottoman Archives)

⁶⁸ BOA IM 1320 Za 5, Nezaret-i Maarif-i Umumiye, Mektubî Kalemi #592 (From the Ministry of Education to the Ministry of Internal Affairs), 13 evval 1320 (January 12, 1903).

⁶⁹ BOA Osmanlı MF.MKT. 108 122 0 Maarif Nizamnamesi'ne uygun olarak İtalya Devleti'ne Osmanlı Devleti sınırları içinde on yerde okul açmasına izin verildiği (according to the law of education, the State of Italy is allowed to open schools in ten places within the Ottoman State). H-15-09-1308 BOA IM 1320 Za 5, Daire-i Sadaret, Amedi-i Divan-ı Hümayun #2226, 22 evval 1320 (January 21, 1903).

Correspondences of the Ottoman Empire have shown that the Italians were planning vocational schools in Scutari and Yanya, a primary school in Durres, girl's schools in Derna and Homs, and a primary school for boys in Benghazi; however, the Ottoman Empire did not permit them due to complaints from the local authorities. In spite of the limited number of Italian families in both Benghazi and Derna, the Italians constantly struggled to establish schools in both North Africa and in the Balkans, as well as attempting to reopen schools that had been previously closed⁷⁰. According to the registers of the Ottoman archives, there were 19 Christians living in four Italian households in Homs. The Italians founded a primary school with eight Italian students and a few Greek students who sought to learn Italian. As the Ottoman Empire became embroiled in its own internal problems, the Italians started not to obey the Ottoman regulations, opening up Italian schools without Ottoman authorization and bringing in skilled teachers for their North African schools⁷¹. The Italian schools in Benghazi, Derna, and Homs were quickly opened, but these moves caused friction and debate between Italy and the Ottoman Empire⁷². The Italians then took permission for the opening of schools in Derna, Homs, and Benghazi as they reassured the Ottomans to keep them informed about their activities⁷³. Compared to the other immigrant communities in the Ottoman Empire, the number of Italian schools was in fact very low. There were only about 25 Italian schools throughout the Ottoman dominions, whereas there were over 600 French schools and more than 500 Protestant schools⁷⁴. It is not clear whether or not Muslim-Turkish students were accepted to enroll at the Italian Schools, as with other missionary schools, but the introduction of the brochure of the Bartolomeo Giustiniani School shows that minorities in the Ottoman Empire may also have been considered welcome at some of these schools. There were active Italian schools competing with the French-

⁷⁰ In 1867, the Ottoman Empire reorganized the administrative structure of Libya by giving it a *vilayet* status with four *sanjaks* of Tripoli, Khums, Jabal, and Fazzan. Each *sanjak* was administered by a *mutasarrıf*. BACumhuriyet 180-9-0-0 26 139 1 İtalyan mektepleri (Italian Schools in Turkey b 1923). 14.10.1923.

⁷¹ BOA Osmanlı HR.TH. 284 21 0 Bingazi, Hums, Draç ve Derne'de belli şarlar çerçevesinde İtalyan okulları açılmasına izin verildiği halde Derne'deki İtalyan Kız Okulu'na Müslüman öğrencilerin devam ettiği bildirildiğinden bu durumun kabul edilemez olduğunun İtalya Sefareti'ne tebliği (notification to the Italian Embassy that this situation was unacceptable because Muslim students were reported to attend the Italian Girls School in Derna, although Italian schools were allowed to be opened in Benghazi, Homs, Durres and Derna).

⁷² BOA IM 1320 Za 5, Daire-i Hariciye, Mektubû Kalemi # 3192 (from the Minister of Foreign Affairs to the Grand Vizier), 29 Ramazan 1320 (December 30, 1902).

⁷³ Deringil, *Well-Protected Domains*, cit., p. 105.

⁷⁴ 1317, 1319, 1321 Tarihli Devlet salnameleri (Ottoman State Statistics of 1918); Grange, *L'Italie et la Méditerranée. Les fondements d'une politique étrangère*, cit., p. 504.

originated schools in Tripoli, Homs and Benghazi prior to 1911⁷⁵, and children of non-Muslim communities attended these schools⁷⁶. However, after 1911, the Italians planned the opening of new schools in both North Africa and in the Balkans. The list of Italian schools within the Ottoman Empire are as follows:

List of Italian Schools within the Ottoman Territories⁷⁷

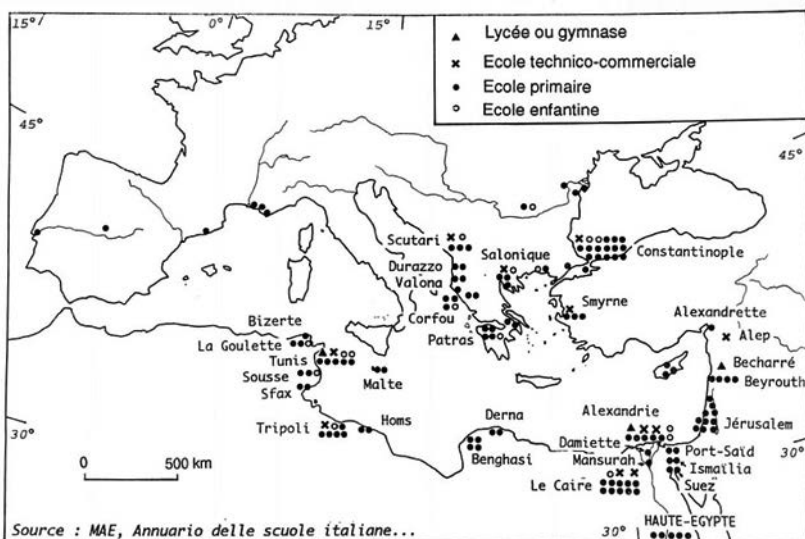
Establishment	District	School Type
1899	Beirut	Primary
1901	Thessalonica	Primary
1902	Scutari (İşkodra)	Vocational school (blacksmithing, carpentry)
1903	Durres (Draç)	Primary school for boys and girls
	Homs	Boys primary school; later a girls school was added
1903	Derna	Girls primary school
1903	Tripoli	
1865/1904	Smyrna	Girls primary school, Jerusalem Beytu'l lahm Technical School, Karamizan Italian Agriculture School, Beyti Cemal Agricultural School
1884	Adrianople	Primary school
1911		Soeurs Franciscain Del Cilyo School
1910	Urfa	Italian Sewing school for Girls
1914	Andalia	Primary school
1914	Adana	Technical and commercial school for boys

⁷⁵ There was much Italian interest, for instance, in educating Jewish communities in Tripoli.

⁷⁶ S. Hasan Sury, *Modern Education in Trablusgarp (Tripolitania) 1835-1911*, in *International Congress on Learning and Education in the Ottoman World (April 12-15, 1999). Proceedings*, Istanbul, Yıldız Matbaacılık, 2001, pp. 357-364, 361; See also Grange *L'Italie et la Méditerranée. Les fondements d'une politique étrangère*, cit., pp. 252, 257.

⁷⁷ Mutlu, *Osmanlı Devletinde Misyoner*, cit., p. 51; Güven, *Türk Eğitim Tarihi*, cit., p. 136.

Carte 8 - Ecoles gouvernementales et écoles subventionnées en Méditerranée en 1911.



Italian Schools in the Ottoman Empire by 1911⁷⁸

Conclusion

Missionaries within Ottoman Empire lands took on different activities compared to other regions. Catholic missionaries who settled in these regions prior to the Ottoman conquest of Constantinople and the Middle East endeavored to spread Christianity across the region for nearly a thousand years. Dominican and Franciscan monks who settled in Constantinople on the basis of the Papacy had long worked to gather other Christian groups under the Roman church. These missionaries, from Italian cities such as Genoa and Venice, worked in maritime trade and pharmacy, but also provided religious education to the well-established families living there during the Byzantine Empire. After the conquest of Constantinople by Sultan Mehmed II, they continued these activities, providing basic level reading-writing skills education in schools situated nearby to their churches, in addition to Biblical reading. They also tried to spread Christianity among the Jewish and Muslim communities.

Sultan Mehmed II granted special privileges to the Catholics so that they could practice their activities, which were supported by the Papacy in Rome. After the capitulations between the France and the Ottoman Empire,

⁷⁸ Grange, *L'Italie et la Méditerranée. Les fondements d'une politique étrangère*, cit., p. 650.

France took the Catholic missions under its protection. The churches and missionary schools established by the Italians then continued their activities under French protection. The Conventuel priests opened many Italian schools in Constantinople, followed by the Franciscans who established their own monasteries and churches, both during the Byzantine and Ottoman periods. The Franciscan priests also established primary schools in order to gather and educate poor or abandoned children in Constantinople. These efforts were the starting point for Italian missionary education in the churches and the monasteries. Education consisted of reading, writing and arithmetic, as well as providing basic information about the faith of Christianity. These schools also taught languages such as French, Turkish and Latin.

These schools were under French patronage at the beginning and up until the end of the 19th century when they transferred to Italian patronage. The numbers of these schools increased after the mid-19th century. After establishing its political unity, Italy exercised due diligence in the education of its citizens living abroad. Apart from Constantinople, Italian schools were also established in Hatay (Antakya), Beirut, Thessalonica, Tripoli, Benghazi, Derna, Homs, Tripoli, Smyrna, and Trabzon after the 19th century, especially in the provinces of the Ottoman Empire, such as Catholic missionaries who opened schools, churches and health institutions. Italian schools, like other foreign schools, targeted the Christian and Jewish people living in the Ottoman Empire as the number of Italian nationality students was very low. Although Muslim children were prohibited from enrolling and attending these schools, some did visit these schools in certain territories of the Ottoman Empire. In spite of disagreements between the Ottoman Empire and the Italian government, the number of these schools increased after 1890 due to a lack of equivalent Ottoman schools. Colonial competition as well as localized responses and requests played important roles in the increases seen in Italian schooling within the Ottoman Empire. Whilst the Ottoman Empire did not control them properly, the schools fulfilled two roles. On the one hand, these schools transferred western educational ideals, impacted the organization of education in the Ottoman Empire, and supported nationalism among the minorities, which in turn exacerbated the decline of the Ottoman Empire. The Italians also helped shape the late architectural traditions of the Ottoman Empire in the 19th century, as well as establishing schools with libraries, colleges, and charitable works such as philanthropic societies, and generally contributing to Ottoman society. Italian cultural and educational institutions affected secular education and political life in Ottoman Education. The Catholic schools educated the poor in the vicinities of their missions, contributed to the modernization of Ottoman society and education, and fostered a national ideology among the minorities. In some parts of the Ottoman Empire, Muslim students were permitted to visit these Catholic schools at a notable level.

Il conte Leopoldo Armaroli: giurista, politico e studioso dell'esposizione infantile nell'Italia di fine Settecento e inizio Ottocento

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The Count Leopoldo Armaroli: lawyer, politician and scholar of children's exposure in Italy, between the 18th and the 19th Century

ABSTRACT: This article intends to explore the figure of the count Leopoldo Armaroli from different points of view. Armaroli, in fact, was an important lawyer, politician and scholar of children's exposure in Italy, between the 18th and the 19th Century, who has been also involved in many crucial historical events. Through the analysis of different notes and documents written by the count, previously almost unpublished, this work focuses on his contribution to the phenomenon of the abandoned children and on his bond with the opening of the *Brefotrofio* of Osimo. In particular, the text highlights the relationship between Armaroli and the cardinal bishop Giovanni Antonio Benvenuti, which offers an important example of useful collaboration among Church and secular authorities, in the field of public beneficence.

EET/TEE KEYWORDS: Childhood history; Abandoned children; Law; Politics; Philanthropy; Italy; XVIIIth-XIXth Centuries.

1. Notizie biografiche e coinvolgimenti politici

La figura del conte Leopoldo Armaroli, analizzata nel contesto italiano di fine Settecento e di inizio Ottocento, rappresenta un tangibile esempio di impegno politico e di interesse sociale, volto soprattutto a favore di una categoria fortemente marginalizzata, qual era all'epoca quella dei *progetti*. Tuttavia, prima di dedicarsi a studi personali sul problema dell'*esposizione* e prima di essere coinvolto nella trattazione di tale tematica all'interno delle

amministrazioni dei due brefotrofi diocesani di Osimo e Cingoli, Armaroli partecipò attivamente alla vita politica italiana e si trovò più volte coinvolto in eventi rivoluzionari decisivi per la storia politico-sociale del Paese.

Il conte nacque a Macerata il 4 maggio 1766 dai bolognesi Gaetano e Maddalena Muzi, completò gli studi universitari in diritto civile e canonico e, dopo la laurea nel 1786, esercitò la professione di avvocato fino al 1794, quando decise di lasciare Macerata e di stabilirsi a Orvieto, dove tenne la luogotenenza civile e criminale del governo, avviando così la sua carriera nella magistratura. Un paio di anni più tardi, Armaroli abbandonò la carica e tentò di passare all'Uditorio civile di Rota della Repubblica di Lucca, a cui purtroppo però dovette rinunciare a causa della giovane età; l'avvocato decise allora di trasferirsi a Roma e di aprire lì uno studio legale¹.

Contestualmente alla sua permanenza nella capitale pontificia, Napoleone Bonaparte diede inizio alla prima Campagna d'Italia e al noto saccheggio di opere d'arte²: in aprile, le truppe francesi, coadiuvate dall'appoggio dei giacobini locali, sconfissero gli Austriaci e i Piemontesi e, in maggio, costrinsero il duca di Parma e il duca di Modena a firmare un armistizio; il 15 maggio, Napoleone entrò trionfalmente a Milano, sconvolgendo l'assetto politico tipico dell'*ancien régime*.

Senza alcun indugio, il generale francese invase anche lo Stato Pontificio, occupando per prime le Legazioni, strappate definitivamente al papa il 23 giugno 1796: purtroppo, la 'superficialità' con cui fino ad allora Pio VI aveva affrontato i primi tumulti popolari ebbe conseguenze disastrose per il destino del potere papale.

L'ultimo pretesto per attaccare Roma fu offerto al Direttorio il 28 dicembre 1797, quando il giovane generale francese Mathurin Léonard Duphot³ fu ucciso da un militare dell'esercito pontificio: resa vana ogni possibile trattativa, l'11 gennaio 1798 il generale Louis Alexandre Berthier⁴, comandante dell'armata

¹ Cfr. U. Coldagelli, *Armaroli, Leopoldo*, in *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, (1960-2017), Roma, Istituto della Enciclopedia italiana, 1962, Vol. 4, pp. 225-227.

² Per un approfondimento su tale tematica si segnalano: V.E. Giuntella, *Due esperienze repubblicane in Roma (1798-1849)*, Roma, La libreria dello Stato, 1950; Id., *La giacobina repubblica romana (1798-1799): aspetti e momenti*, Roma, Società romana di storia patria, 1950; Id., *Le Marche agli albori del Risorgimento*, in G. Bagaloni, E. Grifoni (edd.), *L'apporto delle Marche al Risorgimento nazionale. Atti del Congresso di Storia 29-30 settembre - 2 ottobre 1960*, Ancona, Tip. SITA, 1961, pp. 29-49; C. Capra, *L'età rivoluzionaria e napoleonica in Italia, 1796-1815*, Torino, Loescher, 1978; S.J. Woolf, *La storia politica e sociale*, in *Storia d'Italia. Vol. 3, Dal primo Settecento all'Unità*, Torino, Einaudi, 1973; Id., *Dall'età delle riforme all'Italia napoleonica*, in *Il Risorgimento italiano*, Torino, Einaudi, 1981, Vol. 1; Id., *Napoleone e la conquista dell'Europa*, Bari-Roma, Laterza, 1990.

³ Generale di brigata, Duphot si trovava a Roma in congedo matrimoniale per sposare Désirée Clary, ed era ospite di Giuseppe Bonaparte, che all'epoca rivestiva la carica di ambasciatore francese presso la Santa Sede.

⁴ Louis-Alexandre Berthier (Versailles, 1753 - Bamberg, 1815) fu uno dei più fedeli collaboratori di Napoleone. Maresciallo di Francia e capo dell'Armata d'Italia, fu anche Ministro della Guerra;

d'Italia, ricevette l'ordine di occupare Roma e, nell'arco di circa un mese, disarmò le truppe pontificie e destituì Pio VI. Con un atto notarile denominato *Atto del popolo sovrano*, il 15 febbraio 1798, un gruppo di democratici romani proclamò la Repubblica e il pontefice fu costretto ad abbandonare Roma, dove furono inviati dal Direttorio 22 commissari, aventi il compito di indagare sull'omicidio di Duphot e di organizzare la nuova forma di governo⁵.

Non si hanno notizie certe su un eventuale coinvolgimento diretto di Armaroli nei moti di fine Settecento, certo è che nel 1798 l'avvocato tornò nella sua città natale e che, il 14 marzo dello stesso anno, il generale Gouvion Saint Cyr⁶, uno dei personaggi più scaltri e influenti dell'armata francese, gli affidò la carica di presidente del Tribunale criminale del Dipartimento del Musone.

Armaroli, da sempre fervente sostenitore del governo napoleonico, nutriva non poche riserve nei confronti dell'amministrazione pontificia, di cui non apprezzava soprattutto la gestione del sistema giudiziario, ritenendola lenta, irrazionale, violenta e irrispettosa nei confronti dei sudditi; egli credeva che nell'ambito della magistratura dovessero operare «valentuomini consapevoli dell'ufficio che li attende», al di sopra di ogni censura e corruzione, «di costumi irrepressibili, dotati di buona fede, nemici della menzogna, amici della verità, imbevuti delle leggi per collaborare alla fondazione della *pubblica felicità*»⁷.

Nonostante ciò, a seguito della caduta della Repubblica Romana, egli poté riprendere indisturbatamente l'avvocatura fino al 1808, anno in cui le Marche furono annesse al Regno d'Italia; in questa occasione, precisamente l'8 luglio, l'avvocato fu nominato al consiglio distrettuale di Macerata, assunse la presidenza della Corte di giustizia civile e criminale del Dipartimento del Musone e del Tronto e, contemporaneamente, fu giudice della reverente Camera apostolica.

In seguito, nel 1812, ottenne la carica di senatore per i *dotti* nel Collegio elettorale per il Dipartimento del Musone⁸, presso cui in novembre pronunciò un importante discorso, dato poi alle stampe, da cui emerge con chiarezza la sua personale opinione nei confronti degli organi rappresentativi dello Stato. Si legge in un passo:

inoltre, venne onorato del titolo di principe di Neuchâtel, duca di Valengin e principe di Wagram.

⁵ Cfr. L. Pepe, *Istituti nazionali, accademie e società scientifiche nell'Europa di Napoleone*, Firenze, Leo S. Olschki, 2005, pp. 33-34, 41.

⁶ Maresciallo di Francia e uomo politico, all'epoca il generale Gouvion Saint Cyr si trovava in Italia in qualità di comandante dell'Armata di Roma, formatasi dall'ammutinamento delle truppe francesi contro il generale Massena.

⁷ Cfr. W. Angelini, *Per una ridefinizione di personaggi della Marca del momento napoleonico*, in *Atti del XXIX Convegno di Studi maceratesi (Porto Recanati 13-14 novembre 1993)*, Macerata, Centro di Studi maceratesi, 1995, Vol. XXIX, pp. 437-438.

⁸ Cfr. P. Cartechini, *Organi ed uffici dell'amministrazione napoleonica a Macerata dal 1808 al 1815*, in *L'età napoleonica nel maceratese. Atti dell'VIII convegno di Studi maceratesi. (Tolentino, 28-29 ottobre 1972)*, Macerata, Centro di Studi maceratesi, 1974, Vol. VIII, pp. 356-367, 456.

In altri Paesi entrano tra gli Ordini rappresentativi dello Stato oltre i Ricchi anche gli Ecclesiastici ed i Contadini, istituzione difettosa ed assurda. [...]

Noi all'incontro abbiamo nei Possidenti la forza dello Stato, poiché ne posseggono il patrimonio; abbiamo ne' Dotti coloro che l'indefessa applicazione e con le utili scoperte estirparono gli errori, migliorarono l'attività della terra, ne moltiplicano i prodotti; abbiamo ne' Commercianti la molla dell'Industria⁹.

In qualità di senatore del Regno Italico, Armaroli decise poi di trasferirsi a Milano, dove si interessò attivamente di politica, pur non rivestendo un ruolo di primissimo piano e senza mai tralasciare i propri doveri nei confronti del Dipartimento del Musone; in questo stesso periodo, il conte fu spettatore privilegiato degli episodi rivoluzionari che investirono la capitale lombarda nell'aprile del 1814, a seguito dell'abdicazione di Napoleone, tant'è che ne scrisse addirittura una memoria, inizialmente fatta circolare anonima. Il testo, intitolato *Sulla rivoluzione di Milano. Seguita nel giorno 20 aprile 1814. Sul primo Governo provvisorio e sulle quivi tenute adunanze de' collegj elettorali. Memoria storica con documenti*¹⁰, edito a Parigi nel novembre 1814, ricostruisce con precisione i fatti che culminarono con il linciaggio del ministro Prina¹¹ e con la definitiva presa di potere da parte del governo austriaco¹².

Dal racconto risulta evidente l'orientamento politico dell'avvocato, a sostegno della causa del Beauharnais e opposto al movimento indipendentistico

⁹ L. Armaroli, *Discorso recitato in Macerata li 15 novembre 1812 al Collegio elettorale del Dipartimento del Musone dal conte Leopoldo Armaroli senatore del Regno italico e presidente del Collegio suddetto*, Macerata, dalla stamperia Cortesi, 1814, p. 7.

¹⁰ Il testo fu poi ristampato con introduzione da T. Casini a Roma nel 1897, insieme alla narrazione sul medesimo argomento di Carlo Verri.

¹¹ Sul ministro Prina si vedano: M. Fabi, *Milano e il ministro Prina*, Novara, Pedrolì, 1860; U. Gualdoni (ed.), *Prineide: la tragica fine di Giuseppe Prina, ministro delle finanze del Regno d'Italia voluto da Napoleone*, Novara, Interlinea, 1996; S. Levati, *Giuseppe Prina (1766-1814): un grande ministro alla ricerca di un biografo*, in *Archivio Storico Lombardo. Giornale della Società storica lombarda*, serie dodicesima, Milano, Cisalpino, Istituto editoriale universitario, 2014, Vol. XIX, pp. 189-206; S. Levati, *Prina, Giuseppe*, in *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, cit., 2016, Vol. 85, pp. 388-391.

¹² A tal proposito si veda: A. Helfert, *La caduta della dominazione francese nell'alta Italia e la congiura militare bresciano-milaneese nel 1814*, [trad. L. Cusani-Confalonieri], Bologna, Zanichelli, 1894; D. Spadoni, *Il moto del 20 aprile e l'occupazione austriaca*, in *Milano e la congiura militare nel 1814 per l'indipendenza italiana*, Modena, Società Tipografica Modenese, 1936, Vol. 1; C. Spellanzon, *La restaurazione austriaca in Lombardia*, in *Sotto l'Austria (1815-1859), Storia di Milano*, Milano, Fondazione Treccani degli Alfieri per la storia di Milano, 1960, Vol. XIV; M. Meriggi, *Il Regno Lombardo-Veneto*, Torino, UTET, 1987; Y.M. Bercé, *La fin de l'Europe napoléonienne, 1814: la vacance du pouvoir*, Parigi, H. Veyrier, 1990; M. Meriggi, *Aprile 1814. Prina, Milano e l'Europa*, in *Archivio Storico Lombardo. Giornale della Società storica lombarda*, serie dodicesima, Milano, Cisalpino, Istituto editoriale universitario, 2014, Vol. XIX, pp. 207-219; C. Capra, *Milano 1814-1816: dal Regno d'Italia al Regno Lombardo-Veneto*, in *Archivio Storico Lombardo. Giornale della Società storica lombarda*, serie dodicesima, Milano, Cisalpino, Istituto editoriale universitario, 2015, Vol. XX, pp. 265-282; E. Pagano, E. Riva (edd.), *Milano 1814. La fine di una capitale*, Milano, FrancoAngeli, 2019.

degli *Italici puri*, rappresentati all'epoca dal conte Federico Confalonieri¹³, il quale fu accusato di essere uno dei principali agitatori della folla nel corso della rivolta del 20 aprile. Nella memoria di Armaroli, infatti, si legge¹⁴:

Prima di quel momento niuno del popolo aveva ardito di penetrare nel palazzo, niuno aveva ardito di sforzare i soldati di linea, che erano schierati alla porta. Il solo Conte Confalonieri si era appressato più degli altri, e la sola sua voce si ascoltava esclamando: «Noi vogliamo la convocazione dei Collegi Elettorali, e che si richiami la deputazione del Senato!» Tutto che il capitano Marini gli insinuasse, che fosse entrato in seduta e senza innalzare in istrada clamori plebei e sediziosi, avesse manifestati ai senatori i suoi voti, rispose di non poterlo fare, perché destituito di carattere e di rappresentanza, ma intanto sempre più sollevava la voce, ripetendo le stesse cose.

E ancora, più avanti:

Ciò conseguito si attendeva che fosse dissipato il tumulto; ma ben altre essendo le viste dei tumultuanti, crebbe anzi il disordine sempre più. I senatori sortir dovettero da altra porta, e dietro di essi si affollò con impeto il popolo concitato. Il Conte Confalonieri fu il primo a scagliarsi contro il ritratto di Napoleone dipinto dal celebre Appiani, che con l'ombrello ruppe e gittò dalle finestre dalle quali egli il primo cominciò a gettare le suppellettili della sala. Il suo nobile esempio fu avidamente seguito dalla plebe. [...]

Non erano ancora tutti i senatori fuori del palazzo, che tutto era in preda al saccheggio, da cui fu solo in quel giorno risparmiata la segreteria, e l'appartamento del Conte cancelliere. Niuno dei senatori fu offeso nella persona, alcuno solamente fu urlato di nuovo.

Cessò la depredazione e lo spoglio, allorché alcuno dei capi andò spargendo la voce che era tempo di portare la vendetta e il furore sopra il Ministro delle finanze.

A sua difesa, il 15 marzo 1815, Confalonieri pubblicò *Lettera ad un amico* in cui negò perfino di essere entrato nell'aula del Senato durante la rivolta milanese e, pur non rinnegando le posizioni politiche espresse, respinse con estrema decisione l'accusa di coinvolgimento nell'eccidio del ministro Prina. Si legge nella lettera:

Trovomi quindi in diritto di rigettare come calunniosa ed infame la narrazione fatta sul mio conto nel libro intitolato: *sulla rivoluzione di Milano seguita il 20 aprile*, ed in questa

¹³ Per ricostruire la figura del conte Federico Confalonieri si segnalano: C. Bianchi, *Federico Confalonieri o i carbonari del 1821*, Milano, Francesco Scorza editore, 1863; A. D'Ancona, *Federico Confalonieri*, Milano, Treves, 1898; *Carteggio del Conte Federico Confalonieri ed altri documenti spettanti alla sua biografia*, pubblicato con annotazioni storiche di G. Gallavaresi (ed.), Milano, Ripalta, 1910-1913; G. Casati (ed.), *Federico Confalonieri, Memorie*, Milano, U. Hoepli, 1985, ristampa anastatica dell'edizione del 1889; L. Ambrosoli, *Confalonieri, Federico*, in *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, cit., 1982, Vol. 27, pp. 772-777; A.M. Orecchia (ed.), *Federico Confalonieri, Memorie*, Milano, CUEM, 2004; E. Mazzella, *Confalonieri Federico*, in *Dizionario Biografico dell'Educazione 1800-2000*, Milano, Editrice bibliografica, 2013, Vol. I (A-K), pp. 383-384.

¹⁴ L. Armaroli, *Sulla rivoluzione di Milano. Seguita nel giorno 20 aprile 1814. Sul primo suo governo provvisorio e sulle quivi tenute adunanze de' collegi elettorali. Memoria storica con documenti*, Parigi, novembre 1814, pp. 13-15.

accuso nominatamente d'impostura la supposta mia irruzione nel cortile del senato, a capo del popolo, mentre non vi entrai che allorché era già tutto invaso, come più sopra dissi, e l'ancor più rea menzogna, colla quale mi si fa entrare nell'aula senatoria ed ivi commettere atti degni della più vile canaglia, dalle mie abitudini troppo dissoni e notoriamente da altri reclamati, come di loro proprietà, nel mentre che protesto in faccia alla Città tutta, ed a mille spettatori che potrebbero smentirmi, ch'io non posi giammai nell'aula del senato, in quella giornata il piede. Sappia dunque l'autore del citato libello, che attacca sfacciatamente la mia persona colle armi della calunnia e dell'impostura, nel mentre che vilmente egli si copre coll'egida dell'anonimo, sappia dico, che egli non serba già l'anonimo in faccia mia, né del pubblico che notoriamente lo accenna, a lui mi rivolgo pertanto, a lui che ad ogni passo lascia troppo meschinamente travedere lo spirito di partito che lo iuvade e gli do solenne mentita di quanto ha asserito sul mio conto, denunciandolo al Pubblico qual vile calunniatore¹⁵.

Nel 1815, a seguito della caduta del governo napoleonico, Armaroli decise di tornare nelle Marche e di ritirarsi a vita privata nella sua villa di Appignano¹⁶, dove si dedicò principalmente agli studi personali. In questo periodo non emergono elementi che lo colleghino ad alcuna attività politica o sovversiva e raramente tornò a rivestire la toga, probabilmente per ottenere il 'perdono' da parte della Chiesa, la quale si mostrò piuttosto indulgente nei suoi confronti, nonostante il dichiarato appoggio al potere napoleonico.

Un ulteriore coinvolgimento politico del conte si ebbe solo nel 1831, a seguito dello scoppio dei moti rivoluzionari nei Ducati e nelle Legazioni pontificie, i quali si diffusero poi rapidamente anche nelle zone emiliane, marchigiane e umbre¹⁷; in questa circostanza Armaroli accettò la carica di ministro della Giustizia del nuovo governo delle Province Unite italiane, per cui fu eletto nel corso dell'assemblea dei delegati dei governi provvisori del 4 marzo. L'avvocato decise di trasferirsi subito a Bologna, ma non ebbe il tempo di prendere effettivamente possesso dell'ufficio a causa del precipitare degli eventi, che si conclusero di fatto con la repressione dei moti e con il ristabilimento delle autorità precedenti.

¹⁵ F. Confalonieri, *Lettera ad un amico*, Milano, 15 marzo 1815, p. 18.

¹⁶ Situata nelle campagne di Appignano, la villa nacque dalla ristrutturazione di un antico complesso monastico dedicato a San Giacomo della Marca, acquistato da Armaroli nel 1811. Il progetto iniziale fu affidato all'architetto bolognese Giuseppe Nardi, al quale tra il 1823 e il 1826, fu aggiunto il contributo dell'architetto Luigi Poletti, che si occupò della realizzazione della facciata della monumentale villa e dell'edera. Oggi la villa è conosciuta con il nome di *Villa Tusculano*, appellativo attribuitogli già dal conte maceratese in onore del componimento filosofico di Cicerone, *Tusculanae Disputationes*.

¹⁷ Sui moti rivoluzionari del 1830-1831 si veda: Comitato di Macerata della Società nazionale per la storia del Risorgimento italiano (ed.), *Le Marche nella rivoluzione del 1831*, Macerata, Unione tipografica operaia, 1935; M. Natalucci, *L'insurrezione delle Marche nel 1831: dalle relazioni dei Delegati pontifici*, Fano, Tip. Sonciniana, 1959; S.C. Hughes, *Crime, disorder and the Risorgimento: the politics of policing in Bologna*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1994; R. Piccioni, «Penne filantropiche». *Stampa e politica nella rivolta del 1831 nello Stato pontificio*, Macerata, eum, 2015.

Rientrato indisturbatamente ad Appignano, il conte vi rimase fino alla sua morte provocata da una paralisi nel 1843¹⁸, dedicandosi soprattutto agli studi personali e all'amministrazione del Comune, di cui nel 1832 era stato nominato priore.

2. Gli studi e le ricerche personali sul problema dell'abbandono infantile

Esperienza politica e attività di ricerca si fondono perfettamente nella personalità del conte Armaroli e, malgrado durante la sua carriera abbia talora assunto posizioni politiche ambigue, il suo contributo intellettuale fu spesso tenuto in considerazione sia dalle autorità secolari, sia da quelle ecclesiastiche.

Negli anni trascorsi nella villa di Appignano, nel corso dei quali l'avvocato si occupò anche della gestione amministrativa della città, egli maturò uno spiccato interesse nei confronti del tema dell'*esposizione*¹⁹, il quale rappresentava

¹⁸ Cfr. Coldagelli, Armaroli, Leopoldo, in *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, cit., pp. 225-227.

¹⁹ Sul tema dell'esposizione si segnalano i lavori di: 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.), *Povertà e beneficenza tra Rivoluzione e Restaurazione*, Napoli, Morano, 1989; M. Capul, *Abandon et marginalité: les enfants placés sous l'Ancien Régime*, Toulouse, Privat, 1989; G. Di Bello, *Senza nome né famiglia. I bambini abbandonati nell'Ottocento*, Firenze, Manzuoli, 1989; S. Fronzoni, *Lontano dalla madre: forme e istituti dell'esposizione a Bologna nella prima metà dell'Ottocento*, «Sanità 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'Antichità al Rinascimento* [trad. it. di F. Olivieri], Milano, Rizzoli, 1991; E. Sonnino, *Esposizione e mortalità degli esposti nello Stato pontificio agli inizi dell'Ottocento secondo le statistiche raccolte da Leopoldo Armaroli*, in *Enfance abandonnée et société en Europe. XIV-XX siècle. Actes du colloque international de Rome (30 et 31 janvier 1987)*, Roma, École française de Rome, 1991, pp. 1065-1096; P. Chassaing, *Un aspect peu connu de l'abandon d'enfants dans l'Angleterre victorienne: le baby farming*, «Annales de démographie historique», Parigi, 1992, pp. 187-197; *Assistenza e beneficenza in età moderna: le istituzioni nella Marca*, in *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 età 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'età moderna*, Bari, Cacucci, 1993; A. Palombarini, *I "mamoli bucati": l'assistenza agli esposti nelle Marche di età moderna*, «Studi Maceratesi», vol. XXVII, 1993, pp. 57-84; G. Da Molin (ed.), *Trovatelli e balie in Italia secc. XVI-XIX*, in *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

all'epoca uno dei problemi sociali di maggior gravità, soprattutto se analizzato nei contesti rurali e marginali. Armaroli, tenendo fede alle proprie convinzioni e servendosi della sua esperienza politica e giuridica, analizzò la questione da diversi punti di vista, passando dall'ambito storiografico a quello più prettamente ideologico, e avvalendosi di numerosi esempi 'storici' per confermare le proprie tesi.

Non si hanno notizie certe sulle reali motivazioni che spinsero il conte a occuparsi proprio di questa tematica, ma è ammissibile l'opinione per cui il suo interesse sia da interpretare come una risposta alle esigenze sociali dell'epoca e a quella attività puramente filantropica, tipica dell'aristocrazia e dell'alta borghesia ottocentesca, per cui dare prova di umanitarismo era motivo di vanto e di riconoscimento sociale.

Le principali ricerche storiografiche condotte dall'avvocato maceratese sul tema dell'abbandono infantile sono raccolte nel testo *Ricerche storiche sulla esposizione degli infanti presso gli antichi popoli e specialmente presso i Romani*²⁰, pubblicato a Venezia nel 1838, presso la tipografia di Giuseppe Antonelli, opera che in realtà si profilava come un «primo saggio» sulla suddetta materia, definita da Armaroli stesso nella prefazione «uno degli oggetti di beneficenza che particolarmente interessano le cure dei Governi e dei veri filantropi» dell'epoca.

La prima parte del testo è dedicata ai *prolegomeni*, articolati in quattro punti (*Del poco gradimento di conservare la prole femminile; Della uccisione de' figli nati deboli ed imperfetti; Abuso della patria potestà; Degli aborti*) e chiusi dalle *note ai prolegomeni*, in cui Armaroli introduce la tematica dell'esposizione con argomentazioni soprattutto di carattere spirituale, naturale e culturale, rifacendosi più volte al «supremo Creatore dell'universo», all'«Onnipotente», agli istinti animali, in particolare a quello «di propagare la specie, di alimentare, custodire, difendere la prole, finché di alimento, di custodia e di difesa abbisogna», e alle pratiche messe in atto dagli «ovipari»

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, Affinità 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 maternità dalla Ca' Granda alla Provincia di Milano: 1456-1920*, Milano, Università degli Studi di Milano, Skira, 2008; F. Reggiani, *Sotto le ali della colomba: famiglie assistenziali e relazioni di genere a Milano dall'età 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 História da Educação», vol. 15, n. 2, Uberlândia, Edufu, 2016, pp. 808-862; D. Boati, R. Cavallo, G. Uberti (edd.), *Una vita per l'infanzia. Il Pio Istituto di Maternità di Milano: una esperienza di 150 anni*, Milano, FrancoAngeli, 2017.

²⁰ L. Armaroli, *Ricerche storiche sulla esposizione degli infanti presso gli antichi popoli e specialmente presso i Romani*, Venezia, tipografia di G. Antonelli, 1838.

e dai «vivipari», adducendo gli esempi dei castori, delle api, dei «volatili» e di «altri bruti animali».

Il giudizio nei confronti degli uomini, invece, non è altrettanto positivo; infatti, secondo l'avvocato maceratese, nonostante Dio abbia trasmesso a tutti i valori del rispetto, dell'attenzione e dell'amore nei confronti della propria prole, purtroppo vi fu sempre chi convertì «l'alto mistero conservatore della umana specie in un voluttuoso sgravio di materiale SENSUALITÀ», considerando il frutto delle «carnali loro compiacenze» come una sorta di sciagura, come un impedimento di cui disfarsi, destino che, secondo l'autore, era ormai riservato quasi esclusivamente ai *sol*i illegittimi; nel quarto punto dei *prolegomeni*, di fatto, Armaroli scrive:

Sia però detto ad onore della nostra età e del mio paese, che presso noi i soli illegittimi figli si condannano alla sventura dell'esposizione. La sempre più crescente civiltà, e la vigilanza dei magistrati obbligano anche i più mendici a non rigettare i parti legittimi; di chi bisogna dire, che abbiamo principale debito all'augusta religione che professiamo, la quale, nella virtuosa semplicità de' suoi precetti, ha ricondotto l'uomo cristiano nel sentiero della umanità e della morale, e così ne ha ingentilita la specie. Prima che questa fosse dagli Apostoli propagata nell'Occidente, prima che un successore di Costantino annoverasse l'esposizione degl'infanti nella categoria de' cittadini Romani anche per diritto di patria potestà, di uccidere, e molto più con l'esposizione, rigettare il figlio partorito dalla legittima consorte²¹.

Tra le principali cause dello sviluppo del fenomeno dell'esposizione, oltre a una sorta di «esagerato» amor patrio e all'abuso della patria potestà, particolarmente diffusi anticamente tra gli spartani e i romani, l'autore annota altresì l'orgoglio e la superstizione dei genitori biologici, per cui si riteneva necessario disfarsi dei «mostri» e degli «storpi», i quali non avrebbero avuto alcuna possibilità di futuro, ma soprattutto la povertà delle famiglie di origine e la condizione di figlio illegittimo.

Conclusi i *prolegomeni*, Armaroli inizia la vera e propria ricostruzione storiografica, *Della esposizione degli infanti presso i Romani*, suddivisa in undici capitoli, i cui titoli danno già esaustiva indicazione degli argomenti trattati: I. *Come i Romani abbiano esposto gl'infanti, sebbene fosse ad essi interdetto da una delle leggi fondamentali della loro città*; II. *Delle altre cause di esposizione degl'infanti presso i Romani*; III. *Del modo e del luogo ove in Roma si esponevano gl'infanti*; IV. *De' nutricatori*; V. *Delle disposizioni legislative relative ai diritti acquistati dai nutricatori sulle persone degl'infanti esposti, e da essi raccolti, nutriti, educati*; VI. *Fino a qual periodo siasi tollerato dal governo romano l'esposizione degl'infanti, e quando sia stata emanata dal trono una legge penale contro gli esponenti*; VII. *L'Astronomicon di Firmico offre un ulteriore argomento, che nel periodo dell'impero di Costantino I non esisteva alcuna legge, che annoverasse fra i delitti la esposizione degl'infanti*; VIII. Altro

²¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 3-4.

argomento emerge dal non essersi conosciuta in Occidente e perciò non eseguita la legge di Valentiniano I, Valente e Graziano, finché nel secolo XIII non si è scoperta ed accettata la legislazione di Giustiniano; IX. Dell'ambigua ed assurda legislazione di Giustiniano sulla esposizione degl'infanti; X. Delle vicende della romana legislazione sotto il regno de' Visigoti nelle Gallie e nella Spagna, e sotto l'altro degli Ostrogoti in Italia e nelle provincie ad essi soggette; XI. Del pubblico reggimento ne' paesi, che fecero parte dell'estinto impero occidentale, e delle pratiche osservate in essi sulla esposizione degl'infanti dall'ingresso della barbarie al principio della restituita civiltà nel secolo XIII.

Nell'ultima parte del capitolo XI, Armaroli punta l'attenzione sulla situazione italiana, spiegando come in realtà «l'Italia oppressa da tante sciagure» non si sia prodigata in favore della costituzione di *pie istituzioni* o di *stabilimenti di beneficenza* prima del nono secolo, al contrario invece dell'Oriente, «ove i vescovi e i monaci non essendo disturbati dalle invasioni barbariche hanno potuto perorare tranquillamente l'efficacia dell'opere misericordiose per ottenere il perdono delle colpe e l'eterna beatitudine». Per quanto riguarda in modo particolare la categoria degli esposti, non si hanno notizie circa l'esistenza di *brefotrofi* in Italia prima della fine dell'VIII secolo: nella memoria del Capitolare di Lodovico il Pio, figlio di Carlomagno, re dei Franchi e imperatore carolingio, si legge che, tramite le sue ricerche, aveva scoperto che nel 785, Datheo, l'arciprete della Chiesa milanese, «raccolse in sua casa i bambini esposti, ne formò uno stabilimento, che chiamò *exsenodochio*, e con istrumento ricevuto dal suddiacono Ausperto, e sottoscritto da lui, e da un prete e da quattro diaconi della stessa Chiesa, lo dotò di beni, onde fosse mantenuto anche dopo la sua morte»; in realtà questo stabilimento non accolse nel concreto bambini esposti, ma il capitale offerto da Datheo fu successivamente messo a disposizione dei mendicanti, dei poveri e dei pellegrini²².

L'avvocato, inoltre, cerca di precisare l'origine etimologica della parola *brefotrofio*, coniata dai greci e poi tradotta dai latini, in modo da chiarire anche quale sia l'effettiva finalità di tali istituti; si legge al punto 172²³:

Troviamo l'albergo de' pellegrini designato dalla voce greca *xenodochium*; quello degl'infermi dalla parola *nosocomium*; quello de' mendicanti, *ptochotrophium*; quello de' vecchj, *gerontocomium*; quello degli ospiti in genere, *exsenodochium*; quello degli orfani, *orphanotrophium*; quello degli spurii, *nothotrophium*; quello de' bambini abbandonati dopo la recente nascita loro, *brephotrophium*.

Sul finale, l'autore accenna alla creazione «dell'archispedale di S. Spirito in Sassia per decreto dell'immortale pontefice Innocenzo III, nell'anno 1198», che

²² *Ibid.*, pp. 188-192.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 189.

rappresentò un modello per l'erezione di altri luoghi pii nello Stato Pontificio, di cui Armaroli si propone di scrivere in *altra successiva opera*, nella quale aspira ad indagare «il quando, il come e da chi furono istituiti», quali siano stati i regolamenti, e di *meditare* sulle modalità più efficaci ed economiche, con cui «serbare in vita gl'infelicissimi esposti, educarli nella religione e nella morale, e far sì, che tutti ottengano nella società un onesto stato civile»²⁴.

La parte conclusiva del testo, infine, è occupata dalle *annotazioni*, ricche soprattutto di richiami a importanti autori latini, come Cicerone, Orazio, Lucrezio, Seneca, Tacito e Quintiliano, e di riferimenti a trattati, codici e costituzioni di epoca romana, che connotano culturalmente l'opera di Armaroli e che rappresentano il sintomo evidente della grande passione per la letteratura latina e della formazione giuridica dello scrittore.

Nel 1839 il volume *Ricerche storiche sulla esposizione degli infanti presso gli antichi popoli e specialmente presso i Romani* fu recensito in maniera esaustiva dall'avvocato Luigi Cecconi²⁵, che lo definì «ricca a dovizia di preziose erudizioni e di savie considerazioni» e che confermò l'intenzione dell'autore di approfondire il tema dell'esposizione «in altra sua opera, che se a questa somiglierà per gravità di dottrina e per filosofia, onorerà sommamente non pure il nome già illustre del sig. conte Armaroli, ma l'italiana sapienza»²⁶.

Probabilmente, il progetto del conte di redigere un volume monografico in cui analizzare e confrontare la realtà degli istituti assistenziali ottocenteschi rivolti ai *progetti*, prevedeva la delineazione di un esaustivo profilo sul problema dell'esposizione in Italia, difatti, le sue ricerche si concentrarono sui primi decenni dell'Ottocento e furono orientate alle *case di ricovero*, di cui egli indagò principalmente le metodologie di accoglienza e di assistenza agli esposti, tenendo conto anche dell'alto tasso di mortalità che si registrava all'interno degli istituti, di cui spesso non venivano fatti circolare dati veritieri, e della differenza di genere tra gli esposti.

Questa indagine condotta da Armaroli, i cui appunti sono oggi conservati presso l'Archivio di Stato di Roma²⁷, in una raccolta di più di duemila carte, rimase inedita fino alla fine del Novecento, quando fu portata alla luce dal

²⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 192-193.

²⁵ Sull'avvocato e giudice capitolino Luigi Cecconi si veda D.L. Marchetti, *Orazione funebre per l'avvocato Luigi Cecconi*, Roma, Tipografia delle scienze, 1845, recitata nella città di Palestrina in occasione delle solenni esequie celebrate il 27 novembre 1844, per l'anniversario della morte dell'avvocato.

²⁶ L. Cecconi, *Ricerche storiche sulla esposizione degli infanti presso gli antichi popoli, e specialmente presso i romani; dell'avv. conte Leopoldo Armaroli*. 8°. Venezia, dalla tipografia di Giuseppe Antonelli 1838 (Un vol. di pag. 225.), (recensione), «Giornale Arcadico di scienze, lettere ed arti», vol. LXXVIX, n. aprile, maggio e giugno, Roma, tipografia delle Belle Arti, 1839, pp. 237-244.

²⁷ Biblioteca dell'Archivio di Stato di Roma, collezione *Manoscritti*, ms. 195 *Opuscoli editi e Manoscritti del Conte Avvocato Leopoldo Armaroli di Macerata*; mss. 196-197 *Relazioni statistiche sugli esposti*; ms. 198 *Corrispondenza, relazioni e documenti sugli esposti del Conte Armaroli*.

demografo Eugenio Sonnino²⁸, il quale ne riprese specialmente le tavole statistiche, che gli consentirono di analizzare la funzionalità degli istituti assistenziali per l'infanzia abbandonata operanti nello Stato Pontificio tra il 1823 e il 1833 e di ottenere una stima del tasso di mortalità degli esposti registrato al loro interno.

Anche Sonnino, inoltre, convalida l'ipotesi per cui Armaroli avrebbe voluto pubblicare un volume sul tema dell'esposizione in Italia e, a conferma di ciò, riporta alcune dichiarazioni fatte direttamente dal conte in una memoria²⁹ inviata al cardinale Gamberini³⁰. Si legge³¹:

[...] l'Armaroli – manifestando anche in ciò la forte connotazione politica del suo impegno culturale – avviò e portò ad importante maturazione una vasta indagine sul fenomeno dell'infanzia abbandonata quale si manifestava nella realtà italiana a lui contemporanea. L'opera avviata dal nostro studioso ebbe un taglio di vasto respiro e fu caratterizzata da un'impronta scientifica assai avanzata per i tempi. La ricerca doveva certo avere un obiettivo di copertura nazionale che tuttavia la morte impedì di raggiungere appieno, e doveva verosimilmente costituire il punto di approdo attuale e problematico di un programma di studi rivolto a collocare il fenomeno dell'esposizione, quale si manifestava nell'Ottocento, nel suo più ampio contesto storico.

Valgono a questo riguardo le parole stesse dell'Armaroli il quale in una memoria indirizzata nel settembre 1834 al cardinale Gamberini, segretario di Stato per l'Interno dello Stato pontificio, a proposito della raccolta di informazioni da lui intrapresa presso gli stabilimenti degli esposti esistenti in tale territorio così scrive: «... mi convinsi con mia sorpresa, primo che questo gravissimo compassionevole articolo di pubblica economia è più o meno

²⁸ Eugenio Sonnino, nato a Roma nel 1938, è stato un demografo italiano di fama internazionale, fu tra i fondatori della Società Italiana di Demografia Storica, per un periodo da lui anche diretta, docente di Demografia storica presso la facoltà di Scienze Statistiche dell'Università La Sapienza di Roma, e direttore del Centro Studi sperimentali su Roma. Nel testo *Esposizione e mortalità degli esposti nello Stato pontificio agli inizi dell'Ottocento, secondo le statistiche raccolte da Leopoldo Armaroli*, cit. in nota (16), Sonnino fa riferimento ai dati raccolti dal conte Armaroli nel corso delle sue indagini statistiche relative agli esposti.

²⁹ Memoria di Armaroli inviata al cardinale Gamberini, in Biblioteca dell'Archivio di Stato di Roma, collezione *Manoscritti*, ms. 196 *Relazioni statistiche sugli esposti*, fascicolo *Macerata*, cc. 587-590.

³⁰ Antonio Domenico Gamberini (Imola, 1760-Roma, 1841) discendente di una famiglia del patriziato 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).

³¹ Sonnino, *Esposizione e mortalità degli esposti nello Stato pontificio agli inizi dell'Ottocento, secondo le statistiche raccolte da Leopoldo Armaroli*, cit., pp. 1070-1071.

miseramente trascurato per ogni dove per cui pochi esposti arrivano ad età matura, e di questi è raro che si formino probi ed utili cittadini. Secondo, che l'Italia manca di un'opera classica e piena su tale argomento... Terzo, che noi siamo insultati per la nostra negligenza ed apatia dagli Esteri. Ho letto con isdegno e rossore che il conte Luigi Seristorj in un Saggio di Statistica italiana pubblicato l'anno scorso in Vienna ha detto di non poter trattare de' Stati pontifici come che mancanti di regolare istruzione e di ogni statistica. Quindi sentimenti di umanità, di sudditanza e di onore nazionale mi hanno eccitato a tentare di cogliere una messe da altri italiani, che io sappia, non mietuta ancora. Ho ardito perciò di intraprendere un lavoro storico statistico analitico».

La metodologia di indagine utilizzata dal conte Armaroli fu principalmente quella del questionario, generalmente inviato alle deputazioni amministrative degli istituti assistenziali, alle quali veniva chiesto di rispondere a domande relative alla nascita e all'ordinamento amministrativo del luogo pio, alle loro risorse finanziarie, a eventuali accordi con i comuni limitrofi, e quindi di specificare i territori di provenienza degli esposti. Altre domande riguardavano i salari e i sussidi in denaro riservati al personale dell'istituto e alle balie, i regolamenti, le modalità di presa in carico dei *progetti*, e il tasso di mortalità registrato; da questa tipologia di questionario, poi derivava la progettazione e la creazione di una serie di prospetti e tabelle, o la stesura di saggi statistici.

Dalla somma di queste indagini, nel territorio dello Stato Pontificio, risultarono attivi ben 33 istituti per l'infanzia abbandonata, di cui 17 collocati nell'area marchigiana, con un tasso di esposizione che corrispondeva all'incirca a oltre 3 esposti ogni 100 bambini nati; i dati raccolti da Armaroli, poi rielaborati da Sonnino, devono tuttavia essere valutati con le dovute cautele, in quanto spesso gli istituti non fornivano risposte esaustive e completamente fedeli alla realtà, a causa dell'ambiguità di alcune domande o della reticenza dietro cui l'operato di questa tipologia di luoghi pii si è per molto tempo 'nascosto'; certo è che essi permisero comunque di delineare un quadro generale completo ed articolato sul problema dell'abbandono infantile nei primi decenni dell'Ottocento, che si è mostrato coerente con i dati raccolti anche da altri studiosi³².

³² Si vedano ad esempio: O. Bussini, *Caratteristiche dell'esposizione dei fanciulli nell'Ospedale di S. Maria della pietà di Camerino nei secoli XVIII e XIX*, Perugia, Università degli Studi, 1980; M. Livi Bacci, *Donna, fecondità e figli: due secoli di storia demografica italiana*, Bologna, il Mulino, 1980; Da Molin, *L'infanzia abbandonata in Italia nell'età contemporanea. Aspetti demografici di un problema sociale*, cit.; C. Schiavoni, *Gli infanti "esposti" del santo spirito in Saxia di Roma tra '500 e '800: numero, ricevimento, allevamento e destino*, Roma, Università degli Studi di Roma La Sapienza, Dipartimento di scienze demografiche, 1989; A. Palombarini, *Sedotte e abbandonati: madri illegittime ed esposti nelle Marche di età moderna*, Ancona, Proposte e ricerche, 1993; L. Tittarelli, L. Calzola, D. Lanari, *Gli esposti all'Ospedale di S. Maria della Misericordia di Perugia dal XIV al XIX secolo*, Perugia, s. n., 2003.

3. *Gli sforzi diplomatici del conte Armaroli per la creazione di due brefotrofi comunali nella diocesi di Osimo-Cingoli*

Negli anni Trenta dell'Ottocento, il conte Armaroli ebbe la possibilità di applicare concretamente le conoscenze apprese sul tema dell'abbandono infantile, in occasione del dibattito per la creazione di due *pii stabilimenti* rivolti ai *progetti* nella diocesi di Osimo-Cingoli. Il contributo dell'avvocato venne personalmente richiesto dal cardinale Giovanni Antonio Benvenuti³³, vescovo della diocesi dal 1828, il quale, soprattutto nell'ultima parte del suo episcopato, si dedicò con pressante impegno e solerzia all'assistenza delle classi sociali più marginali e in particolare, a quella degli orfani e degli esposti, i quali fino al 1838, vennero gestiti dall'*Ospedale degli Esposti Santa Lucia* di Recanati³⁴; ciò che maggiormente preoccupava Benvenuti, era proprio la dubbia gestione di questo stabilimento, in cui si registrava un elevato tasso di mortalità e che richiedeva ai comuni affiliati un dispendioso contributo in denaro.

Il rapporto strettamente confidenziale creato tra il cardinale osimano e l'avvocato maceratese potrebbe apparire insolito, soprattutto se ci si riferisce alle diverse opinioni politiche pubblicamente espresse da entrambi ma, in realtà, esso costituisce il pretesto per un'interessante osservazione e interpretazione della collaborazione tra Chiesa e Stato laico, in materia di pubblica beneficenza: sia il vescovo, sia Armaroli, infatti, erano figure di spicco dell'élite ottocentesca, ambedue impegnati politicamente e socialmente, e si trovarono spesso coinvolti in controverse vicende politiche e rivoluzionarie, una tra tutti i moti romagnoli del 1830-1831, nel corso dei quali Benvenuti, all'epoca *legato a latere*, fu fatto ostaggio dal Governo delle Province Unite italiane, mentre Armaroli, dallo

³³ 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 premurosa attenzione nei confronti degli esposti e per la creazione dei Brefotrofi di Osimo e Cingoli. Laureato alla Sapienza di Roma in *utroque iure*, Benvenuti seguì dapprima il nunzio monsignor Litta a Varsavia, con l'incarico di uditore di nunziatura, ruolo che mantenne poi anche a Pietroburgo. Dal 1799 tenne la reggenza di nunziatura ma, a seguito dell'assassinio di Paolo I, nel 1803 gli fu concesso di tornare in patria, dove fu prima impiegato presso la Segreteria di Stato e dove, successivamente, ricoprì vari incarichi, tra cui quello di referendario di Segnatura, di prelado domestico di Sua Santità e di visitatore delle comunità di Stato. Nel concistoro segreto del 2 ottobre 1826 Benvenuti fu onorato della porpora e, nel dicembre del 1828, fu pubblicato con il titolo dei SS. Quirico e Giulitta e fu chiamato a prendere parte alla Congregazione dei Vescovi e Regolari, all'Immunità ecclesiastica, al Buon Governo e alla Congregazione Lauretana. Fu coinvolto nelle controverse vicende dei moti rivoluzionari del 1830-1831 e, dopo travagliate vicende personali con la Curia romana, morì nella sua diocesi di Osimo-Cingoli nel 1838. Oggi il cardinale riposa nella cripta posta sotto l'altare del duomo di Osimo (cfr. G. Pignatelli, *Benvenuti, Giovanni Antonio*, in *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, cit., 1966, Vol. 8, pp. 667-671).

³⁴ Nella città di Recanati l'assistenza agli esposti fu prestata soprattutto dalle confraternite religiose che, nel corso del Cinquecento, decisero di unire i loro ospedali e di dedicarli appunto a quella categoria di bambini. Il consorzio creato dall'istituto recanatese vide l'adesione di quattordici comuni limitrofi, tra cui appunto quelli di Osimo e Cingoli.

stesso Governo, fu eletto ministro della Giustizia. Non si hanno notizie di loro eventuali contatti nel periodo antecedente al 1832, anno in cui il vescovo rientrò nella propria diocesi e in cui l'avvocato fu eletto priore di Appignano, ma è plausibile pensare che abbiano avuto occasione di incontrarsi e conoscersi prima di iniziare la collaborazione sulla questione dell'apertura dei brefotrofi di Osimo e Cingoli.

Un altro elemento di cui è doveroso tener conto è il fatto che probabilmente il legame tra il cardinale Benvenuti e numerose personalità laiche legate all'ambiente carbonaro, massonico e napoleonico, contribuì alla 'scomunica' del suo operato politico da parte della Curia romana, la quale, dopo la conclusione dei moti del 1831, riservò non poche critiche ai suoi atteggiamenti di indulgenza e apertura nei confronti degli ex rivoltosi e in generale degli oppositori del potere pontificio³⁵.

Nello specifico, a Osimo, il dibattito per la creazione di un istituto dedicato agli esposti ebbe inizio già nei primi anni dell'Ottocento, ma fino alla fine degli anni Trenta dello stesso secolo non fu mai raggiunto un accordo tra la Sacra Congregazione del Buon Governo di Roma e i deputati comunali di Osimo e Cingoli, in quanto quest'ultimi erano contrari all'approvazione del regolamento redatto dalle autorità centrali, perché in esso si stabiliva il mantenimento dei *progetti* solo fino ai sette anni, senza garantire loro alcuna 'assicurazione' lavorativa o giuridica per il futuro.

Questa situazione di stallo sembrò sbloccarsi solo grazie all'entrata in diocesi del cardinale Benvenuti che si occupò personalmente della vicenda, sfruttando le proprie abilità diplomatiche e facendo leva sui legami con personalità ecclesiastiche influenti, che aveva avuto modo di intessere nel corso della sua lunga carriera³⁶. Il vescovo osimano era particolarmente infastidito e offeso per la mancata approvazione del suo progetto da parte della Curia romana e per l'ostinata opposizione dei comuni di Macerata e Monte Milone alla separazione dal consorzio recanatese³⁷, per questo chiese l'intervento del conte Armaroli che, in qualità di avvocato, uomo politico e di studioso dell'esposizione, a suo avviso avrebbe potuto sicuramente fornire un importante contributo alla vicenda, in modo da poter finalmente procedere alla rimozione di ogni ostacolo burocratico all'apertura dei due luoghi pii.

³⁵ Si veda a tal proposito la sezione relativa alle notificazioni del cardinale Benvenuti in 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).

³⁶ Benvenuti prese contatti soprattutto con il maceratese monsignor Lavinio de' Medici Spada, all'epoca uditore di Segnatura presso la Curia romana, e con monsignor Carlo Luigi Morichini, ponente del Buon Governo a Roma.

³⁷ A tal proposito si veda la lettera del 12 aprile 1836 inviata dal cardinale Benvenuti al segretario di Stato cardinale Gamberini, in 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*.

Il fulcro della questione riguardava soprattutto la legittimità del contributo da versare all'Ospedale di Recanati e il diritto di Benvenuti di «potere personalmente procurare il bene delle proprie Pecorelle», e quindi di promuovere l'assistenza e l'educazione di quei bambini nati «nell'infelice desolazione» che, secondo Armaroli, non era impedito da alcuna motivazione 'legale', in quanto il romano pontefice godeva sì dell'autorità di «restringere o dilatare i diritti de' Vescovi», ma solo nei casi di «giusto e grave motivo»³⁸.

Sulle medesime tematiche il conte Armaroli stese un rapporto³⁹ che lesse nel 1833 al cardinale Benvenuti e a tutti i gonfalonieri e priori della diocesi, riuniti nell'adunanza municipale convocata dal vescovo stesso su tre *differenti oggetti*, ovvero:

Il primo di analizzare le pretese di Sig.ri Recanatesi sulla quantità e qualità de' Bastardi che debbano restare a carico delle Comuni delle due Diocesi

di analizzare le nostre su i capitali stabili e mobili dello Stabilimento Recanatese e sulle passività del medesimo.

Il secondo di determinare il tempo le modalità e le condizioni del distacco non che nominare i soggetti che se ne occupino.

Il terzo di convenire fin da ora nelle massime cardinali radicali sull'impianto de' due Stabilimenti Osimano-Cingolario, e sul sistema della loro amministrazione.

Nel rapporto l'avvocato analizzò la prima questione, relativa ai capitali, affermando come con le *somministrazioni* dei comuni appartenenti al consorzio recanatese, fossero state «erette sontuose fabbriche» e fossero stati acquistati «oggetti mobiliari», che nel momento del distacco di uno o più comuni si sarebbero poi dovuti proporzionalmente restituire. Nel caso della diocesi osimana, Armaroli dichiarò che, poiché si era rilevato «che la mobiglia è poca, e di modico prezzo, essendo oggetto di altra indagine e di questione la stima di capitali in fabbriche», si riteneva ragionevole donarla allo stabilimento di Recanati, «lasciando però a carico di quel luogo la suddetta questionabile partita di debito»; il conte, infatti, aveva messo in luce l'ulteriore problema del debito che molti comuni avevano contratto con l'Ospedale di Santa Lucia, evidenziando che il contributo in denaro richiesto fosse piuttosto elevato ed equivoco, sia perché spesso tra gli esposti ritenuti provenienti da comuni limitrofi erano conteggiati anche i così detti «clandestini» della «Rota recanatese», sia perché in alcuni momenti di crisi, come «nel periodo della Rivolta di Bologna e delle provincie nel 1831», i comuni non cessarono mai di «soddisfare il tassato contributo», sia infine perché «non era in arbitrio di que' Signori di contrarre un debito qualunque per loro particolare determinazione senza interpellarne gli interessati» e quindi di utilizzare il denaro dei contributi, senza l'approvazione del paese solvente.

³⁸ Biblioteca dell'Archivio di Stato di Roma, collezione *Manoscritti*, ms. 197 *Relazioni statistiche sugli esposti*, fascicolo *Osimano e Cingoli*, cc. 52-53.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, cc. 54-75.

Per quanto concerne invece il problema del distacco della diocesi di Osimo-Cingoli dal consorzio di Recanati, Armaroli individuò le *misure di dettaglio* necessarie all'esecuzione dell'oggetto, prima fra tutte la nomina di un «benemerito Cittadino che unisca ingegno e sentimento di patria, che possenga ad egual dose la fermezza e la prudenza, e sia soprattutto dotato di mezzi conciliativi», e la redazione di una stima degli esposti da dover accogliere nei nuovi stabilimenti della diocesi⁴⁰. Secondo l'avvocato inoltre, nel corso della medesima adunanza, era opportuno stabilire l'impianto di una Congregazione di deputati, posta sotto l'autorità del cardinale Benvenuti, che avrebbe dovuto occuparsi della elaborazione di un regolamento⁴¹, e quindi, dell'amministrazione dei due stabilimenti di Osimo e Cingoli.

In relazione all'ultimo punto, l'avvocato fece particolare riferimento al problema dei locali per l'apertura dei due brefotrofi, sostenendo che essi non erano strettamente necessari, in quanto esistevano già delle realtà, nei centri limitrofi⁴², in cui le amministrazioni si preoccupavano di provvedere agli esposti tramite l'organizzazione del baliatico e delle adozioni, pur non avendo a disposizione alcun locale. Inoltre, Armaroli approfittò di tale discussione per definire una serie di *corollarj* desunti dalla complessiva analisi del funzionamento degli istituti rivolti all'infanzia abbandonata sorti in Italia fino a quel momento: le *case di ricovero* troppo *lussuose* e organizzate in modo complesso non erano utili al fine dell'assistenza e dell'educazione di quella «miserabile frazione della nostra specie»; l'uso del modello di vita collegiale era ritenuto particolarmente problematico, soprattutto se applicato alle espote; i *trovatelli* venivano per lo più adottati dalle famiglie contadine e l'esempio degli altri istituti marchigiani dimostrava come non fossero necessari appositi locali «per ricevere ed educare i bastardi»; per un corretto funzionamento degli istituti si riteneva opportuno nominare una Congregazione di deputati, che avrebbe dovuto riunirsi almeno

⁴⁰ Dalle ricerche compiute, Armaroli aveva stimato che nel 1833 a carico del Conservatorio di Recanati vi fossero nove *bastarde* femmine provenienti da Osimo, e soltanto tre da Cingoli.

⁴¹ Sulla questione della redazione di un apposito regolamento per i due brefotrofi di Osimo e Cingoli si veda: L. Armaroli, *Secondo rapporto del Conte Armaroli inviato a Sua Eminenza Illustrissima il Signore Cardinale Benvenuti Vescovo di Osimo e Cingoli sul progetto di Regolamento per i due Brefotrofi da erigersi in dette Città, letto in Osimo nel 5 Marzo 1834*, in Biblioteca dell'Archivio di Stato di Roma, collezione *Manoscritti*, ms. 197 *Relazioni statistiche sugli esposti*, fascicolo *Osimo e Cingoli*, cc. 76-115; 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)*; Archivio storico comunale di Osimo, fondo *Brefotrofio, Regolamento del Brefotrofio di Osimo, Statuti e Regolamenti (1833-1921)*; *Regolamento per l'amministrazione dei due pii comunali brefotrofi di Osimo e Cingoli*, Loreto, Tipografia dei Fratelli Rossi, 1838.

⁴² Armaroli parla in modo particolare di Ascoli Piceno, Jesi, San Severino e Treja, in cui l'assistenza agli esposti era garantita «con regolarità senza disordine o riclamo» pur non avendo a disposizione alcun locale; cita, invece, come esempi di Conservatori quello di Fabriano e quello di Fermo, che formavano un unico stabilimento con gli Ospedali degli Infermi di Camerino e Tolentino.

due volte l'anno e che avrebbe dovuto nominare un custode delle ruota, un cassiere e un computista, per provvedere alla 'raccolta' dei bambini e alla compilazione delle tabelle preventive e consuntive; si doveva procedere alla nomina di un deputato ecclesiastico, che vigilasse sul rispetto dei principi cristiani e sull'operato degli altri deputati; era necessario ricercare *nutrici stabili* e balie, di irrepreensibili costumi, per provvedere al nutrimento degli esposti, il cui 'controllo' era affidato a *magistrati* e parroci; infine, si dovevano stabilire i dettagli relativi ai salari del personale dell'istituto e al sussidio elargito nei confronti di coloro che si proponevano per il baliatico esterno o per le *filiazioni*.

Le indagini del conte Armaroli condotte in relazione alla diocesi di Osimo-Cingoli portarono in più alla produzione di un dettagliato saggio di statistica per il decennio 1823-1832, in cui il focus era concentrato sulla «dimostrazione generale del numero annuale medio del decennio de' nati, e de' morti di entrambi i sessi, de' matrimonj, delle famiglie, e delle popolazioni de' sette paesi» che costituivano la succitata diocesi (ovvero Osimo, Cingoli, Filottrano, Monte Fano, Staffolo, Appignano, Offagna)⁴³, facendo riferimento anche alle differenze tra coloro che vivevano nei «luoghi abitati-murati» e nelle campagne.

L'altra questione per cui fu richiesto l'intervento dell'avvocato maceratese fu, infine, il dissidio tra il cardinale Benvenuti e la diocesi di Macerata, che rappresentò una delle principali cause della tardiva approvazione al progetto per la creazione dei due brefotrofi nella diocesi osimana: nello specifico, i comuni di Macerata e Monte Milone sembravano opporsi con fermezza allo scioglimento del consorzio con Recanati per motivi strettamente economici, arrivando a 'esasperare' lo stesso vescovo Adriani, responsabile dell'Ospedale Santa Lucia, il quale minacciò addirittura la definitiva chiusura dello stabilimento se non si fosse arrivati a un accordo⁴⁴. Probabilmente il cardinale

⁴³ A partire dal 1838, questi stessi paesi entrarono a far parte del consorzio creato con la nascita dei due brefotrofi comunali di Osimo e Cingoli e, nello specifico, gli esposti di Filottrano e Montefano furono affidati all'istituto osimano, mentre quelli di Staffolo e Appignano all'istituto di Cingoli; il comune di Offagna, invece, si aggregò solo dal 1870.

⁴⁴ L'opposizione di Macerata proseguì fino al maggio 1837 e causò non pochi problemi all'approvazione del progetto del cardinale Benvenuti, il quale provò con ogni suo mezzo di persuadere la Curia romana alla risoluzione della questione, divenuta ormai una necessità morale per la diocesi osimana. A questo proposito, il vescovo intraprese una fitta corrispondenza sia con il vescovo di Recanati Adriani, responsabile dell'Ospedale Santa Lucia, sia con il cardinale Gamberini, della Segreteria per gli Affari di Stato interni della Curia romana, il quale richiese perfino l'intervento e la convocazione delle Congregazioni governative, prima di sottoporre l'approvazione della proposta al pontefice (in relazione alla corrispondenza del cardinale Benvenuti e alla sua azione diplomatica si veda: Archivio diocesano di Osimo, Diocesi di Osimo-Cingoli, *Brefotrofi. Questione brefotrofio provinciale di Recanati. Istituzione dei brefotrofi di Osimo e Cingoli. Corrispondenza-Relazioni* (1823-1886); Archivio diocesano di Osimo, f. Card. G. A. Benvenuti (1831), in 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); L. Egidi, *Assistenza e beneficenza in Osimo attraverso i secoli*, Osimo, Istituti Riuniti Padre Benvenuto Bambozzi, 1999).

osimano intendeva sfruttare a proprio favore l'influenza sociale e politica del conte nel comune natìo e auspicava che egli, grazie alle sue conoscenze sul tema dell'esposizione, potesse persuadere le autorità ecclesiastiche e municipali della effettiva inefficienza dell'Ospedale Santa Lucia e, quindi, della necessità di provvedere agli esposti attraverso istituti comunali di piccola entità; il conte, infatti, attraverso le sue ricerche aveva potuto osservare e confermare la maggior efficacia degli *stabilimenti minori* a discapito dei grandi istituti, soprattutto in riferimento al tasso di mortalità che si registrava al loro interno⁴⁵.

In riferimento alla specifica opposizione di Monte Milone interessante risulta essere la corrispondenza intrapresa dal 1834 tra Armaroli e alcune autorità municipali, come il priore e capo della Magistratura Gianfrancesco Ranieri, o l'anziano Telesforo Olivieri, da cui in realtà emerge il loro appoggio al progetto di separazione dal Conservatorio di Recanati, diversamente da quanto ritenuto da Benvenuti, e la spiegazione del fatto che l'impedimento sembrasse provenire solamente da Macerata, la quale insisteva sull'integrità dell'istituto recanatese e su una semplice riforma dello statuto dell'ospedale⁴⁶.

In ogni caso, gli sforzi diplomatici del conte Armaroli e del cardinale Benvenuti alla fine furono premiati e la questione venne risolta grazie anche all'intervento del Consiglio provinciale e della Delegazione apostolica: Osimo e Cingoli ottennero la definitiva approvazione per la creazione dei due brefotrofi comunali nel 1838⁴⁷, mentre a Macerata fu consentito di tenere i propri esposti nell'Ospedale di Recanati, almeno fin quando non si fossero trovati appositi locali per l'apertura di un proprio istituto cittadino.

⁴⁵ Si ritrova traccia di questa affermazione anche nella corrispondenza tra Benvenuti e il cardinale Gamberini; si veda a tal proposito l'allegato alla lettera inviata dal cardinale osimano il 7 giugno 1836, in cui si riportava il confronto fra i sette stabilimenti che tra il 1823 e il 1832 raccolsero più di 600 esposti (Perugia, Ferrara, Faenza, Recanati, Forlì, Senigallia, Ancona) con quelli che ne ricoverarono meno di 600 (Camerino, Todi, Jesi, Fabriano, Fano, San Severino, Tolentino), in Archivio diocesano di Osimo, Diocesi di Osimo-Cingoli, *Brefotrofi. Questione brefotrofio provinciale di Recanati. Istituzione dei brefotrofi di Osimo e Cingoli. Corrispondenza-Relazioni* (1823-1886).

⁴⁶ Biblioteca dell'Archivio di Stato di Roma, collezione *Manoscritti*, ms. 196 *Relazioni statistiche sugli esposti*, fascicolo *Montemilone*, cc. 708-738.

⁴⁷ Archivio storico comunale di Osimo, fondo *Brefotrofio*, fascicolo 1, *Istituzione del brefotrofio e aggregazione dei Comuni* (1833-1916); fascicolo 2, *Statuti e Regolamenti* (1838-1931).

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.). Deuxième partie*

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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.

Le déclin et la chute de Ricci

Ricci avait traversé une dure épreuve avec la naissance des Faisceaux juvéniles de Combat qui apparut vite comme une offensive du parti contre l'O.N.B. Ricci eut de vifs débats avec le ministre des Corporations Giuseppe Bottai qui ne

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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., Torino, Einaudi, 2003.

partageait pas ses conceptions sur l'éducation de la jeunesse; mais il fut soutenu par le ministre de l'Education nationale Balbino Giuliano et surtout par Mussolini qui lui permit de l'emporter lorsqu'une décision du Grand Conseil désavoua ses adversaires (6 juin 1931)¹. Le limogeage rapide de Giuriati, en partie lié à une concession faite au Saint Siège, ouvrit à Ricci une nouvelle période de grâce. Dans une lettre à Mussolini (30 mai 1931), il présentait sa mission d'éducation de la jeunesse sous des aspects étroitement compatibles avec l'idée que s'en faisait le duce. Elle visait à doter l'Italie de «fascistes à 100%, durs en muscles et en caractère, prêts à prendre tous les risques dans leur esprit et dans leur corps». Mussolini était satisfait et l'O.N.B. devint rapidement la «pupille du fascisme»². En 1932, le duce intervint pour éviter à Ricci de graves ennuis judiciaires. Il était accusé de concussion pour avoir détourné 1 million de liras destinées à l'Ente Nazionale Forniture Scolastiche³.

Le ministre Cesare De Vecchi relança la rivalité entre l'Education nationale et le parti en demandant le transfert sous son autorité des Lictoriales de la Culture et de l'Art organisées par le P.N.F. pour les étudiants des G.U.F.⁴ Mussolini craignait que le nouveau secrétaire du parti Achille Starace transformât les unités de Jeunes fascistes en «bandes» sur le modèle des «squadre»; mais Starace expliqua que ces formations para militaires, approuvées par le ministère de la Guerre et par la Milice, étaient destinées à préparer les jeunes volontaires à combattre en Ethiopie⁵. Il en profita pour faire part à Mussolini de son scepticisme quant à la capacité du système scolaire à éduquer la jeunesse selon les critères du régime⁶. «Les jeunes pensent que l'Ecole est vide de tout contenu éducatif et de toute valeur idéale, écrivait Starace. Elle leur paraît étrangère aux activités physiques et spirituelles vers lesquelles les jeunes ayant grandi dans le climat créé par le fascisme se sentent irrésistiblement attirés». Starace se plaignait aussi de l'O.N.B. A la «leva» de 1937, 48675 Avant-gardistes seulement étaient entrés chez les Jeunes fascistes. Parmi eux, 19460 n'étaient inscrits à l'O.N.B. que depuis 1936 et 29115 depuis 1937. Le secrétaire du parti suggérait de transférer au P.N.F. la mission de fascisation de la jeunesse⁷. Bien

¹ Sur Balbino Giuliano voir D.B.E., Vol I., pp. 665-666; *Il Parlamento Italiano. Storia parlamentare e politica dell'Italia: 1861-1988*, Vol. XII (1929-1938), Milan, Nuova Cei, 1990, p. 454; D.B.I., Vol. LVI, pp. 770-771.

² R. Bianda, *Atleti in camicia nera. Lo sport nell'Italia di Mussolini*, Rome, Volpe, 1983, p. 88.

³ A.C.S., Segreteria particolare del duce, Carteggio riservato, b. 48, s/f. 2.

⁴ Sur Cesare De Vecchi voir, *Il Parlamento italiano. Storia parlamentare e politica dell'Italia: 1861-1988*, cit., pp. 461-478; D.B.I., Vol. XXXIX, pp. 552-553; L. Romersa, C.M. De Vecchi di Val Cismon. *Il quadriennio Scomodo. Il vero Mussolini nelle memorie del più monarchico dei fascisti*, Milan, Mursia, 1983.

⁵ A. Starace, *Lettera a Mussolini, 1° mai 1935*, in A.C.S., Segreteria particolare del duce, b. 34, f. 242/R, Starace (Achille).

⁶ Id., *Lettera a Mussolini, 19 mars 1935*, in A.C.S., Segreteria particolare del duce, b. 34, s/f.1; A. Aquarone, *Due lettere di Starace a Mussolini sulle organizzazioni giovanili fascisti*, «Rassegna degli Archivi di Stato», septembre-décembre 1968, p. 634.

⁷ Sur Achille Starace voir G. Nozzoli, *Achille Starace: l'Italia in divisa*, in Id. (ed.), *I ras del*

qu'il fût décidé à mettre l'Ecole «au niveau de l'Empire», Mussolini refusa cette solution radicale et confia l'Education nationale à un fasciste cultivé Giuseppe Bottai; mais il était mécontent des rapports tendus entre l'O.N.B. et le P.N.F. Une enquête ordonnée aux préfets minimisa l'ampleur de ces divergences, mais Starace en contesta les conclusions. Il attaqua violemment Ricci, lui reprochant de considérer l'O.N.B. comme sa propriété personnelle, et de mépriser tout ce qui n'en faisait pas partie.

Le P.N.F. était mécontent de la formation politique des jeunes à l'école. Il estimait que l'Etat avait cédé à un «préjugé démocratique» en se consacrant à la lutte contre l'analphabétisme. Il avait éclairé l'intelligence individuelle par l'instruction, au lieu de cultiver la volonté collective par l'éducation. Il aurait fallu tripler le nombre d'adhérents à l'O.N.B. pour fortifier la volonté des citoyens dès le début de leur existence. L'enseignement dispensait une éducation surannée au lieu d'ouvrir l'intelligence des enfants à cette science nouvelle conforme à la vie morale qui avait été instaurée par le fascisme⁸. La responsabilité en incombait à la bureaucratie ministérielle qui, d'après Starace, n'avait aucun sens de l'organisation. Les enseignants du secondaire résistaient eux aussi à la pénétration de la propagande fasciste au nom de la «culture» et il était absurde de confier à des maîtres qui avaient adhéré au parti à la dernière heure et avec des idées étrangères à celles du fascisme le soin de forger l'âme des jeunes dans un sens «révolutionnaire». En 1935, 53,2% seulement des professeurs du secondaire étaient inscrits à l'Associazione Fascista della Scuola (A.F.S.)⁹. La réunion des présidents provinciaux à Florence (28 février 1937) permit de mesurer l'ampleur des problèmes de l'O.N.B. Dans la matinée, Ricci présida plusieurs manifestations; hommage aux martyrs fascistes et revue de 20000 jeunes de l'O.N.B. de Florence; mais l'après-midi il apparut dans les débats que la formation des cadres restait une préoccupation majeure de l'organisation. L'encadrement des Balillas posait moins de problèmes grâce aux instituteurs et au système qui permettait de recourir aux plus âgés pour diriger les plus jeunes; mais celui des Avant-gardistes était plus difficile, leur formation militaire nécessitant l'appel à des spécialistes. Des cours semestriels pour leurs chefs d'équipe fonctionnaient désormais dans tous les comités provinciaux. Ils étaient fréquentés par 25000 jeunes et s'achevaient par un examen; mais les cours destinés aux chefs de centuries ne pouvaient être organisés qu'en été 1937, et avec 12000 participants seulement. La XI^e «leva» fasciste concernait 201095

regime. Gli uomini che difendono gli Italiani, Milan, Bompiani, 1972; R. Festicazzi, *Starace. Il mastino della rivoluzione fascista*, Milan, Mursia, 2002; S. Setta, *Achille Starace*, in F. Cordova (ed.), *Uomini e volti del fascismo*, Rome, Bulzoni, 1980, pp. 445-472. Le portrait le plus équilibré de Starace est celui de C. Laurenzi, *Starace fascista «sui generis»*. *Il prode Achille*, «Il giornale nuovo», 20 septembre 1978.

⁸ G.A. Fanelli, *Idee e polemiche per la scuola fascista*, Rome, Cremonese, 1941, pp. 68-69.

⁹ J. Charnitzky, *Fascismo e scuola. La politica scolastica del regime (1922-1943)*, Florence, La Nuova Italia, 1996, p. 303.

Avant-gardistes en 1937, effectif insuffisant¹⁰. La deuxième préoccupation de l'O.N.B. concernait ses activités sportives et la préparation de la fête gymnique nationale du 24 mai qui devait mobiliser 4 millions de garçons. Le problème des locaux était par contre en voie de solution. Les gymnases et les camps se multipliaient, passant de 502 en 1928 à 5000 en 1935¹¹. Les inaugurations de «Case del Balilla» et de collèges de l'O.N.B. se multipliaient.

La gestion de Ricci n'en était pas moins remise en cause, l'O.N.B. n'étant pas encore une organisation de masse. Certes, l'œuvre comptait 3942000 inscrits, sans les «Fils de la louve» en 1934. Les effectifs satisfaisants pour les Balillas et les Petites Italiennes (1786000 et 1486000) restaient insuffisants chez les Avant-gardistes et les Jeunes Italiennes (484000 et 186000). Alors que le nombre de Balillas augmentait de 100% entre 1928 et 1934, celui des Avant-gardistes ne progressait que de 11%¹². Après une forte augmentation en 1936, les effectifs stagnaient à nouveau l'année suivante¹³. En Sardaigne, le nombre d'adhérents qui s'élevait à 90% des écoliers en 1935, n'était plus qu'à 40% en 1937¹⁴. Le 31 mai 1937, l'O.N.B. comptait 2342669 Balillas, soit 60-70% de la population masculine âgée de 6 à 13 ans; mais si 90% des garçons scolarisés de cette tranche d'âge étaient inscrits à l'O.N.B., le pourcentage tombait autour de 50% chez ceux qui ne l'étaient plus¹⁵. Beaucoup d'enfants quittaient en effet l'école à 9 ans, après 3 années de scolarité primaire. Les Avant-gardistes n'étaient que 883572 en 1937, soit 50-60% de la population masculine âgée de 14 à 17 ans¹⁶. En outre, l'O.N.B. mobilisait les jeunes des classes moyennes urbaines, sans parvenir à atteindre l'efficacité qu'on aurait pu attendre de sa situation de monopole. Sur les 201095 Avant-gardistes prêts à quitter l'O.N.B. en 1937 à l'âge de 17 ans, on comptait 92722 artisans, 72011 paysans, 33825 élèves ou étudiants et 2537 employés.

Dans un premier temps, le P.N.F. avait considéré l'O.N.B. comme sa tête de pont dans le domaine de l'Etat; mais il en fut autrement lorsque Ricci utilisa son sous-secrétariat à l'Education physique et juvénile comme un moyen d'interdire toute immixtion du parti dans l'O.N.B.¹⁷ Le passage des organisations de

¹⁰ *Opera Balilla*, «XI leva fascista», Rome, 1937, pp. 2-3.

¹¹ G.B. Marziali, *I giovani di Mussolini*, Palermo, Trimarchi, 1935, pp. 25-26.

¹² Camera dei deputati, *La legislazione fascista: 1929-1934*, Rome, s.e., 1934, p. 1442.

¹³ À la fin de l'an XIV (1936), l'O.N.B. il comptait 5510815 membres: 2332284 Balilla, 2007710 Piccole Italiane, 788896 Avanguardisti, 381925 Giovane Italiane. Les peintures de l'O.N.B. 19354 officiers de milice inclus. (R. Marzolo, *L'Opera balilla e la «leva» fascista*, in V. Rossi, L. Federzoni (edd.), *Dal Regno all'Impero: 17 marzo 1861-9 maggio 1936 XIV*, Rome, Società anonima La nuova antologia, 1937.

¹⁴ Pruneri, *La scuola durante il fascismo in Sardegna*, in Cavallera, *La formazione della gioventù italiana durante il ventennio fascista*, cit., Vol. 2, p. 480.

¹⁵ A.C.S., Ministero della Cultura popolare, b. 81, f. 12 (G.I.L.), 1936-1944.

¹⁶ *La G.I.L.: compiti e problemi*, «Critica fascista», 15 octobre 1937; G. Germani, *La socializzazione politica dei giovani nei regimi fascisti: Italia e Spagna*, «Quaderni di sociologia», janvier-juin 1969, p. 26.

¹⁷ Zapponi, *Il partito della gioventù. Le organizzazioni giovanili del fascismo: 1926-1943*, cit.,

jeunesse sous l'autorité du P.N.F. s'imposait depuis l'arrivée de Bottai à la Minerve (novembre 1936). Le nouveau ministre n'était pas disposé à valoriser les défilés militaires, le sport et la gymnastique et il considérait l'O.N.B. comme une branche de l'Education nationale dont il entendait modifier l'orientation. Le duce redoutait cette influence de l'enseignement scolaire sur la formation de la jeunesse et il soutint Ricci en arrivant ostensiblement avec lui au Forum Mussolini pour la célébration de la fête gymnique du 24 mai 1937¹⁸; mais le 7 septembre, Starace se plaignit auprès du duce d'une séparation entre l'O.N.B. et le parti qui rendait difficile le recrutement de ses meilleurs éléments dans les Faisceaux juvéniles. Il fit part de son mécontentement devant les exercices exécutés par l'O.N.B. au «Camp Dux» dans un esprit éloigné de celui du fascisme et jura de ne plus y assister à moins que Mussolini lui en donnât l'ordre directement. Le duce se laissa convaincre et Ricci fut renvoyé (17 septembre 1937). Le 27 octobre, les organisations de jeunesse passèrent sous l'autorité du parti sous le nom de «Gioventù Italiana del Littorio» (G.I.L.) à la grande satisfaction de Starace pour qui cette décision résolvait tous les problèmes (24 octobre)¹⁹. La loi du 27 octobre marquait une nouvelle étape dans la fascisation de la jeunesse, un durcissement compatible avec le principe de la «Nation armée». Le Grand Conseil fasciste avait décrété le 3 mars 1937 la militarisation intégrale de la Nation et il accepta la création de la G.I.L avec enthousiasme (mars 1938)²⁰.

En fait, les difficultés de l'O.N.B. avaient commencé dès la consolidation de son organisation. Elle avait dû réaliser un programme dont l'exécution supposait de la part du personnel d'encadrement des compétences psychologiques et didactiques. Il en était dépourvu et soumettait les enfants à des exercices ennuyeux incapables de faire de l'obéissance un plaisir. L'O.N.B. prétendait cultiver des vertus relevant de l'ordre spirituel à l'aide de méthodes basées sur l'effort physique. Au lieu de développer les facultés individuelles, elle canalisait les aptitudes vers le collectif. Le bon fonctionnement de l'O.N.B dépendait du degré d'intégration des individus et de leur capacité à exécuter les ordres. Les plus jeunes devaient se comporter en adultes. D'ailleurs, le «Giornale del Balilla» qui leur était destiné n'avait rien de distrayant. Il alternait les histoires émouvantes et les récits mélodramatiques dans une langue émaillée de préciosités verbales parfaitement inadaptées à l'âge des lecteurs²¹. En outre, tout épisode avait pour but la célébration du duce et l'exaltation du fascisme²². La préparation militaire

pp. 613-614.

¹⁸ A.C.S., Ministero della Cultura popolare, s/f. 5, 26 mai 1937.

¹⁹ R.D. 27 octobre 1937, n. 1839, *Istituzione della Gioventù Italiana del Littorio. Art. 1: Organizzazione unitaria e totalitaria delle forze giovanili del Regime fascista alla diretta dipendenza del Segretario del Partito Nazionale Fascista, Ministro segretario di Stato che ne è il comandante generale*, «Gazzetta ufficiale», 12 novembre 1937, n. 267, part. 1, pp. 4057-4059.

²⁰ A.C.S., Gran Consiglio del Fascismo, 242/R, b. 29, s/f. 14, Inserto C.

²¹ Gentili, *Istruzione premilitare ed educazione della gioventù fascista*, cit., pp. 166-167.

²² Betti, *L'O.N.B. e l'educazione fascista*, cit., p. 83.

aurait dû choisir des exercices tenant compte de l'évolution technologique et de ses répercussions sur la stratégie des armées; mais les officiers de la Milice mesuraient la valeur d'une unité à la tenue de son uniforme. Ils instruisaient la jeunesse en ne pensant qu'à l'aspect extérieur et au jugement de l'étranger devant les parades et les défilés. Il est vrai que l'O.N.B. encadrait l'enfant dans les forces régulières du régime avec une participation très appréciée aux cérémonies publiques et aux solennités de la patrie. Les exercices gymniques et sportifs ne déplaisaient pas à l'opinion; mais le fascisme y voyait un moyen d'exploiter les capacités de la jeunesse jusqu'à leur extrême limite, mettant à l'épreuve son courage et sa résistance. De même, l'O.N.B. investissait l'enfant dans des grades et dignités militaires, mais en lui imposant une discipline excessive pendant les marches et dans les campings²³.

Pe, dans la République de Salò, Ricci qui s'était morfondu au ministère des Corporations jusqu'en février 1943, obtint la reconstitution de l'O.N.B. à son profit. Il considérait comme prioritaire l'enrôlement des «Avant-gardistes mousquetaires» âgés de 16 à 18 ans qui concernaient des jeunes nés entre 1926 et 1927, à l'époque de la création de l'O.N.B. Elevés dans un «climat fasciste», ils lui donnaient l'impression d'avoir réussi son œuvre de «forgeron des consciences»²⁴. En réalité, le «mythe de l'homme nouveau» sombra sous les décombres de la défaite. Engagé volontaire pendant la Grande Guerre, légionnaire de D'Annunzio à Fiume, «ras» de Massa-Carrare, président de l'O.N.B., puis ministre des Corporations, Ricci était un fasciste-type, issu d'une petite bourgeoisie qui avait cru intensément dans les mythes du régime au point de s'identifier à ses héros²⁵.

La «Gioventù Italiana del Littorio» (G.I.L.)

La Gioventù Italiana del Littorio regroupait dans une organisation de masse les filles et les garçons âgés de 6 à 21 ans²⁶. «Les raisons qui ont inspiré cette décision, déclarait Mussolini, sont si évidentes pour tout fasciste digne de ce nom que j'estime tout commentaire superflu»²⁷. Starace abandonna l'idée de Ricci d'une éducation physique complète pour mettre l'accent sur la spécialisation

²³ L. Stefanini, *Storia della filosofia e dell'educazione*, Turin, S.E.I., 1938, pp. 558-559.

²⁴ S. Setta, *La scelta della R.S.I. nelle motivazioni di un «fascista integrale»*, «Annali della Fondazione Luigi Micheletti», n. 2, 1986.

²⁵ G. Gori, *Model of masculinity. Mussolini the «New Italian of the Fascist Era»*, in J.A. Morgan (ed.), *Superman Supreme. Fascist Body as Political Icon, Global Fascism*, London, Frank Cass, 2000, pp. 27-61.

²⁶ Sur G.I.L. voir: C. Galeotti, *Credere, Obbedire, Combattere*, Viterbo, Stampa alternativa, 1996; G. Vecchiato, *Con romana volontà*, Venice, Marsilio, 2005.

²⁷ Camera dei deputati. Documenti, disegni di legge, relazioni, 1^o décembre 1937, n. 2034.

sportive et la préparation militaire des jeunes. Il avait créé l'éthique de l'«homme nouveau» qui s'opposait à celle de la «bourgeoisie décadente». L'homme fasciste vivait une existence dynamique, pleine de courage et de sacrifice. Il devait «croire, obéir, combattre». Le secrétaire du parti était l'inventeur d'un mode de vie codifié par des manifestations extérieures: salut romain, chemise noire, calendrier fasciste. Les exercices physiques en faisaient partie et Starace en inventait sans cesse de nouveaux: sauter à travers un cercle de feu, au-dessus d'un fossé ou d'une haie de fusils baïonnette au canon avec une bicyclette de bersagliere pliée en deux sur le dos. Il les imposait afin de mieux traduire la «nouvelle atmosphère» qui régnait en Italie. Désormais, on ne pouvait plus tolérer un citoyen incapable de prendre les armes²⁸. Avec l'ancienne gymnastique rebaptisée éducation physique, la préparation militaire et sportive constituait la tâche principale de la G.I.L. Certes, la Commission Suprême de Défense se félicitait des résultats obtenus par les 35000 instructeurs de la Milice et les 6000 de la G.I.L. pendant l'An XV de l'ère fasciste; mais les cours de formation pré militaire furent transférés à la G.I.L.²⁹ Une école de perfectionnement pour ces instructeurs fut créée au Lido de Rome, cette formation étant couronnée tous les ans par un stage au «Camp Dux» dans la capitale.

Starace créa le «samedi fasciste» destiné aux activités militaires, sportives et politiques des Italiens qui devaient revêtir l'uniforme pour s'y adonner. De nouvelles épreuves périodiques firent leur apparition. Le «Bouclier du duc» était décerné au commandement fédéral qui se distinguait par ses réalisations. En octobre 1939, il fut attribué au commandement fédéral de Milan qui put arborer pendant l'An XVIII la fourragère et la distinction spéciale dorée. Le commandement fédéral de Bergame, arrivé en 2^e position, pouvait se parer de la distinction spéciale argentée et celui de Verceil de celle de bronze. Le «Trophée fédéral» récompensait les activités déployées par les commandements fédéraux. Il existait également un «Trophée de la montagne» et un «Trophée du Bersagliere»³⁰. En octobre 1939, ils furent attribués au commandement fédéral de Turin et à celui de Sondrio. Le «Trophée du Ministère de la Guerre» revint au commandement fédéral de Rome qui s'était distingué dans la préparation militaire.

Tous les ans, une «marche de la jeunesse» commémorait la «marche sur Rome». Le régime affectionnait les fêtes gymniques, suivies par des foules de spectateurs. Starace et les hiérarques y assistaient, et parfois Mussolini en personne. Le 28 mai 1939, la fête gymnique nationale de la G.I.L. se déroula au stade olympique du Forum Mussolini. Elle était placée sous le signe d'une pensée du duc «Avec l'éducation des nouvelles générations, nous créerons le

²⁸ *Dottrina fascista*, in O. Del Buono (ed.), *Eia, Eia, Eia, Alalà*, Milan, Feltrinelli, 1971, p. 366.

²⁹ R.D. 3 février 1938. Voir P. Caporilli, *Il fascismo e i giovani*, Rome, Angelo Signorelli, 1939, p. 112.

³⁰ B.C.G.G., 1^o novembre 1939. A. Bozzoni, *Gioventù Italiana del Littorio*, in *Panorama di realizzazioni del fascismo*, Vol. III: *Dai Fasci al Partito Nazionale Fascista*, Rome, s.e., 1940, p. 430.

type physique et moral de l'Italien nouveau»³¹. Le «Noël de Rome», célébré tous les ans le 21 avril, réunit en 1940 2000 jeunes au «Stadio dei marmi» du Forum Mussolini, en présence du dictateur³². La jeunesse prenait conscience de sa force dans ces démonstrations de masse; mais l'Eglise s'opposa si vigoureusement aux exhibitions de danse gymnique des jeunes filles que Starace dut les interdire au début de 1939³³. Le siège de la G.I.L. était installé dans un bâtiment du quartier Montesacro de Rome, construit depuis 1935 par l'architecte Gaetano Minucci. Le corps de l'édifice était constitué de volumes s'articulant autour d'un patio en obéissant à une logique de diversification fonctionnelle qui incluait un grand espace vide occupé par une piscine ouverte. Un plongeur scénographique en ciment armé transformait la structure de soutien en une figure architectonique dynamique. Les Avant-gardistes pratiquaient leurs activités dans des camps, les plus importants étant installés près de Rome. Le «Camp Mussolini» était destiné aux jeunes Italiens résidant à l'étranger³⁴. La «composante impériale» fit son apparition au niveau politique et culturel, s'insinuant jusque dans l'uniforme avec la «saharienne», veste de style colonial pour les Avant-gardistes.

Le fascisme et le «sport spectacle»

Le fascisme s'intéressait au sport. En février 1934, les «Cronache radiofoniche del regime» lui consacrèrent une rubrique. La préparation militaire y était étroitement associée. Quelques semaines plus tard, la «Mostra nazionale dello sport» célébra à Milan le triomphe de Mussolini qui aimait tous les sports virils, «ceux qui dominent les forces brutes naturelles et animales, et ceux qui donnent à l'homme la volonté de combattre celles de la stagnation et de l'inertie»³⁵. Lorsque Primo Carnera devint champion du monde de boxe poids lourds (1933), il fut reçu au palais de Venise et déclara avoir vaincu au nom de l'Italie et du duc. Le silence se fit sur son déclin et on interdit la publication de photos le montrant gisant à terre³⁶. Le «sport spectacle» fascinait les «foules océaniques». Il privilégiait le football, le cyclisme et le sport automobile qui fournissaient une série inépuisable de mythes capables de fortifier le consensus au régime. Les victoires cimentaient la cohésion interne et flattaient l'orgueil

³¹ *La festa gimnastica della G.I.L. al Foro Mussolini*, B.C.G.G., 1^o juin 1940, n. 15, pp. 243-244.

³² B.C.G.G., 1^o mai 1940, n. 13.

³³ B.C.G.G., 15 janvier 1939, n. 6.

³⁴ Sur Gaetano Minucci, voir D.B.I., Vol. LXXIV, pp. 668-671. Sur «Campeggio Dux» voir A. Bollettieri, *Guardo alla vita. Per i giovani della nuova Italia*, Naples, Pironti, 1938.

³⁵ C.O.N.I., *Cronache radiofoniche dello sport. Anni XII-XIII*, cit., p. 212.

³⁶ Sur Primo Carnera voir D.B.I., Vol. XX, pp. 460-461.; A. Rossi, *Il pugilato professionistico in Italia*, Forlì, Soc. tipografica forlivese, 1958.

national, les athlètes devenaient des héros à imiter, des idoles avec lesquelles s'identifier pour oublier les angoisses et les frustrations de la vie quotidienne³⁷. A partir des Jeux olympiques de Berlin (1936), les champions sportifs furent considérés comme importants pour le prestige de la Nation.

Les «Mille Miglia» étaient considérées comme typiquement fascistes parce qu'elles sollicitaient l'adresse et la volonté des pilotes. Elles répondaient à l'exigence du régime d'«aller au peuple», en traversant 30 provinces du pays³⁸. Le «tour d'Italie cycliste» (Giro) était un «sport spectacle» par excellence, dominé par la rivalité légendaire d'Alfredo Binda et Learco Guerra qui furent 4 fois champions du monde³⁹. A la veille de la «Coupe Jules Rimet» de 1938, les «Cronache radiofoniche» attribuaient les succès italiens au «tempérament combattif» de la race, à la «collaboration passionnée» de foules qui savaient récompenser la valeur des athlètes et exiger d'eux un «engagement maximum», et enfin au «climat fasciste» que le duce avait donné à l'Italie. Le rugby était le sport le plus à même de discipliner «l'instinct guerrier» du combattant⁴⁰. Au Palais des Sports de Paris, l'Italie remportait en 1937 le championnat du monde de fleuret par équipe, celui du fleuret individuel (Gustavo Marzi) et celui de l'épée par équipe. Elle ne s'inclinait qu'en finale dans la compétition du sabre par équipe⁴¹. Italo Balbo organisait des meetings aériens qui attiraient des assistances toujours plus nombreuses et il était omniprésent pendant le «tour d'Italie» en avion (août-septembre 1930). Le P.N.F. conseillait à ses membres de s'entraîner au tir, non seulement pour se familiariser avec les armes, mais aussi pour sélectionner les meilleurs. Tout citoyen d'une «nation guerrière» devait apprendre à manier le fusil, le pistolet et la carabine.

Pour le fascisme, le sport avait un double effet de défoulement et de préparation à la guerre; mais son rôle politique consistait à former un esprit de corps. Les futurs héros, forgés par un dévouement collectif, ne devaient rien à l'individualisme. Le fascisme utilisait le sport pour renforcer la virilité masculine et présenter l'image d'un peuple fort. Les femmes n'étaient pourtant pas oubliées. Elles devaient pratiquer les «sports féminins», comme la gymnastique, le tennis ou le patin à roulettes, toutes les activités susceptibles de développer l'agilité et l'élégance du corps⁴². Le basket ball en faisait partie et l'Italie organisa en octobre 1938 le premier championnat européen de cette discipline. Ces épreuves démontrèrent que la grâce féminine n'était pas sacrifiée à l'énergie nécessaire en compétition. L'Italie prétendait s'imposer comme une

³⁷ Fabrizio, *Sport e fascismo. La politica sportiva del regime, 1924-1943*, cit., p. 117.

³⁸ C.O.N.I., *Cronache radiofoniche dello sport. Anni XII-XIII*, cit., p. 163.

³⁹ Sur Learco Guerra voir D.B.I., Vol. LX, pp. 616-618.

⁴⁰ C.O.N.I., *Cronache radiofoniche dello sport. Anni XII-XIII*, cit., p. 129 et pp. 136-137.

⁴¹ «L'Illustration», 7 août 1937, p. 460.

⁴² E. Ferrauto, *La donna: cultura fisica per l'estetica e la salute dalla giovane alla più avanzata età*, Rome, G. Casini, 1952.

nation sportive par sa maturité technique et son prestige politique⁴³. Le fascisme imposait le salut romain entre les athlètes et le faisceau du licteur sur toutes les bannières. Les sports ne furent pas épargnés par la campagne d'italianisation de la langue, le régime s'obstinant à leur donner de lointaines origines romaines⁴⁴. Il revendiquait pour l'Italie la paternité du basket ball et même celle du golf qui dérivait de la «paganica», jeu introduit en Angleterre pendant la conquête romaine de la «Bretagne».

Organisation, fonctionnement et encadrement de la G.I.L.

Les statuts donnaient au secrétaire du parti le commandement général de la G.I.L.⁴⁵; mais la direction effective était assurée par un chef d'Etat Major. Cette fonction fut remplie par le général Umberto Moretti jusqu'à la chute de Starace. Il fut remplacé le 9 novembre 1939 par Giuseppe Bodini, colonel de bersagliers pendant la Grande Guerre, un vieux «squadrisme» inscrit au parti depuis le 31 décembre 1919 qui avait participé à la guerre d'Espagne comme chef d'Etat Major des «Volontaires» italiens du C.T.V.⁴⁶ En avril 1940, Bodini entra au Directoire national du P.N.F.⁴⁷ Autour du chef d'Etat Major et de son secrétaire particulier, des inspecteurs occupaient d'importantes fonctions de contrôle. Ils étaient choisis parmi de vieux «squadrismes», souvent membres influents de la Milice. C'était le cas d'Eugenio Galbiati, nommé à cette fonction le 9 décembre 1940⁴⁸. «Commandant des universitaires» et inspecteur de la G.I.L., il accèdera à la direction de la Milice en mai 1941⁴⁹. La direction provinciale de la G.I.L. appartenait pratiquement à un vice commandant fédéral, assisté d'un «aide en chef» et d'inspecteurs pré militaires; mais le secrétaire fédéral du parti surveillait son fonctionnement dans la province grâce à deux organes ne dépendant que de lui: le Comité des Réviseurs et les Inspecteurs fédéraux⁵⁰. L'organisation était ensuite confiée à des commandants de section ainsi qu'à des chefs de service placés à la tête de bureaux provinciaux. Ces bureaux étaient spécialisés dans la gymnastique et les sports, la préparation militaire, la formation politique et culturelle, la presse, l'assistance médicale et la santé. Chacun de ces bureaux était subdivisé en sections: ainsi, le chef de service du Bureau de gymnastique et des sports avait sous ses ordres deux chefs

⁴³ C.O.N.I., *Cronache radiofoniche dello sport. Anni XII-XIII*, cit., pp. 201-202 et 296.

⁴⁴ S. Lanuzza, *Storia della lingua italiana*, Rome, Newton Compton, 1994, p. 72.

⁴⁵ *Statuti della G.I.L.*, «Foglio d'ordini del P.N.F.», 29 octobre 1937, n. 187.

⁴⁶ B.C.G.G., 15 novembre 1939.

⁴⁷ «Foglio di disposizioni del P.N.F.», n. 109, 2 avril 1940.

⁴⁸ B.C.G.G., 15 décembre 1940, n. 4.

⁴⁹ Sur Eugenio Galbiati, voir D.B.I., Vol. LI, pp. 367-370.

⁵⁰ B.C.G.G., 1^o janvier 1940, n. 5, supplément.

de sections. Les femmes pouvaient accéder à de hautes fonctions de la G.I.L. mais exclusivement dans des services s'adressant aux activités féminines⁵¹. Les Bureaux de l'organisation fédérale empiétaient souvent sur les prérogatives des autres services. Les activités pré militaires faisaient exception: elles dépendaient des trois sous-chefs d'Etat Major à la Terre, à la Marine et à l'Air. La formation pré militaire et l'organisation de la «leva» relevaient exclusivement d'un Bureau militaire fédéral. Par contre, l'éducation physique était du ressort de deux services différents. Le premier établissait les programmes des établissements scolaires, désignait les professeurs chargés de leur enseignement, gérant les gymnases et leur matériel; mais un Bureau spécifique s'occupait des personnels d'éducation physique, des nominations, de l'avancement et de la discipline. Son action s'orientait vers la Milice dont dépendait une partie de l'encadrement de la G.I.L. Les cours de «culture fasciste» relevaient des services de préparation politique et professionnelle; mais des Bureaux de la culture en étaient également chargés. Ils dispensaient des «cours de préparation coloniale» et de formation des jeunes travailleurs. La culture était associée aux bibliothèques, soumises à une surveillance stricte au niveau des personnels et des livres. La presse («Il Balilla» et «Il Bollettino») relevait de Services de préparation politique, mais aussi de Bureaux de publications. Ils devaient compiler des opuscules, lire la presse nationale et étrangère afin de fournir la matière à des publications destinées à la préparation politique et spirituelle des jeunes. Les croisières et les voyages de la G.I.L. étaient organisés par des Bureaux de propagande qui se chargeaient aussi des relations avec la jeunesse des pays étrangers. Ces services disposaient d'archives photographiques et géraient des cinémathèques. Les concours (Attribution des «Bourses d'études B. Mussolini», concours national des académies de chant choral) et surtout les «Ludi juveniles» dépendaient du Bureau des manifestations culturelles et politiques; mais les trophées provinciaux et le «Bouclier du duce» étaient attribués par un service spécifique qui gérant les fédérations sportives et organisait les compétitions des championnats provinciaux. Les colonies marines, de montagne, fluviales et des lacs relevaient d'un Bureau spécialisé. Les soins médicaux dispensés par les médecins et les ambulanciers affectés aux académies, aux collèges et aux colonies de vacances de la G.I.L., les «prix démographiques» décernés aux familles nombreuses dépendaient des Services d'assistance et de santé; mais un Bureau spécial était affecté aux accidents. A côté de ses activités para militaires et d'éducation, la G.I.L. avait un rôle sanitaire (20000 médecins) et 150000 jeunes étaient inscrits dans ses mutuelles d'assurances en 1938. Elle organisait la «Befana fascista» et ses 4357 colonies climatiques comptaient 772000 enfants en 1938.

La G.I.L. possédait un réseau de théâtres, de cinémas, d'ensembles choraux et instrumentaux géré par un Bureau fédéral des Conseils artistiques qui s'occupait aussi de création philo dramatique; mais toutes les activités féminines

⁵¹ B.C.G.G., 1^o avril 1940, n. 11, supplément.

étaient dirigées par des inspectrices et des sections spécialisées s'occupaient de la préparation culturelle, artistique, sociale et professionnelle des Petites Italiennes et des Jeunes Italiennes. Il existait enfin un service logistique pour les transports et l'approvisionnement des écoles et des camps de la G.I.L. Les Faisceaux juvéniles de Combat, bien qu'ils fissent partie de la G.I.L., conservaient une organisation particulière au niveau fédéral. Dans chaque province, ils étaient dirigés par un vice commandant de la G.I.L. des Faisceaux de Combat. Ils échappaient à l'autorité du vice commandant fédéral et n'obéissaient qu'au secrétaire fédéral, représentant direct du parti⁵².

La G.I.L. avait hérité d'une organisation de masse. L'O.N.B. comptait 5560000 adhérents en 1937 qui se répartissaient entre 1867000 Balillas, 1981000 Petites Italiennes, 866000 Avant-gardistes, 433000 Jeunes Italiennes et 412000 «Fils de la louve»⁵³. A la XI^e «leva» fasciste de 1937 (An XV), 225632 Balillas avaient été promus Avant gardistes et 201095 Avant-gardistes étaient devenus Jeunes fascistes. Par ailleurs, 155798 Petites Italiennes étaient passées chez les Jeunes Italiennes et 67960 Jeunes Italiennes avaient été accueillies chez les Jeunes fascistes⁵⁴. En 1939, la G.I.L. comptait 7891547 adhérents. Ils se répartissaient entre 1546389 «Fils de la louve» (588 groupements de cohortes de garçons et 517 de filles), 1746560 Balillas (1411 légions), 1622766 Petites Italiennes (1988 groupements de cohortes), 906785 Avant-gardistes (1037 légions), 441254 Jeunes Italiennes (542 groupements de cohortes), 1176798 Jeunes fascistes (hommes) (1094 groupements de bataillon) et 450995 Jeunes fascistes (femmes) (512 groupements de cohortes). La XIII^e «leva» fasciste de 1939 (An XVII) avait concerné 268417 «Fils de la louve» (garçons) et 251547 filles, 134556 Petites Italiennes, 267745 Avant-gardistes, 133546 Jeunes Italiennes, 274397 Jeunes fascistes (hommes) et 59995 Jeunes fascistes (femmes). Parmi les Jeunes fascistes (hommes) admis au P.N.F., on comptait 35999 étudiants, 24633 employés, 104274 ouvriers et 109491 paysans⁵⁵. Le personnel d'encadrement se composait de 200000 instructeurs, dont 48299 officiers de la Milice (35311 étaient titulaires de la G.I.L.), 29359 sous-officiers et gradés de l'instruction pré militaire, 4873 officiers de l'Armée et 102229 dirigeantes féminines⁵⁶. A l'époque de l'O.N.B., l'encadrement des organisations de jeunesse était composé en majorité par des instituteurs; mais à partir de 1937, les jeunes instructeurs provenaient de plus en plus des académies fascistes. Beaucoup d'entre eux considéraient l'athlétisme non seulement comme un moyen de développement physique et moral de la jeunesse, mais aussi comme un nouveau style de vie compatible avec le militarisme fasciste. Pour commémorer le 2^e anniversaire de sa fondation, la G.I.L. eut l'honneur

⁵² B.C.G.G., 1^o janvier 1940, n. 5, supplément.

⁵³ A.C.S., P.C.M.: 1937, 1-1-15, 3500, s/f.13.

⁵⁴ *Opera Balilla*, «XI leva fascista», Rome, 1937.

⁵⁵ «Foglio d'ordini del P.N.F.», 16 octobre 1939, n. 241.

⁵⁶ B.C.G.G., 15 novembre 1939, n. 2.

d'assurer le tour de garde de la place de Venise à Rome. Le duce avait lancé le mot d'ordre pour la nouvelle année «Toujours plus et toujours mieux»⁵⁷. En 1940, les effectifs des «Fils de la louve», des Balillas et des Petites Italiennes étaient en augmentation: (1587406) (1835259) et (1759625). Ceux des Avant-gardistes et des Jeunes Italiennes baissaient légèrement (988733) et (484204); mais les effectifs des Jeunes fascistes progressaient (1313590) et (527112).

A l'intérieur de la G.I.L., les classifications de l'O.N.B. en fonction de l'âge étaient à peu près conservées, avec une tendance au rajeunissement. L'âge des différentes «leva» qui permettaient de passer d'une catégorie à une autre était abaissé d'un an. Les garçons devenaient Balillas à 8 ans et une disposition de 1937 autorisait les élèves de la V^e classe primaire à faire partie des «Balillas mousquetaires» avant l'âge requis de 12 ans. Les filles restaient des Petites Italiennes jusqu'à 14 ans. A 13 ans, les garçons entraient chez les Avant-gardistes, ce qui permettait de leur dispenser une instruction pré militaire un an plus tôt. Ils devenaient «Avant-gardistes mousquetaires» de 15 à 17 ans et recevaient une formation politique et militaire plus poussée dans les Faisceaux juvéniles. Chez les filles, le stade intermédiaire des Jeunes Italiennes (14-17 ans) était moins surveillé que celui des Jeunes filles fascistes qui dépendait directement du parti.

Les grades, les distinctions et les sanctions de la G.I.L.

Au sein de la G.I.L., les équipes comptaient 11 membres, les manipules 3 équipes, les centuries 3 manipules, les cohortes 3 centuries et les légions 3 cohortes. Le commandement incombait respectivement à un Avant-gardiste nommé chef d'équipe, à un Aspirant de la Milice ou à un chef de centurie avant-gardiste chevronné, à un chef de manipule de la milice ou à un Cadet avant-gardiste, à un centurion et à un Senior de la Milice. Toutefois, les Balillas restaient encadrés en priorité par des instituteurs ou par des enseignants officiers de la Milice⁵⁸. Le fascisme avait la manie des grades et il en affublait la jeunesse. Chez les Balillas, il existait d'abord la distinction du «Balilla de choix». C'était un titre honorifique décerné par commandant fédéral des sections de la G.I.L., sur proposition du commandant de légion. On choisissait parmi les «Balillas de choix» les enfants qui suivaient les premiers cours trimestriels de formation politique. Le commandement fédéral conférait ensuite à certains d'entre eux le grade de «vice chef d'équipe». Pour devenir chef d'équipe, il fallait avoir 2 ans d'ancienneté dans le grade de «vice chef d'équipe» et s'être particulièrement distingué aux yeux du commandement fédéral⁵⁹. Lors de la «leva» fasciste qui permettait

⁵⁷ B.C.G.G., 1^o novembre 1939, n. 1.

⁵⁸ Caporilli, *Il fascismo e i giovani*, cit., pp. 91-92.

⁵⁹ B.C.G.G., 1^o juillet 1940, n. 17.

aux «Balillas mousquetaires» âgés de 13 ans de devenir Avant-gardistes, les «vice chefs d'équipe» et les «chefs d'équipe» obtenaient automatiquement la distinction d'Avant-gardistes de choix. Ils pouvaient être sélectionnés pour recevoir des cours de politique et être nommés par le commandement général «vice chefs d'équipe» des Avant-gardistes. La nomination au grade de «chef d'équipe» exigeait une ancienneté d'au moins un an au grade précédent. A partir du grade de «Cadet», les nominations relevaient du commandement national de la G.I.L. Les «chefs d'équipe» des Avant-gardistes ne pouvaient accéder au grade de «Cadet» sans un diplôme d'enseignement secondaire ou un certificat de compétence décerné au terme de cours nationaux organisés par la G.I.L. Le commandement général délivrait aux «Cadets» un Brevet qui passait pour une équivalence à un diplôme d'enseignement secondaire et permettait de faire carrière dans le parti. De même, le commandement général pouvait choisir les «Premiers Cadets» non seulement parmi les «Cadets» qui avaient suivi le second cycle de l'enseignement secondaire, mais aussi parmi ceux qu'il jugeait aptes à le devenir au terme des «cours nationaux» de la G.I.L. A ce niveau, la G.I.L. concurrençait ouvertement l'Ecole. Lors de la «leva» qui permettait d'accéder aux Faisceaux juvéniles, les «vice chefs d'équipe» et les «chefs d'équipe» des Avant-gardistes devenaient automatiquement «Jeunes fascistes de choix». Ils pouvaient suivre les cours de la G.I.L. qui leur étaient destinés, devenir «vice chefs d'équipe» et après un an d'ancienneté «chefs d'équipe» des Jeunes fascistes. Les «Cadets» suivaient la voie royale des organisations de jeunesse fascistes et devenaient «Aides» au moment de la «leva»⁶⁰. Afin que les Avant-gardistes ne perdent pas leurs meilleurs éléments, il fut confirmé que les «Cadets» et les «chefs de centuries» resteraient à la disposition de la G.I.L. jusqu'à leur service militaire⁶¹. Il n'existait que trois grades dans les organisations féminines.

Les cours de la G.I.L.

Les cours de la G.I.L. destinés à promouvoir au grade supérieur étaient assurés par des officiers instructeurs provenant de l'Académie de Rome ou par des officiers de la Milice. Ils s'achevaient par un examen devant un jury fédéral à l'échelle de la province pour les Avant-gardistes, communal pour les Balillas. Ainsi, des cours pour la nomination aux grades de «Premier Cadet», de «Cadet», de «Premier chef de centurie» et de «chef de centurie» furent organisés à Rome et à Forlì du 14 juillet au 12 août 1938. Les frais d'inscription aux cours dispensés par 200 officiers de l'Académie s'élevaient à 100 liras et il y eut 4500 participants. Les «Cadets» et les «Aides» devenaient officiers de la G.I.L. après

⁶⁰ Circolare interna alla G.I.L., 21 juin 1940.

⁶¹ *Cadetti e capi centuria*, B.C.G.G., 15 décembre 1937, n. 4, p. 11.

deux années de service. Ils faisaient carrière à l'ancienneté comme «chef de manipule», «centurion» et «senior»⁶². En 1940, les cours destinés aux «Cadets» comportaient deux parties. La «culture fasciste» évoquait l'intervention italienne de 1915, la Grande Guerre et les Alliés à Versailles. Elle comprenait la fondation des Faisceaux de Combat, le «squadrisme», l'expédition de Fiume, le martyrologue fasciste et la «marche sur Rome». L'étude du fascisme au pouvoir comportait des chapitres sur la Milice, le discours de Mussolini du 3 janvier 1925, l'organisation de l'Etat, les Corporations et les Accords du Latran. La «Nation armée» venait ensuite, avec la guerre d'Ethiopie, les «Sanctions», l'Empire, les légionnaires italiens en Espagne, l'union de l'Albanie à l'Italie, le Charte de l'Ecole, la Race et l'autarcie, la Chambre des Faisceaux et des Corporations, et la G.I.L. La «culture militaire» commençait avec le serment, le décalogue, la discipline, les récompenses et les punitions, l'esprit de corps, le Drapeau, l'uniforme, les Devoirs, le «pas romain» et les camps. Elle se poursuivait avec l'étude de l'équipe, du manipule et de la centurie de la G.I.L. avant d'aborder le maniement d'armes et leur entretien, la topographie, la nomenclature du terrain et les gaz toxiques. Le cours s'achevait sur des notions d'hygiène, de culture physique et d'instruction militaire⁶³.

La plus haute distinction attribuée à un membre de la G.I.L. était la médaille d'or ou d'argent. En 1939, 11 Jeunes fascistes reçurent cette distinction, certains d'entre eux à titre posthume, tombés au combat comme aviateurs pendant la guerre d'Espagne. Un Avant-gardiste de Catanzaro fut également décoré pour avoir sauvé un camarade⁶⁴. Les sanctions étaient presque toujours accompagnées du même motif à caractère générique: «Pour avoir émis des propos qui nuisent à son comportement moral», «pour avoir commis des actions qui nuisent à sa figure morale», «pour ne pas avoir respecté le serment prêté». Les sanctions visaient surtout le manque d'assiduité. La présence aux activités de la G.I.L. le samedi, était attestée par un timbre collé sur la carte d'adhérent. La vérification des timbres sur les cartes se déroulait le lundi à l'école, au gymnase et au lycée pour la jeunesse scolarisée, et en principe sur le lieu de travail pour les autres⁶⁵. Les sanctions comportaient des suspensions partielles ou définitives. Elles pouvaient avoir de sérieuses répercussions sur la scolarité, ce qui était certainement la conséquence la plus redoutée⁶⁶.

⁶² Ponzio, *La palestra del Littorio. L'accademia della Farnesina: un esperimento di pedagogia totalitaria nell'Italia Fascista*, cit., pp. 160-162.

⁶³ *Corsi per i cadetti*, «Foglio di disposizioni del P.N.F.», 1^o juin 1940, n. 147.

⁶⁴ P.N.F., *Gioventù Italiana del Littorio. Giovinezza eroica*, Rome, Novissima, 1940.

⁶⁵ M. Giacobbe, *Diario di una maestra*, Bari, s.e., 1974, p. 4.

⁶⁶ M. Pomilio, *Testimonianza*, in R. Palmieri, *La generazione degli anni difficili*, Bari, Laterza, 1962, p. 209.

Les Académies de la G.I.L.

Le recteur de l'Académie de la G.I.L. Riccardo Versari annonça en 1939 l'introduction dans les programmes d'enseignement de disciplines scientifiques inspirées de la politique de la race: Anthropologie, biotypologie et biologie des races humaines⁶⁷. «Les exercices physiques, écrivait-il, représentent le moyen de perfectionner la race, ce qui est un des buts principaux du régime fasciste»⁶⁸. L'Académie ne formait pas des scientifiques, mais des «hommes d'action qui abordaient les combats de la vie en apôtres, armés de leur science et de leur foi». Dans les leçons du professeur Domenico Bettacchi, l'idéal moral de l'éducation humaine sollicitait sans doute des références sociales et professionnelles; mais on insistait surtout sur la formation politique identifiée à un mode de vie. L'individu ne représentait qu'un élément transitoire en regard de la pérennité historique de la Nation. L'éducation fasciste était une mystique reposant sur une éthique qui procédait d'une volonté animée d'une force spirituelle. La Révolution française avait créé le citoyen; la «Révolution fasciste» créait le producteur⁶⁹. Le régime destinait ces hommes passionnés et enthousiastes à des postes de commandement et de responsabilité.

Riccardo Versari avait élaboré les nouveaux statuts de l'Académie qui entrèrent en vigueur en février 1940⁷⁰. Le ministère de l'Education nationale devait mettre à la disposition de la G.I.L. un nombre de professeurs d'université et d'établissements supérieurs n'excédant pas 7, pour assurer la direction et l'enseignement des 2 académies de Rome et d'Orvieto. La direction était assurée par le recteur qui choisissait les membres d'un conseil académique: les directeurs techniques, les responsables des enseignements militaires et des professeurs y siégeaient. En 1940, le professeur Mario Cannizzaro et deux enseignantes d'Orvieto Floriana Dardano et Elisa Lombardi en faisaient partie. La durée des études était portée de 2 à 3 ans et les enseignements partagés en 4 catégories: politique, militaire, biologique scientifique et gymnastique sportive⁷¹. La langue allemande devenait obligatoire (octobre 1940) et l'apprentissage des diplômés était réparti entre l'Académie et les commandements de la Milice. L'accès au concours d'entrée restait partagé entre des critères politiques (appartenance au parti, aux Groupes Universitaires Fascistes ou à la G.I.L.) et la possession d'un diplôme d'enseignement secondaire; mais un certificat de santé physique et

⁶⁷ *Discorso del Rettore senatore professore Riccardo Versari all'inaugurazione del IX° anno.* Sur Riccardo Versari, voir: A.C.S., Ministero dell'Interno, Direzione generale della Polizia di Stato, Polizia politica, f. Personali, b. 1426.

⁶⁸ R. Versari, *Lezioni di Anatomia Umana Normale applicate all'Educazione fisica*, Rome, s.e., 1940.

⁶⁹ D. Bettacchi, *Lezioni di pedagogia*. P.N.F. Gioventù Italiana del Littorio. Accademia della G.I.L., Rome, s.d.

⁷⁰ Loi 22 mars 1939, n. 866, «Gazzetta ufficiale», 28 juin 1939, n. 50.

⁷¹ M. Di Donato, *L'evoluzione storica della formazione del personale insegnante di educazione fisica in Italia (1847-1943)*, «Alconeone», vol. IX, nn. 5-6, 1985, p. 179.

d'appartenance à la race italienne était désormais exigé. Les frais d'inscription aux cours étaient très élevés, atteignant 9000 liras par trimestre en 1940; mais certains élèves bénéficiaient de bourses d'études. La santé des élèves faisait l'objet d'une attention particulière et des laboratoires se multipliaient dans la recherche en biotypologie et en anthropométrie; mais les activités militaires et sportives étaient plus importantes qu'à l'époque de l'O.N.B. et l'antisémitisme affichait partout sa présence⁷². Les élèves juifs avaient été exclus de l'Académie dès 1938.

Le décret du 1^{er} février 1940 fixa les statuts de l'«Académie d'Orvieto»⁷³. Les études duraient 3 ans et le diplôme donnait accès à l'enseignement de l'éducation physique dans les établissements publics et privés. Le concours d'admission était ouvert aux membres du P.N.F., des Groupe Universitaires Fascistes ou de la G.I.L. titulaires d'un diplôme d'enseignement secondaire. Les enseignements étaient regroupés en 3 parties. Dans la «section politique» figuraient l'histoire de la «révolution fasciste», l'histoire des doctrines politiques et la doctrine fasciste, l'étude des institutions du régime fasciste, celle du P.N.F. et des notions de pédagogie. La «section biologique-scientifique» comportait la médecine et l'anatomie humaine, appliquées à l'éducation physique, la physiologie humaine, l'anthropologie (biologie des races humaines et biotypologie), l'hygiène sociale et la psychologie. La «section d'éducation physique» comprenait l'histoire de l'éducation physique, ses théories et ses méthodologies, l'apprentissage du commandement et une langue étrangère. L'examen de sortie se déroulait dans chaque discipline devant un jury composé du titulaire de la chaire assisté par deux examinateurs choisis par le recteur parmi les enseignants de l'académie. La candidate présentait deux sujets de son choix préalablement approuvés par l'enseignant de la discipline et appartenant à des matières de sections différentes. Elle rédigeait un devoir dans une autre discipline. Le recteur Versari démissionna en octobre 1940 et fut remplacé par Nicolò Pende, qui enseignait la pathologie médicale à l'université de Rome⁷⁴. Ce célèbre endocrinologue s'était spécialisé dans des études de biotypologie appliquées à l'éducation et Mussolini lui avait promis la construction d'un Institut de bonification humaine et d'orthogénèse de la race qui ne sera jamais réalisé. Pende voulait transformer l'académie en Faculté universitaire en réduisant la part du sport et de la pratique militaire dans les emplois du temps au profit de disciplines scientifiques comme la biotypologie. Il souhaitait également étendre les connaissances historiques des élèves afin que les cours sur la «révolution fasciste» fussent précédés d'une introduction d'histoire politique⁷⁵. Pende proposait de prolonger les études de

⁷² Bozzoni, *Gioventù Italiana del Littorio*, cit., p. 430.

⁷³ R.D., 1^{er} février 1940, *Statuto dell'Accademia femminile della G.I.L. a Orvieto*, «Gazzetta ufficiale», 6 juin 1940, n. 131.

⁷⁴ Sur Nicolò Pende, voir D.B.E., Vol. II, p. 130; D.F., Vol. II, pp. 357-359.

⁷⁵ Ponzio, *La palestra del Littorio. L'accademia della Farnesina: un esperimento di pedagogia totalitaria nell'Italia Fascista*, cit., p. 141.

l'académie à 4 années divisées en deux cycles: le premier destiné à la formation d'enseignants d'éducation physique et le second, plus universitaire, ouvert aux filles de l'académie d'Orvieto et couronné par une «licence de préparation juvénile». En 1942 et 1943, la réforme de l'Académie de Rome fit l'objet de débats. Les uns voulaient la transformer en centre sportif, d'autres souhaitaient, après une période propédeutique commune, orienter les élèves dans une spécialisation politique destinée au commandement général de la G.I.L. ou à la formation d'entraîneurs sportifs et d'enseignants d'éducation physique. En juillet 1943, Lando Ferretti fut le dernier recteur de l'académie et il le resta pendant la République de Salò.

Les anciens élèves de l'Académie de Rome furent maltraités par Starace qui leur préférait les cadres issus des Faisceaux juvéniles. Le secrétaire du P.N.F. se méfiait d'eux parce qu'ils avaient fréquenté l'académie à l'époque de l'O.N.B. et conservaient des liens avec Ricci. En 1938 et 1939, ils furent rétrogradés à des postes inférieurs et parfois condamné à n'exercer que la seule fonction d'enseignant de gymnastique. Toutefois, les successeurs de Starace leur furent moins hostiles. Ainsi, Ettore Muti leur permit de retrouver quelque importance au niveau provincial en augmentant les pouvoirs du commandant fédéral, du vice commandant et du chef des sections masculines de la G.I.L. En février 1940, 29 des 92 vice commandants nommé par Muti venaient de l'Académie: 15 avaient été diplômés en 1929, 2 en 1930, 6 en 1931, 3 en 1932, 2 en 1934 et un seulement en 1938⁷⁶. En avril 1940, Muti procéda à un important renouvellement concernant 759 postes de direction de la G.I.L. Sur les 90 nouveaux chefs de bureaux fédéraux gymniques et sportifs, 67 étaient diplômés de l'Académie, alors qu'ils n'étaient que 19 sur 82 dans les fonctions subalternes de chefs de section. Ils étaient par contre peu représentés dans les fonctions d'assistance et de santé: 2 seulement sur les 159 nouveaux inspecteurs, et un seul chef de section sur 83⁷⁷.

Le Centre de préparation politique et les cours de «culture fasciste»

En dépit des résultats satisfaisants en matière d'éducation physique, de colonies de vacances et de participation aux manifestations du régime, la G.I.L. faisait l'objet de multiples critiques. On lui reprochait de gêner la scolarité des élèves en empiétant sur les heures de cours et surtout d'oublier sa mission de formation politique. Bottai s'en prenait aux démonstrations gymniques qui

⁷⁶ Ponzio, *La palestra del Littorio. L'accademia della Farnesina: un esperimento di pedagogia totalitaria nell'Italia Fascista*, cit., pp. 153-155.

⁷⁷ B.C.G.G., 1^o avril 1940, n. 11.

suscitaient le désintérêt de l'assistance⁷⁸. Quelques initiatives des Fédérations provinciales concernaient des cours de préparation politique pour les jeunes⁷⁹. «Critica fascista» déplorait la profonde ignorance des jeunes ouvriers et paysans qui vivaient dans une profonde ignorance du régime⁸⁰. Starace tenta d'y remédier en créant au Forum Mussolini de Rome un Centre de préparation politique pour les jeunes. Il était ouvert aux membres du P.N.F. âgés de moins de 28 ans et ayant satisfait à leurs obligations militaires. Les candidats devaient posséder le diplôme de l'Académie de la G.I.L. ou celui décerné par les cours provinciaux de préparation politique. À défaut, l'exercice d'une activité au sein du parti pouvait suffire. L'examen d'admission comportait une épreuve écrite et orale, des exercices militaires et de sports de combat. Les études duraient deux années, la première avec des enseignements de caractère informatif et institutionnel, la seconde avec des cours et des discussions sur des sujets plus spécifiques avec des applications pratiques. La «Doctrina du fascisme», basée sur l'exégèse des écrits et discours du duce, était la première discipline enseignée. Les élèves étudiaient ensuite l'histoire de la «révolution fasciste», l'organisation du parti et de l'Etat, l'économie corporative et la politique de la race. En première année, l'enseignement insistait sur l'histoire des révolutions et des partis politiques, sur celle des empires et de la colonisation, sur la propagande et la technique du journalisme. En deuxième année, s'y ajoutaient la politique intérieure et extérieure des Etats ainsi que la politique impériale du fascisme. L'internat était de rigueur, mais avec dérogations pour les hommes mariés. Le centre de préparation politique fut inauguré par Mussolini le 3 janvier 1940 avec un discours du vice secrétaire du P.N.F. Fernando Mezzasoma. Les proches de Bottai auraient voulu en faire un moyen d'approfondir la collaboration entre l'Ecole et le parti⁸¹; mais le centre ne comptait que 36 élèves et de «vieux fascistes» comme Giuseppe Antonio Fanelli ironisaient sur ces «super fascistes» qui n'étaient même pas «fascistes». La revue «Difesa della razza» s'efforçait d'orienter les enseignements du centre vers des normes de comportement comme la maîtrise de soi, le sens des responsabilités et de la discipline, susceptibles de revigorer la race italienne⁸².

⁷⁸ G. Bottai, 29 juillet 1938, in Guerri (ed.), *Diario: 1935-1944*, cit., p. 138.

⁷⁹ A. Crespi, *La scuola media nei confronti dei diversi tipi d'insegnamento* (29 maggio 1937), in *Federazione Provinciale Fascista Milanese, Corso di preparazione politica per i giovani*, Milan, s.e., 1938. Achille Crespi était le directeur de l'Institut «Carlo Tenca» à Milan.

⁸⁰ E. Capaldo, *Gruppi Universitari Fascisti e Gioventù Italiana del Littorio*, «Critica fascista», 1^o novembre 1938, p. 7.

⁸¹ *Il Centro di preparazione politica per i giovani*, B.C.G.G., 15 février 1939, n. 8; G. Calendoli, G.I.L.-G.U.F. *Il centro di preparazione politica per i giovani*, «Gerarchia», juillet 1939, n. 7; «Foglio di disposizioni del P.N.F.», 26 juillet 1939, n. 1369; B.C.G.G., 15 août 1939, n. 20; «Roma fascista», 3 août 1939; *Il Centro di propaganda politica*, «Critica fascista», 15 août 1939, p. 315.

⁸² G. Landi, *La dottrina della razza nel Centro di preparazione politica dei giovani*, «Difesa della razza», vol. III, n. 5, 1940.

Les cours de préparation politique pour les jeunes fonctionnaient mal au niveau fédéral⁸³. Ils s'étalaient sur deux années et étaient destinés aux jeunes âgés de 20 à 25 ans inscrits à la G.I.L. ou au P.N.F. Les leçons de 1^o année portaient sur la « Doctrine du fascisme », l'organisation du parti et de ses annexes. Les enseignements de la 2^o année concernaient la Doctrine du fascisme, l'histoire de la « révolution fasciste », l'économie et la politique corporative, la politique impériale de l'Italie fasciste et sa politique de la race. Des exercices de sports de combat étaient obligatoires. Des débats étaient organisés autour d'un thème communiqué à l'avance aux élèves ainsi qu'une bibliographie pour le préparer. Enfin, un « tour de service » auprès du P.N.F. ou de ses annexes complétait la formation. Les enseignants étaient nommés par le secrétaire fédéral, celui de la culture militaire relevant du commandement local de l'Armée. Un examen de passage à la fin de la 1^o année consistait en une épreuve écrite et en un entretien oral devant un jury présidé par le secrétaire fédéral assisté du secrétaire du G.U.F. et de 3 enseignants. L'examen final comportait une épreuve écrite et un entretien suivi d'une discussion. Le président du jury, nommé par le secrétaire fédéral, était assisté du vice commandant fédéral de la G.I.L., du secrétaire du G.U.F., d'un professeur d'université, d'un provéditeur ou d'un proviseur, d'un officier supérieur de l'Armée, d'un dirigeant syndical et du président de la section locale de l'Institut National de Culture Fasciste (I.N.C.F.)⁸⁴.

Les membres de la G.I.L. devaient s'initier aux valeurs prônées par le régime dans deux manuels spécifiques : « Il primo » et « Il secondo libro fascista ». Ces ouvrages insistaient sur les mesures sociales du régime destinées à s'opposer aux « tendances dangereuses de l'urbanisation »⁸⁵. Parmi les formules à retenir par cœur, il y en avait une sur les tâches du parti : « Défense et renforcement de la révolution fasciste, Education politique des Italiens »⁸⁶. Les programmes d'enseignement de la G.I.L. destinés aux Jeunes fascistes reposaient sur des cours de « culture fasciste », d'histoire de l'art et de littérature. La première partie comprenait cinq chapitres : Un tableau de la « situation politique et spirituelle de l'Italie à la veille de la Grande Guerre », une étude de la « période de neutralité et d'intervention », un éloge de Mussolini et du « Popolo d'Italia », une étude très partielle de l'immédiat après-guerre et enfin une présentation du fascisme et de la « marche sur Rome » comme « une continuation du processus idéal du Risorgimento » et « une conquête révolutionnaire de l'Etat »⁸⁷. La seconde partie se subdivisait en six chapitres consacrés à la politique du régime en matière économique, sociale, éducative, coloniale et étrangère. Les cours d'histoire de l'art et de littérature devaient être confiés à des personnes « dotées d'une

⁸³ *I Corsi di preparazione politica dei giovani*, « Gioventù fascista », n. 4, 5 février 1939.

⁸⁴ « Foglio di disposizioni del P.N.F. », n. 92, 28 février 1940.

⁸⁵ *Primo e Secondo libro del fascista*, in P.N.F. *Manuale d'educazione fascista*, Rome, Savelli, 1977.

⁸⁶ P.N.F., *Il primo libro del fascista*, Rome, s.e., 1938, p. 52.

⁸⁷ B.C.G.G., 15 janvier 1939, n. 6.

parfaite connaissance de la matière humanistes». De telles compétences étaient souvent introuvables et cet enseignement fut rarement dispensé. Le programme débordait d'ambitions et il n'était accessible qu'à des jeunes possédant un niveau de connaissances de l'enseignement secondaire. Tout devait contribuer à faire de la préhistoire méditerranéenne, de la Grèce, de la Rome antique et de la Renaissance italienne des époques privilégiées de l'histoire de l'art. Les cours de littérature faisaient une place importante à la Grèce antique et à Homère; mais ils s'attardaient davantage sur la civilisation latine, soulignant les affinités et les différences entre les mythes. L'étude de l'Antiquité glorifiait Virgile, sa «célébration héroïque» de la race latine, de la civilisation d'Auguste et sa glorification de la vie agreste. Les programmes passaient rapidement sur la littérature de la chrétienté médiévale. Un chapitre entier était dédié à Dante et à la «Divine comédie», un autre à Pétrarque et à Boccace «précurseurs de la Renaissance», un autre encore à l'Humanisme. L'Arioste et le Tasse, Machiavel et Michel-Ange faisaient rayonner la Renaissance italienne sur la civilisation européenne. Le XVII^e siècle était à peine abordé. Par contre, le «renouveau civil et littéraire» de la seconde moitié du XVIII^e siècle faisait l'objet d'un chapitre entier. Goldoni, Giuseppe Parini et Alfieri côtoyaient les protagonistes des Lumières napolitaines. L'influence étrangère sur l'illuminisme italien était minimisée. Le classicisme et le romantisme s'épanouissaient dans la péninsule grâce à Vincenzo Monti, Ugo Foscolo, Leopardi et Manzoni. La littérature du Risorgimento se prolongeait jusqu'au début du XX^e siècle, à travers l'œuvre de Carducci, Pascoli et D'Annunzio. Le fascisme prétendait s'y rattacher et «l'inspiration mussolinienne» devenait une source fondamentale de la littérature italienne contemporaine⁸⁸.

L'éducation musicale de la G.I.L. était d'une grande pauvreté, le répertoire du chant choral se limitant aux chants fascistes; mais on y trouvait des exercices instrumentaux et surtout des cours d'histoire de la musique destinés à «éduquer la sensibilité des enfants et à vulgariser la connaissance du patrimoine musical». La musique intervenait dans les chants monodiques et dans le chant choral, dans ses rapports avec le théâtre, la danse, la vie civile, politique et religieuse du peuple. Elle était donc présente dans les cours destinés aux formations féminines de la G.I.L. Le chapitre sur la période médiévale étudiait les «chants chrétiens», le «chant grégorien», la «musique populaire», celle des troubadours et le développement de la musique polyphonique⁸⁹. On évoquait la musique sacrée et profane de la Renaissance jusqu'à Palestrina. Les programmes mentionnaient les origines de la musique instrumentale, insistaient sur les origines du mélodrame avec Monteverdi, sur l'œuvre sérieuse avec Scarlatti et légère avec Cimarosa et Pergolese. Le cours s'ouvrait sur le XIX^e siècle avec Rossini, Bellini, Verdi et Donizetti. Avant d'étudier la grande musique orchestrale, il accordait une

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*

⁸⁹ *Corsi per le formazioni femminili della G.I.L.*, B.C.G.G., 15 janvier 1939, n. 6.

place importante à Bach. Le développement de la musique symphonique avec Haendel et Beethoven, le drame musical avec Richard Wagner et le romantisme avec Chopin, Schuman, Schubert et Listz faisaient l'objet de plusieurs chapitres. La conclusion s'efforçait de montrer l'importance de la musique comme facteur éducatif dans la vie d'un peuple.

Les cours de «culture fasciste» présentaient aux Avant-gardistes et aux Jeune fascistes des interprétations partisans de leur histoire nationale. Le Risorgimento se résumait à une énumération de faits héroïques. L'adhésion de l'Italie à la Triplice se justifiait par l'injustice du protectorat français en Tunisie. L'entrée en guerre de 1915 servait de prétexte à exalter le patriotisme et la clairvoyance de Mussolini⁹⁰. On faisait l'éloge du roi Victor Emmanuel qui, «en appuyant le parti interventionniste», avait permis au gouvernement Salandra de déclarer la guerre à l'Autriche «pour rendre à l'Italie les limites sacrées que la nature avait placées aux frontières de la patrie». Caporetto était présenté comme une simple rupture du front qui avait contraint l'armée italienne à une retraite jusqu'à la Piave. La guerre aérienne était décrite avec la même prédilection pour les exploits individuels. Le rôle de l'Italie dans la Grande Guerre était surestimé et Vittorio Veneto présentée comme une contribution décisive à l'issue victorieuse du conflit. Le traité de Versailles servait à dénoncer la «trahison» des Alliés, parjures à la parole donnée lors du traité de Londres et des accords de Saint-Jean-de-Maurienne. L'action de Mussolini était systématiquement exaltée dans une Italie de l'après-guerre livrée aux «violences socialistes». Les institutions fascistes devenaient les seules capables de répondre aux exigences d'un Etat moderne et la responsabilité de la guerre d'Ethiopie incombait à l'avidité des «démocraties arriérées». Les Sanctions de la S.D.N. portaient la marque de la perfidie britannique». Elles soutenaient un Etat abyssin «esclavagiste et barbare» contre l'Italie «fille de Rome» et «mère de la civilisation». Les jeunes devaient prendre conscience du prestige de l'Italie dans le monde et de «l'universalité du fascisme». A la veille de la Seconde Guerre mondiale, la responsabilité du conflit inévitable qui se profilait était attribuée aux démocraties. Une intervention éventuelle de l'Italie était présentée comme «une promenade de conquistador» pour se tailler une place «à la table de la paix»⁹¹. Le nouvel «Ordre européen» se présenterait comme un renouveau de l'Europe du point de vue politique et économique dans les espaces vitaux des nations allemande et italienne. L'Allemagne réaliserait son rêve centenaire au centre de l'Europe et l'Italie retrouverait en Méditerranée la puissance que sa destinée lui assignait⁹².

⁹⁰ Mussolini, *Il Popolo d'Italia, l'intervento e la guerra*, in *Corsi di cultura fascista per Avanguardisti e Giovani fascisti*, «Foglio di disposizioni del P.N.F.», 26 décembre 1938, n. 1234.

⁹¹ A. Garofalo, *Veleno sui banchi di scuola*, «Il Ponte», octobre 1952.

⁹² B.C.G.G., 1^o septembre 1940, n. 21.

Les jeunes et leurs instructeurs recevaient fréquemment la visite du duce. Son apparition donnait lieu à des manifestations de type militaire et patriotique où l'on entonnait en chœur les hymnes fascistes: «Giovinezza», mais aussi les dernières compositions de Giuseppe Blanc «Mediterraneo» et «Impero»⁹³. Il en fut ainsi le 6 août 1939, à la clôture des cours de formation de chefs de centurie et de cohortes. Une grande démonstration gymnique et chorale au Forum Mussolini se déroula en présence du duce et de plusieurs hiérarques, avec la participation de 300 instituteurs, de 600 élèves chefs de centurie, de 450 Jeunes fascistes (femmes) et Jeunes Italiennes inscrites au 1^o cours national de danse classique. «Les femmes fascistes, déclara Starace, éprouvent l'orgueil d'appartenir à la race italienne, comme une situation privilégiée qui implique un perfectionnement constant du corps et de l'esprit»⁹⁴. Le nombre de participants à ces cours était pourtant relativement faible: 1200 seulement à Rome en juillet 1939 sur un million d'Avant-gardistes. Des cours provinciaux d'éducation physique furent inaugurés par la G.I.L. le 21 janvier 1939⁹⁵; mais ils eurent peu de succès et Starace déplorait de même la faible participation aux cours de formation pré militaire⁹⁶. Ces derniers ne concernaient que 200000 jeunes en septembre 1940 (282).

Les cours de «culture fasciste» pour les enseignants étaient généralement organisés en été pour ne pas perturber l'année scolaire. Ils étaient groupés avec ceux d'éducation physique et de préparation militaire. Ceux de 1938 s'adressèrent à 7000 participants du 2 au 12 août. Ils permettaient d'obtenir un diplôme qui donnait accès plus facilement à un poste, à une direction de colonie de vacances et à des responsabilités dans la hiérarchie de la G.I.L. En 1939, des cours se tinrent à Rome, Turin, Trente et Bolzano du 4 juillet au 3 août. Ils furent fréquentés par 2500 enseignants dans la capitale. En 1940, les institutrices purent les suivre à Cagliari, Catane, Rome et Turin, les instituteurs à Bolzano, Milan, Palerme, Rome et Sassari. Les professeurs du secondaire étaient accueillis à Rome⁹⁷. Dans la capitale, les participants furent hébergés à l'Académie fasciste, au Collège «Littorio» et dans les écoles primaires «2 Ottobre», «Adelaine Cairoli» et «Guido Alessi»⁹⁸. En 1941, les enseignants du secondaire furent rassemblés dans des cours dispensés à Rome⁹⁹. Il apparaît

⁹³ Sur Giuseppe Blanc, voir D.B.I., Vol. XXXIV, pp. 453-454; F. Nicolodi, *Musica e musicisti nel ventennio fascista*, Fiesole, Discanto edizioni, 1984.

⁹⁴ B.C.G.G., 15 août 1939, n. 20.

⁹⁵ B.C.G.G., 1^o février 1939, n. 7.

⁹⁶ A. Starace, *Rapporto sulle attività della G.I.L.*, B.C.G.G., 1^o avril 1939, n. 11.

⁹⁷ B.C.G.G., 1^o octobre 1940, n. 23.

⁹⁸ *Circolare ai provveditori*, 18 avril 1940.

⁹⁹ La référence au «2 octobre» concernait le discours de Mussolini du 2 octobre 1935. Les bâtiments du collège Littorio ont été inaugurés par Mussolini, entourés des vice-présidents du parti P.N.F. Ferdinando Mezzasoma et Vittorio Cerruti, et le gouverneur de la ville (B.C.G.G., 15 avril 1940, n. 12).

clairement que les enseignements de la G.I.L. étaient difficilement compatibles avec la formation scolaires.

Les «Ludi juveniles»

L'une des principales activités de la G.I.L. consistait à organiser des «Ludi juveniles» de l'art et de la culture, créés en 1935 et réservés aux jeunes qui ne fréquentaient plus le système scolaire. Les Jeunes fascistes, les Avant-gardistes et les Jeunes Italiennes y participaient avec des concours à caractère culturel, artistique, technique et sportif¹⁰⁰. Le déroulement des épreuves se faisait à trois niveaux: des éliminatoires dans les commandements fédéraux, une sélection provinciale et une finale nationale¹⁰¹. Les éliminatoires se déroulaient devant un jury présidé par le vice commandant de la G.I.L. et composé de membres nommés par le commandement fédéral¹⁰². Toutefois, une inspectrice fédérale de la G.I.L. et le fiduciaire du G.U.F. étaient membres de droit du jury¹⁰³. Le thème de ces éliminatoires était choisi par le commandement fédéral qui le transmettait en temps voulu au vice commandant de la G.I.L. sous enveloppe cachetée¹⁰⁴. Les candidats classés premiers aux épreuves éliminatoires étaient admis à concourir aux sélections fédérales qui se déroulaient au chef lieu de province sur un sujet choisi par le commandement général. Le jury de la sélection fédérale était présidé par le commandant fédéral en personne. Il se composait du provéditeur, d'une inspectrice fédérale, du vice commandant fédéral de la G.I.L., du secrétaire du G.U.F., du fiduciaire de l'Associazione Fascista della Scuola (A.F.S.), du président de la section de l'Istituto Nazionale di Cultura Fascista (I.N.C.F.), du chef de service du Bureau de préparation politique et du responsable des cours de la G.I.L.¹⁰⁵ Enfin, le commandement général désignait un «élément technicien», le plus souvent un professeur qui se trouvait bien isolé pour faire entendre son point de vue en matière d'art et de culture¹⁰⁶.

Les premiers classés aux sélections fédérales participaient aux épreuves finales nationales. Chaque commandement fédéral était représenté au minimum par 5 Jeunes fascistes (hommes et femmes), 5 Avant-gardistes et autant de

¹⁰⁰ Ponzio, *La palestra del Littorio. L'accademia della Farnesina: un esperimento di pedagogia totalitaria nell'Italia Fascista*, cit., p. 157.

¹⁰¹ B.C.G.G., 20 février 1940, n. 8.

¹⁰² Ordinamento dei «Ludi juveniles» della cultura e dell'arte, Titolo 1, art. 1,3,7, in B.C.G.G., 1^o décembre 1939 XVIII, n. 3, Supplemento, p. 1250-H

¹⁰³ B.C.G.G., 1^o janvier 1940, n. 5, supplement, p. 1250-L

¹⁰⁴ B.C.G.G., 1^o janvier 1940, n. 5, supplement, p. 1250-X.

¹⁰⁵ Ordinamento dei «Ludi juveniles» della cultura e dell'arte, Tit. II, artt. 10, 11, 12, in B.C.G.G., 1^o décembre 1939 XVIII, n. 3, supplement.

¹⁰⁶ B.C.G.G., 1^o janvier 1940, n. 5, supplement.

Jeunes Italiennes¹⁰⁷. Ainsi, du 18 au 21 février 1937, les Jeux se déroulèrent à Terni. Dans les jurys, on relevait les noms du pédagogue Luigi Volpicelli (Critique littéraire), du professeur Antonio Pagliaro (Doctrine du fascisme) et du dramaturge Ugo Betti (Théâtre)¹⁰⁸. Les finales des «Ludi juveniles» de 1939, du 18 au 20 mai, virent la victoire des commandements fédéraux de Fiume et de Milan dans les concours de la culture et de celui de Naples dans les épreuves artistiques¹⁰⁹. Le programme des éliminatoires et des sélections fédérales pour les épreuves culturelles de 1940 consistait en une composition de «culture fasciste» et un entretien sur ce sujet. Il existait une plus grande liberté d'expression dans les concours artistiques. Ainsi, si les éliminatoires de dessin et d'arts plastiques de 1940 portaient sur des thèmes fascistes, les sélections fédérales s'opéraient à partir d'une composition d'un groupe d'objets en verre et sur une copie d'un bas relief¹¹⁰.

Des «Ludi juveniles» étaient également organisés pour les Balillas et les Petites Italiennes; mais les épreuves restaient localisées au niveau fédéral. En 1939, les «Ludi juveniles» mobilisèrent 1657732 participants: 527507 Balillas sur 1,5 million environ, 469087 Petites Italiennes sur plus de 1,5 million, 251037 Avant-gardistes sur 8 à 900000, 152252 Jeunes Italiennes sur 400000 environ, 158292 Jeunes fascistes hommes et 99555 Jeunes fascistes femmes¹¹¹. Les éliminatoires de février 1940 rassemblèrent 1,5 million de membres de la G.I.L. sur un total de près de 8,5 millions en cette XVIII^e année de l'ère fasciste¹¹². Le 17 mars, les épreuves de sélection fédérale ne réunirent que 23000 jeunes parmi lesquels chaque commandement général ne purent plus choisir que 4 représentants pour le concours de la culture et autant pour celui de l'art. Ce furent donc finalement 376 jeunes qui participèrent aux épreuves finales de culture fasciste et 530 à celles de l'art. Les concours se déroulèrent à Rome au Forum Mussolini du 13 au 15 avril sous la présidence de Fernando

¹⁰⁷ *Ordinamento dei «Ludi juveniles» della cultura e dell'arte*, Tit. III, artt. 14,16,17, in B.C.G.G., 1^o décembre 1939 XVIII, n. 3, supplement; *Ordinamento dei «Ludi juveniles» della cultura e dell'arte*, Tit. IV, art. 20, in B.C.G.G., 1^o décembre 1939, n. 3, supplement.

¹⁰⁸ «Roma fascista», 28 janvier 1937. Sur Luigi Volpicelli voir D.B.E., Vol. II, pp. 663-664; E. Zizioli, *Un idealista fuori dalle formule. Luigi Volpicelli*, Rome, Anicia, 2009. Sur Ugo Betti voir D.B.I., Vol. IX, pp. 727-732; F. Vittori, *Betti giornalista: la partecipazione alla «Gazzetta del popolo» di Torino (1931-1953)*, in U. Betti, *Istituto di Studi pirandelliani*, «Quaderni 4», 1981, p. 213 et seq. Antonio Pagliaro, professeur de philologie iranienne à l'Université de Rome, était un exposant influent de P.N.F.

¹⁰⁹ B.C.G.G., 1^o juin 1939, n. 15; *Ludi juveniles della cultura, dell'arte, dell'educazione tecnica e dello sport*, B.C.G.G., 1^o mars 1939, n. 9; *I ludi juveniles prova di fede, di intelligenza e di forza*, «Libro e moschetto», mai 1939, n. 15; G. Calendoli, G.U.F.-G.I.L. *Valore dei Ludi juveniles*, «Gerarchia», juin 1939, n. 6.

¹¹⁰ *Ordinamento dei «Ludi juveniles» della cultura e dell'arte*, Tit. III, artt. 14, 16, 17, in B.C.G.G., 1^o décembre 1939 XVIII, n. 3.

¹¹¹ B.C.G.G., 1^o novembre 1939, n. 1.

¹¹² B.C.G.G., 15 avril 1940, n. 12.

Mezzasoma¹¹³. Quatre jurys de 6 membres furent constitués pour les Jeux de la culture. Ils comportaient 2 représentants des ministères de l'Education nationale et de la Culture populaire, 2 représentants du commandement général de la G.I.L. et du Centre de Préparation politique, le président du «Collège Littorio» de la G.I.L. et le lauréat du concours de l'année précédente. Le jury des Jeunes fasciste (hommes) était présidé par Luigi Tosi et le jury féminin par le pédagogue Nazzareno Padellaro¹¹⁴. Le jury des Avant-gardistes était présidé par le pédagogue Nino Sammartano et celui des Jeunes Italiennes par Agostino Nasti¹¹⁵. Les lauréats de 1940, qui portaient le titre de «Juveniles», étaient Dario Cartego Scattaglia, du commandement fédéral de Vérone chez les Jeunes fascistes, et sa consœur Francesca Del Secco de Rieti. La Jeune Italienne «juveniles» venait de Plaisance et son camarade avant-gardiste Valerio De Sanctis de Livourne. Il sera plus tard sénateur du Mouvement Social Italien (M.S.I.). Au classement général, le commandement fédéral de Naples arrivait de nouveau en tête, devant ceux de Plaisance et de Côme. Pour les Jeux de l'art, le commandement fédéral de Milan l'emportait, devant ceux de Bergame et de Florence. Au classement individuel, les lauréats des épreuves de dessin étaient Enrico Rosoni d'Ancône et Amelia Rossano de Pesaro pour les Jeunes fascistes, Nello Gastaldi de Pesaro pour les Avant – gardistes et Vera Ferrando de Lucques chez les Jeunes Italiennes¹¹⁶.

Dans les épreuves finales des Jeux de la culture, on trouvait beaucoup de propagande fasciste. En outre, les concurrents subissaient des épreuves sportives et militaires qui n'avaient rien de culturel. Ces compétitions étaient presque celles d'un décathlon. Elles comprenaient la course à pied, les lancers du poids, du disque et du javelot, le saut, le «parcours du combattant», la natation, les tirs à l'arc et au fusil¹¹⁷. Par ailleurs, le racisme et l'antisémitisme étaient moins présents dans la G.I.L. que dans les G.U.F. Certes, les diatribes antisémites ne manquaient pas dans la revue «Libro e moschetto» qui remplaçait «Gioventù fascista», mais l'antisémitisme n'avait pas de racines populaires en Italie et ne pouvait servir de thème à une organisation de masse. Il s'insinuait plus facilement chez les intellectuels où il représentait un élément important de la propagande. La comparaison des Lictoriales et des «Ludi juveniles» est significative à cet égard.

¹¹³ Sur Fernando Mezzasoma voir G. Magi, *Fernando Mezzasoma. Gerarca dimenticato*, Pavia, G. Luculano, 2007.

¹¹⁴ Sur Nazzareno Padellaro voir D.B.E., Vol. II, pp. 266-267; A. Padellaro, *Nazzareno Padellaro, scrittore-pensatore nella testimonianza della figlia*, Naples, La Nuova Cultura, 1990.

¹¹⁵ «Foglio di disposizioni del P.N.F.», 10 avril 1940, n.113; B.C.G.G., 15 mai 1940, n. 14. Sur Nino Sammartano, voir D.B.E., Vol. II, pp. 466-467; G. Inzerillo, *Nino Sammartano. Un pezzo di diavolone olivastro*, Mazara del Vallo, Istituto euro arabo di studi superiori, 2008.

¹¹⁶ B.C.G.G., 15 avril 1940, n. 12.

¹¹⁷ Circolare 13 mars 1940, *Ufficio sportivo del P.N.F.*, B.C.G.G., 15 mars 1940, n. 10.

Les colonies de vacances de la G.I.L.

La G.I.L. poursuit les constructions de l'O.N.B., notamment celles des «Case del Balilla». Un architecte rationaliste réalisa celle de Narni en Ombrie (1937) et L. Piccinato celle de Bénévent. Les colonies de vacances de l'O.N.B. passèrent sous l'autorité de la G.I.L. qui les géra avec les préfectures et les Centres sanitaires provinciaux. L'accent fut mis sur les colonies d'été destinées aux enfants âgés de 6 à 13 ans, l'admission étant réservée en priorité aux orphelins, aux fils d'invalides et de familles nombreuses. En 1935, 550 000 enfants avaient pu séjourner en colonies de vacances. Ils étaient plus de 800 000 en 1939, hébergés dans plus de 3000 centres. La G.I.L. procéda progressivement à une concentration des colonies d'été au bord de la mer où l'affluence de colons nécessita la construction de nouveaux bâtiments, l'amélioration des mesures sanitaires et une discipline plus stricte. La colonie de Cesenatico fut réalisée en 1938 par l'architecte G. Vaccaro et celle de San Stefano d'Aveto par L.C. Daneri. Le gigantisme architectural concerna essentiellement la Romagne «terre du duce», afin d'accroître les capacités d'accueil et d'exhiber des modèles architecturaux au style et au caractère fonctionnel pleins de hardiesse. Les nouvelles colonies furent édifiées à la périphérie des villes et loin des lieux de villégiature balnéaires. Elles se situaient dans des zones réservées et devinrent de véritables villes dans le cas d'Igea Marina. Les colonies les plus représentatives sur le plan architectural furent construites près de Ravenne. Le secrétaire de la section milanaise du Syndicat fasciste des architectes Enrico Agostino Griffini se chargea de la colonie de vacances «Lino Redaelli» de Cesenatico, édifiée dans un style rationaliste (1937-1938) et aujourd'hui détruite¹¹⁸. Entre 1937 et 1939, la G.I.L. inaugura la «Sandro Mussolini» de Cesenatico, la «Costanzo Ciano» et la «Montecatini» de Cervia-Milano Marittima. La construction de ces bâtiments fut l'objet de longues études préalables décrites dans les revues «Casabella» de Giuseppe Pagano et «Architettura» de Marcello Piacentini. Un groupe d'architectes rationalistes G.L. Banfi, L. di Belgioso, Peressutti et Rogers édifia en 1938 la colonie héliothérapique de Legnano (B.B.P.R.), à 30 km de Milan. Entre 1936 et 1938, Luigi Levi Montalcini construisit à Bardonnèche la colonie de montagne «IX Maggio» dans une architecture à caractère social, avant d'être personnellement victime des lois raciales. Pendant la Deuxième Guerre mondiale, la discipline et la propagande furent intensifiées dans les colonies. Des règles militaires de comportement furent imposées avec des «tour de garde» accomplis avec des armes factices; mais en 1942-1943, beaucoup de colonies furent transformées en hôpitaux ou accueillirent des blessés de guerre convalescents.

¹¹⁸ Sur Enrico Agostino Griffini voir D.B.I., Vol. LIX, pp. 364-365.

Les activités scolaires de la G.I.L.

L'image de la G.I.L. était très largement répandue dans l'enseignement où elle s'affichait largement sur les cahiers d'écolier¹¹⁹. La plupart des écoles rurales de l'O.N.B. étaient devenues publiques, à la suite des réformes De Vecchi. Toutefois, la G.I.L. avait hérité d'établissements scolaires créés par l'O.N.B. et inaugurés en 1937: le collège magistral d'Udine, les écoles d'économie domestique de L'Aquila, Plaisance et Udine, les écoles de jeunes marins de Brindisi, Venise, Sabaudia et Cagliari, les écoles alpines de Clavières (Piémont) et de Tarvis (Frioul). Les élèves des collèges magistraux de la G.I.L. à Orvieto et Udine, ceux des collèges «Littorio» de Rome pouvaient accéder de droit aux académies fascistes. L'école militaire de la G.I.L. à Bolzano préparait à des spécialisations de l'armée, ainsi que le collège aéronautique de Forlì. Les élèves des collèges navals de Venise et de Brindisi avaient priorité à l'entrée dans les académies navales de Livourne et de Caserte¹²⁰. La G.I.L. entretenait à Sabaudia la «Scuola marinara Caracciolo» qui entendait former le caractère des jeunes dans un esprit guerrier en stimulant les sentiments de l'honneur, du devoir et de la discipline. L'école de Sabaudia comprenait un enseignement primaire, une formation technique et une école professionnelle de type industriel qui préparait aux petits emplois de la marine marchande¹²¹. L'ensemble scolaire de la G.I.L. à Venise se composait d'un gymnase et d'un lycée classique et scientifique¹²². A Padoue, la G.I.L. avait créé, via Padovanino, l'Institut fasciste «Sandro Mussolini» qui se composait de la V^e classe du gymnase, d'un lycée classique et scientifique, d'un Institut magistral, du cours inférieur d'un Institut technique, d'un Institut commercial pour experts géomètres et d'une école de formation aux métiers du commerce, avec des cours du soir¹²³. A Bergame, la G.I.L. organisait des enseignements de niveau d'un Institut technique qui préparaient à une habilitation commerciale et aux examens d'admission aux Instituts techniques supérieurs¹²⁴. A Gênes, il ne s'agissait que d'une école fasciste aux fonctions indéterminées et d'une école professionnelle féminine¹²⁵; mais à Pise, la G.I.L. dirigeait deux établissements: une école de formation professionnelle commerciale dispensant des cours du soir et surtout l'«Istituto Vittorio Oliese» qui comprenait un Institut magistral, une école de formation professionnelle commerciale et des cours destinés aux institutrices des écoles maternelles. A Rome, l'école secondaire «Costanzo

¹¹⁹ A Ascenzi, R. Sani, *The totalitarian child: the image of childhood in the Fascist school notebooks (1922-1943)*, «History of Education and children's Literature», vol. XIII, n. 1, 2018, pp. 251-278.

¹²⁰ Bozzoni, *Gioventù Italiana del Littorio*, cit., p. 430.

¹²¹ R. D. n. 120, *Soppressione delle navi per giovani marinai*, «Gazzetta ufficiale», 5 septembre 1939, n. 208.

¹²² B.C.G.G., 1^o juin 1939, n. 15.

¹²³ «Foglio di disposizioni del P.N.F.», n. 192, 1940.

¹²⁴ B.C.G.G., 1^o juin 1939 XVII, n. 15.

¹²⁵ «Foglio di disposizioni del P.N.F.», n. 192, 1940.

Ciano» se composait d'un Institut technique et d'une école pour les métiers du commerce. L'Institut fasciste d'enseignement secondaire de Naples était l'un des plus importants. On y trouvait un enseignement classique, quelques classes de lycée scientifique, un enseignement magistral complet et un cours inférieur de l'Institut technique. Le 27 février 1940, Galeazzo Ciano inaugura en outre à Naples un nouveau collège de la G.I.L. Cet établissement, dédié à Costanzo Ciano, était prévu pour accueillir 3000 élèves afin de les éduquer, de les instruire et de leur donner une formation professionnelle¹²⁶. Dans les Pouilles, la G.I.L. avait un lycée classique et scientifique à Brindisi. Elle possédait un conservatoire de musique à Rome et trois établissements à Rimini, à Modigliana dans la province de Forlì et à Tavernelle dans celle de Pérouse¹²⁷. La G.I.L. avait ouvert des Centres féminins de préparation à la vie sociale ou aux activités domestiques et rurales fréquentés respectivement par 61000 et 58000 élèves en 1943¹²⁸. Elle s'occupait des orphelins de guerre dans des collèges implantés à Spolète, Ponte del Brenta (Padoue), Teramo, Tagliacozzo (Abruzzes), Bergame et Udine. La G.I.L. gérait aussi un centre d'équitation à Rome. Elle hébergeait des filles scolarisées dans ses collèges de Vittorio Veneto et de Pozzolatico (Florence) et des garçons dans ceux de Rieti, Città del Castello et Vicence.

Les établissements scolaires de la G.I.L. avaient pour but de former le «fasciste idéal»¹²⁹). Dans la conception totalitaire du régime, ce modèle obéissait à une loi morale qui englobait les individus dans une même mission¹³⁰. En 1940, les aumôniers furent exclus des établissements de la G.I.L. afin de supprimer toute opinion étrangère à la ligne stricte du fascisme. Ils seront réintégrés deux ans plus tard, sur pression du Saint Siègre¹³¹. Avec la propagande, le sport participait à cette mise en condition. Les disciplines de la G.I.L. privilégiaient l'athlétisme. Les sports d'hiver et l'alpinisme, la natation et le cyclisme, la boxe et le tir à la cible venaient ensuite¹³². En 1938 et 1939, les établissements de la G.I.L. reçurent l'équivalence avec ceux de l'Etat, leurs diplômes devenant identiques¹³³. Suite à ces dispositions, le collège «Littorio» de Rome, les collèges d'Udine et

¹²⁶ Le Collegio «Costanzo Ciano» de la G.I.L. il a été financé par la Banco di Napoli (B.C.G.G., 1^o mars 1940, n. 9).

¹²⁷ B.C.G.G., 1^o octobre 1940, n. 23.

¹²⁸ Sur «massaie rurali», voir: P. Wilson, *Contadine e politica del Ventennio. La sezione «Massaie rurali» dei Fasci femminili*, «Italia contemporanea», n. 218, marzo 2000, pp. 31-47; Ead., *Peasant Women and Politics in Fascist Italy: the Massaie Rurali*, London, Routledge, 2002.

¹²⁹ F. Feliciani, *Collegi della G.I.L.*, in *Panorama di realizzazioni del fascismo*, cit., Vol. II, p. 436.

¹³⁰ F. Battaglia, *Nazione*, in *Enciclopedia Italiana*, Rome, Treccani, 1934; A. Montemaggiori, *Dizionario della dottrina fascista*, Turin, Paravia, 1934.

¹³¹ M. Casella, *La questione dell'assistenza religiosa alla Gioventù del Littorio nelle carte dell'Ambasciatore d'Italia presso la Santa Sede (1939-1942)*, «Ricerche storiche», vol. XXXIII, n. 1, 2004, pp. 130-146.

¹³² «Foglio di disposizioni del P.N.F.», 1^o juin 1940, n. 147.

¹³³ R.D. 3 juin 1938, n. 994. G. Belardinelli, *Collegi e scuole della Gioventù Italiana del Littorio*, «Scuola e Cultura. Annali della Istruzione Media», décembre 1938, pp. 69-70.

d'Orvieto purent décerner un diplôme d'enseignement magistral à leurs élèves. Les collèges navals de Venise et de Brindisi, le collège aéronautique de Forlì s'achevèrent par un examen de maturité classique ou scientifique. Les diplômés des collèges d'Udine purent accéder à l'Académie de Rome après une simple visite médicale et ceux de Forlì en priorité à celle de Caserte. Le 30 septembre 1939, le conseil des ministres étendit ces dispositions à l'école de Bolzano qui était destinée à préparer de jeunes volontaires à des spécialités militaires (motocyclistes, radiotélégraphistes et artificiers). Les élèves y fréquentaient une école technique en 2 ans et une école professionnelle en 3 ans¹³⁴.

Les rapports de la G.I.L. et de l'Education nationale

Avec la Charte de l'Ecole (février 1939), le fascisme mettait l'accent sur le rôle de la formation scolaire dans l'Etat totalitaire, tout en maintenant intacts les pouvoirs de la G.I.L. Mussolini saluait en effet l'action du parti qui concentrait ses efforts sur l'éducation politique des masses et la formation de la jeunesse¹³⁵. L'ouverture de l'année scolaire était célébrée solennellement en accord avec le P.N.F. et la G.I.L.¹³⁶ Cette cérémonie était jumelée avec la «leva» fasciste qui accompagnait le passage des Avant-gardistes de 18 ans dans les Faisceaux juvéniles de Combat¹³⁷. Cette entente entre le parti et l'Ecole dissimulait des rivalités profondes. Le décret du 3 juin 1938 prévoyait le rattachement à la Minerve de tous les établissements scolaires du P.N.F. et de la G.I.L.; mais son application se heurta à d'évidentes résistances qui s'inséraient dans un contexte de conflit de compétences. Les collèges de la G.I.L. qui préparaient aux concours d'entrée dans les académies militaires et d'éducation physique furent reconnues comme établissements d'enseignement secondaire¹³⁸. L'année suivante, les académies de Rome et d'Orvieto devinrent des établissements d'enseignement supérieur dotés d'un conseil académique présidé par un recteur, choisi parmi les professeurs d'université¹³⁹. Le 3 avril 1940, la durée de leurs études fut prolongée à 4 ans, comme celle des universités; mais Bottai refusa d'accorder à leur diplôme l'équivalence d'une licence universitaire¹⁴⁰.

¹³⁴ B.C.G.G., 1^o octobre 1939, n. 23.

¹³⁵ B. Mussolini, *Scritti e discorsi*, Milan, Mondadori, 1939, p. 22.

¹³⁶ Circolare Ministero dell'Educazione nazionale n. 32, 30 septembre 1938, *Inizio del nuovo anno scolastico*.

¹³⁷ Circolare Ministero dell'Educazione nazionale, n. 31, 29 septembre 1938, *Inaugurazione dell'anno scolastico*.

¹³⁸ R.D. 3 juin 1938, n. 994.

¹³⁹ R.D. 22 mai 1939, n. 866. Nicola Pende est devenu le recteur de l'Académie de G.I.L. en novembre 1941.

¹⁴⁰ A.C.S., Direttorio del P.N.F., b. 63, f. E1; b. 308, f. 32.

Le ministre de l'Education nationale voulait souder davantage l'Ecole à la G.I.L. et il accepta la présence de ses représentants dans les conseils scolaires. Cette concession était conforme à la coopération entre les trois moments culturel, professionnel et politique de la formation de la jeunesse qui devaient être gérés par l'Ecole, les corporations et le parti¹⁴¹. Un tel rapprochement pouvait se faire autour d'objectifs communs: discipline de la culture, de l'éducation physique et guerrière, culte médité de la tradition et action tournée vers l'avenir¹⁴². Des comités «Ecole-G.I.L.» devaient assurer une coopération entre les deux institutions; mais elles se résumèrent à un assujettissement croissant de l'une par rapport à l'autre, «au moyen d'un réseau d'empiètements n'ayant souvent aucun rapport avec les exigences éducatives»¹⁴³. Ces comités étaient révélateurs des difficultés à concilier la conception fasciste de la culture et l'humanisme de l'enseignement classique. On multiplia pourtant les réunions communes pour résoudre leurs différends. Le 8 février 1940, des provéditeurs conduits par Bottai en personne se rendirent au Forum Mussolini pour rencontrer une délégation de la G.I.L. présidée par le vice commandant général Bodini¹⁴⁴. Ce dernier affirma que la G.I.L. rassemblait toute la jeunesse et se trouvait investie de la fonction éducative. Il ne retint que le «rôle politique de l'enseignement au service de la révolution» et affirma le caractère totalitaire de l'Ecole. Bodini reconnaissait toutefois la spécificité des deux institutions. A l'Ecole revenait la «préparation culturelle et professionnelle», à la G.I.L. incombait la «préparation politique et guerrière»¹⁴⁵.

La persistance de leurs divergences et la multiplication des conflits incitèrent le secrétaire du P.N.F. Ettore Muti, agissant en tant que commandant général de la G.I.L. et Giuseppe Bottai, ministre de l'Education nationale, à mettre en place de commissions périphériques provinciales. Elles étaient composées du commandant fédéral de la G.I.L. qui la présidait, du provéditeur, du vice commandant fédéral de la G.I.L. et de deux fiduciaires de l'Association Fasciste de l'Ecole (A.F.S.) représentant les enseignements primaire et secondaire. La commission devait «maintenir un contact permanent entre l'Ecole et la G.I.L. en assurant leur collaboration assidue»¹⁴⁶. Elle s'occupait des activités de la G.I.L. en matière scolaire, de l'enseignement de l'éducation physique, de l'utilisation des enseignants dans les colonies de vacances, les camps et l'encadrement des organisations de jeunesse, des problèmes de l'hygiène et de la santé des élèves, de leur emploi du temps et de ses répercussions sur le fonctionnement des activités

¹⁴¹ G. Bottai, *La libertà degli studi e l'esame di Stato*, «Critica fascista», 1-15 juin 1935.

¹⁴² T.M. Mazzatosta, *Il regime fascista tra educazione e propaganda*, Bologna, Cappelli, 1978, p. 91.

¹⁴³ Cremaschi, *Cinquant'anni di battaglie scolastiche*, cit., p. 184.

¹⁴⁴ G. Bottai, *La Carta della Scuola*, Milan, Mondadori, 1939, p. 313.

¹⁴⁵ B.C.G.G., 1^o mars 1940, n. 9, supplément.

¹⁴⁶ Circolare Partito Nazionale Fascista et Ministero dell'Educazione Nazionale, 9 juin 1940, *Rapporti tra la Scuola e la Gioventù Italiana del Littorio (G.I.L.)*, B.C.G.G., août 1940 XVIII, n. 19, supplément.

post-scolaires, de leur affiliation à la G.I.L. La commission intervenait aussi au sujet des activités relatives aux «Ludi juveniles», aux concours d'éducation physique, à la fête gymnique nationale, aux cours de caractère culturel ou d'économie domestique. Elle était compétente dans l'utilisation des locaux et du matériel didactique, au sujet des cours de préparation pré-militaire, de la participation des caisses scolaires au financement des activités d'assistance de la G.I.L. et de la participation des écoles privées à la vie de la G.I.L.¹⁴⁷ La commission se réunissait au moins une fois par mois. Ses délibérations et ses décisions étaient communiquées au commandement général de la G.I.L. et au ministère de l'Education nationale. Un représentant de la G.I.L. siégeait dans les jurys d'examen de l'enseignement primaire, un autre dans les commissions centrales et régionales de l'Education nationale. En contrepartie, des personnalités du monde scolaire et des enseignants étaient appelés à faire partie de la hiérarchie de la G.I.L. Les établissements scolaires de l'organisation de jeunesse ne passèrent définitivement sous l'autorité de la Minerve qu'à la rentrée scolaire de 1940¹⁴⁸.

L'un des problèmes épineux des rapports entre la G.I.L. et l'Ecole concernait l'enseignement de l'éducation physique, dispensé par des professeurs venus de l'organisation de jeunesse dans des locaux scolaires. Ces enseignants sortaient parfois de l'Académie de Rome où ils avaient reçu une bonne formation athlétique; mais leur mentalité forgée dans l'organisation du parti rendait leurs relations avec les professeurs souvent difficiles. Beaucoup d'entre eux étaient même recrutés parmi des «squadristes» ou d'anciens combattants qui ne considéraient pas l'activité sportive comme un moyen d'épanouissement de l'individu. Ils voyaient un futur soldat derrière chaque élève et concevaient leur enseignement comme un entraînement pré militaire. Ils préparaient aux «Agonali», des revues gymniques annuelles ouvertes à tous les élèves des écoles italiennes. Pendant l'An VIII, l'enseignement de l'éducation physique se déroula régulièrement dans 4223 établissements secondaires avec la participation de 857000 élèves, 3242 en étant dispensés. Les leçons furent dispensées par 5352 instructeurs et instructrices dans 9378 locaux. Le secrétaire du parti voulait contraindre la hiérarchie de l'Ecole à reconnaître l'éducation physique comme une discipline à part entière. Il demandait aux chefs d'établissements d'en tenir compte dans l'organisation des emplois du temps, de rédiger un rapport détaillé sur le travail accompli par ces enseignants et d'user de leur autorité auprès des familles pour les inciter à ne pas réclamer de façon abusive une dispense d'éducation physique pour leurs enfants¹⁴⁹.

¹⁴⁷ «Foglio di disposizioni del P.N.F.», B.C.G.G., 1^o octobre 1940, n. 23.

¹⁴⁸ *Rapporto di Ettore Muti*, B.C.G.G., 1^o août 1940, n. 19, supplement.

¹⁴⁹ A.C.S., Ministero della Cultura Popolare, b. 80, f. 11, *Campeggio della G.I.L. (1936-1940)*, s/f. 1.

La G.I.L. et les démonstrations politiques

La G.I.L. était utilisée comme une vitrine à l'intention des visiteurs étrangers. Le 28 avril 1938, un groupe de correspondants de presse parmi lesquels figuraient Théodore Vaucher, Pascal De Vincent, Robert Guyon, Jean Devau et Paul Gentizon, visita le camp «Roma» de la G.I.L. installé à Cantocelle sous la conduite du ministre de la Culture populaire Vittorio Alfieri et en présence de Starace¹⁵⁰. Quelques jours plus tard, Hitler en visite en Italie s'y rendit en compagnie de Mussolini¹⁵¹. L'année suivante, Chamberlain fut accueilli chaleureusement à Rome. Il était populaire en Italie où la population lui savait gré d'avoir sollicité la médiation de Mussolini pendant la crise des Sudètes. L'après-midi du 12 janvier 1939, 2000 jeunes gens et filles de la G.I.L. exécutèrent en son honneur des mouvements d'ensemble au Forum Mussolini. Les Balillas firent apprécier leur sens précoce de la discipline et les élèves de l'académie donnèrent une idée de leur virtuosité à se regrouper en figures géométriques, tout en maniant le fusil, la mitrailleuse et le canon¹⁵². Les 18 et 19 avril, les ministres hongrois assistèrent à une manifestation gymnique et militaire organisée pour la visite d'une mission albanaise¹⁵³; mais la G.I.L. joua surtout un rôle d'orchestration de la politique de l'Axe. Le 29 mai 1939, Starace reçut à Rome les dirigeantes féminines de la Hitlerjugend commandées par la doctoresse Jutta Rüdiger; le 5 juin, ce fut le tour du chef d'Etat Major de la Hitlerjugend accompagné des dirigeants provinciaux de cette organisation qui transmit le salut de Baldur Von Schirach. Starace se félicita du développement des relations entre les deux organisations de jeunesse dans la «communauté d'idéal politique des deux révolutions»¹⁵⁴. Le rythme de ces échanges s'intensifia en 1940 avec l'arrivée à Rome le 6 janvier du chef d'Etat Major de la Hitlerjugend Hartmann Lauterbacker. Une mission italienne conduite par Bodini arriva à Garmish en février en clôture des compétitions de sports d'hiver auxquelles avaient participé des Avant-gardistes et des Jeunes fascistes. Elle fut reçue par Lauterbacker avant de visiter Nuremberg, Weimar, Berlin, Hambourg, Osnabruck et Munich¹⁵⁵. Pendant ce temps, une mission dirigée par le commandant général des Jeunesses roumaines arrivait à Rome (16 février) pour renforcer les liens «entre les parties les plus vivantes des deux peuples». Lauterbacker se rendit à Rome le 4 avril, en provenance de Venise et avant de gagner Turin et Gênes (341). Mussolini inaugura quelques jours plus tard le collège magistral de la G.I.L. à Orvieto en présence du ministre de la

¹⁵⁰ L. Fontanelli, *Gioventù italiana del littorio. Rivoluzione della razza*, «Il Lavoro fascista», 27 août 1938, in Id., *Sentimento della rivoluzione. Scritti politici e presentati dal littore Vittorio Zincone*, Rome, s.e., 1941, p. 45.

¹⁵¹ *Monsieur Chamberlain à Rome*, «L'Illustration», 21 janvier 1939, pp. 63-64.

¹⁵² B.C.G.G., 1^o mai 1939, n. 13.

¹⁵³ B.C.G.G., 15 juin 1939, n. 15.

¹⁵⁴ B.C.G.G., 1^o mars 1940, n. 9.

¹⁵⁵ B.C.G.G., 15 mai 1940, n. 14.

Culture populaire Alessandro Pavolini et du secrétaire du P.N.F. Ettore Muti «Les événements auxquels nous assistons prennent des proportions grandioses, déclara le duce; mais nous ne sommes pas inadaptés à leur dimension exceptionnelle. Quels que puissent être les événements que nous apportera ce printemps tardif, l'Italie leur fera face. Il ne pourrait en être autrement puisque cette Italie du Licteur, jeune et décidée, qui libérait l'an dernier un peuple en 3 jours après avoir conquis un empire africain en 7 mois, c'est l'Italie que nous avons créée après Vingt ans de dures épreuves ininterrompues et toujours couronnées par la victoire»¹⁵⁶. Le 18 avril, plus d'un millier de jeunes de la G.I.L. de Rome (dont 500 élèves de l'Académie) assistèrent à la projection de deux films sur les Jeunesses hitlériennes: «Foi et beauté» et «Marche vers le fuhrer». Le chef des sports du III^e Reich Tschammer Von Osten visita l'Académie d'Orvieto le 4 mai¹⁵⁷. Une mission d'amitié japonaise guidée par l'ambassadeur Soto fut hébergée à Rome avant de visiter l'Ecole des marins de la G.I.L. à Sabaudia. Le 26 mai, elle assista à la fête gymnique de la G.I.L. au Forum Mussolini et se rendit ensuite à Orvieto¹⁵⁸. Cette fête gymnique se déroula en présence du duce. Sur les gradins, face au podium, était inscrit le mot «Mediterraneo» au milieu des drapeaux italiens et japonais. De nombreux élèves des académies de Rome et d'Orvieto étaient présents ainsi que ceux des collèges de la G.I.L. de l'Urbe. L'ambassadeur d'Allemagne Mackensen avait pris place dans les tribunes. Le «Salut au duce» fut suivi d'un triple «Iia» poussé par les Japonais. Les chants fascistes «Rataplan», «9 Maggio» et «Guerra, guerra» émaillèrent des démonstrations gymniques. où les participants brandissaient des pancartes portant l'inscription: «Duce, nous voulons marcher». Une mission italienne d'officiers des Académies de Rome et d'Orvieto se rendit en Allemagne du 10 au 19 juin 1940. Elle se déplaça à Munich, Weimar et à l'université d'Iena pour rendre leur visite aux représentants de la Hitlerjugend¹⁵⁹.

Starace avait emprunté la voie tracée par l'O.N.B., mais en la radicalisant dans une perspective totalitaire¹⁶⁰. Les effectifs de la G.I.L. atteignaient 7891547 adhérents en octobre 1939, soit une augmentation de 314966 par rapport à novembre 1938; mais cette augmentation restait inférieure à celle de la population totale (plus de 460000 par an) et elle ne correspondait qu'au tiers du nombre annuel des naissances entre 1931 et 1941 (très supérieur à 900000). En 1939, les effectifs de la G.I.L. se répartissaient entre 4,5 millions de Fils de la louve, Balillas et Petites Italiennes, 1 million d'Avant-gardistes, 500000 Jeunes Italiennes et 1 million de Jeunes fascistes. La part des écoliers fréquentant les établissements primaires était souvent très élevée, dépassant les 95%; mais

¹⁵⁶ B.C.G.G., 15 avril 1940, n. 12.

¹⁵⁷ B.C.G.G., 15 mai 1940, n. 14.

¹⁵⁸ B.C.G.G., 1^{er} juin 1940, n. 15.

¹⁵⁹ B.C.G.G., 15 juin 1940, n. 16.

¹⁶⁰ R. Marzolo, *Gioventù Italiana del Littorio*, in *Dizionario di politica*, Rome, Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 1991, Vol. II, p. 229.

la G.I.L. ne mobilisait en réalité que 50% des jeunes, avec une diminution régulière du nombre des Avant-gardistes. Ainsi, en 1940, le nombre de Fils de la louve, de Balillas et de Petites Italiennes atteignait 5.177.884 pendant que celui des Avant-gardistes stagnait à 988000 et celui des Jeunes Italiennes à 484.000. La répartition géographique de l'implantation de la G.I.L. était inégale. Le pourcentage d'adhérents dépassait 70 % dans les commandements fédéraux de Zara, Verceil, Plaisance, Varese, Aoste, Novare, Grosseto, Bergame, Crémone et Turin. Il oscillait entre 60 et 70% pour ceux de Gênes, Milan, Reggio d'Emilie, Pavie, Savone, Livourne, Vérone et Mantoue. Le pourcentage tombait entre 50 et 60% à Modène, Trente, Trieste, Parme, Côme, Bologne, Pise, Brescia, Bari, Vicence, Rome, Padoue et Florence. Il était plus bas dans le Mezzogiorno et les îles: 35,4% à Palerme, 35,2% à Catane, 34,8% à Messine, 34,3% à Brindisi, 32,7% à Naples, 31,1% à Reggio de Calabre, 29% à Campobasso et 22,7% à Catanzaro. Dans ces régions, la G.I.L. manquait de matériel et d'instructeurs. «La plupart du temps, en Sardaigne, on restait à ne rien faire»¹⁶¹.

Les provinces du nord avaient le plus fort pourcentage d'adhérents. Deux provinces du sud figuraient dans la première moitié du classement sur 94 (Bari et Salerne) et 3 seulement (Grosseto, Bari et Rome) situées au sud de Florence comptaient parmi les 39 premières. Inversement, une demi-douzaine de provinces du nord figuraient dans la deuxième partie. Trois d'entre elles (Udine, Venise et Lucques) avaient un faible taux d'adhérents à la G.I.L. chez les 14-21 ans à cause de la concurrence des groupes de l'Action catholique. Turin, dont le pourcentage d'inscrits au P.N.F. était plus bas que celui des autres provinces du nord, arrivait presque en tête pour les adhésions à la G.I.L. avec près de 70% de la population âgée de 6 à 21 ans. Cette situation s'expliquait par une fréquentation scolaire plus élevée dans la province de Turin. La G.I.L. avait plus d'influence dans les provinces les plus riches avec de hauts pourcentages d'enfants scolarisés. A l'exception de Bari et Salerne, aucune province située au sud de Naples ne comptait plus de 30% de sa population de 6-21 ans inscrite à la G.I.L. et la majeure partie vivait dans les grandes villes. D'ailleurs, le pourcentage d'ouvriers et d'artisans ne s'élevait qu'à 36,7% des effectifs d'Avant-gardistes en 1939 et celui des paysans à 36,9%. Avec 22,2%, les étudiants (Lycéens et collégiens compris) occupaient une place disproportionnée par rapport à leur nombre dans le pays. Il en était de même pour les Jeunes fascistes où les ouvriers et les paysans représentaient 38,02% et 39,9% des effectifs¹⁶². Ces chiffres étaient d'ailleurs gonflés artificiellement, la baisse du pourcentage des étudiants s'expliquant par la concurrence des G.U.F.

¹⁶¹ Giacobbe, *Diario di una maestra*, cit., p. 4.

¹⁶² B.C.G.G., 1^o novembre 1939, n. 1.

La G.I.L. pendant la guerre (1940-1943)

La G.I.L. continua à occuper une place importante dans les cérémonies et les manifestations pendant la guerre. Le 13 août 1940, le secrétaire du parti inspecta en Ligurie 2 regroupements de la G.I.L. en provenance de Trieste, Padoue, Turin, Gênes, La Spezia, Ancône, Rome, Florence, Milan, Bergame, Crémone, Verceil, Bologne, Modène, Forlì, Naples, Pérouse et L'Aquila¹⁶³. Le 2 septembre, Mussolini visita les colonies de vacances des faisceaux de Milan et de Modène à Rimini et le lendemain il passa en revue les bataillons de la G.I.L. de Sardaigne, de Calabre et des Pouilles sur l'aérodrome de Fano¹⁶⁴. Le ministre allemand de l'Instruction Bernard Rust accompagné de Bottai rendit visite à Mussolini qui l'accueillit le 23 septembre avec la formule «L'Ecole de l'Axe»¹⁶⁵. Le 26, il visita l'Académie de la G.I.L. et le Forum Mussolini¹⁶⁶. La traditionnelle «marche de la jeunesse» s'acheva le 10 octobre par une grande manifestation à Padoue au cours de laquelle le secrétaire du P.N.F. reçut le duce accompagné de Bottai. Les marcheurs avaient parcouru 420 km en Italie septentrionale. IL s'agissait de montrer «la résistance physique et la fierté guerrière» des jeunes volontaires qui y participaient¹⁶⁷. Les membres du Grand Conseil fasciste, les ministres, les sous-secrétaires d'Etat et les chefs militaires assistaient à la manifestation, ainsi que des détachements allemands, hongrois, roumains, bulgares et espagnols. Mussolini passa en revue les 3 premiers regroupements de la G.I.L. (24 bataillons) formés de 21000 jeunes, 1000 sous-officiers et 639 officiers¹⁶⁸.

Une délégation de la G.I.L. composée de 100 élèves de l'Académie de Rome sous le commandement du commandant fédéral Eduardo Natoli se rendit à Iassy pour assister aux manifestations commémoratives du 13^e anniversaire de la création des Gardes de fer. Ils participèrent aux opérations de sauvetage des survivants du tremblement de terre de Bucarest. Le 12 novembre, 25 élèves de la Reichsschule de Feldafing arrivèrent à Forlì où ils furent accueillis au collège aéronautique de la ville¹⁶⁹. Ils étaient invités par la G.I.L. pour connaître les organisations et les activités du P.N.F. Le mois suivant, des élèves de la Reichsschule de Munich furent hébergés à Rome. Ils se rendirent à Orvieto au siège de l'Académie féminine, puis visitèrent l'école de marins «Caracciolo» à Sabaudia avant de gagner Florence le 5 décembre. Ces visites correspondaient

¹⁶³ B.C.G.G., 15 août 1940, n. 20.

¹⁶⁴ B.C.G.G., 15 septembre 1940, n. 22.

¹⁶⁵ G. Bottai, 23 septembre 1940, in Guerri (ed.), *Diario: 1935-1944*, p. 226.

¹⁶⁶ B.C.G.G., 1^{er} octobre 1940, n. 23.

¹⁶⁷ A.C.S., Ministero della Cultura Popolare, b. 81, f. 12 (G.I.L.).

¹⁶⁸ B.C.G.G., 15 octobre 1940, n. 23.

¹⁶⁹ B.C.G.G., 15 décembre 1940, n. 4.

à la mise en place d'une intense propagande allemande en Italie. L'emprise du Reich ne cessa de s'amplifier par la suite. Le secrétaire du parti Aldo Vidussoni demanda en vain une présidence italienne à la tête de l'Association de la Jeunesse européenne à Venise (30 mars 1942) Il se heurta au refus d'Artur Axmann, successeur de Baldur Von Schirach comme chef des Jeunesses hitlériennes¹⁷⁰.

Suite aux manifestations de la Jeunesse hitlérienne à Weimar (août 1941), le commandement de la G.I.L. organisa une série de congrès à Florence (juin 1942). Le premier entendait jeter un pont culturel sur le thème «Romanité et germanisme». Les communications concernant le sujet «Fascisme et National socialisme» donnèrent lieu à des débats sur lesquels la presse préféra rester muette. Le ministre de la Culture populaire Alessandro Pavolini intervint au sujet du théâtre pour la jeunesse en préconisant des pièces serait présentée comme un affrontement entre peuples aux mentalités différentes. Les congressistes réclamèrent des échanges de compagnies théâtrales entre les différentes nations de l'Axe. Le congrès sur le livre et la presse des jeunes s'attacha aux périodiques à caractère éducatif ou de propagande publiés par les organisations de jeunesse et demanda de les encourager en leur décernant des prix Dans le domaine artistique, un concours de peinture fut couronné par un «Prix de la Ville de Florence». Le «Minculpop» fut déçu par les œuvres présentées sans que la presse précisât les raisons de cette déception. Diverses manifestation se déroulèrent du 14 juin au 1^{er} juillet, avec les «Ludi juveniles» (21 juin), la projection d'un film sur «Les Aventures de Pinocchio» (22 juin), une soirée de gala avec l'opéra «La force du destin» de Verdi (27 juin) et une conférence du docteur Schloesser sur «Goethe et l'Italie» (28 Juin) Pavolini accordait une grande importance à la radio «Elle vous sert de journal quotidien, déclarait-il aux combattants au début de 1942. Elle donne le «Bulletin de guerre» qui est l'information la plus importante de la journée. Elle vous sert de théâtre, de concert et de divertissement». Le colloque de la G.I.L. souligna l'importance de la radio pour la diffusion d'une éducation fasciste. Les congressistes proposèrent la création d'une émission spéciale pour les jeunes sous forme de revue radiophonique fournissant des orientations professionnelles et des centres expérimentaux permettant de comparer les différents programmes¹⁷¹. En 1941, Mussolini avait donné l'ordre de «libérer l'instruction musicale italienne» des méthodes prônées par des auteurs étrangers¹⁷². Les musiques étrangères devaient rester minoritaires sur les ondes italiennes, mais le répertoire classique pouvait favoriser les œuvres allemandes (Bach, Beethoven et Mozart). Les jeunes souhaitaient élever le niveau culturel des émissions musicales radiophoniques en y introduisant des

¹⁷⁰ G. Ciano, 30 mars 1942, «Journal politique», vol. II, septembre 1939-février 1943, pp. 509-510.

¹⁷¹ Sur «Radio Balilla» voir A. Mencarelli, *Radio Balilla. Le trasmissioni radiofoniche per ragazzi nel periodo fascista*, in M.C. Giuntella, I. Nardi (edd.), *Il bambino nella storia*, Naple, Ed. Scientifiche Italiane, 1993, pp. 211-233.

¹⁷² «Corriere della Sera», 10 septembre 1941.

œuvres scéniques empruntées aux grands compositeurs. Les retransmissions théâtrales à la radio devaient se libérer des schémas traditionnels sans négliger pour autant les pièces classiques. Les horaires de grande écoute devaient enfin être distinctes des heures de cours¹⁷³.

Au congrès des écrivains de Weimar (25-28 mars 1942), Giovanni Papini qui conduisait la délégation italienne souhaitait une unité spirituelle des pays de l'Axe qui ne fût pas une domination despotique d'une culture sur les autres. Telle n'était pas la position de l'Allemagne. Les championnats internationaux de la Jeunesse européenne organisés à Milan (septembre-octobre 1942) en furent une autre manifestation. Au cours des débats organisés entre les correspondants de presse des pays de l'Axe, les représentants allemands critiquèrent le comportement des petites nations européennes qui n'avaient pas compris la place de leur Etat dans le nouvel ordre européen. A la fin de la guerre, il ne devait y avoir que deux puissances dominantes, les autres seraient dominées. L'Association Juvenile Européenne se réunit à Rome (27-29 octobre) auprès du commandement général de la G.I.L. Des représentants de la presse, du cinéma et de la radio des organisations de jeunesse d'Allemagne, de Belgique, de Bulgarie, de Croatie, du Danemark, d'Espagne, de Hollande, de Hongrie, de Finlande, de Norvège, de Roumanie et de Slovaquie y participèrent¹⁷⁴; mais les articles de Goebbels parus en octobre et novembre 1942 présentaient l'Allemagne comme le «chef de file» de la «nouvelle Europe».

Avec l'entrée en guerre de l'Italie, la G.I.L. s'efforça de former le plus de cadres possible dans un minimum de temps afin de combler les vides creusés dans ses rangs par la mobilisation. Dans ce but, elle réduisit les temps de service exigés dans un grade pour accéder à l'échelon supérieur. Ainsi, en 1940, 165688 jeunes gradés formés par des cours dispensés pendant l'hiver vinrent s'ajouter aux 251487 normalement promus. L'année suivante, les 4457 aspirants officiers de la G.I.L. se virent décerner après des stages dans des camps d'été le titre requis pour devenir instructeur en remplacement de ceux qui étaient partis à la guerre¹⁷⁵. En 1941, la G.I.L. multiplia les nouveaux établissements scolaires. Elle ouvrit un collège féminin pour la formation d'institutrices de chant choral à Bergame et un autre pour les garçons à Vicence. Elle organisa pour les orphelins de guerre le collège «M.O. Aldo Fiorini» à Lecce et celui du «3 janvier» à Turin. Elle ouvrit à Florence un collège pour la formation de dirigeantes féminines et un autre à Vittorio Veneto chargé de préparer les futures «commandante». A Rome, elle gérait un collège pour les institutrices et un autre à Florence pour la

¹⁷³ A.C.S., Ministero della Cultura popolare, b. 81, f. 12 (G.I.L.).

¹⁷⁴ *Lettera del vice comandante generale della G.I.L. Sandro Bonamici a Alessandro Pavolini, Roma, 23 octobre 1942*, in A.C.S., Ministero della Cultura popolare, b. 81, f. 12 (G.I.L.) (1936-1944).

¹⁷⁵ E. Natoli, *Il graduato della G.I.L.*, B.C.G.G., 15 mars 1941, n. 10, pp. 237-238; 15 novembre 1941, n. 2, pp. 49-50.

formation des dirigeantes féminines¹⁷⁶. Ces établissements destinés aux futurs cadres du P.N.F. devinrent les centres d'expériences de formation d'une élite fasciste. Les élèves y accédaient entre 8 et 12 ans, après une sélection sur titres et en fonction des aptitudes. L'instruction dispensée était identique à celle des écoles traditionnelles, mais elle devait recourir à des exercices d'éducation physique et pré militaires pour développer l'esprit de camaraderie, le sens de l'honneur, du devoir et de la discipline¹⁷⁷.

Cependant, le niveau des cours de la G.I.L. ne cessait de baisser. Le manque de personnel qualifié était devenu son problème majeur¹⁷⁸. En outre, la bureaucratie de la G.I.L. était trop lourde, paralysée par la routine et la vénalité. En novembre 1942, le vice commandant S. Bonamici dut intervenir pour mettre fin aux recommandations, en rappelant que seules les qualités affichées pendant le service permettaient de gravir les échelons de la G.I.L.¹⁷⁹ L'efficacité de l'organisation s'avérait très variable et son emprise souvent superficielle. Ses programmes culturels n'étaient pas accessibles aux jeunes ouvriers et paysans dont la scolarité s'achevait très souvent avec l'école primaire et leur impact se limitait à la jeunesse des centres urbains. Le régime avait pourtant consenti un effort financier considérable pour inverser la tendance. Le budget de la G.I.L. s'élevait à 580 millions de liras en 1941, puis à 1,130 milliard en 1942, mais en vain. On était pourtant très au-dessus des 80 millions de liras annuels alloués à l'O.N.B. de Ricci.

La G.I.L. avait échoué dans son projet de formation d'une classe dirigeante forte et compacte¹⁸⁰. A partir de 1938, l'instruction pré militaire et l'éducation physique avaient pris une place essentielle dans ses activités¹⁸¹. Les milieux proches de Bottai lui reprochaient d'avoir délaissé la formation politique et morale qui représentait à leurs yeux l'essence même du fascisme¹⁸². La jeunesse avait accepté le clinquant des défilés et s'enthousiasmait pour les compétitions sportives; mais elle subissait les exercices paramilitaires comme une corvée. Le régime avait fait un effort considérable pour la préparation militaire de la jeunesse en multipliant le nombre d'instructeurs (de 15.341 à plus de 35.000 entre 1934 et 1938); mais les manœuvres en ordre serré l'emportaient dans une formation comprenant très peu d'exercices tactiques. L'entraînement au tir se limitait au fusil en ignorant les armes automatiques. La crise de la G.I.L. était

¹⁷⁶ Bozzoni, *Gioventù Italiana del Littorio*, cit., p. 430.

¹⁷⁷ L. La Rovere, *Rifare gli italiani: l'esperimento di creazione dell'uomo nuovo nel regime fascista*, «Annali di storia dell'educazione e delle istituzioni scolastiche», vol. 9, 2002, pp. 51-77.

¹⁷⁸ Ponzio, *La palestra del Littorio. L'accademia della Farnesina: un esperimento di pedagogia totalitaria nell'Italia Fascista*, cit., p. 169.

¹⁷⁹ Circolare del vice commandant generale Sandro Bonamici, B.C.G.G., 9 novembre 1942, n. 1; B.C.G.G., 15 avril 1942, n. 12, p. 1.

¹⁸⁰ A. Sacchetto, *Scuola, G.I.L. e lavoro*, «Critica fascista», 1^o juin 1942, p. 205.

¹⁸¹ *Gioventù Italiana del Littorio*, Milan, Mondadori, 1942.

¹⁸² Ponzio, *La palestra del Littorio. L'accademia della Farnesina: un esperimento di pedagogia totalitaria nell'Italia Fascista*, cit., pp. 170-171.

si profonde qu'elle incita le dernier secrétaire du P.N.F. Carlo Scorza à proposer sa séparation du parti. Déjà, son prédécesseur Aldo Vidussoni reprochait à la G.I.L. d'avoir perdu l'enthousiasme de l'O.N.B.¹⁸³ Scorza envisageait en juin 1943 d'inscrire les élève de l'enseignement secondaire dans les Groupes Universitaires Fascistes (G.U.F.) afin qu'ils puissent profiter d'instructeurs d'un meilleur niveau que ceux de la G.I.L.

Conclusion

L'éducation fasciste effaçait le rôle de l'individu au profit de la communauté et de l'Etat. L'O.N.B. glorifiait la discipline, l'esprit de sacrifice et l'obéissance à la hiérarchie, en exagérant les valeurs du scoutisme pour générer parmi les jeunes un esprit grégaire plein de conformisme. La G.I.L. accentuait ces caractères en mettant l'accent sur la virilité, l'exaltation de la guerre et la supériorité de la race. Elle le faisait avec une rhétorique fondée sur le mythe de la guerre purificatrice, créatrice d'énergie et de révolution; mais elle n'exerçait qu'une influence réduite sur les catégories sociales les plus humbles. Pendant la guerre, ses dirigeants regrettaient de ne plus pouvoir encadrer les enfants qui vivaient pratiquement à la rue, échappant à leur contrôle¹⁸⁴. La socialisation des fils de paysans se fit par l'école plutôt que par les organisations de jeunesse. Dans les grandes villes, les enfants d'ouvriers étaient incorporés dans des unités de la G.I.L. différentes de celles des classes moyennes. La jeunesse bourgeoise se plongeait avec passion dans les thèmes fascistes de l'impérialisme qui répondait à leur aspiration à des entités plus vastes. Elle voyait dans Mussolini un «princeps juventutis» et la guerre n'évoquait pour elle qu'une marche triomphale¹⁸⁵. On sentait pourtant croître un malaise dans la jeunesse, un marasme obscur et profond¹⁸⁶. Elle avait l'impression de vivre dans une civilisation en voie de disparition et se demandait comment trouver un nouvel idéal en donnant un contenu au moralisme abstrait né de fictions philosophiques¹⁸⁷. Certains adultes prenaient conscience d'une «invasion barbare» venue non seulement d'ailleurs mais aussi de leurs enfants¹⁸⁸.

¹⁸³ Circolare del segretario del P.N.F., 3 novembre 1942, n. 2, B.C.G.G., n. 12, supplement III, p. 6.

¹⁸⁴ F. Feliciano, *Gioventù del Littorio*, B.C.G.G., 1^o septembre 1941, n. 21, p. 681.

¹⁸⁵ L. Preti, *I miti dell'Impero e della razza nell'Italia degli anni trenta*, Rome, Opere Nuove, 1965, pp. 39-40.

¹⁸⁶ «Vous sentez le malaise grandir, remuer dans les esprits. Un chaos obscur et profond. Des jeunes, ici et là, sont arrêtés, arrêtés, placés en détention. Et ce sont de jeunes «nôtres», issus de l'avant-garde, des groupes universitaires, des centres de préparation politique du parti» (G. Bottai, 10 avril 1942, *Vent'anni e un giorno*, Milan, Garzanti, 1977, p. 222).

¹⁸⁷ A. La Penna, *I giovanissimi e la cultura negli ultimi anni del fascismo*, «Societas», vol. II, nn. 7-8, 1946, pp. 678-690; «Societas», vol. III, n. 3, 1947, pp. 380-405.

¹⁸⁸ P. Calamandrei, *Diario: 1939-1945. Vol. I: 1939-1941*, Florence, Giunti, 1982, p. 12.

Bottai interprétait ce trouble de la jeunesse comme l'indication d'un monde qui avait besoin de se rénover pour ne pas périr; mais il restait persuadé de la capacité du fascisme à évoluer en prenant en compte les ferments novateurs portés par la jeunesse. Les courants juvéniles extrémistes faisaient partie d'un mouvement révolutionnaire ultra fasciste qui revendiquait une politique sociale plus énergique.

La G.I.L. aurait dû donner au P.N.F. les bases solides qui lui manquaient¹⁸⁹. Elle était le lien indispensable avec la jeunesse, au sein d'un parti qui formait «l'anneau nécessaire, la conjugaison entre l'Etat et le peuple», deux entités distinctes mais interdépendantes¹⁹⁰. En octobre 1941, le P.N.F. encadrait 24,5 millions d'affiliés. Les membres du parti en représentaient 20%. Les autres appartenaient à des organisations annexes, dont la G.I.L. avec 8187000 inscrits. Le P.N.F. n'avait pas renoncé à jouer un rôle auquel l'évolution totalitaire du régime l'incitait à prétendre. On trouvait en effet dans le parti, au-delà des tendances politiques modérées et extrémistes, une «aile bureaucratique» qui avait l'intention d'englober tout le pays. «Starace s'en est allé, notait Bottai le 12 mars 1940, mais le «staracisme» est resté. L'homme Starace n'était pas la pire partie du «système staracien»¹⁹¹. Les fonctionnaires et tous les salariés des administrations publiques étaient membres d'un parti dont le secrétaire siégeait de droit au gouvernement avec rang de ministre (février 1937). Certes, le P.N.F. ne revendiquait pas des pouvoirs politiques monopolisés par le duc; mais il refusait tout caractère subalterne et s'insinuait dans l'appareil de l'Etat, exerçant sur lui une pression effective. Le 7 juillet 1941, Adelchi Serena, qui avait succédé à Ettore Muti au secrétariat du parti, soumit à Mussolini un projet de décret accordant au P.N.F. un droit de regard sur les nominations de portée politique, comme sur toutes celles des emplois publics¹⁹². L'évolution vers un régime totalitaire avait renforcé les composantes du fascisme engagées dans la lutte pour le pouvoir. La G.I.L. représentait une pièce maîtresse et un gage d'avenir pour les «vieux fascistes» de la Milice et du P.N.F., au même titre que la Charte de l'Ecole pour les modérés ou l'extrémisme pro allemand pour les intransigeants. La succession de Mussolini se profilait à l'horizon.

¹⁸⁹ A. Starace, 24 ottobre 1937, in A.C.S., Segreteria particolare del duce, Carteggio riservato, 242/R, b. 42.

¹⁹⁰ B. Mussolini, *Discorso al Direttorio del P.N.F.*, 11 mars 1943, in A. C. S., Ministero della Cultura popolare (M. C. P.), b. 80, f. 7, Direttorio P.N.F.

¹⁹¹ A.C.S., Segreteria particolare del duce, Carteggio riservato, 242/ R, b. 49, A. Serena.

¹⁹² *Ibid.*

Critical Reviews



Rassegne critiche,
Discussioni, Recensioni

Critical Reviews / Rassegne critiche

Recenti pubblicazioni in ambito storico educativo. Qualche proposta di lettura

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Recent publications in the historical educational field. Some reading proposals

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-XXIst Centuries.

Propongo ai lettori alcune schede bibliografiche sui libri di storia educativo-pedagogica che nel corso dell'anno passato ho letto con piacere e che desidero segnalare per il rigore dell'impianto storiografico, la rilevanza delle tematiche affrontate e l'intelligenza argomentativa. Non si tratta di vere e proprie recensioni, ma di semplici proposte di lettura da «lettore a lettore».

Le poche indicazioni che seguono confermano la perdurante felice stagione della produzione storico educativo-pedagogica sia sotto il profilo quantitativo (invero se lo sguardo si rivolge a largo raggio non tutte le ricerche sono laudabili, un certo numero delle quali troppo e malauguratamente condizionate dalle scadenze per il conseguimento delle abilitazioni) sia – e questo aspetto è particolarmente rilevante – per la varietà delle trattazioni che spaziano su una vasta gamma di argomenti. Proprio l'ampliamento dell'orizzonte tematico offre frequenti opportunità di contaminazioni tra studiosi e specialisti di varia formazione. Questa eventualità, anziché essere vista come un pericoloso rischio di occupazione di spazi «nostri», andrebbe piuttosto vissuta come una ricchezza di stimoli.

La novità plurale delle ricerche consente agli storici dell'educazione e della pedagogia di uscire da una nicchia ove spesso rischiano di venire confinati dall'imperversante utilitarismo dei piani di studio accademici. Il risultato è

sotto gli occhi di tutti: una diffusa ignoranza del passato e senza radici nel passato non c'è futuro.

1. *I due popoli e la riforma della scuola media*

Con i tipi della casa editrice Studium, che sta potenziando il suo catalogo con una importante collana dedicata alle Scienze dell'educazione, alla Pedagogia e alla Storia della Pedagogia, sono usciti due libri che meritano attenzione. Il primo è quello dovuto a Elio Damiano, Battista Orizio ed Evelina Scaglia intitolato *I due popoli. Vittorino Chizzolini e Scuola Italiana Moderna contro il dualismo scolastico*¹.

Il volume presenta molteplici motivi di interesse. In primo luogo costituisce un ulteriore tassello nella ricostruzione della genesi e dell'attuazione della riforma della scuola media unica (1962) con il sostegno di una documentazione di prima mano centrata soprattutto sul mondo pedagogico bresciano (l'Editrice La Scuola). Se ne ha subito immediata percezione con il riferimento nel sottotitolo allo storico direttore di «Scuola Italiana Moderna», Vittorino Chizzolini cui sono affiancati nella trattazione altri protagonisti di primo piano di quegli anni come Marco Agosti e Aldo Agazzi e, più sullo sfondo, altre notevoli personalità come Giovanni Gozzer e Gesualdo Nosengo e, in ambito politico scolastico, Giacinto Bosco e Luigi Gui. I tre saggi, puntuali, informati, bene articolati non svelano aspetti inediti, ma rafforzano quanto già noto: i travagliati (ma mai divisivi) contrasti interni nel cenacolo bresciano che accompagnarono le vicende che portarono alla riforma del 1962.

Un secondo motivo riguarda la riflessione proposta dagli autori sulle ragioni che giustificarono come «progressista» l'opzione della scuola media unica (sulla quale era schierato Aldo Agazzi fin dai tempi della riforma proposta dal ministro Gonella) e «retriva», invece, l'ipotesi scuola post elementare (vivacemente sostenuta da Agosti e Chizzolini). In contro tendenza con una interpretazione largamente diffusa il libro vaglia con simpatia le ragioni della scuola post elementare. Secondo Damiano nel suo DNA erano presenti caratteristiche che meglio si sarebbero adattate a soddisfare le esigenze di equità scolastica e salvaguardato le ragioni del comunitarismo popolare.

Infatti quei «due popoli» che l'unitarietà della scuola media avrebbe dovuto unire, alla prova dei fatti sarebbero restati distinti, separati da un persistente divario reso solo meno vistoso da forme selettive più silenziose della bocciatura che ne hanno accompagnato le vicende ormai cinquantennali, rendendola, secondo

¹ E. Damiano, B. Orizio, E. Scaglia, *I due popoli. Vittorino Chizzolini e Scuola Italiana Moderna contro il dualismo scolastico*, Roma, Studium, 2019.

alcuni commentatori, il cosiddetto «anello debole» del sistema d'istruzione italiano.

Nel 1967 i ragazzi di don Milani lamentavano che gli otto anni di scuola obbligatoria fossero effettivamente tali e cioè «fatti di otto classi diverse». Alla fine degli anni '70 questa aspettativa sembrò soddisfatta: i promossi nella scuola media oltrepassarono il 90%. Purtroppo la promozione era spesso soltanto formale, con la persistenza di gravi e perduranti lacune. La selezione che colpiva soprattutto gli alunni appartenenti alle fasce sociali più deboli, mutò semplicemente fisionomia: non più la umiliante bocciatura, ma una più morbida preparazione di qualità inferiore. Rispetto a questa situazione che anche nei decenni a venire non mutò segno, va detto che l'ipotesi di quanto sarebbe potuto accadere se fosse prevalsa la tesi post elementarista è sicuramente interessante, ma infruttifera e forse utile solo per tracciare un possibile futuro per gli istituti comprensivi.

Il terzo motivo di attenzione riguarda l'approfondimento relativo all'apporto della pedagogia scolastica di Sergei Hessen che esercitò un'influenza non marginale nella messa a punto del modello scolastico democratico del nostro Paese. Nonostante l'ammirazione per Dewey (l'anima laica) e la considerazione per Maritain (l'anima cattolica), fu tuttavia il pedagogista russo-polacco – già segnalato da Lombardo Radice a metà degli anni '30 con notevole lungimiranza – a offrire la più affidabile base di pedagogia scolastica «spendibile» rispetto alle esigenze di una società, come quella italiana del dopoguerra, attraversata da importanti processi mobilità sociale e impegnata ad assimilare le regole della vita democratica.

2. Libertà di insegnamento e modernità scolastica

Il secondo saggio proposto da Studium è firmato da Andrea Marrone («*Il progresso dell'istruzione ha bisogno di libertà*». *I cattolici e la questione scolastica in Italia tra Otto e Novecento*)² e costituisce la positiva prosecuzione dello studio pubblicato nel 2016 sulla pedagogia cattolica nel secondo Ottocento. Insieme a qualche altro contributo apparso su questa rivista³, il giovane studioso sardo è impegnato nella ricostruzione della presenza dei cattolici nella cultura pedagogica e nell'agenda politico scolastica tra Otto e Novecento.

In questo volume vengono ripercorse le biografie culturali e l'impegno educativo di alcuni tra i maggiori protagonisti delle battaglie ingaggiate contro

² A. Marrone, «*Il progresso dell'istruzione ha bisogno di libertà*». *I cattolici e la questione scolastica in Italia tra Otto e Novecento*, Roma, Studium, 2019.

³ Si veda in particolare quello sugli interessi pedagogici della «Rivista di Filosofia Neoscolastica», vol. 2, 2017, pp. 377-396.

la scuola laica e lo statalismo post unitario. Le vigorose prese di posizione di mons. Geremia Bonomelli, mons. Giacomo Radini Tedeschi, Nicolò Rezzara e don Giuseppe Piovano sono calate negli scenari culturali e politici tra Otto e Novecento come testimonianza di quella che si potrebbe definire la «generazione di mezzo» tra la rocciosa intransigenza dell'Opera dei Congressi e il popolarismo sturziano. È anche attraverso la loro graduale (e non facile) mediazione che il mondo cattolico (o, almeno, parte di esso) si avviò verso il riconoscimento della funzione dello Stato nella diffusione dell'istruzione pubblica. La libertà di insegnamento fu vista in una prospettiva meno confessionale e non più soltanto in ragione degli interessi e delle aspettative della Chiesa, ma disposta in un ampio orizzonte pluralistico.

Il merito principale del volume consiste nella lettura non solo in chiave religiosa delle proposte e della militanza di Bonomelli e degli altri personaggi a lui coevi (che al vescovo di Cremona furono in vario modo tutti debitori) – ciò che è già stato fatto in numerosi saggi ben noti e puntualmente citati – ma anche con un'angolatura politico-pedagogica che oscilla tra la fedeltà alla tradizione educativa della Chiesa e la necessità di prendere atto dei cambiamenti in corso e, conseguentemente, di aggiornare le linee d'azione: basta far cenno all'aumento degli alfabetizzati, alla presenza nelle scuole pubbliche di insegnanti credenti, all'incremento dei giovani nelle scuole post elementari e nei corsi professionali, al ruolo esercitato dalla stampa e dallo sport, ecc.

Il tutto senza tacere anche le arretratezze e i limiti – in nome di un rigoroso e severo anti positivismo spesso identificato con il mondo massonico – rispetto alla conoscenza di quella che si cominciò a definire la «scienza dell'educazione» che non pochi elementi innovativi portava alla lotta contro l'ignoranza e alla modernità scolastica dell'Italia.

3. *La storia dei maestri cattolici*

In una fase storica di poco posteriore a quella indagata dal volume di Marrone, si colloca un altro studio sulla presenza dei cattolici nella vita scolastica di cui è autore Andrea Dessardo. Attingendo a molte fonti inedite, viene ricostruita l'intera e travagliata storia dell'associazione magistrale dei maestri cattolici, l'importante sodalizio attivo nel corso dei primi decenni del secolo scorso (*L'associazione magistrale «Nicolò Tommaseo». Storia di maestri cattolici. 1906-1930*)⁴.

Del protagonismo dei maestri cattolici già molti aspetti sono stati indagati in anni passati in convegni promossi dal Dipartimento di Pedagogia dell'Università

⁴ A. Dessardo, *L'associazione magistrale «Nicolò Tommaseo». Storia di maestri cattolici. 1906-1930*, Roma, Ave, 2019.

Cattolica, in studi di singoli studiosi (in particolare ricordo i contributi memorialistici di don Enzo Giammancheri e quelli più recenti di Carla Ghizzoni) e in vari saggi di minor mole dedicati alle personalità più in vista⁵. Ma fino a questo volume mancava una ricostruzione che desse ordine ai singoli episodi già noti (il rapporto preferenziale, ad esempio, tra la «Tommaseo» e «Scuola Italiana Moderna»), al ruolo svolto da singole personalità (Giuseppe Micheli, Maria Magnocavallo e Angelo Zammarchi) e ad alcune letture diverse sul ruolo dell'associazione che videro confrontarsi anche acerbamente, ad esempio, maestri piemontesi e quelli lombardi. L'avere ora a disposizione una sintesi unitaria è di non poco conto.

Attraverso una fitta narrazione condotta tra cronaca e storia, tra politica e militanza religiosa, Dessardo esplora i diversi contesti nei quali l'associazione si ritagliò uno spazio, le battaglie che la videro protagonista, le difficoltà a tenere insieme sensibilità assai varie (alcune più confessionali, altre più politiche) fino alla ricostruzione del suo scioglimento. Quest'ultimo atto fu assai meno glorioso di quanto è stato a lungo tramandato e cioè come diretta conseguenza dell'occupazione della scuola da parte del fascismo.

Senza sottovalutare le interferenze dirette ed indirette del regime (che ci furono e furono anche pesanti), esso fu tuttavia dovuto anche ad altre (e non secondarie) ragioni emerse dalla ricerca dell'autore: la cattiva amministrazione, l'emorragia dei soci, il tiepido interesse di una parte cospicua del mondo cattolico a tenere vivo il sodalizio magistrale.

4. *La scuola è il nostro Vietnam*

Il primo mezzo secolo di distanza dal '68 e dagli avvenimenti riassunti nell'espressione «contestazione studentesca» è stata l'occasione, come è noto, di svariate pubblicazioni tra il genere memorialistico e la ricostruzione storica. Lo sguardo si è rivolto principalmente sulle vicende universitarie con le successive ricadute sul piano politico generale, l'incontro con il movimento operaio e, non ultimo, il rapporto instaurato da una parte del movimento con la violenza degli anni '70. Nonostante una dirompenza non meno traumatica delle proteste negli atenei, scarsa attenzione è stata fin qui prestata al '68 degli studenti delle scuole secondarie.

Giunge a colmare questa lacuna un interessante volume di Monica Galfré (*La scuola è il nostro Vietnam*)⁶ che, forte di una robusta documentazione

⁵ Qualche tempo fa Luciano Caimi ha raccolto alcuni di questi profili biografici nel volume intitolato L. Caimi, *Modernità educatrice. Cattolici tra fascismo e democrazia*, Brescia, Els-La Scuola, 2017.

⁶ M. Galfré, *La scuola è il nostro Vietnam*, Roma, Viella, 2019.

archivistica maneggiata con sicura perizia, ambisce a disegnare lo scenario iniziale della protesta scolastica in tutte le sue variegate dimensioni: la lotta contro una scuola ancora d'altri tempi, il conflitto generazionale, la protesta contro l'autoritarismo, la ricerca di libertà, l'intreccio tra il piccolo mondo abitato dai giovani con il grande mondo delle ingiustizie sociali, del militarismo e del pacifismo (di qui il titolo del libro), in una parola con la sfida al cosiddetto «sistema».

Se pur circoscritta nel tempo (gli antefatti del '68 e le vicende relative agli anni scolastici 1967-1968 e 1968-1969) l'analisi dell'autrice aiuta a comprendere il complesso e sfaccettato mondo della protesta indagato, a sua volta, attraverso vari registri, da quello più immediatamente socio politico pedagogico a quello sociale e anche psicologico. Dalla lettura dei documenti (relazioni ispettive, mozioni dei collegi docenti, rapporti di polizia, circolari riservate del Ministero) risulta evidente la stupefatta sorpresa del mondo degli insegnanti – tutti ancora formati alla severa scuola gentiliana – di trovarsi di fronte a una realtà impreveduta e sotto molti aspetti misteriosa, difficile da capire e quasi impossibile da gestire almeno con le modalità tradizionali.

Secondo l'autrice «il '68 della scuola secondaria rappresenta un laboratorio di straordinaria importanza che riguarda – ancor più del '68 universitario – la generazione attiva nel decennio successivo», una generazione che già nell'immediato Marino Raicich preconizzava «difficile da integrare» e una «forza nuova e diversa dalla generazione che li ha preceduti». Espressioni come libertà, autorità, democrazia, partecipazione assunsero nuovi significati e le discussioni che ne definirono i nuovi contorni rappresentarono una grande occasione di crescita della coscienza politica giovanile.

5. I libri scolastici all'indomani dell'Unità

Un notevole contributo alla più approfondita conoscenza della produzione e circolazione dei testi scolastici per le scuole elementari all'indomani dell'Unità è proposto da Alberto Barausse nell'imponente volume di oltre 700 pagine intitolato «Nonostante tanto diluvio di libri scolastici». *I libri di testo per le scuole elementari e le indagini ministeriali di Bargoni e Bonghi durante gli anni della Destra storica. 1869-1875*⁷ che presenta un sostanzioso saggio introduttivo e un'ampia appendice documentaria. Con questo testo il docente molisano sviluppa un filone di studio in cui primi frutti risalgono ai due volumi

⁷ A. Barausse, «Nonostante tanto diluvio di libri scolastici». *I libri di testo per le scuole elementari e le indagini ministeriali di Bargoni e Bonghi durante gli anni della Destra storica. 1869-1875*, Lecce, Pensa MultiMedia, 2019.

del 2008 sull'evoluzione della normativa sui libri di testo tra il 1861 e la riforma scolastica del 1923.

Per cogliere l'importanza del libro di scuola e in specie quello per l'istruzione primaria bisogna ricordare che esso rappresentava non solo un fondamentale (ed unico) strumento didattico, ma costituiva altresì in moltissimi casi l'unico libro che entrava nelle famiglie dei ceti subalterni. La sua confezione obbediva, in tal modo, alla duplice esigenza di introdurre i piccoli allievi alla lettura e scrittura (in un secondo tempo anche al calcolo) e di fornire un condensato di racconti morali e notizie utili non solo agli scolari, ma anche agli adulti che intorno ad essi ruotavano. Alcune, bellissime, scene immortalate nel film *L'albero degli zoccoli* restituiscono, meglio di ogni altra descrizione, il doppio processo di scolarizzazione dei bambini e di scoperta dell'alfabeto da parte dei genitori.

La dettagliata documentazione proposta da Barausse consente di arricchire il contesto dei canali e dei criteri attraverso cui la produzione editoriale (ben presto diventata torrenziale per i sicuri profitti che garantiva) era filtrata per garantire che i testi corrispondessero alle esigenze scolastiche e permette altresì di accertare, la diffusione di quelli più fortunati. Vengono confermate le tendenze già registrate da altre ricerche con il netto predominio dei testi scolastici piemontesi.

La parte più originale del saggio introduttivo riguarda tuttavia la presentazione di numerose e significative biografie egli ispettori incaricati di vagliare e approvare i testi. Emerge uno spaccato prezioso per la comprensione delle caratteristiche dei quadri intermedi dell'organizzazione scolastica post unitaria di cui davvero poco sappiamo e che ora l'indagine di Barausse consente almeno per il periodo considerato di accostare con informazioni più puntuali.

In proposito e in sintesi l'autore individua tre principali nuclei: ispettori per meriti patriottici, ispettori attinti dal clero liberaleggiante e ispettori formati e forgiati dalla pratica dell'insegnamento. I «piemontesi», pur numerosi, non rappresentavano tuttavia la maggioranza del corpo ispettivo nel quale erano rappresentate sensibilità culturali e regionali alquanto variegata, molto meno omogenee di quanto si potrebbe credere. Ma ciò che colpisce il lettore di oggi sono, d'un lato, l'estrema mobilità di questi servitori dello Stato che si spostano senza soste da una parte all'altra della penisola, accettano sedi scomode e lontane, pagano di persona i disagi cui si sottopongono e, dall'altro, la testarda convinzione che la scuola e l'educazione fossero degli strumenti fondamentali per innalzare le condizioni di vita dei ceti popolari.

6. *Storie di scuole rurali*

Al tema dell'educazione popolare e, in particolare, quella destinata ai ceti contadini, è dedicato un altro testo curato dallo stesso Barausse insieme a

Michela D'Alessio nel quale si raccolgono i testi di un convegno svoltosi a suo tempo presso l'Università del Molise (*Processi di scolarizzazione e paesaggio rurale in Italia Tra Otto e Novecento*)⁸ con numerosi relatori, oltre ai curatori, qui autori di altrettanti capitoli: Rossella Andreassi, Anna Ascenzi, Letizia Bindi, Alberto Carli, Luca Montecchi, il compianto Giorgio Palmieri, Roberto Sani e Valeria Viola.

Nonostante le dimensioni imponenti delle scuole rurali che soddisfecero il bisogno d'istruzione nel mondo contadino tra Otto e primo Novecento, l'interesse degli storici si è poco rivolto a questo segmento di storia scolastica e soltanto negli ultimi decenni si è finalmente manifestato un significativo recupero (uno dei primi segnali in tal senso fu un corposo articolo di Marino Raichich, *La maestra di campagna*).

Il libro può essere molto utile a chi intende accostare il tema e ha bisogno di un chiavistello d'accesso al tema (in tal senso l'Introduzione firmata dai due curatori risulta informata ed efficace), ma rappresenta anche uno stimolante spaccato circa i possibili e molteplici codici con cui indagare la ruralità scolastica. Ne ricordo qualcuno, ricorrendo all'indice del libro: il rapporto tra scolarizzazione e diffusione della lettura (con la ricaduta sulla industria tipografica ed editoriale), l'attenzione prestata nell'ambito letterario e filantropico ai bambini/allievi delle scuolette di campagna, la peculiarità dell'edilizia scolastica, i grandi sodalizi privati che hanno agito nel settore (due soli esempi: la pionieristica Associazione Nazionale degli Asili Rurali per l'infanzia di Ottavio Gigli e l'Associazione Nazionale per gli Interessi del Mezzogiorno di Giustino Fortunato e Umberto Zanotti Bianco) fino alle grandi personalità pedagogiche che hanno animato questo mondo spesso dimenticato dalla politica (Giuseppe Lombardo Radice, Alessandro Marcucci).

7. Educare alle diversità

Una analoga scorribanda a più mani tra storia e attualità, utile per l'introduzione al tema della diversità, è proposta in un volume curato da Mario Gecchele e Paola Dal Toso dal titolo *Educare alle diversità. Una prospettiva storica*⁹. L'intento del libro è quella di fornire, a partire da una riflessione storica, un quadro d'insieme delle varie tipologie di educazione alla valorizzazione della diversità. Alla stesura della pubblicazione hanno partecipato infatti numerosi ed autorevoli specialisti nei vari specifici settori (tra gli altri Maria Cristina Morandini e Tamara Zappaterra).

⁸ A. Barausse, M. D'Alessio (edd.), *Processi di scolarizzazione e paesaggio rurale in Italia tra Otto e Novecento*, Lecce, Pensa Multimedia, 2019.

⁹ M. Gecchele, P. Dal Toso, *Educare alle diversità. Una prospettiva storica*, Pisa, Ets, 2019.

Il volume è articolato in due parti. Nella prima («L'identità del diverso nella storia») sono presentati alcuni percorsi storici tra Sette e Ottocento sull'evoluzione e sulle risposte sociali di fronte alla diversità in senso fisico e psichico, alla emarginazione (concetto largamente inteso, ivi inclusa anche la condizione femminile) e alle iniziative di cura messe in campo per contrastare la povertà. La seconda parte del libro («I luoghi dell'educare») è dedicata alla presentazione di svariate forme di diversità (ad esempio non vedenti e sordomuti proposti come significativi esempi di transizione dall'esclusione all'inclusione), al tema delle migrazioni, alla disabilità intellettiva, ai minori senza famiglia e, infine, ai centri di recupero per persone dipendenti da sostanze.

Nonostante la buona qualità della documentazione il testo non è specialistico, ma di larga e generosa divulgazione sostenuto dalla più che condivisibile convinzione che la conoscenza storica dei problemi attuali non rappresenta, come scrivono i curatori, «uno sguardo rivolto all'indietro», ma che «fare memoria di ciò che sono state le azioni educative, i movimenti sociali, le istituzioni e le parole per nominare il 'diverso' aiuta, da un lato, ad evidenziare le ripetizioni e le storture costruite nel tempo e, dall'altro, a porne rimedio, a riflettere altrimenti per migliorare il pensiero e le azioni educative».

8. *Suole e maestri in età umanistica*

Chiudo questa rassegna con la segnalazione del volume curato da Monica Ferrari, Matteo Morandi e Federico Piseri, *Maestri e pratiche educative in età umanistica. Contributi per una storia della didattica*¹⁰. I saggi raccolti – dovuti a studiosi di varia formazione, accomunati da interessi e ricerche nel settore umanistico – presentano una ricca e aggiornata rassegna sugli scenari in cui operarono alcuni dei *magistri* più significativi dell'Italia del XV secolo e sulle iniziative intraprese in ambito pedagogico e scolastico. Si tratta di una pubblicazione quanto mai apprezzabile e utile perché – oltre ai meriti intrinseci dei saggi proposti – rilancia tematiche, personaggi e problemi di non consueta trattazione nella cultura storico pedagogica contemporanea.

Scorrono nelle pagine del volume, riletti anche alla luce degli studi più recenti, non solo i grandi personaggi della cultura quattrocentesca italiana come Gasparino Barzizza, Vittorino da Feltre, Guarino Veronese, ma anche scenari meno noti (almeno al grande pubblico) nei quali si concretizzarono iniziative educative in varie parti dell'Italia settentrionale che aprirono nuove prospettive.

In un denso contributo iniziale i curatori mettono a punto alcune delle chiavi interpretative (maestro, pratica, didattica) intorno a cui il volume (esito di un

¹⁰ M. Ferrari, M. Morandi, F. Piseri, *Maestri e pratiche educative in età umanistica. Contributi per una storia della didattica*, Brescia, Scholè, 2019.

convegno) è stato realizzato. Viene approfondito, in primo luogo, attraverso quali vie si consolidarono gradualmente l'impiego del termine *magister*, le diverse interpretazioni e modalità di esercizio culturale e pedagogico dell'attività magisterale (il *magister* come insegnante e il *magister magistrorum* come formatore di educatori) e la messa a punto di quelli che potremmo definire gli «attrezzi del mestiere».

Alla nozione di pratica, poi, viene riservata un'ampia riflessione con l'approfondimento in duplice direzione, come pratica professionale vera e propria e, più in generale, come pratica sociale e culturale. Infatti, come scrive Monica Ferrari, «grazie al lavoro dei maestri centri come Padova e Venezia, Pavia, Milano, Mantova e Ferrara divennero, fuori e dentro le corti, luoghi di importanti scambi culturali che seppero imprimere una svolta significativa nei saperi riconosciuti socialmente».

È sulla base, infine, del consolidarsi delle pratiche educative via via messe a punto (lettura dei classici, stesura di lettere, esercizi oratori, ecc.) che fu sistematizzata una teoria della didattica pensata non tanto come l'insieme delle strategie scolastiche volta alla trasmissione organica e ripetibile del sapere (la didattica come è andata poi consolidandosi da Comenio in poi), ma più ampiamente come approccio alla cultura fecondato dall'idea di «riuso» e di «imitazione» di un antico ricontestualizzato che attraversò trasversalmente luoghi del sapere, maestri di fama, eruditi e anonimi cultori della conoscenza.

L'educazione degli italiani. Riflessioni su un recente contributo di Giorgio Chiosso

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The education of Italians. Reflections on a recent contribution by Giorgio Chiosso

ABSTRACT: The three papers are intended to offer different interpretations of the recent book by Giorgio Chiosso, entitled *L'educazione degli italiani. Laicità, progresso e nazione nel primo Novecento*. The authors, starting from different perspectives due to the interests of each one, present interpretative keys useful for understanding the value of the book and for contextualizing its contents.

EET/TEE KEYWORDS: History of pedagogy; Education; Religion; Italy; XXth Century.

Roberto Sani

La prima impressione che suscita la lettura del recente e importante saggio dato alle stampe da Giorgio Chiosso per i tipi de il Mulino su *L'educazione degli italiani. Laicità, progresso e nazione nel primo Novecento*¹ non attiene in

¹ G. Chiosso *L'educazione degli italiani. Laicità, progresso e nazione nel primo Novecento*, Bologna, il Mulino, 2019.

senso stretto al dibattito storiografico in ambito pedagogico ed educativo, ma piuttosto rinvia, assai tristemente, alla pochezza e alla mediocrità delle recenti politiche scolastiche e formative avviate da una classe dirigente che, senza grandi differenze fra uno schieramento e l'altro, non solo appare del tutto priva di uno straccio di progetto sul riordinamento della scuola e sulle strategie formative da promuovere in Italia, ma mostra di non disporre neppure lontanamente di una prospettiva culturale capace di ricondurre gli interventi in materia di istruzione e ricerca scientifica non solamente alla necessità di 'fare cassa' e di 'contenere la spesa pubblica', ma anche, e soprattutto, ad una certa idea della crescita civile e culturale, della democratizzazione e dell'effettivo sviluppo socio-economico del nostro paese.

Il riferimento ad una stagione estremamente significativa della nostra storia unitaria, quella relativa al primo Novecento, e a due pedagogisti e intellettuali politicamente impegnati – Luigi Credaro e Giovanni Gentile – tanto diversi per origini e personalità, quanto destinati entrambi a lasciare un segno non solo negli studi pedagogici e, più in generale, nella vita scientifica e culturale del loro tempo, ma anche, quali titolari del dicastero della Pubblica Istruzione (Credaro tra il 1910 e il 1914, Gentile dal 1922 al 1924), nelle politiche scolastiche e nelle strategie formative dell'Italia giolittiana e di quella del primo dopoguerra segnata dall'avvento del fascismo, si rivela, infatti, decisamente penalizzante per le vicende della scuola e dell'istruzione del nostro tempo, contribuendo impietosamente a mostrare la pochezza progettuale dei governi e degli anonimi, anche se non sempre del tutto innocui inquilini *pro tempore* della Minerva.

È pur vero, tuttavia, che il contributo di Giorgio Chiosso ha ben altre ambizioni, prima fra tutte quella – squisitamente storiografica, ma con indubbe ricadute sull'attualità – di rileggere una stagione fondamentale della storia civile e culturale dell'Italia unita e di farlo a partire dal ruolo esercitato, al principio del secolo XX, da due straordinari esponenti della cultura pedagogica ed educativa nostrana, eredi entrambi, sia pure su opposti versanti, della tradizione culturale e pedagogica risorgimentale ed entrambi impegnati a dare concreta attuazione, dopo il palese fallimento riscontrato nella fase immediatamente successiva all'unificazione nazionale e nella controversa epoca crispina², al difficile – e ancora irrisolto – compito di *fare gli italiani*; di realizzare, cioè, quel processo di costruzione, tra le popolazioni dello Stato unitario, di una comune identità nazionale e di un comune sentimento di appartenenza.

Una stagione, quella del primo Novecento, che vede la pedagogia italiana non ripiegata su sé stessa, o dispersa in tutta una serie di iniziative autoreferenziali e del tutto marginali e irrilevanti, ma impegnata, sia pure con strategie e progetti differenti e talora contrapposti, a ricomporre – sul versante della scuola, dell'educazione e dei processi formativi di massa – quel dualismo e

² Cfr. U. Levra, *Fare gli italiani. Memoria e celebrazione del Risorgimento*, Torino, Comitato di Torino dell'Istituto per la Storia del Risorgimento Italiano, 1992.

quella contrapposizione tra le «due Italie» ereditata dal passato e ancora tanto presente e vitale nella vicenda unitaria, al punto da costituire un vero e proprio ostacolo all'edificazione di un sentimento unitario e di una coscienza condivisa della nazione.

Nell'analisi proposta dall'Autore, che utilizza tale espressione in luogo della più complessa e ambigua categoria dei «due popoli»³, anch'essa largamente usata nel corso dell'Otto e del Novecento, a partire dal Cuoco⁴, l'immagine delle «due Italie» rinvia ad una dicotomia – meglio ancora: ad una frattura – che, fin dai primordi dell'unificazione nazionale, ha segnato in profondità il paese e ne ha condizionato fortemente l'evoluzione e le scelte di fondo:

Questa immagine – scrive Giorgio Chiosso – risale in origine all'aspro dibattito che tra Otto e Novecento contrappose quanti spiegavano l'inferiorità morale e sociale del Mezzogiorno rispetto al Settentrione d'Italia con argomenti razziali (sostenuti per lo più da antropologi e criminologi positivisti) e quanti a tale teoria si opposero tenacemente (soprattutto gli esponenti della cultura meridionalista).

Assai presto, tuttavia, l'immagine delle «due Italie» era destinata a rivestire un significato più generale:

C'erano l'Italia legale e il «paese reale» e, all'interno di questa articolazione, l'Italia dai forti sentimenti religiosi dei cattolici e quella laica dei liberali massoni e dei socialisti; c'erano l'Italia dei positivisti e l'Italia degli antipositivisti; c'erano l'Italia già avviata sulla via della modernità e l'Italia atavicamente legata ai ritmi della vita rurale; c'erano l'Italia sana e ben vestita e l'Italia sporca, malarica, che incuteva ribrezzo e sgomento. [...] A mezzo secolo di distanza dalla proclamazione del Regno, la Patria degli italiani era un edificio in fase di arretrata costruzione. I cittadini consapevolmente partecipi di una tradizione nazionale basata su una memoria comune costituivano soltanto una parte minoritaria della popolazione.

E ancora:

L'immagine delle due Italie era calzante anche sul terreno scolastico. C'era un'Italia che andava abbastanza regolarmente a scuola, che poi continuava a leggere libri e giornali e attraverso una maggiore familiarità con l'istruzione rinnovava anche i comportamenti e gli stili di vita. E c'era un'Italia ancora analfabeta, poco scolarizzata, nella quale si perpetuavano l'ignoranza e le abitudini secolari. [...] Si confrontavano un'Italia classicheggiante e carducciana che rivendicava a sé il diritto e il privilegio di rappresentare la scuola della Nazione e un'Italia, quella del lavoro e delle professioni, che sollecitava la modernizzazione

³ Cfr. R. Sani, «Refining the masses to build the Nation». *National schooling and education in the first four decades postunification*, «History of Education & Children's Literature», vol. VII, n. 2, 2012, pp. 79-96; ora riedito in Id., *Education, school and cultural processes in contemporary Italy*, Macerata, eum, 2018, pp. 9-30.

⁴ Cfr. V. Cuoco, *Saggio storico sulla rivoluzione napoletana del 1799*, a cura di F. Nicolini, Bari, Laterza, 1913.

scolastica. [...] L'Italia che confidava nella forza e nel primato della scuola dello Stato e l'Italia che invece si batteva per la libertà d'insegnamento.

Indubbiamente, dietro a queste diverse Italie stava anche, e soprattutto, «una differente idea di Italia», della sua storia passata, come anche del suo presente e, soprattutto, del suo futuro. Le «due Italie», in altre parole, costituivano non soltanto una fotografia dell'esistente, ma anche «un diverso progetto per dar vita a quell'Italia 'una' che, seppur con intenti differenti, era comunque negli auspicci di entrambi gli schieramenti».

Al principio del Novecento, come ricorda l'Autore, Luigi Credaro e Giovanni Gentile, protagonisti autorevoli della scena culturale e altrettanto autorevoli titolari della Pubblica Istruzione, divennero gli alfieri di due differenti Italie pedagogiche e scolastiche, i «promotori di importanti riforme, anche se con destini opposti, interpretando ciascuno un'idea e un progetto d'Italia»⁵.

Il lombardo Luigi Credaro, cresciuto a contatto con la tradizione civile mitteleuropea e fortemente segnato dall'eredità culturale e scientifica di Romagnosi e Cattaneo, si richiamava, sul piano della teoria pedagogica ed educativa, a Pestalozzi e ad Herbart.

Consapevole come pochi della necessità di promuovere anche nel giovane Stato italiano i processi di modernizzazione economica e sociale e lo sviluppo industriale sul modello delle altre grandi nazioni europee, e persuaso del fatto che gli ideali risorgimentali avrebbero potuto continuare ad orientare la vita del paese solo a patto di rivitalizzarli nel costante confronto con le nuove sfide poste dai grandi mutamenti che interessavano la scena nazionale e internazionale, egli era convinto che occorresse «potenziare la cultura scientifica e tecnologica e, al tempo stesso, promuovere l'emancipazione delle classi popolari», superando definitivamente la loro tradizionale subalternità e favorendo, in tal modo, la progressiva democratizzazione della società italiana.

Alla base di tale ambizioso programma di modernizzazione e di crescita sociale e culturale del giovane Stato unitario, come ricorda Giorgio Chiosso, Credaro poneva una serie di obiettivi:

Colmare il distacco tra il «paese legale» e il «paese reale», gli squilibri esistenti tra le condizioni delle campagne e quelle urbane, le sfasature dello sviluppo del Nord e del Sud, orientale i sentimenti popolari verso un patriottismo non retorico, [...] ma coniugato con un pacato riformismo finalizzato a rendere davvero «una» la Patria.

In questo scenario, un ruolo di primo piano rivestiva necessariamente il sistema scolastico nazionale, destinato a divenire, assai più di quanto lo era stato fino a quel momento, il cardine dello sviluppo economico e produttivo e, nel

⁵ Chiosso, *L'educazione degli italiani. Laicità, progresso e nazione nel primo Novecento*, cit., pp. 9-10.

contempo, il principale fattore della crescita culturale e civile delle popolazioni e dell'effettiva democratizzazione del paese.

Assai differenti, com'è noto, erano gli orientamenti di principio e gli obiettivi di fondo che animavano il filosofo siciliano Giovanni Gentile, la cui nozione di progresso, del tutto estranea dalle istanze illuministiche e positivistiche, s'intrecciava necessariamente con l'esigenza di un indispensabile innalzamento della vita spirituale:

Non si poteva concepire il progresso a prescindere dalla tradizione – annota Giorgio Chiosso con riferimento alla prospettiva gentiliana –. Il progresso senza una salda coscienza di sé come popolo e come Nazione era destinato a ridursi a puro materialismo. Solo mediante una forte coscienza identitaria era, dunque, possibile mantenere salda, di fronte alla pretesa del primato del progresso materiale, la superiorità delle forze spirituali. [...] Occorreva perciò basare il futuro dell'Italia sulla riscoperta della sua identità e sulla formazione di cittadini capaci di rimediare all'incompiutezza del processo unitario e di contrastare, in nome di una fede comune, la riduzione utilitaristica della vita associata. Soltanto la coltivazione umana di personalità altamente formate sul piano etico e preparate sul piano culturale poteva assicurare un futuro degno della grandezza dell'Italia e dare rinnovato vigore agli ideali del Risorgimento.

Di qui l'ufficio o, se si vuole, la vera e propria 'missione' della scuola, che era quella di far rivivere una tradizione e «configurarsi come un semenzaio di uomini virtuosi, colti e disinteressati nelle mani dei quali affidare il destino dell'Italia».

Intorno a Luigi Credaro e a Giovanni Gentile, com'è noto, gravitarono collaboratori e studiosi che contribuirono a dare corpo a due vere e proprie scuole e a due movimenti destinati, come ha ricordato ancora l'Autore, ad avere una notevole rilevanza non solo sul piano culturale e scientifico, ma anche sul terreno politico:

Credaro e i suoi sodali si riconoscevano nel riformismo giolittiano e nei principi etico-sociali che lo sostenevano, una sorta di religione laica del progresso i cui fattori costitutivi erano la cooperazione tra le classi sociali, la fiducia nell'esercizio della razionalità quale sicura guida per orientare il futuro, lo sviluppo delle capacità di ciascuno, il rispetto delle regole proprie della vita borghese. [...] La prospettiva dei neoidealisti era diversa: l'Italia giolittiana veniva descritta come avara di ideali, affaristica, corrotta, la scuola infetta di utilitarismo. Dopo mezzo secolo di unità l'Italia non era ancora una Nazione e il Risorgimento ridotto a richiamo retorico. La democrazia era un'utopia: l'espansione delle masse popolari andava guidata e vigilata. Alla religione del progresso era preferita la religione della Patria le cui radici affondavano nel compimento del Risorgimento⁶.

Alla luce di tali premesse, Giorgio Chiosso affronta con rigore e con straordinaria finezza interpretativa, forte anche del ricorso ad una imponente e variegata raccolta di fonti archivistiche e a stampa, le scelte e l'operato dei due

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 12-14.

protagonisti della scena pedagogica e scolastica del primo Novecento, nonché le vicende che caratterizzarono i movimenti che ad essi s'ispirarono, offrendo notevoli spunti per una originale rilettura dell'esperienza civile e politica, oltre che culturale, dell'Italia gentiliana e poi fascista.

Il saggio di Giorgio Chiosso prende le mosse da lontano, dalla crisi dell'egemonia positivistica nell'Italia di fine Ottocento e ne approfondisce gli esiti, lumeggiando la parabola della «Rivista di Filosofia e Pedagogia», poi divenuta «Rivista di Filosofia e Scienze Affini», la fondamentale testata padovana data alle stampe a partire dal luglio 1899 da Enea Zamorani e Giovanni Marchesini, la quale avrà un ruolo di primo piano non solamente nel «riconoscimento dei limiti e anche delle contraddizioni del positivismo» e nello sforzo di superarli senza rinnegarne la complessa eredità, ma anche nel superamento di ogni forma di determinismo e nella crescente attenzione alla condizione dell'uomo da approfondire alla luce dei dati forniti dalle scienze umane:

Tra le «scienze affini» – oggi «scienze umane» – coltivate dalla rivista di Marchesini e Zamorani – ricorda l'Autore – un'attenzione crescente fu riservata alla pedagogia soprattutto nella sua versione sociale ed empirica. Sulla scia delle analisi e proposte di Pietro Siciliani e soprattutto Fausto Saverio De Dominicis alla pedagogia fu affidato il compito di trasferire nella vita quotidiana la nuova morale positiva e il progetto di una società fondata sul progresso. Perché questo fosse possibile [...] la pedagogia doveva diventare scientifica e cioè possedere i caratteri tipici della scienza: essere fondata sui fatti, ottenere riscontri oggettivi, progredire attraverso la generalizzazione dei dati empirici⁷.

La «Rivista di Filosofia e Scienze Affini», com'è noto, cessò le pubblicazioni sul finire del 1908, allorché si fuse con la «Rivista Filosofica», la testata espressione di un cospicuo gruppo di studiosi neokantiani fondata anch'essa nel 1899 e diretta da Carlo Cantoni, per dare vita alla «Rivista di Filosofia», organo della Società Filosofica Italiana presieduta all'epoca da Federigo Enriques. Quest'ultima, al contrario di quanto avevano fatto le due testate dirette da Marchesini e da Cantoni, assunse sempre più nettamente i tratti di un periodico destinato all'esclusivo dibattito su questioni filosofiche, abbandonando di fatto ogni interesse per i problemi pedagogici e per gli interventi sulle tematiche educative e scolastiche.

A rilanciare tali temi e a dare corpo ad una pubblicistica pedagogica e scolastica specializzata «distinta sia dai periodici filosofici sia dalla stampa magistrale rivolta al mondo professionale degli insegnanti» contribuirono, in quello stesso periodo, due testate destinate ad avere un notevole impatto sul mondo dell'educazione e della scuola: i «Nuovi Doveri», il periodico fondato nel 1907 da Giuseppe Lombardo Radice e, soprattutto, la «Rivista Pedagogica», data alle stampe nel 1908 da Luigi Credaro.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 34.

Di quest'ultima testata, «espressione di una sorta di pedagogia civile che lo studioso valtellinese coltivò lucidamente nei primi anni del secolo», e alla quale Credaro chiamò a collaborare esponenti di primo piano della filosofia neokantiana, quali G. Vidari, G. Della Valle, A. Piazzzi e E. Formigini Santamaria, accanto ad alcuni rappresentanti del tardo positivismo come G. Tarozzi, E. Troilo e R. Benzoni, l'Autore lueggia, in un denso e documentato capitolo, non soltanto il vivace tentativo di ripensare il ruolo della pedagogia e il suo apporto alla crescita etico-civile e culturale del paese e alla maturazione di una salda coscienza nazionale, ma anche, e soprattutto, l'impegno in favore del rinnovamento della scuola e dell'educazione:

Punti qualificanti dell'ambizioso progetto credariano – ha sottolineato al riguardo Giorgio Chiosso – furono il sostegno all'associazionismo dei maestri e dei professori, la creazione in Parlamento di un «partito della scuola», il potenziamento dell'istruzione elementare e popolare, il miglioramento della formazione degli insegnanti mediante la riforma della scuola normale e l'istituzione delle Scuole pedagogiche universitarie, la creazione di un secondo canale nell'istruzione liceale con il liceo moderno.

Molto opportunamente, l'Autore chiarisce che la scelta di Credaro fu, fin da principio, quella di fare della «Rivista Pedagogica» non una testata 'di parte' o un periodico di carattere militante, come nel caso dei già ricordati «Nuovi Doveri» di Giuseppe Lombardo Radice, ma piuttosto «il più accreditato luogo di discussione delle questioni educative italiane, una specie di organo istituzionale della pedagogia italiana, [...] Un austero laboratorio di studio e riflessione. [...] La sede ove elaborare e sostenere i progetti di cambiamento scolastico»⁸.

Un'impresa, quella avviata dallo studioso valtellinese con la pubblicazione della «Rivista Pedagogica», destinata a registrare larghi consensi e ad incidere notevolmente sul dibattito pedagogico ed educativo dell'epoca e sulle scelte scolastiche operate dalla classe dirigente giolittiana, ma segnata anche da forti limiti, come rileva efficacemente l'Autore:

Forte della convinzione che «tutto nasce dalla pratica e nella pratica ritorna» e della vanità di qualsiasi dottrina incapace di produrre i suoi frutti sul piano dell'«utilità sociale», Credaro evitò, nel suo ostinato e quasi istintivo rifiuto di ogni metafisica, di impegnare la rivista in «sentieri speculativi». L'opinione che un eccesso di riflessione teorico filosofica da parte dei pedagogisti significasse «avere tempo da perdere» e la conseguente perimetrazione entro una visione settoriale finì per rimuovere o lasciare sospese di fatto, come è stato osservato, «le più ardue questioni, forse nella parziale consapevolezza di non poter fornire una 'filosofia forte' realmente in grado di misurarsi con quella avversaria».

Ma questo non era l'unico problema:

Il proposito di raccogliere intorno alla «Rivista Pedagogica» le varie anime della pedagogia italiana fu inoltre fatalmente destinato a scontare un certo eclettismo. Il pluralismo

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 61.

antidogmatico della rivista pagò infatti il prezzo di una fluttuante disomogeneità ideologica e politica che, meno evidente fino agli anni della guerra (fino a quando cioè la barra restò saldamente orientata da Credaro in senso liberaldemocratico), andò poi crescendo all'incrocio con le tensioni del dopoguerra e soprattutto con l'avvento del fascismo⁹.

Nel seguito della sua disamina Giorgio Chiosso approfondisce il vivace dibattito sviluppatosi in età giolittiana e poi nel primo dopoguerra attorno alla questione del potenziamento e rinnovamento dell'istruzione elementare e della formazione dei maestri, soffermandosi sulla genesi e sulle ricadute suscitate dalla legge Daneo-Credaro del 1911 sull'avocazione delle scuole elementari allo Stato e sul lungo e controverso dibattito relativo alla riforma della scuola normale e al nuovo profilo culturale e professionale che avrebbe dovuto caratterizzare il maestro italiano; un tema, quest'ultimo, destinato a costituire un vivace terreno di confronto tra il gruppo credariano raccolto attorno alla «Rivista Pedagogica» e il nutrito e variegato cenacolo di intellettuali e uomini di scuola – Giovanni Gentile, Gaetano Salvemini, Benedetto Croce ecc. – che collaboravano con i «Nuovi Doveri» di Giuseppe Lombardo Radice.

Proprio quest'ultimo, a detta dell'Autore, era destinato a divenire uno dei protagonisti del dibattito sull'istruzione primaria e popolare e un vero e proprio punto di riferimento per quanti aspiravano a far crescere e a modernizzare la scuola italiana:

Nelle vicende scolastiche dei primi anni del secolo – sottolinea Giorgio Chiosso – il nome di Giuseppe Lombardo Radice ricorre via via con frequenza sempre maggiore. Attraverso i suoi scritti, le sue esperienze a contatto con i maestri e infine come direttore generale del ministero dell'Istruzione al tempo della riforma scolastica del 1923, egli è uno dei protagonisti del superamento dell'impianto ottocentesco dell'istruzione primaria.

E ancora:

Quando agli inizi del 1913 appare il volume *Lezioni di didattica e ricordi di esperienza magistrale* Lombardo Radice è già molto noto. La direzione della rivista «Nuovi Doveri», le collaborazioni con «La Voce» di Prezzolini e «L'Unità» di Salvemini, la partecipazione alla vita della Federazione Nazionale Insegnanti Scuola Media e l'impegno meridionalista lo hanno portato in più circostanze alla ribalta dell'opinione pubblica. Folgorato dalla filosofia neoidealista di Giovanni Gentile, di cui si dichiara «amico e fratello spirituale», è al tempo stesso partecipe della causa dei ceti popolari, condividendo con Gaetano Salvemini gli ideali del socialismo democratico¹⁰.

Di questa straordinaria personalità di pedagogista e uomo di scuola, Giorgio Chiosso ripercorre efficacemente gli orientamenti di fondo e l'operato in un denso e documentato capitolo del suo saggio intitolato «Il laboratorio politico lombardiano», nel quale trovano adeguato approfondimento tanto la

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 63.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 119-120.

riflessione teorica in ambito pedagogico e didattico dello studioso catanese (in particolare nelle *Lezioni di didattica*, ma non solo), quanto le rilevanti iniziative culturali ed editoriali (collane, riviste, corrispondenze con i maestri ecc.) da lui promosse fino al 1924, anno in cui s'interruppe l'esperienza ministeriale a fianco di Giovanni Gentile, e poi negli anni seguenti, nella fase del distacco e dell'isolamento, come anche del crescente ostracismo da parte del regime.

Relativamente a quest'ultimo periodo, l'Autore rileva acutamente:

La sua fortuna, nonostante l'ostracismo del regime, maturò a valle della riforma, proprio quando Lombardo Radice uscì dalla vita pubblica e rientrò al Magistero di Roma (dove nel frattempo si era trasferito). La puntuale presentazione delle esperienze magistrali giudicate esemplari sull'«Educazione Nazionale», le pubblicazioni apparse come supplementi della rivista (la serie nota come «Dal mio archivio didattico») e i volumi di pedagogia e didattica ne fecero seguito ad *Athena fanciulla* (con tre ristampe nel 1926, 1928 e 1931), in specie le varie edizioni di *Accanto ai maestri*, *Il problema dell'educazione infantile* (1928, 1929, 1933), *Pedagogia di apostoli ed operai* (1936) lo resero familiare a migliaia di maestri. Il laboratorio pedagogico messo in campo dallo studioso catanese si arricchì di un folto gruppo di simpatizzanti e discepoli che si distribuirono nei vari gangli della vita scolastica e concorsero a sostenere la riforma mediante l'animazione del mondo magistrale.

Di qui il giudizio largamente condivisibile, formulato da Giorgio Chiosso al termine della sua lunga e articolata disamina, riguardo all'«originale capacità di innovazione di Lombardo Radice e dei suoi sodali impegnati a scrivere una pagina in grado di lasciare un segno duraturo nella storia scolastica italiana»¹¹.

Quello dedicato dall'Autore alla personalità e all'operato di Giuseppe Lombardo Radice costituisce, in realtà, una sorta di capitolo-cerniera destinato a collegare la prima parte del saggio, incentrata sulla figura di Luigi Credaro e sui dibattiti pedagogici e scolastici sviluppatisi nell'Italia di fine Ottocento e poi in età giolittiana e nel primo dopoguerra, e quella, immediatamente successiva, che ha come protagonista Giovanni Gentile e la riforma scolastica del 1923.

Anche in questo caso, la vicenda gentiliana è collocata all'interno del più generale scenario dei dibattiti pedagogici e scolastici che contrassegnarono la penisola a partire dall'inizio del secolo XX. Ed ecco, allora, l'ampia attenzione dedicata da Giorgio Chiosso al vivace confronto avviato in questa fase attorno ai temi della laicità della scuola e della libertà d'insegnamento; un confronto che ebbe come protagonista, nel contrastare l'offensiva degli ambienti laicisti e anticlericali, «La Civiltà Cattolica», l'autorevole rivista romana della Compagnia di Gesù, ma che rivelò anche, per la prima volta, la «differente impostazione» e il «diverso sentire» del giovane filosofo siciliano.

Giovanni Gentile, infatti, intervenendo nel 1907 al congresso della FNISM di Napoli, in netto contrasto con le posizioni degli altri ambienti laici, ivi compresi quelli facenti capo al gruppo credariano, diede una peculiare interpretazione del concetto di laicità, la quale apriva ad un nuovo tipo di relazioni tra religione

¹¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 151 e 153.

e filosofia, con notevoli ricadute e implicazioni anche in ordine al rapporto tra Chiesa e Stato e alle politiche dell'istruzione, come la riforma scolastica del 1923 avrebbe ampiamente dimostrato.

Accanto a quello della laicità, come si è già accennato, a far emergere, già in epoca giolittiana e poi nel primo dopoguerra, l'originale visione del Gentile e del gruppo gentiliano dei problemi scolastici contribuì la ripresa del dibattito sul delicato e controverso tema della libertà d'insegnamento, questione che, fin dall'unificazione nazionale, aveva costituito motivo di polemica e di marcata contrapposizione tra la Chiesa e lo Stato, gli ambienti confessionali e la cultura laica:

Non meno significativa e incisiva – ha sottolineato al riguardo Giorgio Chiosso – fu, a sua volta, l'azione del magistero di Giovanni Gentile e dei suoi più stretti amici e discepoli che attraverso un'attiva militanza contrastarono la rigida interpretazione dello statalismo laicista di marca tardo positivista a favore di una visione liberale degli studi e dell'insegnamento. A condizione che la loro attività si svolgesse nell'ambito della superiore autorità dello Stato anche le scuole private – e quelle confessionali in specie – potevano assicurare la formazione di cittadini onesti, laboriosi, leali verso la Nazione¹².

L'introduzione, con la riforma scolastica del 1923, dell'esame di Stato e il ripristino dell'insegnamento religioso nelle scuole elementari costituirono, tuttavia, solo una parte, ancorché di notevole rilevanza, delle più generali trasformazioni introdotte da Giovanni Gentile nell'ordinamento scolastico e nell'istruzione pubblica e privata del nostro paese. Gli ultimi due capitoli del denso e articolato saggio di Giorgio Chiosso sono incentrati proprio sulla genesi, le caratteristiche di fondo e le vicissitudini che caratterizzarono tale riforma dopo la svolta del 1924, con l'abbandono della Minerva da parte del filosofo siciliano e la nomina, al suo posto, dello storico Pietro Fedele.

Anche in questo caso, l'Autore fa giustizia delle patetiche nostalgie, delle improvvise semplificazioni e delle letture 'attualizzanti' e politicamente interessate del provvedimento gentiliano operate negli ultimi anni da certi pseudo-storici della pedagogia i quali, più che al discorso storiografico, appaiono interessati a ripristinare confuse mitologie culturali e vaghe filosofie della storia scolastica italiana di matrice reazionaria.

La ricostruzione proposta da Giorgio Chiosso della genesi e delle scelte di fondo della riforma scolastica del 1923 trae forza da una ricca e variegata messe di fonti archivistiche e a stampa e, soprattutto, si alimenta delle ricerche coordinate o condotte direttamente dallo stesso autore nel corso degli ultimi trent'anni sulla stampa didattica e magistrale, l'editoria scolastica e i libri di testo, i dibattiti pedagogici e scolastici e le trasformazioni della società italiana dall'Unità al fascismo.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 196.

Di qui l'efficace delineazione del contesto entro il quale si dispiega, all'indomani della costituzione del primo governo Mussolini, l'iniziativa del neoministro della Pubblica Istruzione Giovanni Gentile, così come l'ampia attenzione tributata alle matrici ideali della riforma dell'istruzione e allo stretto legame tra rinnovamento scolastico e rinascita nazionale, tra la promozione di un'educazione ai valori espressi dalla tradizione risorgimentale e l'affermazione nelle coscienze del sentimento di Nazione:

Il tema della Nazione, della sua identità, dell'educazione ai valori espressi dalla tradizione nazionale e rappresentati attraverso l'insegnamento dei profeti del Risorgimento, Gioberti e Mazzini, – ricorda l'Autore – divenne un motivo trainante nell'analisi gentiliana. Di Mazzini Gentile sottolineava la concezione della Nazione come un dovere da compiere, un futuro da creare, un'occasione di esercitare l'infinita libertà dello spirito per rivivere la tradizione. [...] La Nazione gentiliana non si identificava tuttavia in toto con quella mazziniana. [...] il mazzinianesimo andava corretto e integrato con il realismo di Vincenzo Gioberti e il suo proposito, mutuato da Machiavelli e Guicciardini, di attenersi alla «realità effettuale». [...] La Nazione non è perciò un dato, ma un ininterrotto processo, non una realtà preesistente, ma un'esperienza da costruire. La coscienza della Nazione è «energia spirituale», l'intreccio tra la consapevolezza di un destino da inerare e la volontà di perseguirlo.

E ancora:

Il secondo tassello dell'educazione nazionale gentiliana è l'interpretazione del Risorgimento come evento di lunga durata che matura intorno alla riscoperta di una tradizione dimenticata e culmina con l'acquisizione delle terre irredente. Una prospettiva contrapposta a quella di rivoluzione centrata sull'utopia di una società nuova e di un uomo nuovo, obiettivo perseguito dal giacobinismo francese e, più tardi, dal socialismo. L'inevitabile conseguenza era stata la deriva verso la visione materialistica dell'uomo e della sua storia¹³.

Il richiamo alla concezione gentiliana di Nazione e di nazionalità e all'eredità risorgimentale serve a Giorgio Chiosso per situare all'interno del sistema di pensiero del filosofo siciliano la nozione di educazione nazionale, ampiamente discussa in un saggio – *La riforma dell'educazione*, pubblicato da Gentile nel 1920 – che l'Autore addita giustamente come «uno dei testi più significativi sull'argomento».

Proprio *La riforma della scuola*, l'opera che raccoglie «i contributi presentati da Gentile ai maestri di Trieste nell'estate del 1919 per favorirne l'inserimento nella vita scolastica e politica nazionale», costituisce l'oggetto di un'attenta disamina da parte di Chiosso, la quale consente una lettura a tutto tondo dei motivi ispiratori e delle premesse ideali della riforma scolastica del 1923, specie laddove il filosofo siciliano, dopo aver ricordato che «non si può concepire l'uomo al di fuori di una tradizione perché è la tradizione stessa a fornirgli la ragione del suo esistere», e che, analogamente, non c'è sapere «senza inserzione nella storia perché ogni sapere è radicato nella realtà ove esso si esprime», si

¹³ *Ibid.*, pp. 206-208.

fa promotore di «una proposta pedagogica dai forti tratti etico-civili, centrata sulla trasmissione culturale e sulla formazione di persona capaci di rielaborarla incessantemente e di renderla interattiva con l'orgoglio di un patrimonio ideale non solo da conservare, ma da sviluppare in nome di un vero e proprio primato»:

Con Gentile – conclude giustamente l'Autore – riprende slancio il tema dell'educazione nazionale d'anteguerra, ma al prezzo di un netto cambio di prospettiva. Il futuro ministro ne avversa la fisionomia pluralistica che ne aveva segnato le vicende prebelliche con un ampio spettro di opinioni e proposte e l'assorbe nel suo sistema di pensiero fino a identificarla con la sua concezione filosofica. Le premesse della riforma scolastica erano così poste anche se, per il momento, restavano nel limbo della riflessione colta. Ancora mancava l'individuazione della forza politica capace di orientare il Parlamento e l'amministrazione scolastica verso provvedimenti in grado di restituire, a costo dell'impopolarità, dignità alla scuola¹⁴.

Quella forza politica, com'è noto, sarebbe stata individuata, di lì a poco, nel Partito Nazionale Fascista fondato qualche tempo prima da Benito Mussolini, l'avvento al governo del quale, dopo la Marcia su Roma del 28 ottobre 1922, avrebbe reso possibile la concreta realizzazione dell'opera di rinnovamento radicale della scuola italiana propugnata nella fase precedente da Giovanni Gentile e dal gruppo gentiliano.

In conclusione, forte, come si è già più volte ricordato, di un'imponente documentazione archivistica e a stampa e di una profonda conoscenza della letteratura critica sul tema, il volume di Giorgio Chiosso fornisce un originale e articolato affresco delle vicende educative e scolastiche e dei dibattiti pedagogici che hanno contrassegnato l'Italia unita tra la fine dell'Ottocento e la metà degli anni Venti del nuovo secolo, collocando assai efficacemente tali vicende e tali dibattiti – ed è questo, a nostro avviso, il principale pregio dell'opera – nel quadro delle più generali problematiche legate alla modernizzazione economica e sociale e, più in particolare, alla crescita culturale e civile del Paese.

Si tratta, sotto questo profilo, di un contributo di notevole importanza non solamente per l'approfondimento delle discussioni pedagogiche e delle politiche scolastiche del primo Novecento, quanto, in particolare, per una più larga e organica comprensione del ruolo esercitato dalla scuola e dai processi formativi nell'edificazione della coscienza etico-civile e nella promozione dell'identità nazionale.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 211 e 213-214.

Fabio Targhetta

Il presente lavoro di Giorgio Chiosso si inserisce in una recente linea storiografica volta a rilanciare gli studi che un tempo si sarebbero definiti di storia della pedagogia, o di storia delle riflessioni e dei dibattiti pedagogici. Negli ultimi anni, infatti, sono stati pubblicati volumi di indubbio interesse¹⁵ che sono andati a implementare un filone di ricerca da un paio di decenni messo un po' in disparte, non solo metaforicamente, dall'emergere di tendenze storiografiche nuove. Mi riferisco, com'è ovvio, alle indagini sulla storia dell'educazione, sulla storia del libro scolastico e, più in generale, sulla storia della cultura materiale della scuola e sulla storia della memoria pubblica della scuola e dell'educazione. Mutuati da altri settori più vicini alla storia contemporanea, questi lavori hanno senza dubbio rivitalizzato un settore scientifico-disciplinare che, mi sia permesso di utilizzare un termine un po' forte, rischiava di sembrare alla più vasta comunità degli storici puri un po' asfittico, appiattito com'era sulla storia delle idee pedagogiche, in alcuni casi senza un reale confronto con le politiche scolastiche e con gli aspetti culturali, sociali ed economici e senza ibridazione con metodologie di ricerca che stavano facendo della riscoperta di nuove fonti e dell'avvio di approcci inediti il principale punto di forza.

Giorgio Chiosso risulta essere tra quegli studiosi che, pur fornendo un sostegno decisivo al rinnovamento degli studi storico-educativi, non ha mai abbandonato la ricerca storico-pedagogica 'pura', ambito nel quale ha offerto contributi innovativi e numerosi, anche nel campo della manualistica universitaria¹⁶.

L'educazione degli italiani non è un manuale di pedagogia, quanto piuttosto un lungo e approfondito saggio sulla riflessione pedagogica e culturale relativa al sistema scolastico e più in generale intorno all'idea di educazione nazionale. L'arco cronologico preso a riferimento dall'autore è quello dei primi tre decenni del XX secolo, un periodo particolarmente denso di cambiamenti, avendo visto succedersi nel torno di pochi anni il decollo industriale del Paese, lo scoppio

¹⁵ Penso, solo per limitarmi a pochi esempi, ai lavori di Evelina Scaglia su Giovanni Calò (*Giovanni Calò nella pedagogia italiana del Novecento*, Brescia, La Scuola, 2013) e Marco Agosti (*Marco Agosti. Tra educazione integrale e attivismo pedagogico*, Brescia, La Scuola, 2016); alla raccolta di contributi su Giovanni Marchesini curata da Giuseppe Zago (*Il pensiero pedagogico di Giovanni Marchesini e la crisi del positivismo italiano*, Lecce, PensaMultimedia, 2014) o al volume di Juri Meda dedicato ai Monumenta Italiae Paedagogica (*I «Monumenta Italiae Paedagogica» e la costruzione del canone pedagogico nazionale (1886-1956)*, Milano, FrancoAngeli, 2019).

¹⁶ Si vedano i titoli dei suoi manuali più famosi, veri e propri longseller della didattica accademica: *Novecento pedagogico. Profilo delle teorie educative contemporanee*, Brescia, La Scuola, 1997 (nuova edizione 2012); *Teorie dell'educazione e della formazione*, Milano, Mondadori Università, 2004; *I significati dell'educazione. Teorie pedagogiche e della formazione contemporanee*, Milano, Mondadori Università, 2009; *La pedagogia contemporanea*, Brescia, La Scuola 2015; (con Mario Castoldi) *Quale futuro per l'istruzione? Pedagogia e didattica per la scuola*, Milano, Mondadori Università, 2017.

della prima guerra mondiale e l'instaurazione del fascismo. Come si può evincere dal sottotitolo (*Laicità, progresso e nazione nel primo Novecento*), Chiosso, nell'offrire inedite chiavi interpretative relative al tema in oggetto, non si è limitato allo studio della produzione pedagogica del tempo, ma, fedele a una solida linea di indagine storiografica, ha inteso intrecciare diversi piani, da quello politico a quello culturale, da quello ideologico a quello sociale. Altrettanto robusto risulta essere l'apparato di note e il corredo bibliografico, a testimonianza del lungo lavoro su fonti primarie (articoli, interventi pubblicati su riviste specializzate, atti di congressi, bollettini, saggi, monografie) e secondarie.

Ne esce una polifonia di spunti, tutti però convergenti su un obiettivo ritenuto strategico per proseguire su quel cammino di formazione dell'identità nazionale inaugurato col Risorgimento: l'educazione degli italiani, appunto. Una polifonia che, per sua stessa natura, non è il dispiegarsi di un'unica linea melodica, ma prevede l'esecuzione simultanea di più voci, anche molto differenti tra loro. Chiosso in tal senso è molto attento a ricostruire queste singole voci, che rimandano a posizioni ideologicamente assai distanti. Si può a questo proposito sostenere che in varie parti il volume è intrecciato sulla contrapposizione tra pensieri antagonisti, tra visioni diverse quando non del tutto inconciliabili. Sullo sfondo, la grande dicotomia tra neoidealisti e anti-idealisti, fossero essi epigoni del tardo positivismo, neokantiani, herbartiani o pensatori di orientamento cattolico. Non a caso l'introduzione è intitolata *Le «due Italie» di Credaro e Gentile* e ricostruisce lo scenario italiano del primo Novecento, a livello di dibattito pedagogico e di formulazioni sull'assetto da dare al sistema scolastico. Una dicotomia che rifletteva la profonda spaccatura all'interno del Paese, su tutti i piani, incluso quello sociale:

Numerose contrapposizioni si confrontarono sulle pagine di giornali e riviste: c'erano l'Italia legale e il «paese reale» e, all'interno di questa articolazione, l'Italia dai forti sentimenti religiosi dei cattolici e quella laica dei liberali massoni e dei socialisti; c'erano l'Italia dei positivisti e l'Italia degli antipositivisti; c'erano l'Italia già avviata sulla via della modernità e l'Italia atavicamente legata ai ritmi della vita rurale; c'erano l'Italia sana e ben vestita e un'Italia sporca, malarica, che incuteva ribrezzo e sgomento¹⁷.

A livello di riflessioni in ambito pedagogico, si tratta di un antagonismo destinato nel corso degli anni a cambiare i rapporti di forza tra i due schieramenti principali fino al capovolgimento delle posizioni, con Giovanni Gentile titolare della Minerva e Luigi Credaro confinato a una critica sempre più flebile dalle pagine della «Rivista Pedagogica». Due personalità distanti su molteplici fronti, da quello più banale della provenienza geografica a quello più sostanziale della *Weltanschauung*. Ne consegue un'opposta idea di scuola e del suo assetto, l'una

¹⁷ Chiosso, *L'educazione degli italiani. Laicità, progresso e nazione nel primo Novecento*, cit., p. 9.

fedele a un modello elitario e classicista finalizzato all'innalzamento della vita spirituale, l'altra maggiormente sensibile all'istruzione popolare e aperta alla modernizzazione in atto in Italia. Si veda, ad esempio, la distanza in fatto di funzione, ruolo e formazione degli insegnanti, un tema per nulla banale date le conseguenze nel nostro sistema scolastico valutate nei tempi lunghi che ha avuto la linea neoidealista. Oppure si colga nella ricostruzione dell'autore la profonda differenza nella concezione di nazione e di educazione nazionale; per non parlare dell'opposto fuoco di sbarramento al varo rispettivamente dei provvedimenti normativi emanati sotto il ministero di Credaro, uno dei più lunghi nella storia del regno, e della riforma che poi prese il nome dal suo ideatore, Giovanni Gentile appunto.

All'interno di schieramenti così compatti – ch  Credaro e Gentile erano i capitani di una folta schiera di collaboratori e allievi dediti alla causa (si pensi solo al fatto che il filosofo di Castelvetro, come giustamente rilevato nel testo, fino al primo dopoguerra si limit  alle riflessioni, preferendo adottare una posizione non militante) – era possibile anche assistere a improvvisi distacchi, specie quando la variabile politica divenne impossibile da ignorare, o sottovalutare. Mi riferisco, in particolare, al confronto tra Lombardo Radice e Codignola, richiamato in queste pagine anche come anticipatore di ulteriori confronti dettati dalle contingenze storico-politiche.

Non sfugge naturalmente il fatto che, dietro le contrapposizioni di carattere pedagogico e filosofico, si celassero anche forme di lotta per il potere, per la conquista di un'egemonia non tanto, o non solo, in ambito accademico, come pi  spesso avviene nell'ambiente intellettuale, ma soprattutto culturale, determinata dalla conquista dei vertici dei principali centri di elaborazione e divulgazione della cultura (universit , riviste, case editrici, istituti di ricerca, accademie).

Come sostiene Chiosso, «fu una battaglia senza esclusione di colpi e senza sconto»¹⁸, combattuta anche sul fronte caldissimo della libert  d'insegnamento e della (re)introduzione dell'insegnamento religioso a scuola. Sono gli anni, quelli del primo Novecento, della mozione Bissolati, del regolamento Rava, della nascita della Niccol  Tommaseo in seno all'associazionismo magistrale, delle richieste dell'esame di Stato. Le leggi dichiaratamente anticlericali promulgate da  mile Combes appena oltre confine, lo spettro di un'ampia partecipazione cattolica alle elezioni – il *non expedit* era gi  stato parzialmente trasgredito in occasione delle elezioni del 1905 – e, non ultimo, il riorganizzarsi del movimento cattolico per facilitare una maggiore compattezza nel rapporto con le organizzazioni di massa, furono il contesto entro cui si abbatt , sostenuta dalla stampa radicale, una «vera mareggiata scandalistica [...] sui costumi del clero italiano»¹⁹.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 14.

¹⁹ A. Erba, *Preti del sacramento e preti del movimento. Il clero torinese tra azione cattolica e*

Gli attacchi e gli scandali, veri o presunti, di cui si occuparono diffusamente la stampa e l'opinione pubblica in quel periodo si concentrarono in modo particolare sugli istituti di istruzione e di carità retti dalle congregazioni religiose, per poi estendersi all'intera classe clericale italiana, fatta sovente bersaglio di oltraggi e aggressioni diffuse. Le aggressioni non si limitarono a quelle verbali, ma si concretizzarono presto in assalti a chiese, conventi e istituti religiosi, con insulti e maltrattamenti alle persone del clero sulla pubblica via, incluso il cardinale Segretario di Stato, Merry del Val, vittima di reiterati affronti da parte di alcuni esagitati. Appare chiaro come, in un simile contesto, quello legato alla religione divenne un ulteriore fronte aperto e occasione di spaccature ancor più radicali.

Un altro punto di notevole rottura tra i due schieramenti fu l'atteggiamento nei confronti della scienza e la conseguente maggiore o minore apertura ai processi di modernizzazione e di sviluppo industriale in atto nel Paese. Condizionato profondamente dall'ostilità nei confronti del pensiero positivista e dalla volontà di estirparne gli ultimi influssi nella cultura e nella scuola, Gentile riversò questo atteggiamento di chiusura nei confronti della scienza nella riforma del 1923. Di contro, la compagine neokantiana-herbartiana, nei provvedimenti normativi approvati in età giolittiana, aveva dimostrato una significativa sensibilità nei confronti dei progetti di modernizzazione del sistema scolastico, in particolare istituendo il liceo moderno e rivedendo il comparto dell'istruzione professionale, con la consapevolezza che la scuola avrebbe dovuto, per quanto possibile, accompagnare i processi di decollo industriale dell'Italia. Una posizione bollata dai neoidealisti come frutto del materialismo positivista funzionale alle esigenze della borghesia affaristica e rea di anteporre l'utile sociale all'utile umano. Lo stesso Lombardo Radice si diceva preoccupato della tendenza in corso, nella quale vedeva la fine dell'idea di cultura scolastica disinteressata a favore della supremazia dell'interesse economico.

Va anche detto che le iniziative attuate nel primo quindicennio del secolo, seppur incoraggianti e dirompenti rispetto al passato, non intaccarono la tradizionale preminenza di fondo degli studi umanistici e la natura classista della scuola italiana. Non intendo con questo sminuire la portata innovativa delle misure adottate da Credaro e dai suoi collaboratori, ma semplicemente cogliere alcuni aspetti che divennero evidenti più avanti, nel momento in cui a essere sottoposta a valutazione fu la riforma Gentile. Mi riferisco, nello specifico, alle critiche che la «Rivista Pedagogica» avanzò, elaborate ancora una volta sul piano delle teorie pedagogiche, senza assolutamente cogliere il punto principale della questione, ovvero le implicazioni economiche connesse a un'idea di scuola e di cultura anacronistica. Si vedano, a questo proposito, le riflessioni di Mariano Maresca, ovvero di chi si assunse l'onere di «smontare – o almeno

tentare di farlo – l'assetto della scuola primaria»²⁰, riflessioni che trovarono una pronta ed efficace difesa da parte dei neoidealisti. Quella di contrastare gli avversari sul proprio terreno e impegnarli in un duello tutto teorico si sarebbe presto rivelata una strategia del tutto errata, mentre per far saltare il banco sarebbe bastato presentare dati inoppugnabili sull'inconciliabilità della riforma di fronte alla modernizzazione del Paese e sul sostanziale disinteresse verso la formazione professionale e tecnica delle classi più deboli.

Non deve tuttavia stupire questo atteggiamento, indicatore dell'effettiva indifferenza della pedagogia del tempo alle questioni economiche, un distacco che se negli idealisti fu attuato senza deroghe – basti pensare, per limitarci a un solo esempio, al diniego di Gentile di fronte alle numerose richieste che provennero dal mondo degli editori all'indomani della costituzione delle commissioni per l'esame dei libri di testo nella scuola elementare – nell'altro schieramento fu molto meno marcata, ma comunque non del tutto assente. Operare un riassetto complessivo del sistema scolastico del tutto slegato da una seria analisi dei processi economici in corso e, dall'altra parte, non riuscire a cogliere le inadeguatezze dei provvedimenti proprio valutandoli in quest'ottica significa a mio parere trovare uno dei, invero pochissimi, punti di contatto tra i due fronti.

In conclusione, il recente libro di Giorgio Chiosso, al solito ineccepibile sul piano del rigore metodologico e di piacevole lettura, non solo si rivela uno spaccato lucido del dibattito pedagogico avviato nel primo Novecento e delle conseguenti attuazione di coerenti politiche in campo scolastico, ma anche offre agli studiosi molteplici occasioni di spunti e di riflessioni.

Michel Ostenc

A l'époque du premier cinquantenaire de son unité, on opposait volontiers deux Italie: celle des forts sentiments religieux à celle des laïques libéraux, francs-maçons et socialistes, celle qui s'enlisait dans les rythmes de la vie rurale à celle de la modernité. L'auteur transpose cette opposition sur les deux principaux protagonistes de la pédagogie et de la vie scolaire italienne dans la première moitié du XX^e siècle: Luigi Credaro et Giovanni Gentile. Cette image a le mérite de souligner les contrastes entre deux courants de pensée de la vie intellectuelle italienne, même si elle ne correspond pas aux critères antagonistes cités plus haut. Il s'agirait plutôt de deux modes différents d'appréhender la modernité au moment de la sécularisation de la religion et de la nationalisation des masses populaires. Credaro voulait mettre la pédagogie au service de la lutte contre l'ignorance alors que Gentile la rattachait solidement à la vie morale de la

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 274.

Nation. Autour de ces deux personnages gravitaient des penseurs mus par des principes philosophiques et politiques différents. Les uns étaient animés par une sorte de religion laïque qui se satisfaisait du réformisme et du transformisme de l'Italie de Giolitti. Les autres considéraient la démocratie comme une utopie dans un pays qui n'était toujours pas une nation. La pluralité des activités de l'esprit n'était pour Gentile que dans l'unité de l'acte de pensée et son concept de liberté absolue en représentait le nœud gordien. Il s'exposait aux critiques philosophiques de Mariano Maresca, alors que Giuseppe Lombardo Radice répliquait en reprochant à la pédagogie positiviste un enseignement formaliste et jamais spiritualisé.

L'enseignement de la religion à l'école publique était inacceptable pour les laïques qui jugeaient les principes scientifiques incompatibles avec une foi dogmatique. Toutefois, Credaro se séparait parfois des démocrates anticléricaux afin de ne pas rompre avec le monde catholique. La philosophie de Gentile adhérait à l'immanence pour des raisons religieuses, sa recherche d'une divinité plus proche de l'homme condamnant l'athéisme plus que la transcendance. Elle insistait sur l'inefficacité éducative d'une laïcité négative, l'enseignement de la religion à l'école s'imposant dès lors qu'il était équilibré par un esprit critique. Tous ceux qui faisaient preuve d'une foi sincère étaient dignes d'enseigner, ce qui impliquait la liberté de l'enseignement. La «*Rivista Pedagogica*» de Credaro et les «*Nuovi Doveri*» de Lombardo Radice tentaient de divulguer les idées nouvelles dans le monde enseignant. La revue du disciple de Gentile dénonçait concrètement les plaies du système éducatif en vigueur, par exemple la pratique des «classes adjointes» qui permettait au titulaire d'un poste dans l'enseignement secondaire d'exercer dans un établissement plus intéressant en se faisant remplacer dans le sien par des suppléants. Le camp des laïques n'était pas homogène: Gaetano Salvemini estimait que l'Ecole ne pouvait pas combattre l'Eglise, ni s'identifier à la conception positiviste d'une culture scientifique. Partisan d'un enseignement fondé sur la liberté absolue, il était plus proche de Gentile que de ses adversaires; mais il existait des nuances parmi les idéalistes. Lombardo Radice concevait l'enseignement comme un acte d'élévation spirituelle, mais la fusion des âmes s'accomplissait pour lui dans la collaboration du maître et de ses élèves, alors que la critique gentilienne restait du domaine spéculatif: elle dénonçait les conceptions dogmatiques et naturalistes de l'école italienne ainsi que la sclérose de ses enseignements.

Les catholiques devaient réagir à l'offensive laïciste pour que l'éducation conservât un contexte religieux; mais leurs positions ne recoupaient pas celles de Gentile pour des raisons théoriques et politiques. Philosophe de l'acte pur, Gentile concevait la religion comme une «*philosophia minor*». Les catholiques considéraient que l'enseignement de la religion à l'école primaire ne permettrait pas de résoudre le problème de l'éducation scolaire et ils insistaient davantage sur la liberté de l'enseignement. Tout en dénonçant la centralisation et la réglementation excessive de l'école publique, les catholiques reprochaient à

Gentile de ne voir dans l'enseignement privé qu'une solution de repli et non pas comme la réalisation des valeurs traditionnelles. Toutefois, les conceptions spiritualistes du philosophe se rapprochaient de leurs perspectives politiques. La misère de l'école italienne²¹ était devenue un sujet littéraire pour des écrivains comme Ada Negri ou Corrado Alvaro. L'auteur synthétise la politique de Credaro, ministre de l'Instruction publique de 1910 à 1914, autour de trois objectifs: améliorer l'enseignement primaire en le soustrayant à la gestion des communes, renforcer la formation pédagogique des enseignants, créer une seconde filière dans l'enseignement secondaire avec un lycée scientifique au cursus différent de celui du lycée classique. En effet, les principales innovations de Credaro concernèrent la création de sections modernes sans latin au gymnase et au lycée (Loi, 21 juillet 1911) ainsi que des cours magistraux annexés aux gymnases pour préparer aux Ecoles normales d'instituteurs.

Les néo-idéalistes critiquaient cette orientation matérialiste et positiviste, opposant l'utilité humaine à l'utilité sociale de leurs adversaires. La formation de l'instituteur opposait les partisans d'un empirisme pédagogique fondé sur des compétences didactiques très en retard sur les expériences d'avant-garde de Montessori, à ceux de Gentile qui reprochaient à Credaro de transformer les écoles normales en instituts professionnels au détriment de la culture générale des maîtres. Ces critiques s'inséraient dans un débat plus vaste, les néo-idéalistes considérant que la pédagogie se réduisait à des recettes didactiques lorsqu'elle se détachait de la réflexion philosophique qui la vivifiait.

Gentile vit dans la Grande guerre un moyen de régénérer les Italiens. Sa conception de la Nation se distinguait de celle des nationalistes qu'il jugeait utilitaire et n'avait rien de commun avec celle des pacifistes fondée sur la solidarité et l'émancipation de l'homme. L'éducation nationale de Gentile renouait avec un Risorgimento conçu comme la redécouverte d'une tradition s'opposant aux dérives matérialistes du jacobinisme français et du socialisme; mais il ne s'agissait que d'une partie du Risorgimento, Gentile rejetant l'interprétation donnée par le transformisme bourgeois et condamnant celle qui en faisait une «révolution inachevée». Pour Lombardo Radice, la petite et moyenne bourgeoisie devait poursuivre dans l'enseignement le rôle d'éducateur de la Nation qu'elle avait joué en guidant le peuple dans les tranchées; mais il affirmait que seule la formation spirituelle dans le sens actualiste de Gentile pouvait enraciner les valeurs nationales dans les consciences.

Dans l'immédiat après-guerre, les polémiques de Gentile furent entretenues par ses disciples qui contribuèrent à sensibiliser l'opinion aux problèmes de l'école. Le «groupe d'action» de Codignola et sa revue «La Nostra Scuola» proposaient une rénovation spirituelle de l'école dans le respect des valeurs nationales et sa libération des ingérences bureaucratiques. Ils reçurent le

²¹ U. Zanotti Bianco, *Il martirio della scuola in Calabria*, Florence, Vallecchi, 1925; G. Salvemini, *Scritti sulla questione meridionale: 1896-1955*, Turin, Einaudi, 1955.

soutien du catholique Antonio Anile, ministre de l'Instruction publique dans les gouvernements Facta, des philosophes Bernardino Varisco et Vincenzo Cento. Codignola dénonçait les prétentions professionnelles des Ecoles normales et l'encyclopédisme de leurs programmes d'enseignement²². L'insuffisance de leur rétribution condamnait les maîtres à exercer un second emploi en multipliant leurs absences et la condition des institutrices rurales devenait toujours plus difficile²³. Lombardo Radice dénonçait leur système de recrutement par points attribués à leurs diplômes et les violences perpétrées dans les écoles pendant les grèves²⁴. Les traitements des professeurs d'enseignement secondaire étaient médiocres et leur situation compliquée par les pressions exercées sur eux par les parents et les autorités locales²⁵. L'administration scolaire faisait preuve de lenteurs inadmissibles. Elle publia en décembre 1922 les résultats d'un concours de recrutement dans l'enseignement secondaire organisé en décembre 1920. La littérature ironisait sur son compte²⁶. Lombardo Radice fondait la revue «Educazione Nazionale» où l'unité du pays était présentée comme le résultat d'un apostolat éducatif. Le Faisceau de l'Education nationale, qui n'avait aucun rapport avec les Faisceaux de Combat de Mussolini, regroupait diverses tendances gravitant dans l'entourage de Gentile. Gobetti considérait encore le philosophe comme un maître de moralité (1921). Codignola explorait toutes les alliances possibles, saluant le ministère de Benedetto Croce (juin 1920) et collaborant avec l'un de ses successeurs Antonio Anile. Lombardo Radice concevait par contre le Faisceau comme un groupe de propagande éducative et s'opposait à son intégration dans le Groupe de compétence de l'Ecole du Parti National Fasciste. Le camp des laïques restait divisé face aux assauts du Parti Populaire Italien de Luigi Sturzo. Salvemini l'exhortait à ne pas confondre la liberté de l'école avec celle des catholiques qui correspondait à deux conceptions différentes; mais il était proche de Gentile en revendiquant une sélection rigoureuse dans l'enseignement secondaire afin d'en écarter les inaptes et les médiocres quelles que fussent leurs origines sociales²⁷.

Gentile voulait s'appuyer sur les enseignants pour transformer les Italiens. Le fascisme lui paraissait avoir la force nécessaire pour y parvenir en créant un Etat capable de vaincre les particularismes, de conjuguer morale et politique, de transformer un agrégat d'individus en société unie autour d'une tradition et d'une éthique. Cet objectif semblait acceptable pour la Fédération des Professeurs de l'Enseignement Secondaire (F.N.I.S.M.) qui demandait au nouveau ministre

²² E. Codignola, *Per la libertà e la dignità della scuola*, Roma, La Voce, 1919.

²³ G. Lombardo Radice, *Accanto ai maestri*, Turin, Paravia, 1925.

²⁴ Id., *Nuovi studi di propaganda pedagogica*, Turin, Paravia, 1922.

²⁵ V. Brocchi, *Il Carosello delle illusioni*, Rome-Milan, s.e., 1922; D. Provenzal, *Manuale del perfetto professore*, Roa, La Voce, 1920.

²⁶ G. Crocioni, *Il professore di scuola media*, Reggio Emilia, Coop. Tipografiche, 1919.

²⁷ G. Salvemini, *Il problema scolastico all'appuntamento del rinnovamento*, «L'Unità», 24 juin, 1920.

de rééduquer les âmes juvéniles, de restaurer l'amour de l'école, la passion de l'étude et de l'éducation²⁸. «Plus grande a été l'épreuve, leur répondait Gentile, et plus grand a toujours été le courage des Italiens à se vaincre eux-mêmes, plus prompte l'école à faire retentir sa voix et à donner l'exemple»²⁹. En fait, l'objectif poursuivi était de rendre à l'école italienne sa rigueur et sa profondeur en sauvegardant son humanisme, l'excellence des études et la promotion au mérite. Le slogan de Gentile «Peu d'écoles, mais bonnes» trouvait sa réalisation dans l'examen d'Etat qui sélectionnait les élèves de l'enseignement secondaire et était accessible à ceux des écoles privées. Gentile souhaitait établir une émulation entre les deux types d'enseignement qui, il n'en doutait pas, tournerait à l'avantage de l'école d'Etat.

La réforme distingua deux catégories d'établissements au 1^o cycle: le gymnase classique était le seul à conduire au lycée; les autres (Cours inférieur de l'Institut pédagogique, de l'Institut technique et des Instituts d'Art) avaient des débouchés limités. Au 2^o cycle, une réduction du nombre de classes, après diminution de celui des élèves par un examen rigoureux, permettait d'obtenir des établissements homogènes où pourrait naître cette communauté de pensée qui constituait l'essence même de la réforme. Les chefs d'établissement et les professeurs d'enseignement secondaire ayant 40 ans de service et 65 ans d'âge furent mis à la retraite ainsi que ceux jugés inaptes (Décret-loi royal, 11 mars 1923, n. 683). Le «*Bollettino Ufficiale della Pubblica Istruzione*» publia pendant plus d'un an des listes de radiations ou de nouvelles affectations des personnels. Environ 600 enseignants et chefs d'établissement furent placés en inactivité. Les examens d'Etat dont les jurys étaient composés d'enseignants extérieurs à l'établissement des candidats étaient organisés à deux niveaux: l'examen d'habilitation au terme des études des Instituts pédagogiques et techniques, et la maturité classique ou scientifique. Les jurys d'examens d'Etat comptaient 1/3 de membres de l'enseignement supérieur, les autres étant des professeurs du secondaire³⁰. Le gymnase et le lycée préparaient aux hautes fonctions de la vie civile, aux professions libérales et à la vie politique (Décret-loi royal, 14 octobre 1923, p. 24). Gentile n'était pas hostile aux langues étrangères, mais il les considéraient comme secondaires et leur préférait les études classiques comme élément formateur de l'esprit. (Décret-loi royal, 30 septembre 1923). Elles occupaient l'essentiel des programmes de haut niveau qui semblaient conçus pour les enseignants plus que pour les élèves. L'introduction de l'histoire de l'Art au lycée figurait parmi les innovations de la réforme, les élèves disposant de manuels remarquables pour s'y initier. Par contre, les sciences physiques et chimiques, associées à celles de la nature et à la géographie, étaient condamnées à un survol des connaissances et de leurs problèmes. Gentile favorisa les «collèges

²⁸ «*Istruzione media*», 25 novembre 1922.

²⁹ «*Bollettino Ufficiale della Pubblica Istruzione*», 2 novembre 1922, p. 2000.

³⁰ Sur l'examen de maturité d'autrefois, voir: P. Gatteschi «*Il Ponte*», mai 1954.

nationaux», internats dotés d'une autonomie administrative (Décret-loi royal, 6 mai 1923); mais ce furent les collèges privés, la plupart confessionnels, qui se multiplièrent (840 avec 48000 collégiens en 1931). Le ministre obtint la haute main sur l'enseignement artistique appliqué à l'industrie et réforma le système en place (Décret-loi royal, 31 décembre 1923) avec la création d'écoles et d'instituts d'art.

Comme Directeur général de l'Enseignement primaire et populaire, Lombardo Radice mit en place la «Scuola serena». L'auteur est sévère pour ses programmes de 1923 qui se complaisaient sans doute dans une rhétorique autour de la poésie de l'enfance; mais cet angélisme n'altérerait pas leur capacité créatrice. Pour Lombardo Radice, la leçon était un acte de vie qui nécessitait l'enracinement du maître dans le milieu social de ses élèves. Dans la France républicaine des années 1880-1910, toute une civilisation façonnée par la société paysanne qui avait ponctué la vie de milliers d'hommes à la recherche d'une communion avec la nature et le sacré fut réduite à un catalogue de gestes oubliés et de traditions mortes. Lombardo Radice avait foi au contraire dans l'originalité du peuple des campagnes, créateur de formes de langage, de poésie et d'art. Un peu de régionalisme éloigne de la patrie, disait-il. Beaucoup de régionalisme en rapproche. Il préférerait le dynamisme dans la diversité à l'atonie de l'uniformité. Traduite sur le plan pédagogique, cette foi dans l'imagination créatrice s'insurgeait contre la «composition», exercice accusé de manquer de sincérité à l'école primaire et s'insérant dans l'esprit bureaucratique de l'académisme.

L'idée centrale de la réforme universitaire consistait à réduire le nombre de centres de plein exercice, le maintien des centres secondaires étant fonction de leur reconversion vers des activités leur assurant un financement du milieu local. Gentile pensait que la concurrence stimulerait les universités d'Etat, plus utiles que les établissements privés aux nécessités professionnelles et à la formation du civisme des citoyens³¹. La réforme s'efforçait de regrouper les enseignements universitaires autour d'une discipline fondamentale, certains établissements comptant par exemple une dizaine de chaires d'histoire et de droit de la Rome antique; mais cette politique marginalisa des disciplines nouvelles, comme la psychologie³². Gentile appliqua son principe de séparation des études universitaires et des concours de recrutement à une profession. Les premières s'achevaient par des licences ou des diplômes à caractère théorique. Les autres étaient des examens d'Etat où les candidats ne pouvaient se présenter sans avoir obtenu, en plus de leurs diplômes universitaires, une habilitation professionnelle (Décret-loi royal, 30 septembre 1923, n. 2102, art 5). Gentile exigeait plus d'assiduité de la part des étudiants et il supprima l'usage de la

³¹ G. Gentile, *Discorso al Senato*, 5 février 1925, «Levana», vol. IV, n. 1, p. 26.

³² M. David, *La psicanalisi nelle cultura italiana*, Turin, Boringhieri, 1966, p. 25.

«dispense de cours»³³. Il imposa aux universités une nomination ministérielle des recteurs et des doyens de Faculté. Il entendait par là «restaurer la liberté dans la loi et reconstituer la puissance de l'Etat en mettant fin à l'électoratisme, corrupteur des mœurs universitaires»³⁴. Le recrutement des professeurs d'université appartenait désormais à la Faculté concernée et non plus à une commission nationale de spécialistes. Gentile voulait créer ainsi une âme de chaque établissement universitaire et lui permettre d'approfondir ses travaux dans un domaine spécialisé. Les commissaires de la Faculté devaient pourtant être agréés par le ministre. Les universités renforçaient ainsi leur autonomie didactique, mais au prix d'une dépendance accrue de l'Etat.

La réforme suscita de vives critiques portant d'abord sur le secret dont Gentile s'entoura pendant son élaboration. Les socialistes Adelchi Baratonio et Emilio Agostinone lui reprochaient de se soustraire à la discussion parlementaire et au jugement de l'opinion. Des pédagogues dénonçaient les risques d'une réforme qui était l'expression d'un régime politique (De Sarlo, Vincenzo Cento); mais beaucoup d'entre eux soutiendront la Charte de l'Ecole qui sera la parfaite expression de l'éducation fasciste. Giovanni Vidari, partisan d'une communauté spirituelle dotée d'une vision positive du progrès, était proche du libéralisme national de Giovanni Amendola; mais il s'associa à la politique du régime en succédant à Lombardo Radice à la présidence de la commission de révision des manuels scolaires, et plus tard Giovanni Calò sera nommé par Bottai à la direction du Centre didactique national. L'examen d'Etat va valoir à Gentile une impopularité durable, les enseignants lui reprochant de les priver d'un pouvoir de décision sur leurs élèves; mais ils craignaient surtout que l'examen d'Etat fut un instrument de contrôle de leurs enseignements³⁵. Les sénateurs Nino Tamassia et Girolamo Vitelli reprochaient à Gentile d'en faire «une panacée immédiate à tous les maux de l'école». La réforme étendait au lycée une gemination des chaires qui existait déjà au gymnase. Cette mesure contribuait à réduire le nombre d'enseignants et elle fut l'objet de vives critiques³⁶. Nino Tamassia estimait qu'elle imposait une «incompétence» aux professeurs contraints d'enseigner une discipline qui n'était pas la leur avec des programmes «malades d'idéaux». Ettore Pais critiquait le jumelage de l'histoire et de la philosophie: l'une examinait les faits alors que l'autre était la science des concepts³⁷. Le sénateur Francesco Torracca condamnait le principe de la gemination qui violait le pacte du concours de recrutement des professeurs.

³³ Gentile, *Discorso al Senato*, cit.

³⁴ Id., *Discorso al Consiglio Superiore dell'Istruzione Pubblica*, «Levana», vol. II, n. 5, septembre-octobre 1923.

³⁵ M. Ostenc, *Lo storico genovese Vito Vitale e la riforma Gentile del 1923*, «I Problemi della pedagogia», vol. LIV, nn. 1-3, janvier-juin, 2008, p. 29). Rodolfo Mondolfo condamnait l'examen d'Etat sans appel (R. Mondolfo, *Libertà della scuola. Esame di Stato*, s.e., 1922, pp. 53-59).

³⁶ A. Alterocca, «Rivista d'Italia», 15 juin 1923, p. 232.

³⁷ F. Boffi, *La riforma scolastica al Senato*, «Nuova Antologia», 1^{er} août 1925.

L'enseignement de la physique relevait des sciences expérimentales qui n'avaient aucun rapport avec les abstractions mathématiques. Au Sénat, seul le philologue Girolamo Vitelli trouvait leur jumelage judicieux. Les catholiques du Parti Populaire Italien (P.P.I.) étaient partagés entre l'approbation de l'examen d'Etat, dont ils revendiquaient la paternité, et la crainte de voir le fascisme au pouvoir s'en prendre à la liberté de l'enseignement³⁸. Ils jugeaient les programmes trop étendus et souhaitaient que les professeurs aient le choix des sujets et celui des manuels scolaires. Ils critiquaient la nomination ministérielle des recteurs et demandaient que les universités puissent retrouver leur liberté didactique³⁹. Agostino Gemelli entendait utiliser la liberté concédée par la réforme comme une arme pour des conquêtes futures. A l'inverse de Gentile, il croyait que les écoles privées s'imposeraient comme les meilleures du pays⁴⁰. Les neothomistes de l'Université catholique de Milan se situaient sur un plan théorique et reprochaient à la philosophie néo-idéaliste d'utiliser le christianisme dans ses démonstrations⁴¹. Quant aux catholiques conservateurs, ils étaient très hostiles à l'Etat éducateur de Gentile.

Les modalités de désignation des professeurs d'université firent l'objet d'un blâme au Sénat qui les jugea dangereuses pour la science, pour l'université et pour l'équité elle-même. Gentile reçut par contre le soutien de Cesare De Lollis qui reconnaissait les inconvénients d'un recours exclusif à la compétence⁴² et celui d'Augusto Guzzo qui défendait le droit d'une Faculté de choisir son futur collègue au lieu de lui être imposé. Gioacchino Volpe se félicitait de la reconnaissance d'une personnalité juridique qui permettait aux universités de se doter d'un statut propre et d'associer des organismes locaux à leur gestion⁴³.

Credaro et ses partisans s'étaient montrés discrets pendant ces débats. Credaro avait même accepté la suppression de la section de Physique et mathématiques de l'Institut technique au profit du lycée scientifique⁴⁴. Comme la classe politique libérale, il adopta un certain attentisme devant la réforme Gentile; mais il émettra deux propositions concrètes, l'une concernant la formation pédagogique des maîtres et l'autre sur un enseignement secondaire en sciences et langues vivantes. En 1923, l'Accademia dei lincei, présidée par Vito Volterra, revendiqua la création d'une école unique au premier cycle de l'enseignement secondaire. En 1924, la «Rivista Pedagogica» va battre le rappel des adversaires de la réforme sans parvenir à lui opposer un véritable contre-

³⁸ L. Sturzo, *Popolarismo e fascismo*, Turin, Gobetti Editore, 1924.

³⁹ *Ordine del giorno P.P.I.*, 20 décembre 1923, in S. Petrocchi, *Don Luigi Sturzo*, Rome, Apollon, 1945, p. 64.

⁴⁰ A. Gemelli, *Riflessioni*, «Vita e Pensiero», septembre 1923, p. 515.

⁴¹ E. Chiocchetti, *La filosofia di Giovanni Gentile*, Milan, Vita e Pensiero, 1922.

⁴² C. De Lollis, *La nomina dei professori universitari nella riforma Gentile*, «Il Giornale d'Italia», 7 novembre 1923, pp. 109-112.

⁴³ G. Volpe, *La polemica universitaria*, «La Tribuna», 6 novembre 1923.

⁴⁴ L. Credaro, *Liceo moderno o scientifico*, «Nuova Antologia», 16 octobre 1923, pp. 289-304).

projet laïque et démocratique. Elle ne présentait d'ailleurs pas un front uni: un socialiste comme Augusto Mancini félicitait Gentile de ne pas s'être enlisé dans les débats et Gaetano Salvemini soutenait l'examen d'Etat⁴⁵. Les proches de Credaro combattaient moins l'idée d'une école formatrice des élites que son incompatibilité avec l'idéal démocratique⁴⁶. Credaro reconnut son échec. Il l'attribua à l'indifférence de l'opinion italienne qui laissait les enseignants seuls juges en la matière. Dans le camp de Gentile, Lombardo Radice qui concevait l'éducation nationale comme un renforcement des idéaux du Risorgimento et du sens d'appartenance des masses populaires ne pouvait accepter la centralisation de l'Etat fasciste dont le totalitarisme étouffait toute diversité. Il s'en éloigna progressivement jusqu'à l'interdiction de sa revue «Educazione Nazionale».

La réforme Gentile fut sauvée en 1923 par le soutien de Benedetto Croce qui lui assura celui des intellectuels libéraux et par celui de Mussolini qui en attendait la formation d'une nouvelle classe dirigeante. Elle fut progressivement remise en cause par la «politique des retouches» avant d'être abandonnée au début des années 1930, Mussolini la jugeant inadaptée à la formation du citoyen fasciste. L'ouvrage de Giorgio Chiosso, conforté par une grande richesse documentaire, présente une synthèse d'une très importante série de travaux de l'auteur sur l'histoire de l'école italienne dans le premier quart du XX^e siècle. Il fait preuve d'une grande profondeur dans ses analyses, sans dissimuler toutefois ses préférences en matière pédagogique, philosophique et politique.

⁴⁵ «Il Popolo di Roma», 4, 5, 8, 9 mai 1923.

⁴⁶ G. Tarozzi, *Il problema della scuola media*, Rome, s.e, 1922, p. 123.

I «*Monumenta Italiae Paedagogica*» e la costruzione del canone pedagogico nazionale (1886-1956): una rassegna di studi

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The «Monumenta Italiae Paedagogica» and the construction of the national pedagogical canon (1886-1956): a review of studies

ABSTRACT: This review of studies collects the contributions presented by Giorgio Chiosso, Carmela Covato and Giuseppe Zago during the presentation of the volume *I «Monumenta Italiae Paedagogica» e la costruzione del canone pedagogico nazionale (1886-1956)* by Juri Meda, held in Rome on January 16, 2020. The volume aims to reconstruct the history of the editorial project of the *Monumenta Italiae Paedagogica* promoted between 1886 and 1956 by educationalists like Luigi Credaro, Giuseppe Lombardo Radice and Giovanni Calò. They – although starting from different theoretical bases – tried to define the national educational canon, i.e. the corpus of educational works to which the national educational community recognized an exemplary value, considering it worthy of being studied and known. This volume – on the basis of an unpublished documentation – deepens the many aspects of this complex cultural operation, which was never completed.

EET/TEE KEYWORDS: History of pedagogy; Editorial projects; Review of studies; Italy; XXth Century.

Carmela Covato

Il volume di Juri Meda¹, decisamente innovativo dal punto di vista storiografico e, allo stesso tempo, caratterizzato da un ampio e accurato ricorso a fonti edite ed inedite, nell'affrontare il tema dei *Monumenta Italiae paedagogica*, un progetto che, come si dirà non vide mai la luce, rappresenta un viaggio nelle metamorfosi della coscienza pedagogica italiana in alcuni decisivi decenni della vicenda politica e culturale del nostro Paese (1886-1956).

L'indagine, che ricostruisce le voci dei protagonisti dei tanti dibattiti svoltisi fra Otto e Novecento sul ruolo delle istituzioni educative e sul senso del farne la storia, appare indiscutibilmente connessa al significato via via attribuito al processo di costruzione dell'identità e dell'unificazione nazionale, per alcuni versi ancora irrisolto e a lungo contrassegnato da molteplici contraddizioni, come l'opera di Tullio De Mauro, *Storia linguistica dell'Italia Unita*², ha magistralmente evidenziato.

Il volume di Juri Meda si articola in tre capitoli: I prodromi dei *Monumenta Italiae paedagogica*; I *Monumenta Italiae paedagogica* di Giovanni Calò: genesi e preparazione di un progetto editoriale (1914-1940); I *Monumenta Italiae Paedagogica* di Giovanni Calò: ascesa e fallimento di un progetto editoriale (1940-1956). L'indagine è, inoltre, corredata da un'ampia appendice documentaria che dà conto delle vicende istituzionali che hanno caratterizzato il progetto dei *Monumenta* con particolare attenzione al ruolo svolto dalla reale Accademia d'Italia e all'Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei.

A partire dalla descrizione della struttura stessa del volume, e delle caratteristiche metodologiche ed euristiche della ricerca condotta da Juri Meda, è possibile in primo luogo osservare che il viaggio all'interno della storia della cultura pedagogica italiana fra Otto e Novecento, nel dare voce a quegli intellettuali (Luigi Credaro, Giuseppe Lombardo Radice, Giovanni Calò e molti altri) che hanno espresso in questo campo le idee più significative pur a partire da posizioni molto diverse (da quelle di ispirazione positivista, all'orientamento neo-idealismo e al pensiero cattolico), avviene fuori da ogni astratta disputa epistemologica ma in un originalissimo intreccio fra la battaglia delle idee e, per usare un'espressione gramsciana riproposta e reinterpretata poi da Louis Althusser, il ruolo degli apparati ideologici; non proprio apparati ideologici di Stato forse, in questo caso, ma certamente luoghi rivolti alla costruzione di una egemonia culturale (come lo sono le imprese editoriali, ad esempio) che è insieme anche politica perché, nelle vicende qui prese in esame, sempre connessa ad una precisa visione del ruolo della scuola nella vita sociale.

¹ J. Meda, *I Monumenta Italiae paedagogica e la costruzione del canone pedagogico nazionale* (1886-1956), Milano, FrancoAngeli, 2019.

² T. De Mauro, *Storia linguistica dell'Italia unita*, Bari, Laterza, 1963.

Dal novero delle complesse e molteplici questioni trattate nel volume, ho scelto di evidenziare tre aspetti che mi hanno particolarmente colpito. In primo luogo, l'affiorare, in una direzione sorprendentemente anticipatrice di tendenze che si svilupperanno successivamente, di una visione della storia sociale dell'educazione come alternativa ad una storia della pedagogia risolta solo nella storia delle idee pedagogiche. Questo modo di intendere la storia della scuola e dell'educazione si rivela molto presente proprio nelle discussioni svoltesi intorno al progetto dei *Monumenta* e precede un dibattito connesso alle ricadute storico-educative della *Nouvelle Histoire* (solitamente collocato in campo storico-educativo molto più tardi negli anni Ottanta del Novecento)³. Affiora, inoltre, la grande rilevanza del rapporto fra un possibile canone nazionale e la dimensione internazionale come sensibilità già presente nelle riflessioni e nelle iniziative sviluppatesi fra Otto e Novecento, anche, ad esempio, come ben sottolinea Meda, nell'iniziativa di Giuseppe Lombardo Radice legata alla collana della Casa editrice Sandron «Pedagogisti ed educatori antichi e moderni». Da questo punto di vista, ripercorrere la storia dell'attenzione alla dimensione internazionale, una dimensione solo apparentemente legata a tempi più recenti, rappresenta un tema d'indagine molto significativo e inesplorato, troppo spesso riduttivamente ripiegati, come si è, da questo punto di vista, sull'attualità.

Si tratta di una dimensione sottolineata, ad esempio, da Calò nella *Prefazione* al volume di John Locke, *Pensieri sull'educazione*, il primo pubblicato nel 1922, nella traduzione italiana a cura di Giovanni Marchesini, nella collana «Biblioteca pedagogica. Educatori e pedagogisti italiani e stranieri» della Casa Editrice Sansoni. Calò sostenne, infatti, che il progetto editoriale, aperto a d educatori italiani e stranieri, avrebbe dovuto giovare a sviluppare «quella coscienza storica riflessa dei problemi educativi che non è in Italia né abbastanza profonda né abbastanza diffusa»⁴.

Infine, non si può non sottolineare la grande pregnanza di una discussione, che Meda evidenzia a partire da diversi punti di vista nei dibattiti da lui accuratamente tratteggiati nel corso del suo volume, su chi sono i classici della Pedagogia. Si tratta di un tema a lungo dibattuto, con sfumature diverse nel tempo e che è stato ripreso di recente da Roberto Sani nel volume *Settecento pedagogico e riformatore. Scritti di Scipione Maffei, Gasparo Gozzi, Gian Rinaldo Carli, Gaetano Filangieri e Matteo Galdi*, edito nella collana «Educatori di ieri e di oggi» delle Edizioni Conoscenza⁵. (Un tentativo, quello della nuova

³ C. Covato, R. Sani, *Una historiografía en constante evolución. Nuevos itinerarios y perspectivas de investigación en el campo de la historia de la educación*, «History of Education & Children's Literature», vol. XIV, n. 2, 2019, pp. 911-934.

⁴ G. Calò, *Prefazione*, in J. Locke, *Pensieri sull'educazione*, Firenze, Sansoni, 1922, pp. III-IV, cit. in Meda, *I Monumenta Italiae paedagogica e la costruzione del canone pedagogico nazionale (1886-1956)*, cit., p. 93.

⁵ R. Sani, *Introduzione*, in Id. (ed.), *Settecento pedagogico e riformatore. Scritti di Scipione*

collana, lo sottolineato per inciso, di creare, come altre iniziative editoriali sviluppatesi di recente, un nuovo canone storico-pedagogico? La questione è senza dubbio aperta).

Nel compiere la scelta degli autori antologizzati, Sani non si limita ad una semplice selezione, ma intende andare oltre l'accezione più tradizionale dei classici della pedagogia e dell'educazione pervenendo ad una concezione più ampia che consente di «annoverare tra i 'classici' del settore anche quei testi che, scaturiti dalla concreta esigenza di modificare in profondità le istituzioni, i processi e gli stessi costumi educativi di una determinata società, esprimendo al meglio lo spirito riformatore le istanze di rinnovamento culturale e civile – oltre che squisitamente pedagogico ed educativo – di una determinata epoca»⁶.

Tornando alla questione di una nuova sensibilità storiografica maturata fin d'allora nella storiografia educativa, che vorrei mettere in evidenza all'interno di questo mio breve contributo, è opportuno sottolineare come, da un punto di vista metodologico ed interpretativo, fra le conquiste più significative dei più recenti approdi di quella ricerca storico-educativa che ha solcato i percorsi della *nouvelle histoire*, della storia della vita privata, dei sentimenti e della vita materiale, non si può trascurare la consapevolezza della necessità di un costante confronto fra teoria e prassi, vita materiale e apparati ideologici e simbolici.

I Monumenta Italiae paedagogica – sostiene Juri Meda – offrono un contributo decisivo per quanto difficilmente calcolabile a questo complesso processo storiografico, in quanto divennero – per un'intera generazione – il «punto d'arrivo» ideale d'un percorso di maturazione epistemologica collettiva che nel giro di alcuni anni avrebbe dovuto rendere la storia della pedagogia italiana in grado di fare ciò che quella tedesca stava già facendo con risultati eccezionali⁷.

Se, in un passato relativamente recente, nell'indagare sulla storia dell'educazione, si tendeva, soprattutto in Italia, anche a causa della lunga egemonia esercitata dalla tradizione neoidealista, a privilegiare lo studio del succedersi nel tempo di modelli educativi e teorie pedagogiche, a partire dagli ultimi decenni, l'attenzione si è concentrata sull'analisi dei vissuti e delle storie reali, delle storie di vita, sempre intessute da vicende formative assai difforni sul piano sociale e identitario e dalle storie d'infanzia rintracciabili soprattutto nelle testimonianze autobiografiche, biografiche, diaristiche, epistolari e letterarie⁸.

Da questo punto di vista, è decisamente sorprendente rinvenire anticipazioni significative di questa sensibilità proprio nella dimensione metodologica e nelle

Maffei, Gasparo Gozzi, Gian Rinaldo Carli, Faetano Filangieri e Matteo Galdi, Roma, Conoscenza, 2019.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 8.

⁷ Meda, *I Monumenta Italiae paedagogica e la costruzione del canone pedagogico nazionale (1886-1956)*, cit., p. 20.

⁸ Cfr., a questo proposito, fra gli altri, F. Borruso, *Infanzie. Percorsi storico-educativi fra immaginario e realtà*, Milano, FrancoAngeli, 2019.

nuove istanze euristiche maturate nel corso della progettazione dei *Monumenta*.

Il volume di Juri Meda, ha inteso, in primo luogo, come si è detto, ricostruire attraverso il succedersi dei progetti sviluppatasi intorno alla nascita dei *Monumenta Italiae paedagogica*, la storia della costruzione di un canone pedagogico nazionale (al qual si impegnarono, in tempi diversi Luigi Credaro, Giuseppe lombardo Radice – con sfumature assai diversificate – e Giovanni Calò), vale a dire di opere educative esemplari fondanti una tradizione pedagogica squisitamente italiana da trasmettere alle nuove generazioni come patrimonio identitario irrinunciabile. Un'impresa, come si è detto, mai giunta a buon fine.

Prima di addentrarsi in questa tematica, non si può non partire tuttavia dalla sconcertante affermazione di Juri Meda, contenuta nell'*Introduzione*:

Questo libro è in effetti la storia di un fallimento. Nonostante gli smisurati sforzi profusi dai loro principali promotori, Luigi Credaro e Giovanni Calò, così come dai numerosi collaboratori che nel corso degli anni ne condivisero i progetti e si impegnarono nella loro realizzazione, infatti, i *Monumenta Italiae paedagogica* non videro mai la luce⁹.

E a questo fallimento, Meda attribuisce la scarsissima attenzione finora dedicata al tema, se si escludono pochi esempi di riferimento esplicito come Francesco de Vivo (1983), Simonetta Soldani (2000) e, inoltre, Marino Raicich in occasione dell'avvio con Giuseppe Talamo, della collana «Fonti per la storia della scuola», presso l'Archivio centrale dello Stato, che, pur non svolgendo il ruolo ipotizzato dai *Monumenta*, voleva essere un utile sussidio agli studiosi di storia della scuola e dell'educazione fondata sulla collaborazione diretta quanto inedita fra studiosi del settore e archivisti. Ogni volume di selezioni di fonti è curato da uno studioso del settore e da un archivist. Questa collana viene realizzata e pubblica una serie di volumi, ma terminerà con la scomparsa dei due curatori¹⁰.

Tornando ai progetti intrecciatisi intorno alla nascita dei *Monumenta*, Meda osserva che, sebbene l'opera non sia stata mai realizzata, tuttavia non è possibile trascurare gli effetti positivi che ebbe la progettualità in essa implicita, i dibattiti che ne sono scaturiti e le occasioni di scambio e di confronto sull'idea stessa di storia della pedagogia.

I *Monumenta Italiae paedagogica*, infatti, come cercheremo di dimostrare in questo libro – scrive Juri Meda – produssero un effetto concreto nella storia della pedagogia italiana, avviando – come aveva già notato Gamba nel 1950 – la messa in discussione della storia della pedagogia intesa esclusivamente come storia delle idee pedagogiche e delle teorie educative, che sarebbe stata rilanciata a inizio del '900 dal neo idealismo e dall'egemonia da essa esercitata sull'intera cultura italiana, ben oltre la sua soglia naturale di obsolescenza e

⁹ Meda, *I Monumenta Italiae paedagogica e la costruzione del canone pedagogico nazionale* (1886-1956), cit., p. 19.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 18-19.

quando ormai nella storiografia internazionale si era diffuso il modello annalistico francese, che l'avrebbe più tardi influenzato¹¹.

In Luigi Credaro, ad esempio – sottolinea Meda – era evidente il richiamo al modello dei *Monumenta Germaniae Paedagogica* elaborato da Karl Kehrbach e alla metamorfosi storiografica in esso implicita, legata soprattutto ad un ricorso a fonti assai eterogenee e ad un profondo rinnovamento storiografico, sulla base della consapevolezza dell'arretratezza degli studi storico-pedagogici italiani.

Pur nell'impossibilità di realizzare una raccolta di fonti della vastità e della portata del modello tedesco, si voleva pensare in ogni caso, come ha sottolineato Roberto Sani nella sua *Prefazione* al volume di Meda al «complesso delle opere fondamentali, alla quale la comunità pedagogica nazionale italiana riconosceva un valore esemplare, ritenendole pertanto degne di essere trasmesse e conosciute»¹². E, dopo aver ricordato le finalità principali dei *Monumenta*, accanto ai principali motivi ispiratori egli mette in evidenza come non si possa trascurare il rapporto fra la storia della pedagogia professata (come sottolineato da Luigi Credaro) e una storia della pedagogia praticata «dietro la quale si intravede la contrapposizione fra la storia delle idee pedagogiche di matrice neo-idealistica e una storia dell'educazione più orientata a studiare, le istituzioni educative, le leggi relative alla pubblica istruzione, i libri di testo, le reali pratiche educative svolte a scuola»¹³.

Si tratta di un percorso che va compreso nel lungo e complesso processo di emancipazione dalla matrice prevalentemente filosofica della tradizione del pensiero pedagogico italiano; e se i *Monumenta* non videro mai la luce, molte collane editoriali si ispirarono a questa impostazione e progettualità. Il progetto raccoglie, infatti, i fermenti di una rivoluzione storiografica in atto, messa poi in ombra dal noto predominio dell'egemonia neo-idealistica e delle conseguenti ricadute nei modelli euristici maggiormente percorsi.

Già Emanuele Ceesia si era così espresso entrando nel merito del rapporto fra storia sociale e storia delle idee:

Quindi è una storia dell'educazione che non dee proporsi, come unico intento, di svolgere soltanto le diverse teorie pedagogiche, sì bene raccogliere tutti gli sforzi tentati allo scopo di indirizzare il genere umano al suo vero fine, rinfrescare la memoria degli uomini ch'an dato un gagliardo impulso al progresso, le innovazioni di cui furono gli autori, gli scritti loro e le vie da essi corsi per arrivare alla meta. Le leggi, i reggimenti, le costituzioni de' popoli, le religioni, le favelle, le condizioni della famiglia, lo stato della coltura, il costume, le scuole,

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 19.

¹² R. Sani, *Introduzione*, in Meda, *I Monumenta Italiae paedagogica e la costruzione del canone pedagogico nazionale (1886-1956)*, cit., p. 9

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 10.

sono le fila di cui dovrà tener conto lo storico, come di altrettanti elementi di cui balena il progetto della pedagogia nazionale¹⁴.

Così come, facendo riferimento alla visione storiografica di Luigi Credaro, Paolo Vecchia sosteneva, nel 1911 sulla «Rivista pedagogica»:

La [pedagogia], rappresenta la stessa cultura nazionale e lo stesso sentimento sociale, considerato come metodo di poterli trasmettere in modo facile ed efficace, cioè metodico nella mente e nell'animo dei cittadini. Ne consegue che non si potrebbe spiegare né il formarsi né lo svolgersi delle dottrine pedagogiche, separando questi fenomeni dalle idee e dagli avvenimenti sociali che hanno costituito l'ambiente il quale ne ha reso possibile la produzione¹⁵.

Di grande interesse anche la citazione, fatta da Juri Meda, della recensione di Giacomo Tauro pubblicata sulla rivista credariana nel 1914 – «Rivista pedagogica» – dell'importante opera di Giuseppe Manacorda *Storia della scuola in Italia*¹⁶, di cui fu pubblicato nel 1913 solo il primo volume dedicato al Medioevo (che rappresenta un significativo ed inedito esperimento di una storia della scuola vista dal suo interno e sulla base dell'analisi delle pratiche educative reali e degli ordinamenti adottati), nella collana della Casa editrice Sandron diretta dal gentiliano Giuseppe Lombardo Radice «Pedagogisti ed educatori antichi e Moderni» – alla cui analisi Meda dedica una parte significativa del suo volume:

La storia delle istituzioni scolastiche – scrive Tauro sottolineando la necessità di andare oltre la pedagogia professata – se non esaurisce lo studio delle vicende della pedagogia pratica, ne costituisce parte integrante, non solo perché porge il modo di riconoscere l'influsso effettivamente esercitato dalle diverse dottrine pedagogiche sull'educazione nei vari periodi della civiltà, ma anche perché aiuta alla formazione del diritto scolastico, che è uno degli aspetti sotto i quali l'idea educativa si presenta nella sua pratica esplicazione attraverso la vita sociale¹⁷.

Sebbene la 'lezione storica' credariana, così come altre istanze innovatrici maturate in quegli anni intorno al tema del rapporto fra pedagogie praticate e pedagogie professate, abbia subito poi una parabola discendente – dovuta al noto predominio dell'egemonia neo-idealista – come non ritrovare in queste parole l'ispirazione della lezione annalista?

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 11.

¹⁵ Cit. in Meda, *I Monumenta Italiae paedagogica e la costruzione del canone pedagogico nazionale* (1886-1956), cit., p. 64.

¹⁶ G. Manacorda, *La storia della scuola in Italia*, Vol. I, *Il Medioevo*, Milano, Remo Sandron, 1913. Meda sostiene, inoltre, che la pubblicazione di due importanti opere di Emilia Formigini Santamaria «fra il 1909 e il 1912 vennero a costituire un vero spartiacque storiografico negli studi storico-pedagogici, anticipando di un anno l'altrettanto dirompente *Storia della scuola in Italia* del Manacorda, che però proveniva da un altro ambito disciplinare» (*Ibid.*, p. 78).

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 72.

Come non ritrovare la sensibilità storiografica di Juri Meda che ha dedicato gran parte dei suoi studi e delle sue ricerche alla materialità educativa nella storia della scuola e della pedagogia? E non si può non segnalare, a questo proposito, il suo recente volume *Mezzi di educazione di massa. Saggi di storia della cultura materiale della scuola tra XIX e XX secolo*¹⁸.

Grazie all'attenta ricerca condotta da Juri Meda, scopriamo, dunque, quanto il dibattito su questi temi fosse già sviluppato, anche in Italia, fra Ottocento e Novecento.

Nel novero dei tanti progetti maturati e poi decaduti in questa direzione, vorrei soffermarmi sull'iniziativa – alla quale Juri Meda dà un ampio e significativo spazio – condotta da Giovanni Battista Guerini e alla sua raccolta di opere pedagogiche italiane, sebbene non direttamente ispirate al modello tedesco, ordinate per secoli e raccolte nella collana «Collezione di libri d'istruzione e di educazione», fino al 1897 e poi nella collana «Biblioteca di filosofia e pedagogia» diretta da Zino Zini per la Casa Editrice Paravia dal 1886 al 1910.

Ciò ci consente di mettere in chiaro come la raccolta del Gerini – scrive Juri Meda – non costituisca un maldestro tentativo di realizzazione dei *Monumenta Italiae paedagogica* quanto piuttosto una tappa fondamentale di quella lenta marcia di avvicinamento al più organico progetto di edizione critica delle fonti storico-pedagogiche italiane presentato da Giovanni Calò alla Regia Accademia d'Italia nel 1940. Tanto più fondamentale se si considera che – prima di quest'opera – non si disponeva ancora di un censimento sistematico dei pensatori italiani che avevano dedicato *in toto* o in parte le proprie riflessioni alle tematiche pedagogiche ed educative¹⁹.

Molto interessanti ed emblematiche le molteplici critiche rivolte all'iniziativa. La prima è di Francesco Paolo Japichino che nel valutare positivamente l'impegno profuso da Gerini nel rintracciare opere legate alla tradizione pedagogica italiana dimenticata, sottolinea però l'assenza di una veduta scientifica della pedagogia:

Far vedere come da una veduta empirica si passi gradatamente a un concetto scientifico della pedagogia, questo egli non ce lo dimostra; e non lo poteva perché essendosi ristretto allo studio isolato degli scrittori pedagogici italiani, ha trascurato il tema importante dell'influsso delle teorie pedagogiche straniere²⁰.

Si tratta di un tema molto importante perché il rapporto fra la ricerca di un canone pedagogico nazionale e l'apertura alla dimensione internazionale pone questioni che rimarranno a lungo irrisolte o riduttivamente interpretate.

¹⁸ J. Meda, *Mezzi di educazione di massa. Saggi di storia della cultura materiale della scuola tra XIX e XX secolo*, Milano, FrancoAngeli, 2016.

¹⁹ Id., *I Monumenta Italiae paedagogica e la costruzione del canone pedagogico nazionale (1886-1956)*, cit., p. 39.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 46.

In conclusione, il volume di Juri Meda che, come si è detto inizialmente, rappresenta un viaggio nelle metamorfosi della coscienza pedagogica italiana nella storia del Novecento, apre nuovi squarci interpretativi che interrogano non solo il passato ma anche il presente.

Giorgio Chiosso

Il volume di Juri Meda dedicato al progetto dei *Monumenta Italiae Paedagogica* è il frutto di un sapiente dosaggio di indagine documentaria e analisi storica e si presenta nella forma di una narrazione sciolta che accompagna il lettore a scoprire poco alla volta gli intrecci che danno vita a una sorta di vera e propria trama ricca di colpi di scena. La puntigliosa ricerca dell'autore attraverso archivi e biblioteche ha portato infatti alla ribalta una vicenda dall'intreccio assai articolato e al tempo stesso ambiziosa – finora soltanto parzialmente nota – che si snoda per alcuni decenni, il cui culmine e maturazione è riconducibile tra gli anni '30 e '40 del secolo scorso.

Il proposito dei protagonisti di questa storia era quello di ricostruire l'identità pedagogica italiana attraverso la raccolta sistematica delle opere ritenute fondanti il canone pedagogico nazionale in linea con una tradizione storiografica sette-ottocentesca incentrata sulla raccolta erudita e sulla pubblicazione delle fonti storiche, giuridiche e letterarie ritenute più significative.

Intorno a questo obiettivo principale si gioca anche un'altra partita. Le vicende che accompagnano il progetto dei *Monumenta* infatti si situano in un crocevia dove s'intersecano interessi e contrasti riconducibili alla lotta per l'egemonia pedagogica nell'Italia dei primi decenni del secolo. Da una parte i neo idealisti con Gentile e i suoi amici ed allievi e, dall'altra, alcuni suoi irriducibili avversari come Credaro, Calò, Orestano, Bodrero, Bastano – crediamo – queste poche annotazioni poste in premessa per cogliere i molteplici motivi di interesse del volume.

Innanzitutto Meda antepone alla vicenda principale alcuni tentativi precedenti di dar vita a una qualche forma di *Monumenta*. L'idea di un *corpus* di opere utili per costruire il canone pedagogico nazionale e legittimare una tradizione pedagogica italiana fu infatti coltivata da svariati studiosi, fin dagli ultimi anni del XIX secolo dietro l'influenza esercitata dall'impresa realizzata in Germania da Karl Kehrbach con i *Monumenta Germaniae Paedagogica*. Ne furono protagonisti in vario modo figure di calibro diverso, in qualche caso studiosi semiconosciuti (come Romeo Taverni e Giovanni Battista Gerini) e in altri casi, con maggiore concretezza, personalità di primo piano, in primo luogo Luigi Credaro e Giovanni Calò.

Il grandioso disegno dei *Monumenta* italiani, a differenza dell'iniziativa tedesca, non andò tuttavia a buon fine e l'opera non vide mai la luce. Si potrebbe

a lungo discutere se l'esito infausto fu bene oppure se influenzò in senso negativo la successiva evoluzione della storia pedagogia patria. È difficile dare una risposta certa: forse fu bene perché è possibile immaginare che i *Monumenta* avrebbero potuto condizionare in modo non lieve la ricerca storico educativa con l'autorevolezza di ciò che nei *Monumenta* stessi era conservato. Ma forse fu anche male perché la mancata raccolta unitaria di una grande quantità di documenti e testi ha finito per seppellirne una parte sotto una pietra tombale.

Il libro ricostruisce, dunque, la storia di un fallimento. Ma è proprio attraverso l'intrigante ricostruzione di questo fallimento che emergono molti elementi utili a meglio comprendere le tribolate vicende dei *Monumenta*, associate a dati ulteriori sullo stato di salute della pedagogia italiana del primo scorcio del secolo scorso.

Dalla parte dei *Monumenta* due protagonisti si stagliano in primo piano: Luigi Credaro e Giovanni Calò, tutti e due esponenti del cosiddetto fronte 'anti idealistico', tenaci e severi avversari di Giovanni Gentile (che a sua volta ad entrambi, e in specie a Calò, non risparmiò critiche durissime) ed entrambi emarginati, in modo irreversibile dalla irruente potenza culturale gentiliana rafforzata dal sostegno del fascismo.

Questi contrasti ebbero il loro peso anche nel caso dei *Monumenta*. Ritengo infatti che proprio nell'alveo del confronto/scontro tra anti idealisti e Gentile sia da ricondurre, almeno in parte, la vicenda dei *Monumenta* come spero di dimostrare più avanti.

L'interesse di Credaro ai *Monumenta* risale a tempi non sospetti. Grande conoscitore della Germania e affascinato dalla centralità della pedagogia nella vita culturale tedesca, fin dagli ultimi anni del secolo precedente il futuro ministro dell'Istruzione guarda con simpatia all'impresa storiografica avviata dal Kehrbach, additandola come esemplare ai suoi allievi.

Così ne sottolinea le novità: una storia dell'educazione e della scuola non più figlia minore della storia filosofica, ma con una sua precisa autonomia, non solo storia delle idee e dei sistemi pedagogici, ma anche storia della vita scolastica, dei regolamenti educativi, dei libri di testo e di quant'altro fosse utile a documentare la complessità e la varietà dell'agire educativo.

Il confronto con la mediocre qualità della storiografia pedagogica nostrana risulta a tutto svantaggio degli studiosi italiani. Le storie ottocentesche di Emanuele Ceesia, Francesco Cerruti, Everardo Micheli, Giovanni C, Milanese sono informate compilazioni che non reggono il confronto con le ricerche approfondite in corso in altri parti dell'Europa, segnatamente in Germania e in Francia. L'aggiunta della *Storia della pedagogia italiana* in calce alla più nota storia pedagogica del secondo Ottocento, quella firmata dallo studioso francese Gabriel Compayré, dovuta ad Angelo Valdarnini e pubblicata da Paravia non poteva soddisfare Credaro.

Il pedagogista valtellinese incoraggiò alcuni studiosi a lui vicini a impegnarsi nello scavo storico e nella paziente ricerca delle fonti, operazione che produsse

più di un lavoro meritevole di attenzione e orientato in quella direzione che i *Monumenta* del Kehrbach avevano tracciato. Su questi binari si svolsero lavori di una generazione di giovani studiosi a lui vicini come, per citare le personalità più note, Emilia Formiggini Santamaria, Valeria Benetti Brunelli, Alfredo Poggi, Baldo Peroni, Giovanni Vidari e, naturalmente, lo stesso Calò.

La «Rivista Pedagogica» diede voce con numerosi articoli a questo orientamento storiografico, cercando – d'un lato – di rinnovare lo scenario storico pedagogico nazionale fermo a impostazioni erudite o a letture alquanto scontate e – dall'altro – opponendosi nettamente all'impostazione storiografica neoidealista. Anche in questo ambito il contrasto tra positivisti in disarmo ed herbartiani d'inizio secolo e l'emergente cultura del neo idealismo si manifestò in tutta la sua dirompente irriducibilità.

Al contrario di Credaro, Gentile e i suoi sodali erano infatti dell'avviso che, perso il contatto con la storia delle idee, la ricostruzione storico educativa avrebbe finito per cadere nel particolarismo erudito, nel cammeo localistico, perdendo la capacità di confrontarsi con le grandi traiettorie di pensiero che segnano la storia e le sue transizioni (esemplari in tal senso sono i volumi di Gentile su *Capponi e la cultura toscana del XIX secolo*, *Il tramonto della cultura siciliana* e quello di Codignola sulla pedagogia rivoluzionaria francese). Sulla scia del maestro, Lombardo Radice diede vita con Sandron alla collana «Pedagogisti ed educatori antichi e moderni» che nelle intenzioni del curatore avrebbe dovuto costituire in campo pedagogico quello che Croce e Gentile stavano facendo in ambito filosofico con l'impresa dei «Classici della filosofia moderna» iniziata nel 1907 presso Laterza.

Secondo Meda la collana di Lombardo Radice avrebbe rappresentato – o potuto rappresentare – un vero e proprio contraltare al progetto dei *Monumenta*. Sarei cauto nello stabilire un così diretto rapporto tra le due iniziative, una ancora *in fieri*, l'altra impegnata a contrastare l'influenza tardo positivista sulla pedagogia nazionale. Nulla ci lascia supporre che dietro alla collana sandroniana ci fosse l'idea di creare un canone pedagogico nazionale: la conferma viene dal fatto che molti volumi sono di autori stranieri (Comenio, Herder, Herbart, Schelling).

È più plausibile che l'obiettivo principale di Lombardo Radice fosse soprattutto quello di immettere nello scenario educativo italiano voci funzionali al suo disegno pedagogico centrato sulla libera attività dello spirito come suggerivano la pedagogia romantica tedesca e l'insegnamento tolstoiano.

Credo che il termine di confronto immediato fosse piuttosto la collana diretta da Fausto Saverio De Dominicis presso l'editore milanese Albrighi&Segati nella quale militavano i maggiori esponenti dell'anti idealismo, sostenuta dall'idea trainante dell'educazione come esito della formazione della razionalità umana come fattore decisivo del progresso dell'umanità.

Fu a ridosso di queste schermaglie editoriali che maturò in Giovanni Calò il proposito di realizzare anche in Italia un progetto dai tratti analoghi a quello

del Kehrbach. Meda ricostruisce puntualmente, a partire dal 1914, l'interesse del pedagogista fiorentino in tal senso con un graduale crescendo che, passata la guerra e avviata la riforma scolastica del 1923, trova un importante momento di consolidamento in occasione della Mostra didattica nazionale di Firenze del 1925 e nella successiva creazione del Museo didattico nazionale. L'elaborazione del progetto è tuttavia molto lenta, forse anche condizionata dal progetto di una collana di classici pedagogici che Calò mise in cantiere presso Sansoni, molto ambiziosa, ma poco fortunata.

Soltanto nel 1933 la fase propedeutica si può considerare esaurita: Calò presentò infatti in quell'anno il primo piano editoriale dei *Monumenta* alla Reale Accademia dei Lincei che, stando alla documentazione raccolta, è senza dubbio un progetto ampiamente condiviso, se non proprio elaborato insieme a Credaro.

Il pedagogista valtellinese, ormai messo all'angolo della politica scolastica, non si rassegna a uscire di scena senza affidarne l'eredità a una personalità autorevole. La corrispondenza con Calò documenta in modo inequivocabile che Credaro individua proprio nel direttore del Museo fiorentino lo studioso più affidabile a questo scopo. Il sodalizio tra i due trova nel progetto dei *Monumenta* a lungo coltivato da Credaro il suo momento forse più significativo, anche se va ricordata un'altra occasione di continuità ideale e politico scolastica con la «Rivista Pedagogica» – ormai scomparso Credaro (1938) – nella pubblicazione della «Rassegna Italiana di Pedagogia» promossa dal Calò nel 1941 con Raffaele Resta e il giovane Giuseppe Flores d'Arcais

Tutto lascia supporre che i successivi progressi nella trattativa per fare dei *Monumenta* un'iniziativa dell'Accademia dei Licei (poi, dal 1939, assorbita all'interno della Reale Accademia d'Italia) sia stata facilitata non soltanto dall'apprezzamento di una importante iniziativa che esaltava la pedagogia nazionale e risultava coerente con le ambizioni dell'Italia imperialista, ma sia stata anche il risultato di una ben combinata operazione politico-accademica volta ad approfittare dell'indebolimento di Gentile nel fascismo degli anni '30 e a tentare di ridimensionarne l'occupazione di quasi tutti gli spazi pedagogici compiuta in precedenza.

La conferma di questa tesi, a mio avviso, viene dai nomi degli studiosi che in vario modo diedero fondamentale sostegno all'impresa di Calò e Credaro e che, in modi diversi, avevano qualche conto in sospeso con l'ex ministro dell'Istruzione: il presidente dell'Accademia d'Italia Luigi Federzoni, Francesco Orestano, presidente della Commissione incaricata di realizzare i *Monumenta* e il mentore di quest'ultimo, il filosofo e uomo politico Emilio Bodrero, tutti accomunati da un'antica milizia nel nazionalismo anti gentiliano, da severe riserve verso la riforma del 1923 e – ciò che non metterei in secondo piano – in alcuni casi al centro di contrasti molto duri anche di tipo personale con il filosofo siciliano.

Nella corrispondenza tra Croce e Gentile si trovano, ad esempio, espressioni particolarmente forti su Bodrero: prima della guerra Croce lo definisce un «mascalzone» e un «miserabile» e Gentile, di rimando, gli augura di meritarsi «un sacco di legnate, come usano qui a Palermo». Quanto ad Orestano pesava la vicenda delle sue dimissioni da professore universitario nel 1924 quando il Gentile ministro aveva avviato contro di lui un procedimento con la minaccia di licenziamento perché non ottemperava i propri obblighi didattici a Palermo (residente a Roma, adducendo vari pretesti in pratica – secondo l'accusa – non si faceva quasi mai vedere).

In questo contesto nel quale più che la militanza nel fascismo sembrano contare gli equilibri e le rivalse accademiche, Calò seppe muoversi con l'abilità di un grande navigatore impegnato a fiutare il vento e ad evitare scogli e tempeste impreviste. Questo antico liberale che non scende mai a patti ufficialmente con il fascismo e sa prenderne con intelligente prudenza le distanze (da vedere il bollettino del Museo didattico nazionale dal titolo «La Vita scolastica», 1929-1938), dimostra di sapersi muovere con sottigliezza, ingraziarsi il ministro Bottai e gestire a vantaggio del proprio progetto alcune tra le figure più in vista della vita culturale fascista, senza rinunciare in qualche caso a ricorrere allo stesso Gentile per raccomandazioni e sostegni di varia natura.

Questo piccolo capolavoro diplomatico documenta in primo luogo la bravura manovriera del pedagogista fiorentino che scopriamo non soltanto in questa vicenda, confermata anche da altri episodi. In tal senso vanno la duratura presidenza del Museo fiorentino nonostante gli attacchi dei fascisti locali e, in seguito, il suo approdo dopo la guerra ai lidi democristiani fino a diventare il regista a nome dei cattolici della mancata riforma scolastica degli anni '40.

Ma lo spazio nel quale agisce Calò al tempo stesso testimonia come all'interno delle élites culturali del fascismo fossero possibili iniziative anche relativamente indipendenti dai progetti più esplicitamente orientati in senso ideologico. La vicenda di Calò e dei *Monumenta* (come su un altro piano accadde per le collaborazioni volute da Gentile nella *Enciclopedia Italiana*) conferma infatti che almeno nel mondo universitario – soddisfatta la resa ufficiale con il giuramento del 1931 ed escluse le forme di opposizioni conclamate – erano tollerati alcuni spazi di libertà garantiti dalle consuetudini accademiche. Ed è proprio di queste che si fece forte Calò per gestire il suo comunque sfortunato progetto.

Giuseppe Zago

I due temi principali del volume, e cioè la vicenda del progetto culturale e editoriale dei *Monumenta Italiae Paedagogica* e la formazione del canone pedagogico nazionale, rivelano una indubbia originalità: fino ad oggi la nostra storiografia ha dedicato loro scarsa attenzione, anche se si tratta di questioni

che hanno coinvolto numerosi protagonisti e diversi ambienti del mondo pedagogico italiano e che si sono incrociate con la storia politica e culturale del nostro Paese. Grazie ad una ricerca lunga e accurata e al ricorso ad una documentazione vasta e spesso di prima mano, l'autore riesce a contestualizzare questi temi offrendone una convincente ricostruzione. In relazione al primo tema, il volume potrebbe essere letto in modo 'geografico', ossia come un itinerario o un viaggio che ha come tappe alcune città – o Università – italiane. Il percorso parte da Padova, ove l'idea del progetto editoriale si profila, anche se in modo ancora debole e incerto, fa tappa poi a Torino, dove si arricchisce e si consolida almeno per taluni aspetti, per prendere forma, ampliarsi e definirsi tra Roma e Firenze. La vicenda si conclude nella città in cui era nata, e cioè a Padova, dove si constaterà l'impossibilità di procedere all'avvio delle pubblicazioni e quindi si prenderà atto del definitivo fallimento del progetto.

Come documenta Meda, si deve riconoscere a Domenico Romeo Taverni, docente di pedagogia nell'Università di Padova, il merito di aver segnalato, in un breve scritto del 1886, la mancanza di un canone pedagogico nazionale e soprattutto di aver proposto, primo in Italia, di avviare una raccolta dei *Monumenta Italiae paedagogica* (e anche di creare un Museo dell'istruzione pubblica). Lo scopo dichiarato era quello di recuperare la tradizione educativa italiana, e in particolare quella delle istituzioni scolastiche. Accanto a questo doveroso riconoscimento, occorre pure ricordare le riserve che nel volume vengono avanzate sulla figura di questo docente e sul suo impegno accademico. Nella lettera-opuscolo pubblicata a Padova nel 1886, egli affermava di aver concepito questa idea fin dal 1881. Quest'ultima data non può non destare alcuni sospetti: come osserva giustamente Meda, è «una coincidenza quantomeno improbabile che proprio nell'anno di pubblicazione del primo volume dei *Monumenta* tedeschi, Taverni – quasi sicuramente conoscitore della lingua tedesca e attento a quanto accadeva al di fuori dei confini nazionali – avesse concepito autonomamente un progetto analogo, imponendogli per giunta un nome del tutto simile»²¹. In altre parole, Taverni intendeva sostenere che il suo progetto era stato ideato ben prima di quello avviato in Germania nel 1884, e che era stato da lui concepito in forma del tutto autonoma. Nel volume si sottolineano anche altri limiti del disegno di Taverni, qualificato come un progetto «individuale», «non originale», «maldestro» per certi aspetti e soprattutto «improprio nello stesso uso del termine *Monumenta*». Dalla lettura dell'opuscolo del 1886 si ricava infatti l'impressione che si ipotizzasse una vasta raccolta di testi a stampa (soprattutto libri di scuola, provvedimenti legislativi, monografie su singole istituzioni scolastiche o educative) piuttosto che una monumentale collezione di volumi destinati a raccogliere l'edizione critica delle fonti più significative della tradizione pedagogica italiana. Ancora secondo

²¹ Meda, *I Monumenta Italiae paedagogica e la costruzione del canone pedagogico nazionale (1886-1956)*, cit., p. 33.

Meda, Taverni rappresenta una «figura singolare» di docente, caratterizzata da luci e da ombre. Si tratta di un giudizio che trova conferma negli Archivi dell'Università di Padova. Il servizio accademico di Taverni era iniziato sotto i migliori auspici: una benevola Commissione di concorso (formata da Bonatelli, Ardigò e Labanca) lo aveva preferito ad altri candidati, anche se non presentava alcuna pubblicazione di tipo pedagogico. Ben presto però la sua attività didattica e i suoi rapporti con i colleghi della Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia fecero emergere molti problemi che peggiorarono progressivamente fino ad esplodere nel 1887. Il contenzioso fu risolto improvvisamente e inaspettatamente dal ministro Coppino che (con ogni probabilità su pressante istanza dell'interessato) trasferì Taverni all'Università di Catania. Al di là delle vicende personali e professionali, opportunamente ricostruite da Meda in modo sintetico, occorre soffermarsi su un altro elemento che merita qualche precisazione. Nel volume si legge che Taverni si attribuiva «il merito di aver dato inizio agli studi di storia dell'educazione presso l'ateneo padovano»²². L'affermazione appare storicamente per lo meno discutibile poiché sembra ignorare la tradizione locale e in particolare la figura del predecessore di Taverni, cioè di Everardo Micheli, che aveva tenuto la Cattedra di Pedagogia a Padova dal 1876 al 1881. Micheli si era distinto particolarmente negli studi storico-pedagogici: a lui si devono uno dei primi manuali della disciplina (*Storia della pedagogia italiana dal tempo dei romani a tutto il secolo XVIII*, 1876) e numerosi saggi e traduzioni sulla pedagogia romana e su quella umanistica. Le sue opere offrono indubbiamente molti elementi utili sia per individuare fonti poco note per i *Monumenta* sia per indagare la lenta formazione di un canone pedagogico nazionale, anche se ovviamente non contengono riferimenti espliciti a questi ultimi due temi.

Le ricostruzioni di Micheli appaiono basate su una documentazione rigorosa, costituita da precisi repertori di luoghi, accuratamente tradotti e compendati, e da un ricorso sistematico alla citazione delle fonti. Queste caratteristiche formali – ben poco riconosciute dalla critica storiografica – si ritrovano anche nella sua *Storia della pedagogia*, sicuramente la sua opera più completa e più nota. Il testo presenta l'evoluzione della pedagogia italiana attraverso una suddivisione in vari periodi, cui corrispondono altrettanti capitoli o “libri”. Partendo dalla classicità latina, per ogni periodo considerato, Micheli esamina le principali istituzioni educative, ne ricostruisce gli sviluppi, soffermandosi soprattutto sulle Università sorte in Italia, per passare poi alla presentazione di educatori o di scrittori italiani di opere pedagogiche o anche di opere di argomento diverso, contenenti però riflessioni di natura pedagogica. Alla fine di ogni capitolo, sono indicate le «scritture pedagogiche» e gli autori citati: complessivamente gli educatori o scrittori ricordati sono circa 180 (per il solo secolo XVIII sono una settantina). Attraverso queste “riscoperte”, Micheli intendeva presentare quegli aspetti della nostra tradizione educativa che potevano costituire un solido fondamento per la

²² *Ibid.*, p. 32.

nuova pedagogia italiana e quindi per la definizione di un canone nazionale. La rivendicazione di una pedagogia 'italiana' (analoga a quella di una letteratura 'italiana' difesa da Francesco De Sanctis in quegli stessi anni) si colloca nel quadro di un progetto complessivo di rilancio dell'idea di nazionalità, intesa quale fondamentale principio morale e pedagogico. Buona parte degli intellettuali del tempo si rese interprete infatti della urgenza di superare l'estraneità tra il neonato Stato unitario e il popolo e di cercare di allargare le basi sociali del consenso mediante iniziative di tipo politico-culturale. L'obiettivo era quello di dimostrare che la costruzione del giovane Stato si basava su un solido patrimonio culturale (di cui ovviamente era parte la pedagogia) e che questo patrimonio non era inferiore a quello di altre nazioni che si erano formate prima o che godevano di maggiore prestigio a livello internazionale.

Torino, con la figura di Giovanni Battista Gerini, rappresenta – come scrive Meda – un'altra «tappa fondamentale di quella lenta marcia di avvicinamento al più organico progetto di edizione critica delle fonti storico-pedagogiche italiane»²³. La città poteva vantare un'importante tradizione: nell'Ateneo sabaudo era stata istituita fin dal 1844 la prima cattedra di Metodica (poi Pedagogia) e quindi esisteva quella che si potrebbe definire una Scuola pedagogica. In questo contesto accademico, nasce la serie di volumi «Gli scrittori pedagogici italiani», curata e pubblicata dal 1896 al 1916 da Gerini. Anche se egli non usa mai l'espressione *Monumenta*, questo corpus di studi offrì «un censimento sistematico di autori e opere», dal XV al XIX secolo, estremamente utile per la definizione del progetto. I volumi, nonostante il taglio manualistico e diverse inesattezze e omissioni, hanno rappresentato una fonte preziosa a cui molti storici hanno potuto attingere.

La tappa più lunga e importante del progetto resta però Roma: nella capitale gli aspetti culturali si intrecciano ben presto con quelli politici e ovviamente con quelli finanziari, cioè con la ricerca delle risorse necessarie per pubblicare la Collezione dei *Monumenta*. Sulla scena romana il primo importante protagonista è sicuramente Luigi Credaro: ottimo conoscitore della cultura e della lingua tedesca, egli indica con sicurezza nei *Monumenta Germaniae Paedagogica*, promossi da Karl Kehrbach, il modello da imitare. Nei suoi numerosi interventi, dal 1896 praticamente fino alla sua morte avvenuta nel 1939, il progetto viene motivato con la urgenza di colmare una grave lacuna della cultura pedagogica italiana e viene proposto come una impresa collettiva, destinata soprattutto a giovani studiosi con interessi storici, auspicabilmente da raccogliere e sostenere in una apposita Società. Con Credaro il progetto si chiarisce e precisa nei contenuti e nei metodi: nella sua visione, i *Monumenta* italiani avrebbero dovuto ricercare e raccogliere i «tesori didattici» nascosti e dimenticati in tantissimi archivi e biblioteche, come pure i tanti studi sulla storia delle istituzioni educative (dalle Università ai Licei ai Collegi ecc.). Egli

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 39.

sembra orientato pertanto a privilegiare una Collezione di tipo documentario, ossia una raccolta sistematica e organica di fonti e di testi in rigorosa edizione critica, più che una semplice selezione manualistica di trattati pedagogici e di opere educative, come era andato facendo Gerini a Torino. Nel suo pensiero, il progetto dei *Monumenta* e il canone nazionale vengono presentati in una versione pedagogica di tipo neoherbartiano e assumono anche una coloritura politico-ideologica. Secondo Credaro, la storia della pedagogia non poteva limitarsi ad essere una semplice esposizione di sistemi o di teorie pedagogiche, ma doveva trasformarsi in una scienza storica, attenta a ricostruire la «pedagogia praticata» e non solamente quella «ideata o professata». Inoltre, come ricorda ancora il volume di Meda, Credaro, esponente della sinistra radicale e laica, non a caso collocava risolutamente le origini della pedagogia italiana (e quindi il periodo con cui aprire la raccolta dei *Monumenta*) nel Quattrocento, escludendo l'età medievale. A suo modo di vedere infatti la pedagogia umanistico-rinascimentale rappresentava la prima manifestazione di quella istruzione pubblica e laica per la quale lui aveva lavorato come Parlamentare e come Ministro del Regno. Sempre in questa prospettiva, egli esprimeva un severo giudizio storico nei confronti dell'azione educativa esercitata dalle tante Congregazioni religiose sorte del Cinquecento e sulle conseguenze della Riforma cattolica in Italia. Anche se non si può affermare che Credaro abbia elaborato un preciso piano sistematico dei *Monumenta*, i suoi ripetuti interventi e la forte influenza politica e culturale, che egli ha esercitato su quel fronte anti-idealistico che raccoglieva parte della pedagogia italiana del tempo, riuscirono a sensibilizzare notevolmente la comunità pedagogica nazionale e a rilanciare gli studi storico-educativi.

Fra i vari protagonisti della tappa romana, il volume riserva ampio spazio a Giovanni Calò, che divideva la sua attività fra Roma e Firenze, città dove insegnava dal 1911 quale titolare della Cattedra di Pedagogia e altra tappa del nostro ideale percorso. Meda lo indica, a buon diritto, come il «Kehrbach italiano», anche se la sua tenacia e il suo impegno non bastarono per portare a compimento il progetto culturale ed editoriale dei *Monumenta*, che egli aveva ripreso da Credaro, cui lo legavano vincoli di amicizia e la comune militanza nel fronte anti-gentiliano. Fin dagli anni dell'anteguerra, Calò aveva auspicato con forza la creazione di una ordinata raccolta di documenti relativi alla vita scolastica e educativa italiana e, con grande concretezza, aveva indicato quali dovessero essere le condizioni culturali ed editoriali, ma anche politiche ed economiche, necessarie per portare a termine l'impresa. A Firenze egli diede vita ad alcune istituzioni e attività destinate a offrire contributi significativi ai *Monumenta*: in particolare, la Mostra didattica nazionale del 1925, che pose le basi per il successivo Museo didattico nazionale e quindi per il Centro Didattico Nazionale. Il capoluogo toscano gli sembrava la sede naturale per sviluppare tutte queste attività destinate a sostenere e arricchire il progetto dei *Monumenta*, poiché la città era stata la culla dell'umanesimo filosofico-letterario come pure di quello tecnico-scientifico.

La data del passaggio formale di testimone con Credaro è forse il 1933, quando Calò chiese all'Accademia dei Lincei di assumersi l'onere della pubblicazione dei *Monumenta*. La proposta non ebbe seguito, ma fu la base per le successive richieste. Alla fine del 1940 e poi nel maggio 1941 Calò presenterà alla R. Accademia d'Italia il suo progetto organico precisandone i contenuti: fonti inedite da esplorare e fonti edite da rivisitare. Come nota Meda, egli colloca l'inizio dei *Monumenta* in epoca medievale, in particolare con la Patristica. Il progetto di Calò fu esaminato da una Commissione (Orestano, Carlini, Volpe, Leicht e Calò) che, con lievi ritocchi, lo approvò, articolandolo in 2 serie («Scrittori» e «Fonti documentarie») per complessivi 73 volumi. L'epoca di inizio dei *Monumenta* però sarà anticipata al mondo romano, cioè agli scrittori latini. Interessante è anche la scelta delle Case editrici da invitare per la pubblicazione: risponderà positivamente però solo la padovana CEDAM nel maggio 1943, ma il contratto non sarà mai firmato a causa del precipitare degli eventi bellici.

La risposta della CEDAM riporta a Padova le vicende dei *Monumenta*. I contatti di Calò con Padova e con la CEDAM erano iniziati ben prima della trattativa per il contratto. Fin dal 1941 Calò aveva affidato alla nuova rivista padovana «Rassegna italiana di pedagogia» un suo lungo articolo, il più importante di quella «campagna mediatica», come la definisce Meda, con cui tentava di far conoscere l'iniziativa e di acquisire consensi e adesioni. Nell'intervento, lo studioso spiegava le motivazioni dei *Monumenta* e indicava nella nuova Rivista la miglior 'interprete' dell'impresa. «Rassegna italiana di pedagogia», che era diretta da due suoi amici, Flores d'Arcais e Resta (Calò entrerà nel Comitato direttivo dal 1946), rappresentava la continuazione della credariana «Rivista pedagogica» ed era edita proprio dalla Cedam. Questa casa editrice, nata nel 1902, aveva cominciato ad ampliare il suo raggio d'azione nel campo filosofico e pedagogico grazie soprattutto alla collaborazione con Flores d'Arcais, divenuto docente nell'Ateneo Patavino nel 1935. Con Flores d'Arcais, acquisì prestigiose collaborazioni (Ottaviano, Mazzetti, Vigorelli) per la direzione di Collane e importanti autori come Troilo, Stefanini, Capone Braga, Benetti Brunelli ecc. Nel 1946 lo stesso Calò pubblicò un'ampia antologia della *Didattica magna* di Comenio per la quale, nel 1943, aveva chiesto l'aiuto del giovane Eugenio Garin, come documenta Meda. Nel 1947 i contatti per la pubblicazione dei *Monumenta* furono ripresi e il 23 giugno 1948 la CEDAM mandò a Calò lo schema del contratto editoriale aggiornato. La mancanza di finanziamenti e varie altre difficoltà resero impossibile l'accordo e la vicenda dei *Monumenta Italiae paedagogica* si concluse nella stessa sede dove era iniziata. Calò continuerà comunque a collaborare con Padova: nel 1966, quando Flores d'Arcais lo invitò a parlare nel ciclo di incontri sul tema «La mia pedagogia», egli rivendicò il merito di aver stimolato sempre la ricerca storico-pedagogica italiana e ricordò molti suoi studi su figure e istituzioni educative del passato, ma non accennò alla sfortunata vicenda dei *Monumenta*.

Solo un cenno è possibile riservare al secondo tema principale del libro, e cioè la formazione del canone pedagogico nazionale. Nel volume il canone pare ricostruito da due diverse prospettive: dal punto di vista oggettivo, per così dire, per indicare il vasto insieme delle opere e delle fonti (edite e inedite) accomunate dal contenuto pedagogico ('canone dei monumenti' e 'canone dei documenti'), e dal punto di vista soggettivo, o meglio dei diversi lettori-interpreti, per evidenziare la valutazione e la selezione dei testi sulla base di certi criteri di valore prevalenti in un certo periodo. La memoria funziona sempre in modo selettivo e le diverse scelte-interpretazioni sono frutto di diverse concezioni culturali e di diversi momenti storici: opportunamente, nel volume si ricorda la versione del canone proposta da Credaro, di stampo neoherbartiano; o da Lombardo Radice, di stampo neoidealistico; o da Calò con venature spiritualistiche. Un altro indicatore appare quello relativo alla questione delle origini della pedagogia italiana, e quindi del periodo con cui aprire la raccolta dei *Monumenta*: come si è già rilevato, Credaro collocava le origini nel Quattrocento, Calò nel Medioevo cristiano e la Commissione Orestano, esprimendo una visione classicistica, le fissava nel mondo romano.

Dove e come si è manifestato questo canone? Attraverso quali strumenti è stato fatto circolare nella comunità pedagogica? A queste domande il libro offre alcune interessanti risposte: *in primis* indicando la editoria, ossia le Riviste, le Collane e i libri di testo come i manuali e le antologie. Si potrebbero aggiungere anche i Programmi ministeriali destinati agli Istituti di formazione magistrale. Attraverso questi strumenti il canone scolastico è diventato il canone della comunità pedagogica, ed è variato a seconda delle stagioni politiche e culturali. Questa modalità di formazione e consolidamento del canone attraverso la manualistica accomuna la pedagogia ad altre discipline, anche a quelle che possono vantare una ben più solida tradizione. La letteratura italiana, ad esempio, poteva contare su un 'canone oggettivo' formatosi almeno dalla metà del Settecento (basti pensare alla *Storia della letteratura italiana* di Girolamo Tiraboschi), però il canone che si è diffuso e consolidato è quello trasmesso con il manuale per licei di Francesco De Sanctis, *Storia della letteratura italiana*, che verrà pubblicato negli stessi anni in cui compaiono i primi manuali di storia della pedagogia. La successione delle opere, degli autori e dei periodi definita da De Sanctis è quella che poi è rimasta nella cultura letteraria italiana. Sarà sempre De Sanctis ad 'imporre' come classici nella scuola italiana postunitaria due autori a lui contemporanei, ossia Leopardi e Manzoni. Il suo manuale deve il successo ad uno straordinario equilibrio fra la letterarietà e la nazionalità italiana: è una storia di grandi scrittori che rappresentano – contemporaneamente – le massime espressioni artistiche e lo sviluppo della coscienza civile italiana.

Anche i manuali di storia della pedagogia, pubblicati a cavallo fra Ottocento e Novecento, tenderanno di ricostruire – sicuramente con una solidità inferiore a quella del testo di De Sanctis – una linea di sviluppo coerente e progressiva della educazione e della pedagogia dell'Italia, destinata a concludersi nelle vicende

risorgimentali e nella formazione dello Stato e della nazione unitari. Tenteranno quindi di creare un solido equilibrio fra la pedagogicità e la nazionalità italiana, fra l'identità educativa e l'identità politica, per dimostrare l'esistenza di una tradizione nazionale, tutta italiana. Le diverse interpretazioni date al Canone pedagogico potrebbero essere ricavate anche analizzando i Programmi scolastici: nel programma d'esame degli Istituti magistrali creati dalla Riforma Gentile, ad esempio, quali classici della Pedagogia erano indicati la *Ratio Studiorum*, Vico, Cuoco, Rosmini, e fra i contemporanei Capponi, Lambruschini, Gioberti, Mazzini, De Sanctis, Gabelli e Ardigò. Appare storicamente significativo che nel ritocco promosso dal ministro Fedele nel 1925 queste indicazioni vengano integrate con esponenti della pedagogia cattolica, quali Silvio Antoniano, Ausonio Franchi e Giovanni Bosco (in questa occasione sarà inserito anche Giovanni Gentile quale classico della pedagogia). Una storia pedagogica che voglia essere anche storia del canone deve insomma dare conto tanto degli aspetti oggettivi quanto dei processi interpretativi attraverso cui la tradizione pedagogica si è andata configurando nel corso del tempo e dei dibattiti teorici, metodologici e critici che hanno portato alla formazione del canone pedagogico prevalente in un determinato ambiente socio-culturale. Indubbiamente il discorso si presenta molto aperto, ma, dovendo concludere, possono tornare utili le parole con cui un docente padovano di qualche secolo fa chiudeva il testo delle sue lezioni universitarie: rigorosamente in latino, egli scriveva «*pauca exposui de re vasta et magna*». Si sono esposte poche cose su una materia vasta e grande, cioè ampia e importante, della quale questo libro offre una accurata ricostruzione.

Immaginario e realtà dei percorsi storico-educativi legati all'infanzia. A proposito di una recente ricerca

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The imaginary and the reality of historical-educational itineraries dealing with childhood. About a recent research

ABSTRACT: This critical note deals with issues analytically brought out by a recent work of Francesca Borruso. Through the analysis of different types of historical sources, such as autobiographies, lullabies, movies or narrations, the author describes the transformations of the *real* childhood from the XVIIIth to the XXth century. In fact, children's actual living conditions often disagree on what pedagogical textbooks report. Above all, the author points out five main subjects: middle-class families' *metamorphosis*, the gender question and the maternal role, the importance of oral sources, violence against children and the childhood imaginary in movies productions.

EET/TEE KEYWORDS: Childhood; History of sentimental education; History of family; Gender question; Italy; XVIIth-XXth Centuries.

Nel corso degli ultimi anni, l'inaugurazione di nuovi filoni d'indagine e di rinnovati approcci interpretativi nell'ambito della ricerca storico-educativa ha permesso di portare alla luce tutta una serie di tematiche e di fonti, che fino a poco tempo fa erano considerate marginali o addirittura rimaste inedite.

In questo scenario, anche il tema dell'infanzia si è arricchito di contributi interessanti: accanto alle ricerche storico-educative 'tradizionali' legate ad esempio alla letteratura per l'infanzia, alla scuola o alle istituzioni educative, si è sviluppato infatti uno studio sempre più rigoroso e analitico delle identità e delle rappresentazioni 'reali' di bambine e bambini.

La nuova stagione della ricerca storica sull'infanzia è stata inaugurata nel corso del Novecento dalla storiografia di matrice annalistica e, in particolare,

dai lavori di Philippe Ariès¹, che hanno promosso un'inedita sensibilità e un rinnovato approccio d'indagine, resi necessari soprattutto a causa dell'estrema eterogeneità delle fonti prese in considerazione. Una storiografia dell'infanzia questa, che si declina come *storia sociale*, in quanto alla tradizionale analisi delle idee pedagogiche, si è affiancata anche la ricostruzione di tutto quel «sottosuolo culturale» compreso nelle situazioni informali e nelle modalità educative della vita quotidiana.

È proprio in questo filone d'indagine che si inserisce il volume di Francesca Borruso *Infanzie. Percorsi storico-educativi fra immaginario e realtà*, sintesi di fatto di un lungo percorso di ricerche e di studi già promossi dall'Autrice sulla storia della famiglia, dell'educazione sentimentale, di *genere* e dell'infanzia². Il testo, edito da FrancoAngeli, si propone di indagare i percorsi storico-educativi legati all'infanzia grazie allo studio di diverse tipologie di fonti, tra cui autobiografie, letture educative rivolte alle fanciulle, miti e folklore, i canti della culla, ma anche rappresentazioni cinematografiche dell'infanzia: una pluralità di fonti estremamente composita, che ha richiesto l'utilizzo di una metodologia d'indagine epistemologica complessa, ermeneutica e critica.

L'intento dell'Autrice è quello di riportare alla luce la 'realtà' dell'infanzia, o meglio delle *infanzie*, attraverso l'analisi delle così dette *pedagogie narrate*³,

¹ A questo riguardo si vedano: M. Bloch, *Apologia della storia o mestiere di storico*, Torino, Einaudi, 1950; F. Braudel, *Histoire et science sociale. La longue durée*, «Annales. Économies, Sociétés, Civilisations», vol. 13, n. 4, 1958, pp. 725-753; F. Cantù, *Aspetti di metodologia della ricerca nella storiografia delle «Annales»*, «Mélanges de l'École française de Rome. Moyen-Âge – Temps modernes», vol. 93, n. 1, 1981, pp. 433-455; Ph. Ariès, G. Duby, *La vita privata*, Roma-Bari, Laterza, 1986-1988; L. Febvre, *Combats pour l'histoire*, Parigi, Colin, 1992; Ph. Ariès, *Padri e figli nell'Europa medievale e moderna*, Roma-Bari, Laterza, 2006; P. Burke, *Una rivoluzione storiografica. La scuola delle «Annales» (1929-1989)*, Roma-Bari, Laterza, 2019.

² In questo senso, si segnalano alcuni importanti lavori dell'Autrice, tra cui: F. Borruso, *Le ninne nanne della tradizione popolare siciliana. Auspici, attese, prefigurazione di destini*, in C. Covato (ed.), *Metamorfosi dell'identità. Per una storia delle pedagogie narrate*, Milano, Guerini Scientifica, 2006, pp. 191-214; Ead., *Piccole donne crescono. La letteratura didattico-morale per la gioventù femminile*, «History of Education & Children's Literature», vol. 1, n. 1, 2012, pp. 557-574; Ead., «Ti do io una buona lezione che ricorderai a lungo». *Metodi educativi e violenza sull'infanzia nella storia dell'educazione fra Sette e Novecento*, «Pedagogia Oggi», vol. 2, 2013, pp. 80-99, <https://www.siped.it/wp-content/uploads/2013/12/Pagine-da-pedagogia-oggi_2-2013-26092013-4.pdf> (ultimo accesso: 12.03.2020); Ead., «Perisca quel tempo scellerato nel corso dei secoli!». *Affetti familiari e modelli educativi fra Sette e Novecento*, in L. Formenti (ed.), *Sguardi di famiglia. Tra ricerca pedagogica e pratiche educative*, Milano, Guerini Scientifica, 2014, pp. 27-40; Ead., *La rivoluzione romantica della famiglia borghese in occidente*, «Espacio, Tiempo y Educación», vol. 1, n. 2, 2015, pp. 309-322; Ead., *In viaggio. Donne italiane migranti fra Otto e Novecento*, «Pedagogia Oggi», vol. 1, n. 1, 2017, pp. 57-70; Ead., *Per una storia dell'infanzia. Rappresentazioni sociali, memorie bambine e abusi educativi*, «Education Sciences & Society», vol. 1, n. 1, 2017, pp. 11-22; Ead., *La famiglia e la scuola nella letteratura per ragazzi. Metamorfosi di un immaginario*, in L. Cantatore, S. Barsotti (edd.), *Letteratura per l'infanzia. Forme, temi e simboli del contemporaneo*, Roma, Carocci, 2019, pp. 325-342.

³ Sul tema delle pedagogie narrate si vedano: Covato (ed.), *Metamorfosi dell'identità. Per una storia delle pedagogie narrate*, cit.; Ead. (ed.), *Vizi privati e pubbliche virtù. Le verità nascoste nelle*

che permettono di ricostruire la storia dei bambini e delle bambine *reali*, il cui vissuto si inserisce in contesti spesso dettati e influenzati dalla classe sociale d'appartenenza, dalle aspettative sociali o dal vissuto dei propri genitori, o ancora dal *genere*⁴.

In questo senso, il lavoro di Francesca Borruso ricostruisce la metamorfosi della concezione di infanzia, a partire dalla nascita in Occidente di un vero e proprio *sentimento* dell'infanzia, il quale si lega indissolubilmente e inevitabilmente al *sentimento* della famiglia, intesa come luogo primario di formazione della vita affettiva e sociale di ogni individuo.

Nel dettaglio, il volume si divide in cinque parti costituite da interessanti saggi aventi il merito – per dirlo con le parole di Carmela Covato, autrice della *Prefazione* al testo – di «approfondire alcune realtà della storia dell'infanzia fra Otto e Novecento mettendone a fuoco aspetti di indubbia centralità educativa e sociale in un percorso conoscitivo nel quale la ricostruzione storica si fonda su una rigorosa lettura e su un abile disvelamento di una pluralità di fonti [...]»⁵.

Nella prima parte del testo – *Vita e affetti familiari nelle metamorfosi della famiglia borghese. Un'indagine di caso: l'infanzia di Gustave Flaubert* – l'Autrice analizza la «metamorfosi della famiglia borghese» tra Settecento e Ottocento, evidenziando come all'epoca fosse ancora complesso l'intreccio tra ideologie arcaiche e nuove mentalità tipicamente borghesi.

La rivoluzione culturale provocata dal progressivo processo di borghesizzazione della società, infatti, aveva necessariamente prodotto anche una trasformazione delle pratiche educative e una riconsiderazione del ruolo stesso della famiglia⁶, a cui venne per di più collegato un 'ripensamento'

pedagogie narrate, Milano, Guerini Scientifica, 2010; F. Borruso, L. Cantatore (edd.), *Il primo amore. L'educazione sentimentale nelle pedagogie narrate*, Milano, Guerini Scientifica, 2012; F. Borruso, L. Cantatore, C. Covato (edd.), *L'educazione sentimentale. Vita e norme nelle pedagogie narrate*, Milano, Guerini Scientifica, 2014.

⁴ «Accanto alle rappresentazioni filosofiche, etiche, religiose, giuridiche e pedagogiche del discorso educativo, [...] scorre tuttavia un fiume parallelo di 'racconti' sulle forme dell'educazione e, allo stesso tempo, di narrazioni intrise di norme pedagogiche che descrivono i molti significati e le innumerevoli fatiche del formarsi dei destini individuali. [...] Affiora quasi sempre nei testi e nei linguaggi che non s'iscrivono nel sapere ufficiale sull'educazione il conflitto fra le vincolanti attese sociali, dense di prescrittivi codici di comportamento, e le aspirazioni di soggetti che, nel corso dell'avventura del crescere, finiscono con l'arrendersi al potere delle pedagogie formali e informali intessute nelle esperienze di vita [...] oppure danno voce al contrasto fra sentimenti, emozioni e regole, raccontando storie di formazione non rintracciabili nei trattati ufficiali» (C. Covato, *Introduzione*, in Ead. (ed.), *Metamorfosi dell'identità. Per una storia delle pedagogie narrate*, cit., pp. 11-12).

⁵ C. Covato, *Prefazione*, in F. Borruso, *Infanzie. Percorsi storico-educativi fra immaginario e realtà*, Milano, FrancoAngeli, 2019, pp. 9-11 (la citazione è a p. 10).

⁶ Sul tema della famiglia si vedano ad esempio i contributi di Michel Perrot in Ariès, Duby, *La Vita Privata. L'Ottocento*, cit., pp. 76-148; la terza parte del testo di Ariès, *Padri e figli nell'Europa medievale e moderna*, cit., pp. 397-488; M. Horkheimer (ed.), *Studi sull'autorità e la famiglia*, Torino, UTET, 1974; P. Melograni (ed.), *La famiglia italiana dall'Ottocento a oggi*, Roma-Bari, Laterza, 1988; M.T. Trisciuzzi, *Ritratti di famiglia. Immagini e rappresentazioni nella storia della*

sul matrimonio. Nello specifico, esso non doveva più essere inteso come un contratto imposto dal *pater familias*, ma doveva essere basato sulla libera scelta e sulle inclinazioni degli sposi, «purché questa libertà non metta in crisi sia l'arcaica separatezza delle classi sociali [...] sia la stabilità del matrimonio che deve fondarsi su un amore coniugale ben diverso dall'amore passionale»⁷.

La famiglia inizia quindi a identificarsi come luogo della «vita privata», in cui le trasformazioni non riguardano tanto la sua struttura, quanto le relazioni che intercorrono tra coniugi e tra genitori e figli. A questo proposito Marzio Barbagli scriveva:

[...] la famiglia «moderna» è nata da alcune trasformazioni avvenute nelle relazioni di autorità e di affetto esterne ed interne all'unità coniugale elementare. In primo luogo, questa si è liberata a poco a poco dai controlli della comunità e della parentela. Vi è stato in secondo luogo il passaggio da un sistema di matrimonio combinato dai genitori, mossi esclusivamente da interessi di tipo economico e sociale, ad uno basato sulla libera scelta dei coniugi, sull'attrazione fisica, sull'amore. È mutato in terzo luogo il rapporto fra i coniugi. La tradizionale asimmetria di potere fra marito e moglie si è attenuata, la freddezza e il distacco hanno lasciato il posto al calore affettivo ed all'intimità, la passione erotica ha acquistato una crescente importanza. Infine, sono cambiate le relazioni fra genitori e figli. [...] Con la nascita della famiglia moderna gli atteggiamenti e i comportamenti dei genitori sono radicalmente cambiati ed i figli sono diventati i destinatari privilegiati delle loro cure e del loro affetto⁸.

Il nuovo assetto 'intimistico' della famiglia borghese segna definitivamente l'avvio della crisi del principio di autorità patriarcale tradizionale e di tutta quella serie di leggi che regolamentavano i rapporti all'interno della famiglia. Un nuovo modello familiare che in realtà si prospettava già negli scritti di Rousseau, il quale nell'*Emilio*⁹ anticipava temi come l'importanza del sostegno e dell'alleanza reciproca tra i coniugi, la critica all'uso del balatico in favore dell'allattamento materno e un graduale ripensamento dell'assetto gerarchico della famiglia, pur non mettendo ancora in discussione l'egemonia della patria potestà.

A testimonianza della forte conflittualità che intercorreva all'epoca tra le aspirazioni dei genitori, i codici comportamentali e la libertà dell'individuo, l'Autrice riporta il caso di Gustave Flaubert, la cui biografia delle relazioni familiari è puntualmente ricostruita da Jean Paul Sartre¹⁰. Lo scrittore era infatti considerato «l'idiota della famiglia», soprattutto perché nel corso della

letteratura per l'infanzia, Pisa, ETS, 2018.

⁷ Borruso, *Infanzie. Percorsi storico-educativi fra immaginario e realtà*, cit., p. 26

⁸ M. Barzagli, *Sotto lo stesso tetto. Mutamento della famiglia in Italia dal XV al XX secolo*, Bologna, il Mulino, 2000, p. 246.

⁹ J.-J. Rousseau, *Emilio o dell'educazione*, ed. critica e traduzione di A. Potestio, Roma, Studium, 2016.

¹⁰ Borruso fa riferimento al testo di J.P. Sartre, *L'idiota della famiglia. Gustave Flaubert dal 1821 al 1857*, introduzione di M. Recalcati e tradotto da C. Pavolini, Milano, Il Saggiatore, 2019.

sua infanzia aveva avuto dei ritardi nell'apprendimento della lettura e perché, anche da adulto, la sua condizione esistenziale era sostanzialmente segnata da un malessere generale e da un certo senso di inadeguatezza.

La famiglia Flaubert apparteneva alla nuova borghesia in ascesa ed era caratterizzata da un rigoroso ordine gerarchico, in cui Gustave occupava una posizione piuttosto svantaggiata: egli era nato dopo la prematura scomparsa di due fratelli e non era il prediletto di nessuno dei due genitori, in più la sua «diversità» lo aveva costretto a una crescita segnata dalla solitudine, dall'invidia nei confronti dei fratelli e dal rancore. Lo scrittore però si 'ribellerà' al suo destino e riuscirà ad imporre la sua libertà individuale, facendo del linguaggio e della parola scritta il mezzo *pedagogico* per creare «il mondo dell'Arte» in cui poter raggiungere se stesso e in cui nobilitare la sua sofferenza interiore.

Nella seconda parte del testo, intitolata *Lecture bambine. Modelli educativi, sguardo materno e differenze di genere nella letteratura amena del secondo Ottocento*, Borruso si sofferma sulla questione di *genere*.

Dopo una premessa sullo sviluppo della stampa e sulla diffusione dei processi di alfabetizzazione, il focus si sposta sulle differenze di genere che caratterizzavano l'accesso alla cultura: per secoli infatti le donne sono state «educate a non istruirsi», in quanto la loro istruzione era considerata praticamente inutile ai fini del loro destino di madri e mogli o monache. La scolarizzazione femminile si può quindi definire un fenomeno relativamente recente diffusosi, pur in maniera complessa e con gran difficoltà, solo a partire dalla seconda metà dell'Ottocento¹¹.

Il controllo sulle letture femminili, per esempio, viene definito dall'Autrice un vero e proprio *topos* della riflessione educativa tra Otto e Novecento: a questo riguardo, emblematici sono la condanna del romanzo da parte del mondo ecclesiastico e laico, o il *Progetto di legge per vietare alle donne di imparare a leggere* (1801) di Sylvain Maréchal, chiara testimonianza del crescente timore della società dell'epoca nei confronti dei movimenti per l'emancipazione femminile¹².

Borruso passa poi all'analisi del tema della lettura bambina e del suo sviluppo tra Settecento e Novecento, delineando quali fossero i principali valori veicolati

¹¹ A titolo esemplificativo sul tema dell'istruzione femminile si vedano: S. Soldani (ed.), *L'educazione delle donne. Scuole e modelli di vita femminile nell'Italia dell'Ottocento*, Milano, FrancoAngeli, 1989; C. Covato, *Sapere e pregiudizio. L'educazione delle donne fra '700 e '800*, Roma, Archivio Guido Izzi, 1991; G. Duby, M. Perrot (edd.), *Storia delle donne in Occidente*, Roma-Bari, Laterza, 1995; S. Olivieri (ed.), *Le bambine nella storia dell'educazione*, Roma-Bari, Laterza, 1999; C. Covato, S. Olivieri (edd.), *Itinerari nella storia dell'infanzia. Bambine e bambini, modelli pedagogici e stili educativi*, Milano, Unicopli, 2001; A. Ascenzi, *Il Plutarco delle donne. Repertorio della pubblicistica educativa e scolastica e della letteratura amena destinata al mondo femminile nell'Italia dell'Ottocento*, Macerata, eum, 2009; A. Lirosi, *Libere di sapere. Il diritto delle donne all'istruzione dal Cinquecento al mondo contemporaneo*, Roma, ed. di storia e letteratura, 2015.

¹² Cfr. Borruso, *Infanzie. Percorsi storico-educativi fra immaginario e realtà*, cit., pp. 51-52.

dalle letture destinate a bambine e fanciulle nella seconda metà dell'Ottocento, facendo riferimento alle autobiografie d'infanzia¹³, e soffermandosi sul ruolo della figura materna nel processo di apprendimento della lettura da parte dei figli. Spiega l'Autrice:

Il compito materno relativo all'istruzione dei figli sembra essere vissuto dalle madri, in alcuni casi, con una pervasività quasi ossessiva, che a nostro avviso può essere interpretata non solo nell'ambito delle coordinate culturali e relazionali della specifica storia familiare, ma anche come espressione di una cultura diffusa che, sempre di più, responsabilizza le madri ad una missione educativa ritenuta fondativa dell'equilibrio e della serenità dell'intero nucleo familiare¹⁴.

A sostegno di questa tesi, sono poi riportati alcuni esempi di personalità note che sottolineano appunto l'entità dell'influenza materna nei confronti della formazione dei figli: Simone de Beauvoir nominava le favole di Madame de Sègur, che le provocavano angoscia e insonnia; Virginia Woolf ed Ellen Key invitavano alla libera scelta delle letture e a trovare uno spazio «tutto per sé»; Natalia Ginzburg ricordava il grande impegno della madre nei confronti della sua educazione; Janet Frame spiegava invece come la madre avesse avuto un ruolo 'emancipativo' e liberatorio nella scelta dei percorsi esistenziali della vita adulta; e infine, Silvia Vegetti Finzi, nella sua autobiografia parlava della forza evocativa delle letture nell'infanzia.

Il saggio si conclude con una riflessione sulle letture educative edificanti per le fanciulle del secondo Ottocento, che consente di evidenziare come la società borghese dell'epoca elaborò una sua «letteratura di stampo pedagogico-educativo», caratterizzata da figure femminili ancora confinate nell'ambiente domestico e in cui la divisione dei ruoli tra uomini e donne «suggerisce la stabilità sociale e consente, alla donna di svolgere il ruolo salvifico di fattrice e di educatrice, e all'uomo di esercitare serenamente il suo ruolo pubblico»¹⁵.

In Italia nel secondo Ottocento erano ancora poche le donne che si dedicarono come 'autrici' alla letteratura didattico-morale per le fanciulle e alcune di loro erano ancora fortemente legate alla tradizione «anti-emancipazionista»¹⁶; ciò sicuramente spiega perché per molto tempo le giovani generazioni furono portavoce di stereotipi, modelli e aspettative tipiche della *middle class* italiana.

¹³ Le autobiografie d'infanzia sono considerate una delle principali fonti per la storia della letteratura bambina. Egle Becchi le definisce «testimonianze preziose per quanto riguarda quelli che potremmo chiamare segni infantili, espressioni cioè filtrate della memoria e della scrittura, di un mondo emozionale e intellettuale proprio della prima età, reattivo a incontri, imposizioni, interdizioni, altrimenti perduto per lo sguardo e l'ascolto dell'adulto» (E. Becchi, *Scritture bambine, letture adulte*, in E. Becchi, D. Julia, *Storia dell'infanzia. 2. Dal Settecento a oggi*, Roma-Bari, Laterza, 1996, pp. 431-454, la citazione è a p. 431).

¹⁴ Borruso, *Infanzie. Percorsi storico-educativi fra immaginario e realtà*, cit., pp. 57-58.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 65.

¹⁶ Nello specifico l'Autrice riporta le esperienze di Virginia Tedeschi Treves (*Cordelia*), di Anna Vertua Gentile e di Evelina Cattermole (*Contessa Lara*).

Tracce d'infanzia nei miti, nel folklore e nella tradizione popolare siciliana. I canti della culla è il titolo della terza parte del volume¹⁷ in cui Francesca Borruso ricostruisce alcune «tracce» appunto delle infanzie popolari, definite da Dominique Julia «doppiamente mute», poiché generalmente di esse non si hanno testimonianze scritte. È proprio per questo che, a partire dalla seconda metà dell'Ottocento, alcuni studiosi iniziarono a delineare e valorizzare il patrimonio delle tradizioni popolari attraverso l'analisi dei miti e delle tradizioni folkloriche. A questo proposito, l'Autrice fa riferimento nello specifico alla tradizione siciliana e alla raccolta di numerose fonti orali operata da due dei maggiori esponenti di questo filone d'indagine, ovvero Giuseppe Pitrè, considerato proprio il fondatore della scienza folkloristica italiana, e Alberto Fava¹⁸.

L'analisi delle tradizioni popolari e soprattutto dei canti della culla, hanno consentito all'Autrice di ricostruire alcuni aspetti delle condizioni di vita *reali* dell'infanzia delle classi subalterne, e di raccogliere importanti testimonianze relative alle mentalità, ai progetti educativi e ai valori tramandati di generazione in generazione, nonché delle attese genitoriali nei confronti dei figli, diverse a seconda che si sia maschi o femmine, primogeniti o meno. I canti della culla costituiscono anche una fonte determinante per l'analisi storiografica sulla maternità e, in generale, sul ruolo della donna: sulla scia delle interpretazioni di Egle Becchi¹⁹, Borruso infatti sottolinea il forte «impatto emotivo» provocato dalla *voce* nell'ambiente familiare della società contadina e l'importanza relazionale della comunicazione tra madre e figli.

Grazie a numerosi esempi, l'Autrice descrive modelli educativi e relazionali, e vissuti individuali e collettivi legati all'infanzia popolare. I saperi femminili veicolano auspici, preghiere, credenze popolari e la prefigurazione dei destini: le donne avevano di fatto un ruolo preponderante in alcuni significativi «riti di passaggio» ed è «emblematico che proprio la donna, a lungo priva di istruzione e in una inequivocabile posizione di subalternità sociale rispetto all'uomo, si sia storicamente mossa maggiormente nel mondo del mito e del mistero»²⁰. I saperi femminili, infatti, operavano per lo più nell'ambito del silenzio e nella quotidianità dell'ambiente domestico, sfruttando il coinvolgimento emotivo dei soggetti coinvolti nella relazione e offrendo così alle donne uno spazio di intervento sociale, pur nella loro marginale condizione²¹.

¹⁷ Il presente saggio aggiorna e rielabora un precedente lavoro dell'Autrice su questo tema edito nel 2006: Borruso, *Le ninne nanne della tradizione popolare siciliana. Auspici, attese, prefigurazione di destini*, cit.

¹⁸ Sul medico Pitrè e sull'etnomusicologo Fava, entrambi siciliani, si veda Borruso, *Infanzie. Percorsi storico-educativi fra immaginario e realtà*, cit., pp. 73-74.

¹⁹ E. Becchi, *Essere bambine ieri e oggi: appunti per una preistoria del femminile*, in L. Cipollone (ed.), *Bambine e donne in educazione*, Milano, FrancoAngeli, 1990, pp. 29-41.

²⁰ Borruso, *Infanzie. Percorsi storico-educativi fra immaginario e realtà*, cit., p. 86.

²¹ In riferimento alla condizione femminile si veda Duby, Perrot (edd.), *Storia delle donne in Occidente*, cit.

Nella quarta parte del testo *Infanzia e violenza fra storie di vita e narrazioni letterarie*, Francesca Borruso volge lo sguardo ad un argomento purtroppo ancora molto attuale, ovvero la violenza nei confronti dell'infanzia²². Nel dettaglio, il saggio analizza le diverse forme implicite ed esplicite della violenza consumata in famiglia, e il fenomeno dello sfruttamento dell'infanzia, diffusosi soprattutto in quei paesi segnati da povertà, guerre e instabilità politica.

La fenomenologia della violenza sui bambini resta ancora oggi un tema di difficile comprensione e valutazione e numerose sono state, nel corso del tempo, le interpretazioni storiografiche. Nello specifico, l'Autrice fa riferimento all'analisi psico-storica e psico-genetica dello storico Lloyd DeMause esposta in *Storia dell'infanzia* (1983), di cui apprezza le fonti esaminate, ma di cui contesta l'eccessiva linearità delle periodizzazioni storiche; all'interpretazione di Philippe Ariès, per cui i bambini sono separati precocemente dal mondo adulto diventando spesso destinatari di 'cure' oppressive e di punizioni fisiche e psicologiche che limitavano la libertà personale²³; al punto di vista di Norbert Elias, per cui le nuove metodologie educative erano in realtà espressione di sofisticate forme di controllo e di limitazione²⁴; infine, all'opinione di Montaigne, che già nel Cinquecento condannava la violenza e auspicava una patria potestà amorevole e sensibile.

La trattatistica pedagogica sull'infanzia faceva ben emergere la necessità di tutelare e valorizzare la vita infantile, e molteplici sono state le 'denunce' sociali espresse dalla letteratura, ma nella realtà le pratiche educative erano ancora troppo spesso caratterizzate da abusi, violenza, controllo e sottomissione; certamente ciò dipendeva anche dalla classe sociale d'appartenenza e dalla questione di genere, basti pensare per esempio al fenomeno delle spose bambine, dei bambini soldato, o alla vendita di bambini come forza lavoro.

In chiusura il saggio torna sul tema delle aspettative della famiglia d'origine, soprattutto per quanto riguarda la classe borghese²⁵, e sulle sottili forme di violenza psicologica, ovvero manipolazioni e persecuzioni, mosse nei confronti dei bambini da parte della famiglia e delle istituzioni educative, che

²² Sul tema della violenza infantile e della pedagogia nera si vedano: C. Cambi, S. Ulivieri (edd.), *Infanzia e violenza. Forme, terapie, interpretazioni*, Scandicci, La Nuova Italia, 1990; O. Niccoli, *Il seme della violenza: putti, fanciulli e mammoli nell'Italia tra Cinque e Seicento*, Roma-Bari, Laterza, 1995; E. Macinai, *Bambini selvaggi. Storie di infanzie negate tra mito e realtà*, Milano, Unicopli, 2009; I. Filograsso, *Bambini in trappola. Pedagogia nera e letteratura per l'infanzia*, Milano, FrancoAngeli, 2012; A. Vigilante, *Educazione e violenza in Alice Miller*, «Educazione democratica», a. II, n. 3, gennaio 2012; L. Paradiso, *Maltrattamento e abuso dell'infanzia nelle istituzioni educative e formative: dall'analisi del fenomeno alla definizione di azioni di prevenzione e di intervento per un modello di buon trattamento*, «Formazione e insegnamento», vol. XVI, n. 1, 2018.

²³ Ariès, *Padri e figli nell'Europa medievale e moderna*, cit.

²⁴ N. Elias, *La civiltà delle buone maniere*, Bologna, il Mulino, 1969.

²⁵ A tal proposito emblematico è l'esempio della famiglia Leopardi (Borruso, *Infanzie. Percorsi storico-educativi fra immaginario e realtà*, cit., pp. 117-118).

si trasformavano in luoghi di oppressione e coercizione dell'infanzia e non di sostegno e protezione.

Il testo *Infanzie* si conclude con l'analisi delle rappresentazioni cinematografiche legate alla vita infantile, intese come «fonte preziosa e insostituibile per comprendere l'immaginario sull'infanzia presente in una determinata comunità e in un preciso tempo storico, immaginario che condetermina, a sua volta, la formazione delle mentalità, i modelli educativi, l'agire umano»²⁶.

Con questo ultimo saggio – *Ritratti d'infanzia nell'immaginario cinematografico* – l'Autrice si propone di esplicitare come il cinema, dal secondo dopoguerra a oggi, abbia rappresentato alcuni aspetti del vissuto di bambini e bambine in chiave storico-educativa e quindi, quale fosse l'idea d'infanzia di una specifica sensibilità collettiva.

Tre sono i filoni in cui si inseriscono i film selezionati e analizzati: il primo è quello del rapporto tra infanzia e società, e nello specifico il focus è sull'infanzia negata, abbandonata e inascoltata²⁷; il secondo è quello del rapporto tra infanzia e famiglia, in cui si fa riferimento a rappresentazioni autobiografiche e alle violenze perpetrate dal sistema educativo tradizionale²⁸; l'ultima riguarda invece la relazione di cura e, nel dettaglio, il tema della separazione dei coniugi e l'affidamento dei figli, il ruolo della donna in società e in famiglia, le cure paterne e il bisogno di affetto, desiderio tipico di tutte le età e sovente inappagato a causa dei molteplici condizionamenti sociali²⁹.

In conclusione, al volume *Infanzie* va quindi attribuito il merito di aver approfondito il complesso percorso conoscitivo dei vissuti reali dell'infanzia, attraverso la scrupolosa analisi di fonti complesse, dalla quale affiora con chiarezza la sostanziale differenza tra i saperi scientifici e la precaria valorizzazione dell'infanzia. In tal senso, è dunque ben evidenziata la necessità di comprendere e indagare con sguardo critico la *realtà* delle *infanzie* nel corso dei secoli, facendo emergere i molteplici aspetti legati alle relazioni affettive e di cura, alle metodologie educative e alle aspettative sociali.

²⁶ Borruso, *Infanzie. Percorsi storico-educativi fra immaginario e realtà*, cit., p. 121.

²⁷ I film presi in esame sono *Sciuscià* del 1946 di Vittorio De Sica, *La terra trema* di Luchino Visconti (1948), *I figli della violenza* di Luis Buñuel (1950) e *I Quattrocento colpi* del 1959 di François Truffaut.

²⁸ A questo riguardo si ricostruiscono le trame del film di Ingmar Bergman del 1982 *Fanny e Alexander*, di *Padre padrone* del 1977, film diretto dai fratelli Taviani e liberamente tratto dall'omonimo romanzo autobiografico di Gavino Ledda, del film di Luchino Visconti *Bellissima* del 1951 e, infine de *Il ritorno* del 2003 di Andrei Zvyagintsev.

²⁹ Su questo filone i film analizzati sono *Kramer contro Kramer* di Robert Benton del 1979, ispirato all'omonimo romanzo di Avery Corman, *Le chiavi di casa* del 2004 di Gianni Amelio, *Mignon è partita* di Francesca Archibugi del 1988 e il film di Kore'eda Hirokazu del 2018 *Un affare di famiglia*.

Forme, temi e simboli del contemporaneo nella letteratura per l'infanzia. A proposito di una recente pubblicazione

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Forms, themes and symbols of the contemporary in children's literature. About a recent publication

ABSTRACT: A reflection from the book *Letteratura per l'infanzia. Forme, temi e simboli del contemporaneo*, edited by Susanna Barsotti and Lorenzo Cantatore. The collective essay reflects on the last thirty years of children's literature production, ranging from novels to comics, from cinema to music, crossing a crucial concept of this time: visual literacy. Visions, images, visionariness: everything asks the history of pedagogy to question itself about these new forms of narration.

EET/TEE KEYWORDS: Children's literature; History of pedagogy; Visual literacy; Pictorial turn; Italy; XXth-XXIst Centuries.

L'ultima trasposizione cinematografica in ordine di tempo de *Le avventure di Pinocchio* di Carlo Collodi è quella di Matteo Garrone. Sostanzialmente fedele al racconto originale, il regista – che non a caso si era già cimentato ne *Il racconto dei racconti* ispirato all'opera di Basile – ha voluto lavorare accuratamente sulla 'maschera', sui caratteri lignei del volto di Pinocchio, una sorta di riscrittura del viso del burattino che ha impressionato notevolmente. Cos'è che ha portato in sala milioni di spettatori a ri-vedere questo capolavoro della letteratura? Davvero solo intrattenimento? Cosa si aspettavano di trovare rispetto alla storia originale raccontata da Collodi? E soprattutto: cosa abbiamo visto, cosa abbiamo ri-letto di questo grande classico? Dunque: di fronte a quale operazione ci siamo trovati? Eravamo al cospetto di uno schermo, ma più esattamente alle prese con quello che oggi chiameremmo esercizio di *visual literacy*. Il volume

*Letteratura per l'infanzia. Forme, temi e simboli del contemporaneo*¹, curato da Susanna Barsotti e Lorenzo Cantatore, rispettivamente docenti dell'omonima disciplina oggetto di riflessione nel saggio presso l'Università di Cagliari e Roma Tre, sembra volere rispondere esattamente a questi interrogativi: «d'altra parte da sempre, e la figura di Pinocchio ne è l'emblema, la letteratura per l'infanzia propone figure 'artificiali' come protagoniste della narrazione»². Se a rigore e con estrema convinzione Milena Bernardi sostiene che «Il romanzo per ragazzi è un romanzo»³, da tale asserzione dobbiamo dedurre che la prima definizione di letteratura per l'infanzia è che essa è letteratura, allo stesso modo in cui chi ha fatto ingresso al cinema per assistere al *Pinocchio* di Garrone non si è chiesto se fosse un film per l'infanzia: è un film. Individuando certo molte altre questioni ancora aperte, e pur restringendo il campo alla produzione di letteratura per l'infanzia degli ultimi trent'anni (1987 come termine *post-quem*), il volume collettaneo non può fare a meno di interrogarsi sul *pictorial turn*, sulla svolta iconica che ha investito proprio il nostro tempo a partire non solo dall'avvento della televisione, quanto piuttosto dall'emergere della peculiarità visuale della rete, dei social network ad essa connessi, dei dispositivi tecnologici dal primario impatto visivo.

Anche con un'altra 'immagine' fondamentale si confronta questo lavoro: quella che la letteratura per l'infanzia riflette sul pubblico, provando a mettere ordine, ad iniziare una storicizzazione anche delle opere e delle operazioni più recenti. E, a tal proposito, dovremmo sempre fare attenzione alla parola *storia*, intesa in questo contesto non (soltanto) come racconto, bensì quale tentativo di dare ordine ai fatti trascorsi, uno 'sguardo' su quanto è (appena) avvenuto: «storia» deriva, infatti, dalla stessa radice di «video», ha dunque strettamente a che fare coll'azione del vedere, da cui scaturisce il significato di giudicare, osservare per tracciare un bilancio, percorrere una linea, una idea. Storicizzare il contemporaneo, dunque, tenendo a mente la riflessione di Giorgio Agamben per il quale «la via d'accesso al presente ha necessariamente la forma di un'archeologia»⁴, intesa come ricerca dell'*arché*, della origine, e «contemporaneo è colui che riceve in pieno viso il fascio di tenebra che proviene dal suo tempo»⁵: ciò che accade mentre esistiamo – e che dunque esperiamo – è sempre oscuro, e allora compito dello storico diventa lasciarsi fendere da questa oscurità per indagarla.

L'intero volume curato da Barsotti e Cantatore è come percorso da questa venatura, sia in superficie che sottotraccia, un circuito elettrico in cui

¹ S. Barsotti, L. Cantatore (edd.), *Letteratura per l'infanzia. Forme, temi e simboli del contemporaneo*, Roma, Carocci, 2019.

² A. Antoniazzi, *C'era una volta... il libro. Dai libri game alle app*, in *ibid.*, p. 295.

³ M. Bernardi, *La libertà del romanzo: letteratura per l'infanzia e inquietudine del raccontare*, in *ibid.*, p. 309.

⁴ G. Agamben, *Che cos'è il contemporaneo*, Roma, Nottetempo, 2008, p. 22.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 15.

l'immagine passa da occhio a orecchio a mano, sempre lungo l'asse della lettura. L'immagine c'è, necessariamente, nel capitolo che Ilaria Filograsso dedica ai libri per bambini 0-3 anni e nei 'pre-lettori' di Rossella Caso, nella poesia (per l'infanzia?) percorsa da Chiara Lepri sul filone della evocatività, nel rapporto tra letteratura e musica indagato da Leonardo Acone, ancora una volta per le capacità evocative immaginifiche del suono. Naturalmente è al centro l'immagine nel saggio di Martino Negri sugli ultimi trent'anni di illustrazione in Italia, negli albi illustrati di Marcella Terrusi e in quelli scientifici di Giorgia Grilli, nell'evoluzione del fumetto studiata da Emilio Varrà, così come c'è l'immaginario e l'immaginazione nelle nuove forme del fiabesco individuate da Susanna Barsotti e nelle riscritture dei classici analizzate da Lorenzo Cantatore. Maria Teresa Trisciuzzi scrive un saggio sull'animazione per bambini e ragazzi, mentre Anna Antoniazzi si concentra sul visivo nei *libri-game* e nelle *app*, ma vien fuori l'immagine del romanzo anche nella riflessione di Milena Bernardi insieme all'immagine che lo scrittore stesso restituisce nella società in cui è inserito. All'interno del volume Francesca Borruso indaga le «metamorfosi di un immaginario», quello relativo a famiglia e scuola nella letteratura per ragazzi, mentre percorre il sentiero della «visionarietà» il saggio di William Grandi sul fantastico e la letteratura per l'infanzia e quello sulla recente letteratura *Young Adults* studiata da Letterio Todaro. Anna Ascenzi e Dorena Caroli si concentrano sulle riviste scientifiche e divulgative che si occupano di restituire una immagine di dove sta andando la letteratura per l'infanzia: significativo l'esempio della rivista Hamelin sin dal mutamento della testata, che nel sottotitolo passa da *Note sull'immaginario collettivo* a *Storie, figure, pedagogia*, conservando sempre l'«approfondimento critico in un'ottica multimediale»⁶. Il libro si chiude con un saggio di Sabrina Fava che si concentra proprio su una riflessione critica sulla pedagogia della lettura in anni di «guerriglia mediale»: tal proposito bene fanno i curatori del volume a porre in evidenza sin dall'introduzione «come quella che oggi viene definita 'crisi del libro' sia piuttosto una opportunità di ricchezza del libro stesso, scoperta di potenzialità uniche, non in competizione e concorrenza con gli altri media, ma in concerto per aumentare le nostre possibilità di crescita e conoscenza, fin da piccolissimi»⁷.

Uno dei primi scrittori e intellettuali ad accorgersi di un cambiamento in atto è stato Italo Calvino, il quale ha subitaneamente introiettato questo mutamento, prima ancora che nella riflessione saggistica, all'interno del gheriglio della sua scrittura, ovvero del suo peculiare stile 'visivo' grazie al quale, per usare le parole del filosofo Carlo Sini, «fa vedere il fare che fa»⁸. In sostanza Calvino anticipa

⁶ A. Ascenzi, D. Caroli, *La letteratura per l'infanzia nelle riviste divulgative e scientifiche italiane e straniere*, in Barsotti, Cantatore (edd.), *Letteratura per l'infanzia. Forme, temi e simboli del contemporaneo*, cit., p. 389.

⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 15-16.

⁸ M. Lolini, *Antropologia ed etica della scrittura in Italo Calvino*, «Annali d'Italianistica», vol.

molte delle questioni sulla visualità scaturenti dal *pictorial turn*, la svolta iconica in atto teorizzata da William J. T. Mitchell (2017) e ampiamente affrontata nel volume oggetto di questa riflessione. Lo scrittore italo-cubano anticipa pertanto la *visual literacy*, l'alfabetizzazione visuale, quella pre-letteraria, pre-testuale, in una delle sue celebri *Lezioni americane*, quella che nomina Visibilità e in cui abbozza propone di dare vita a una «pedagogia dell'immaginazione» (cos'è, se non la *visual literacy*?) che aiuti a muoversi all'interno di quell'*overload visivo* di cui già auscultava i sintomi.

Se ho incluso la Visibilità nel mio elenco di valori da salvare è per avvertire del pericolo che stiamo correndo di perdere una facoltà umana fondamentale: il potere di mettere a fuoco visioni a occhi chiusi, di far scaturire colori e forme dall'allineamento di caratteri alfabetici neri su una pagina bianca, di pensare per immagini. Penso a una possibile pedagogia dell'immaginazione che abitui a controllare la propria visione interiore senza soffocarla e senza d'altra parte lasciarla cadere in un confuso, labile fantasticare, ma permettendo che le immagini si cristallizzino in una forma ben definita, memorabile, autosufficiente, 'icastica'. Naturalmente si tratta di una pedagogia che si può esercitare solo su se stessi, con metodi inventati volta per volta e risultati imprevedibili. L'esperienza della mia prima formazione è già quella di un figlio della 'civiltà delle immagini', anche se essa era ancora agli inizi, lontana dall'inflazione di oggi. Diciamo che sono figlio di un'epoca intermedia, in cui erano molto importanti le illustrazioni colorate che accompagnavano l'infanzia, nei libri e nei settimanali infantili e nei giocattoli. [...] A quel tempo in Italia il sistema dei balloons con le frasi di dialogo non era ancora entrato nell'uso (cominciò negli Anni Trenta quando fu importato Mickey Mouse); il 'Corriere dei Piccoli' ridisegnava i cartoons americani senza balloons, che venivano sostituiti da due o quattro versi rimati sotto ogni cartoon. Comunque io che non sapevo leggere potevo fare benissimo a meno delle parole, perché mi bastavano le figure. [...] Quando imparai a leggere, il vantaggio che ricavai fu minimo: quei versi sempliciotti a rime bacciate non fornivano informazioni illuminanti; spesso erano interpretazioni della storia fatte a lume di naso, tali e quali come le mie. [...] Questa abitudine [di ignorare le righe scritte,] ha portato sicuramente un ritardo nella mia capacità di concentrarmi sulla parola scritta (l'attenzione necessaria per la lettura l'ho ottenuta solo più tardi), ma la lettura delle figure senza parole è stata certo per me una scuola di fabulazione, di stilizzazione, di composizione dell'immagine⁹.

Stiamo parlando, dunque, di come e quanto la multimedialità abbia influito sui cambiamenti di scrittura e ri-scrittura di opere afferenti al genere (così sfuggente) di letteratura per l'infanzia, di come questo mutamento investa profondamente le riflessioni e gli interventi pedagogici relativi alla lettura e, di concerto, all'acquisizione di conoscenze, perché, come scrive nel suo saggio Marnie Campagnaro:

Nella vita di ogni giorno ragazzi e bambini sono fagocitati dal mondo delle immagini. Imparare a riconoscerle, analizzarle e utilizzarle è diventato uno dei bagagli conoscitivi più significativi nel terzo millennio. Questione di non poco conto per chi si occupa di

15, 1997, p. 301.

⁹ I. Calvino, *Lezioni americane*, Milano, Mondadori, 2018, pp. 94-96.

educazione. I bambini e le bambine della nostra società, quella dell'*homo videns*, crescono interagendo con le immagini e gli schermi visivi, ben prima di imparare a leggere. Nello sviluppo dell'età evolutiva, l'alfabetizzazione visiva precede quella verbale: la bambina o il bambino imparano a guardare e a riconoscere persone, animali e oggetti ben prima di imparare a nominarli. Per di più, la frequentazione assidua dei dispositivi digitali forgia il loro modo di guardare al mondo, un modo in cui il primato della ricezione delle informazioni è affidato all'immagine e non certamente alla parola. Se vi è consapevolezza educativa unita a competenze storico-letterarie, socio-culturali e iconografiche, questa modalità di attingere alla conoscenza durante l'infanzia può essere foriera di felici esiti formativi¹⁰.

È evidente che in questo momento storico il libro non è il solo dispositivo con cui interagire, e questa consapevolezza innesci riflessioni dirimenti sul ruolo che questo strumento ricoprirà nell'immediato futuro tra bambini e ragazzi. Non è il caso di continuare a schierarsi tra apocalittici e integrati, non è proficuo, come sembra dirci nel suo intervento Anna Antoniazzi: «Il digitale, dunque, non si pone in antitesi alla scrittura, o meglio, alla stampa, ma permette di esplorarne i margini, di ampliarne i confini, di approfondirne i contenuti. Questa circostanza porta a rivedere il concetto stesso di libro, anche di quello stampato al quale comincia a stare stretta la staticità della carta»¹¹. Ancora una volta lo precisano chiaramente in apertura del volume Barsotti e Cantatore, allineandosi a quello che pare diventare, a partire dal saggio *La stanza intelligente* (2012) di David Weinenberg, un canone di «inclusività» rispetto al principio riduttivo che ha finora segnato l'accesso alla conoscenza: occorre così «frangere urgenze ed emergenze del mondo contemporaneo, dove la lettura di letteratura non è più un passaggio formativo che possiamo dare per scontato. Offrire un panorama dettagliato della ricchezza della produzione letteraria contemporanea di cui le giovani generazioni possono godere è dunque un modo per resistere ma anche per affermare con forza che la parola scritta (e letta) è una risorsa infinita, dove ciascuno può trovare del suo e che, soprattutto, non confligge con altri media che impegnano i nostri giovani nei momenti di svago. Si tratta di opportunità molteplici e diverse, spesso convergenti»¹², consapevoli che, come osserva ancora Antoniazzi, «in ogni cosa degna del nome di lettura, il processo dovrebbe sempre essere coinvolgente e inebriante: dovremmo divorare il libro con gli occhi, rimanerne estasiati e la nostra mente, riemmersa da una lettura attenta, dovrebbe essere invasa dalla più sfrenata e caleidoscopica danza di immagini, incapace di prender sonno o di rivolgere altrove i pensieri»¹³.

Ci viene in soccorso, anche in questa occasione, la visione di uno scrittore tra i più celebri del secolo scorso, Giorgio Manganelli. Dopo aver aperto questo

¹⁰ M. Campagnaro, *La pluridimensionalità della visual literacy. Albi illustrati e itinerari educativi*, in Barsotti, Cantatore (edd.), *Letteratura per l'infanzia. Forme, temi e simboli del contemporaneo*, cit., p. 127.

¹¹ Antoniazzi, *C'era una volta... il libro. Dai libri game alle app*, cit., p. 295.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 21.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 320.

intervento con il *Pinocchio* cinematografico più recente, il cerchio si chiude proprio con la riflessione che l'autore di *Centuria* dedica al capolavoro di Collodi, aprendo un varco larghissimo attorno alle questioni del libro, della lettura, della multimedialità e, dunque, della pedagogia ad esse sottesa:

Nessun libro finisce; i libri non sono lunghi, sono larghi. La pagina, come rivela anche la sua forma, non è che una porta alla sottostante presenza del libro, o piuttosto ad altra porta, che porta ad altra. Finire un libro significa aprire l'ultima porta, affinché non si chiuda più né questa né quelle che abbiamo finora aperte per varcarne la soglia, e tutte quelle che infinitamente si sono aperte, continuano ad aprirsi, si apriranno in un infinito brusio di cardini. Il libro finito è infinito, il libro chiuso è aperto; tutto il libro si raccoglie attorno a noi, tutte le pagine sono una pagine, tutte le porte, visibili ed invisibili, sono un'unica porta, la porta è così spalancata che non solo posso varcarne la soglia, ma la porta è diventata la soglia di se stessa, io penetro la porta, tutte le porte sono penetrabili, non si distinguono le porte aperte dalle porte chiuse, le porte portano da porta a porta, nulla è chiuso, tutto è chiuso, tutto è aperto, nulla è aperto¹⁴.

È la letteratura per l'infanzia come 'genere' che ci costringe, fortunatamente, a usare l'immaginazione per compiere due passi determinanti: definire, dunque escludere, e al contempo ri-definire, dunque includere, come se ogni qual volta si riapra il ventre del pescecane, possiamo scegliere se uscire e salvarci ancora, seguire il bambino-burattino che ha ancora sete di vedere e ci detta i tempi della fuga dal reale e dall'irreale. Una evasione che è anche metaforicamente una fuoriuscita dall'oralità, dall'oralità dell'animale, ma anche dalla nostra, verso nuovi sconosciuti approdi del comunicare, per continuare a immaginare la letteratura per l'infanzia e al contempo leggere l'immagine dell'infanzia.

¹⁴ G. Manganelli, *Pinocchio. Un libro parallelo*, Milano, Adelphi, p. 192.

Forum / Discussioni

The reception of the Spanish Civil War in the Italian elementary school during fascism (1936-1943)*

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ABSTRACT: This article attempts to trace the presence and the repercussion of the Spanish civil war in Italian grade schools during the final years of fascism. Beginning with the Italian intervention in the war in 1936, we continue through 1943, when Mussolini ceases to preside the Council of Ministers. In our study we examine textbooks, school notebook covers, children's literature and children's press. Three categories of analysis are used: first, the understanding of war as a struggle of identities and values; secondly, the understanding of war as a confrontation of weapons; and finally, we delve into the emotional, social and patrimonial consequences of the war.

EET/TEE KEYWORDS: History of school; National identity; Spanish Civil War; Fascism; Francoism; Spain; Italy; XXth Century.

Introduction

Europe was a battle ground for the first half of the 20th century. The continent witnessed two kinds of wars: those fought in various countries, with

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multiple states and sides, such as was the case with the two world wars (from 1914-1918 and 1939-1945, respectively); and those that, notwithstanding the participation of other powers, were fought within a single country, as was the case of the Spanish Civil War (1936-1939).

Spain's case was especially dramatic. A civil war implies the fracture of a country, a fight between two sides, two national models, two opposing conceptions, in this instance, of what Spain was – or what it was supposed to be. The conflict originated when the general Francisco Franco revolted against the Second Republic, a government that had been voted in democratically in the municipal elections of 12 April, 1931. This was an especially turbulent time in Spanish history, when tensions and changes fueled a complex democratic trajectory in which governments of different ideologies were subjected to myriad internal and external pressures.

The influence and determination of fascist Italy's intervention in Spain during this period deserves special scrutiny, from its half-hearted support of the dictatorship of Primo de Rivera to various initiatives aimed at liquidating the Second Republic to its direct – and in the eyes of some historians, decisive – involvement in the *Guerra di Spagna*, that is, the civil war. Comprehending the course of Spanish politics in the twenty-year span between the dictatorships of Primo de Rivera and Francisco Franco requires us to adopt an international or transnational perspective, especially given the copious literature that approaches the issue from an exclusively nationalist viewpoint. In this sense, Italy and Mussolini were key factors in understanding historical developments in Spain.

The situation was especially harsh in schools. During the war many children were moved to cities and areas that were considered safe, far from the bombing going on near the fronts. The consequences of the war on education have been studied in depth from the perspective of educational historiography in Spain. What we propose is an approach to these events from a perspective that goes beyond the national borders. We believe that by studying the international and transnational dimensions of these historical developments – along with the way they were reflected in curricular contents and their impact on other countries – we can reach a better understanding of these events from the distance afforded by time and place.

With this premise, our study attempts to analyze the way that the Spanish Civil War was presented and received in Italian elementary schools from 1936, when the war broke out, through 1943, when Mussolini ceased presiding the Italian Council of Ministers. To this end, our study resorts to the analysis of school textbooks, notebook covers and children's press and literature¹. This

¹ The study of the reception in Italy of the Spanish Civil War has been researched above all in the realm of the press and literature. (A.J. Marqués Salgado, *La Guerra Civil española en la literatura italiana: desde el final del conflicto hasta nuestros días*, «Archivium. Revista de la Facultad de Filología», n. 60, 2010, pp. 199-212; Id., *Los brigadistas italianos en la guerra civil española. Un puente entre la realidad y la ficción*, in M.J. Calvo, F. Cartoni (edd.), *El tema del viaje: un*

will help us to achieve a panoramic vision of the significance in Italy of an event that was presented as a conflict of identity, inexorably tied to the legitimization of a fascist dictatorship at a time of profound tensions and with the looming threat of World War II.

With a basis in the historical-educational method, we use as our principal source the school textbooks published in Italy in the time period indicated above. As a complementary source – and one which serves to triangulate the information obtained from the textbooks – we have also analyzed notebook covers as well as the children's press and literature.

In studying these sources we have as a rule applied the technique of content analysis. This technique relies on the creation of content units or categories, a practice we have carried out exhaustively with this material². For the study described here we have three categories of study: the war as a struggle of identities; the war as a military struggle; and the war as a barbarism, focused on the emotional, social and cultural consequences. As a complement to the analysis we have included the study of the images and illustrations included in the same sources, placing an emphasis on the context and the dialogue established between the image and the accompanying text. Our study therefore includes an iconographic analysis, as developed comprehensively by authors such as Peter Burke or Edwin Panofsky³.

recorrido por la lengua y la literatura italianas, Cuenca, Universidad de Castilla-La Mancha, 2010, pp. 723-737; M. Matly, *L'image de la Guerre civile espagnole dans la bande dessinée entre 1936 et 1975. Le bande dessinée étrangère et le temps du franquisme*, «Cahiers de civilisation espagnole contemporaine», n. 15, 2015, <<https://doi.org/10.4000/cccec.5922>>).

² The following studies, carried out in Spain and in Italy, serve as references: E. Castillejo, *Mito, legitimación y violencia simbólica en los manuales escolares de historia del franquismo*, Madrid, UNED, 2001; K. Mahamud, *Adoctrinamiento emocional y socialización política en el primer franquismo (1939-1959). Emociones y sentimientos en los manuales escolares de enseñanza primaria*, Doctoral Thesis, Department of History of Education and Comparative Education (Supervisor: Manuel de Puellas Benítez), Madrid, UNED, 2012; R. Sani, *Education, School and cultural processes in contemporary Italy*, Macerata, eum, 2018; R. Sani, A. Ascenzi, *Il libro per la scuola tra idealismo e fascismo. L'opera della Commissione centrale per l'esame dei libri di testo da Giuseppe Lombardo Radice ad Alessandro Melchiori (1923-1928)*, Milan, Vita e Pensiero, 2005; C. Betti, G. Chiosso, *Il libro per la scuola tra Sette e Ottocento*, Brescia, La Scuola, 2000; R. Sani, «Discovering the best and most ignored Italy». *The regional Almanacs for the primary school introduced by the Gentile Reform and the use of the cultural and natural heritage for the promotion of a national identity and a sense of citizenship*, «History of Education & Children's Literature», vol. 12, n. 1, 2017, pp. 85-113; L. Pomante, «Italy, the land of beauty and art». *The Italian landscape and cultural heritage in the books and the primary school textbooks from the Fascist period to the II postwar period. Between national identity and sense of citizenship*, «History of Education & Children's Literature», vol. 12, n. 1, 2017, pp. 157-211; D. Caroli, *L'insegnamento della storia antica e medioevale nelle scuole fasciste e sovietiche fra le due guerre mondiali: manuali di scuola elementare a confronto*, «Historia y Memoria de la Educación», n. 2, 2015, pp. 321-352.

³ P. Burke, *Visto y no visto. El uso de la imagen como documento histórico*, Barcelona, Crítica, 2001; E. Panofsky, *Estudios sobre iconología*, Madrid, Alianza, 2012.

Regarding the sources used here, the majority were consulted in the *Centro di documentazione e ricerca sulla storia del libro scolastico e della letteratura per l'infanzia* (CESCO) at the University of Macerata during 2018 and 2019.

1. *Fascist Italy arrives in Spain. The intervention of Mussolini in the civil war*

The arrival of Italian troops in Spain, coinciding with the outbreak of the Spanish Civil War, was remarkably premature. Mussolini's first soldiers, grouped in the *Corpo Truppe Volontarie* (Corps of Volunteer Troops) – referred to by the initials CTV from here forth⁴ – marked the beginning of Italy's participation in a war that split Spain in two.

And yet, this was not the first time that Mussolini had set his eyes on Spain. The *Duce* had maintained a cordial relationship with the dictatorship of Miguel Primo de Rivera (1923-1930), who, though himself an admirer of the Italian dictator, did not envision for Spain a fascist state like the Italian one. Nor did Mussolini, at least in 1928, consider that his system could be exported to other countries. Their respective kings, however, seemed to enjoy a closer relationship. Alfonso XIII, then the king of Spain, even commented to his Italian counterpart, Vittorio Emanuele III, that Primo de Rivera was his own Mussolini⁵.

The relationship between the two dictatorships was not long-lived. The fall of the Spanish king in 1930 was followed by a transition that led to the birth of the Second Republic, a democratic regime that governed from 1931 until 1936. Mussolini, who considered this government a satellite of Russian Communism, attempted to subvert it three different times. The first occasion took place in 1932, when he provided arms for the failed coup by general Sanjurjo. Two years later, under the biennial of CEDA (a confederation of conservative parties), he pushed for an alliance of right wing and Catholic political parties considered close to fascist ideals, consisting primarily of Monarchists, Alfonsists and Carlists. This somewhat rag-tag coalition was made up of a diversity of conservative families, making it quite different from Italy, where the fascist movement was concentrated within the *Partito Nazionale Fascista* (National Fascist Party, PNF from here forth). Finally, the last attempt by the *Duce* to do away with the Spanish democracy took place a year later, in 1935, when Mussolini decided to provide direct financial support for the Falange Española de las Juntas de Ofensiva Nacional Sindicalista – known by its acronym, FE de las JONS. The Falanx was led by José Antonio Primo de Rivera, the son of

⁴ J. Rodríguez Iturbe, *El fascismo italiano. Mussolini y su tiempo*, Chía, Universidad de La Sabana, 2019.

⁵ S.G. Payne, *Fascism in Spain (1923-1977)*, Madison, University of Wisconsin Press, 1999.

the dictator who had ruled before rise of the Republic⁶. Mussolini's attempts at abolishing democracy in Spain were unsuccessful – at least the first two –, yet in a sense they laid the groundwork and help explain his future interest in taking sides in the civil war⁷.

When the war broke out the insurgents turned to Germany and Italy for help. Mussolini's initial opposition to providing support seems to have stemmed from the doubts he harbored about the chances of the uprising's success. Additionally, the recent victory of Italian fascism in Ethiopia made the Spanish offensive somewhat of a gamble; the triumphant wave of Italian imperialism risked being tarnished by embarking on a foreign war whose outcome was dubious⁸, especially with France intending – initially – to help the republican government militarily⁹. However, the Italian dictator quickly changed his mind and Italy made a decisive entry into the conflict. Information sources from the Italian military had concluded that the uprising had a good chance of succeeding, and this seemed to make it a worthwhile venture for the Italian regime. Mussolini initially opted for furnishing aerial support to the rebels, contributing in a way that historians such as Paul Preston have described as decisive¹⁰.

But, what are the real reasons that led the *Duce* to participate directly in the Spanish conflict? The fact is that historians have not come to a consensus, and we find multiple hypotheses and interpretations regarding Benito Mussolini's interest in becoming involved in the war. It seems that his intentions – coming on the heels of his recent victory in Africa – had to do with imperial and ideological motivations¹¹, with the opportunity for internationalizing fascism¹² and for demonstrating his objective of creating a satellite-state in the Mediterranean that would serve to counter the influence of the French-British axis¹³.

⁶ P. Preston, *Italy and Spain in Civil War and World War, 1936-1943*, in S. Balfour, P. Preston (edd.), *Spain and the Great Powers in the twentieth century*, London, Routledge, 2002, pp. 151-184; I. Saz Campos, *Mussolini contra la II República. Hostilidad, conspiraciones, intervención (1931-1936)*, Valencia, Alfons el Magnànim, 1986; C. Venza, *La Italia fascista en la tormenta española (1934-1939)*, in G. Francone, M. Francone (edd.), *Francone. La mirada de Mussolini en la guerra de España*, Zaragoza, Gobierno de Aragón, 2009, pp. 31-40.

⁷ As the historian Emilio Gentile has pointed out, the Phalanx, like the rest of the philo-fascist parties and movements that emerged in Europe, came about after the rise of Italian fascism to power. While the goals and ideologies did not all necessarily coincide with those in Italy, they did share a mystical, militaristic concept of politics, and a model of activism that was revolutionary, anti-democratic, anti-liberal and anti-marxist. They also had in common a cult and exaltation of the nation and the race, in which ceremonies and symbolism served to express a distinct identity (see E. Gentile, *Il fascismo in tre capitoli*, Rome-Bari, Laterza, 2010).

⁸ Venza, *La Italia fascista en la tormenta española (1934-1939)*, cit.

⁹ Preston, *Italy and Spain in Civil War and World War*, cit.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹ Saz, *Mussolini contra la II República*, cit.

¹² Gentile, *Il fascismo in tre capitoli*, cit.

¹³ M. Heiberg, *Emperadores del Mediterráneo. Franco, Mussolini y la guerra civil española*, Barcelona, Crítica, 2003; Preston, *Italy and Spain in Civil War and World War*, cit.

If one were to draw a map describing Italy's participation in the Spanish war it would focus on three main lines or fronts. The first of these was the in the south. Early in 1937 there were some 6,000 Italian volunteer troops who, under general Edmondo Rossi, made up the 1st Division of the *Milizia Volontaria per la Sicurezza Nazionale* «Dio lo vuole». These soldiers saw their first action in one of the principal battles of the civil war: the Battle of Málaga (from the 3rd until the 8th of February, 1937). Under the rebel general Queipo de Llano and his subordinate Mario Roatta, the Italians calmed their first great victory when the Andalusian city was taken in a matter of three days¹⁴.

The battle of Málaga also served as a first contact between Franco's rebel troops and the Italian soldiers. At the conclusion of this first confrontation the Italians were very taken aback by the harsh repression inflicted on the citizens by the insurgent forces:

A very strong point [...] was made in the denouncements that the officers of the Italian army formulated in the days following the conquest of Málaga, describing the tremendously repressive actions that Franco's army and his Falangists were taking against the civil population of Málaga, executing some five thousand of them, with thousands of prisoners in jail for banal reasons, without trials, for simple personal accusations or old quarrels or simply because their ideas were contrary to the national ideology. The Italian army has nothing to do with this cruel repression, beyond the humanitarian intervention of the consul Bianchi¹⁵.

The next southern battleground was Extremadura, where the first Spanish-Italian military alliance was formed, that of the *Frecce Azzurre* (Blue arrows). It was here that the Pozoblanco offensive took place in March of 1937, with considerably fewer casualties than in Andalusia. Some 41 Italians lost their lives¹⁶.

The second front in which the Italian CTVs played an important part was in the north. Prior to this, and following on the heels of their resounding victory in Málaga, the rebels and Italians had suffered a defeat in the battle of Guadalajara near the center of Spain. At this point, Franco turned his attention to the northern rim of Cantabria, particularly the Basque provinces and Santander, along with Castilla la Vieja. The CTV, reorganized after its defeat at Guadalajara, intended to occupy the province of Vizcaya under the orders of general Bottari, aided by the Italian aviation under general Mola¹⁷.

The most tragic event at this stage of the war was the battle of Santander (from the 14th of August to the 17th of September of 1937). In the attack on this city, which at the time had Castilla's only port, the rebel army managed

¹⁴ A. Viñas, J.A. Blanco (edd.), *La Guerra Civil española, una visión bibliográfica*, Madrid, Marcial Pons, 2017; D. Vaquero Pérez, *Creer, obedecer, combatir... y morir. Fascistas italianos en la guerra civil española*, Saragossa, Institución «Fernando el Católico», 2006.

¹⁵ Vaquero, *Creer, obedecer, combatir... y morir*, cit., p. 198.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁷ Preston, *Italy and Spain in Civil War and World War*, cit.

to cut the republican territory in two, albeit with many Italian casualties. On September 18th the rebel forces took the city and six days later, with the Santoña Pact, the Basque government surrendered to the Italian army. The Basques then arranged for the evacuation to France of their principal leaders. A total of 473 political and military figures boarded two British ships on August 26th, but the next day Franco ordered the suspension of the evacuation. Despite promising to honor the conditions of the treaty signed with the Italians, hundreds of summary trials and death sentences ensued¹⁸. Once again, the cruel repression surprised the Italian army.

The third front was the country's center. One of the crucial battles – if not the most important one – was that of the Ebro (from July 25th until November 16th of 1938). By this time the relationship between Franco and the head of the CTV, general Bastico, had deteriorated; Franco suspected that the Italians were appropriating arms, while the Italians still resented the treatment that the rebels had inflicted on the Basques. In order to avoid further tensions, Bastico was substituted by general Berti. At this point there were close to 42,000 Italian troops in Spain¹⁹.

Benefitting from their position in the battle of the Ebro, the Italians prepared a new offensive on the city of Guadalajara, part of a strategy to surround Madrid. The attack was launched from the city of Teruel. It was in the nearby municipality of Alcañiz²⁰ that the Italian aviation carried out one of its most portentous actions, unleashing some 10,000 kilograms of bombs on a town that at the time had a population of about 12,000 people. About 200 people lost their lives²¹.

From the Ebro the Italian troops headed towards Valencia. They had to abort their mission, however, when the republican troops succeeded in crossing the Ebro River at various points east of Gandesa on the night of the 24th-25th of July of 1938. In response to the circumstances the CTV was reorganized once again, with Gambara substituting Berti as commander. The most important action taken by Gambara was the Catalanyan offensive, carried out between the 8th and the 24th of December, 1938. From the Pyrenees to the Mediterranean, Franco's rebel troops crossed the Cinca, the Segre and the Ebro rivers. At this point the Italians were in Serós. Gambara divided the CTV into three columns: the *Frecce Nere*, who were sent towards Granollers, the *Littorio*, who were dispatched to Girona, and the *Frecce Azzurre*, who remained in the reserve. Although the battle resulted in a victory for the insurgent army, the Italian

¹⁸ P. Preston, *El holocausto español. Odio y exterminio en la Guerra Civil y después*, Barcelona, Debolsillo, 2016.

¹⁹ Vaquero, *Creer, obedecer, combatir... y morir*, cit.

²⁰ J. Casanova, *The Spanish Republic and Civil War*, New York, Cambridge University Press, 2010.

²¹ A. Beevor, *La guerra civil española*, Barcelona, Crítica, 2005.

troops suffered nearly five hundred casualties²². After the offensive, the Italian soldiers were incorporated into the Ejército del Centro (Army of the Center), situated in Toledo. The CTV then occupied Aranjuez, Ocaña, Albacete and Alicante, and when the rebel army finally entered into Madrid the CTV took Alicante, whose port was full of thousands of fugitives desperate for a way to flee. They did not find it, and Franco did not help their situation; he aborted the evacuation, and the tragic events of Santoña were repeated²³.

This would be Italy's last intervention in the Spanish Civil War. It was April 1st, 1939, two days before the war was officially over. The Italians took part in the victory parade in Madrid before being repatriated to Italy from Cádiz on June 1st, with Serrano Suñer as acting minister of Governance²⁴. In Naples the troops were greeted by the king, Vittorio Emanuele III and by the minister of foreign affairs, Galeazzo Ciano. A delegation of the troops was met in Rome by Mussolini himself²⁵.

All told, 3.796 Italians lost their lives fighting for the insurgent army in Spain. Most of these casualties, 2.262, died in combat on the central front. On the northern and southern fronts they lost 910 and 168 soldiers, respectively. Italy lost 74 soldiers in the Balearic Islands, while those who died in Italy or went missing in action accounted for 382 lost lives²⁶.

2. *The Spanish Civil War in Italian elementary schools in the final years of fascist rule*

Describing an armed conflict in school material poses a challenge from the point of view of educational policy, requiring great care and consideration in the strategies used. It involves carefully weighing the appropriateness of what the future generation is to be told about their country's actions in a foreign war; in this instance, it is about Italy's taking part in the armed conflict in Spain. In the case of victory, the story is quite simple: a triumphant tale of Italy's decisive contribution to the Spanish war, with the resulting victory and establishment of a political regime that, while not identical, was at least generally akin to Mussolini's fascist project. It is noteworthy that in less than two years the fascists had already begun introducing in their curricular contents the actions and exploits carried out by the voluntary militias in the battles in which Italian

²² Vaquero, *Creer, obedecer, combatir... y morir*, cit.

²³ J.M. Campo, *La ayuda de Mussolini a Franco en la Guerra Civil española*, Madrid, Arco Libros, 2009.

²⁴ J.F. Coverdale, *La intervención fascista en la guerra civil española*, Madrid, Alianza Editorial, 1979.

²⁵ Campo, *La ayuda de Mussolini a Franco en la Guerra Civil española*, cit.

²⁶ Vaquero, *Creer, obedecer, combatir... y morir*, cit.

soldiers had fought. They did not even wait until the war was finished to narrate and illustrate their fellow countrymen's conquests on Spanish soil.

Based on this premise, the analysis of the sources explained above revolves around three central categories of analysis related to the civil war. The first of these categories deals with the question of identity and of the understanding of the armed conflict as a struggle of ideas and of differing conceptions of the nation. The second category looks at the war from the point of view of a competition of military armament and engineering. The third and final category takes up the question of the war's consequences from an emotional, social and patrimonial perspective²⁷.

But first, we would like to offer some reflections regarding the nationalization processes, the educational policies of fascism and the school materials used here. During the 1930s a paradigmatic change took place in the nationalizing aspect of education in Italy. As professor Anna Ascenzi has pointed, beginning in 1934 we find a growing convergence between the sense of national belonging and adherence to the principles espoused by Mussolini's regime; these principles had started to become fundamental elements in the construction of the proper, full-fledged fascist and, by extension, of national identity and patriotic sentiment²⁸.

This evolution is reflected in the changes in the contents of school materials, especially in textbooks²⁹. In this sense, and in keeping with the observations of professor Ascenzi, Eden McLean appreciates a curricular change from around

²⁷ The study of emotional discourse in school texts represents an emerging line of research in recent years, one introduced by professor Kira Mahamud (Mahamud, *Adoctrinamiento emocional y socialización política en el primer franquismo (1939-1959)*. *Emociones y sentimientos en los manuales escolares de enseñanza primaria*, Cit.; M. Somoza, K. Mahamud, H.H. Pimenta, *Emociones y sentimientos en los procesos de socialización política. Una mirada desde la Historia de la Educación*, «Historia y Memoria de la Educación», n. 2, 2015, pp. 7-44; A.M. Badanelli, K. Mahamud, *Entre la ruptura y la continuidad de esquemas socioemocionales en los libros de lectura de la escuela primaria en el tardofranquismo (1959-1975)*, «Historia y Memoria de la Educación», n. 2, 2015, pp. 125-160).

²⁸ A. Ascenzi, *Metamorfosi della cittadinanza. Studi e ricerche su insegnamento della storia, educazione civile e identità nazionale in Italia tra Otto e Novecento*, Macerata, eum, 2009.

²⁹ *Ibid.* As Ascenzi has also pointed out, starting with the academic years 1930-31 Italy imposed the policy of the single text. While school textbooks were subject to this process of standardization, the same was not true of other materials such as notebooks. Although an effort was made to confer uniformity on these as well, it was never carried through. (J. Meda, "Contro il tanto deprecato mercantilismo scolastico". *I controversi rapporti tra produttori di quaderni, insegnanti e cartolai e l'intervento del regime fascista*, in J. Meda, D. Montino, R. Sani (edd.), *School Exercise Books. A complex source for a History of the Approach to Schooling and Education in the 19th and 20th Centuries*, 2 vols., Florence, Polistampa, 2011, Vol. I, pp. 507-552). And while the fascist regime was interested in controlling children's literature, the nature of the source itself implied a necessary variety of readings for children. (M. Colin, *I bambini di Mussolini. Letteratura, libri, letture per l'infanzia sotto il fascismo*, Brescia, La Scuola, 2012.). What the authorities did strive to do, in the case of both textbooks and notebooks, was to adapt the illustrations to the children's reality, avoiding the unreal representations found in textbooks and notebooks prior to the fascist period. (F. Tancini, *Fiabe illustrate sui banchi di scuola: le copertine dei quaderni tra dittatura e ricostruzione*, in Meda, Montino, Sani (edd.), *School Exercise Books*, cit., Vol. I, pp. 585-602).

the middle of the decade in the approach taken towards nationalization. From evoking its imperial Roman past, we now find an exaltation of Italy's eternal and immortal character. As we will see below, this view is also reflected in the way that the Spanish Civil War is chronicled after the intervention of Mussolini and his fascist regime.

2.1 *War as a struggle of identities. Different sides and the values of fascism*

The Spanish conflict represented an opportunity for Mussolini to vindicate and underscore fascism's fight against its enemies: communism and bolchevism. What we have, then, is a struggle of identities, between models and conceptions of a country – and of a continent – at the threshold of the Second World War.

Interestingly, the texts offer reflections on the particular harshness of a civil war. Piero Bargellini³⁰, in a book of readings used in the fifth grade, compiled writings about the Spanish war. In the one titled *Logroño* the author reflects upon this fact:

The civil war allows no one to rest, not even the dead. It envies their peace.

Of all wars, the civil war is the saddest, the most bitter, the most atrocious. It divides and arms men against other of the same nation, residents of the same city, often even children from the same family.

The civil war is fought street by street, plaza by plaza, house by house. It is fought within the country and within families. This is why it is also called an internal war.

In fact, in the war of 1938 [*sic*] it was the Spaniards themselves who ruined their own cities. With the same set of hands they destroyed in the war what they had built in peace³¹.

The interpretation of a civil war as a fight between compatriots reflects a struggle of identities. These identities were defined by the features and values that, in this case, Italians and insurgent Spaniards showed in the war against the republicans and their allies.

In this sense, one value that the Italian texts considered fundamental was that of loyalty. Throughout the materials, and particularly in the readings, we find great emphasis placed on fidelity, nobility and a willingness to fight for

³⁰ Piero Bargellini began as a primary school teacher in 1920, taught intermediate school from 1929 until 1931, served as director between 1931 and 1936 and finally, worked as inspector from 1937 until 1948. A native of Florence, he was fully devoted to the fascist cause. His ideology and writings, which appeared in journals such as «Critica fascista» and «Primato», attest to his profound antisecularism and his harsh critiques of both European liberalism and Russian communism (J. Dagnino, *Faith and fascism. Catholic intellectuals in Italy, 1925-43*, London, Palgrave Macmillan, 2017; F. Leoni, *El disenso católico en Italia durante el fascismo*, «Revista de Estudios Políticos», n. 35, 1983, pp. 235-255).

³¹ P. Bargellini, *Logroño*, in Id. (ed.), *Lecture per la quinta classe elementare dei centri urbani*, Rome, La Libreria dello Stato, 1942, p. 118.

one's country and one's family. The text *Le campane di Malaga* [The Bells of Málaga], by Alfredo Petrucci, probes this idea³². The story centers around an Italian soldier named Stefano Berta, who has resided in Málaga for the last twelve years. There he had started a family, meeting his wife – who was also Italian – and having a child, Dreuccio. After a brief presentation, the story moves into the context of the Spanish Civil War. And it does so tragically; Stefano's wife, the mother of his child, is assassinated by the republican army – referred to here as the *reds* – while she is praying in a church.

The young man finds himself in a traumatic situation: Dreuccio has no mother, no news from his father and his grandmother is not even aware of what is going on. He takes over the family business, a small cafeteria. One day two soldiers from the *red* army come in and are about to attack the grandmother when Dreuccio plants himself in front of them, in order to protect her. When the soldiers discover that he is Italian, they try to humiliate him by forcing him to say: *Down with Italy*. He refuses and instead says: *Long live Italy*. The story reaches its end when the bells of Málaga begin to chime; the city has just been liberated – or occupied – by the insurgent army and its allies³³.

This text is illustrative for several reasons. In the first place, it emphasizes the idea of loyalty, to the country as well as to the family. The protagonist is brave enough to stand up to two robust soldiers who are threatening his grandmother and who try to make him humiliate his own country. This value carries considerable emotional weight and induces the reader to identify with the protagonist. We have a child who has lost his mother, who has no news of his father and whose grandmother is missing. In contrast to the bravery shown by the story's main figure, the author projects onto the republican characters qualities that are quite the opposite: cruelty, insensitivity and cowardice. The moral of the story is clear: if children have to fight and put themselves in harm's way for their family or for Italy, they should do so bravely.

A similar moral, albeit with a different plot, can be found in the book of infant literature by Pina Ballario *Ragazzi d'Italia nel mondo* [Italian children in the world]. A fascist critic³⁴ describes this book as being written with «a pleasant liveliness and sincere sentiment»³⁵. This story tells of a young Italian boy who

³² Alfredo Petrucci, considered one of the preeminent poets and authors of school texts in fascist Italy, was a prolific writer of school literature whose better-known works include *L'italiano nuovo* (1937) and the story analyzed here (E. Brandani, G. Di Genova, M. Duranti, "L'uomo della Provvidenza". *Iconografia del Duce (1923-1945)*, Bologna, Edizioni Bora, 1997).

³³ A. Petrucci, *I racconti della sera. Le campane di Malaga*, in Id. (ed.), *L'aratro e la spada. Letture per la III classe dei centri rurali*, Rome, La Libreria dello Stato, 1938, pp. 196-200.

³⁴ Istituto Nazionale di Cultura Fascista. Sezione di Milan, *Il libro del fanciullo*, «Rassegna di Cultura», n. 3, 1938, p. 83.

³⁵ Pina Ballario, a renowned defender of Mussolini's cause, was one of the main authors of infant and children's literature during the fascist period in Italy. She enjoyed considerable success after the dictatorship and during the republican period. Her work – generally fiction – includes romantic, colonial and social novels. Children's literature represents an important part of her professional

lives in Barcelona and harbors profound fascist values, despite the fact that his father has no special sympathy for Italy or for Mussolini's fascism. When the boy falls ill, his father undergoes a catharsis of sorts, finding a renewed love for his country and for the fascist cause. Father and son then return to Italy³⁶. These values are reiterated throughout the text, with special emphasis placed on the defense of Mussolini's figure and on the social virtues of fascism and the way it takes care of the neediest. The tale's ending coincides with the story of *Grande dramma, piccoli eroi* [Grand drama, small heroes], by Maria Rossi Gentile³⁷. Here the main characters are two Spanish children who have been adopted by an Italian couple and educated in a Catholic school. The father joins Franco's movement, while the mother is arrested by the republicans. The two children escape and witness death first-hand, when during a mass they are attending the priest is killed. They are arrested and locked up in a concentration camp with other children, soon to be sent off to Russia. However, they manage to escape and the family is able to leave for Genova, where they are received by Mussolini³⁸.

In addition to loyalty and bravery, another virtue that appears repeatedly is religiosity. Catholicism in particular is defended from the perspective of its representing the resurgence of the Roman and Catholic empires³⁹. Its patrimonial implications are touched on as well, with the emphasis on the destruction of churches by the republicans and their lack of faith⁴⁰. In Petrucci's story, the mother of Dreuccio is killed while praying in a church⁴¹. The texts found within the children's literature also stress the importance of defending the Catholic religion. *Voragine rossa* [Red Abyss], by Renzo Chiosso⁴², considered one of the principal works of fascist propaganda in Italian literature, does just this⁴³.

production, in which she emphasized its educational function and advocated traditional values such as respect for one's country, religion and the family. (L. Barbera, *L'opera di Pina Ballario*, tesi di laurea in Lettere Moderne, rel. Giovanni Tesio, Università degli studi del Piemonte Orientale, Vercelli, a.a. 2002-2003, disponibile dal 2016 in ebook Kindle col titolo: *Pina Ballario. Lungo viaggio di una scrittrice novarese*; P. Sambuco, *Pina Ballario's Colonial and Travel Writing: Desserts, Breastfeeding and Pleasure as Opposition to Fascism*, «Italian Studies», vol. 73, n. 3, pp. 257-273).

³⁶ P. Ballario, *Ragazzi d'Italia nel mondo*, Milan, La Prora, 1938.

³⁷ Maria Rossi Gentile was a Genoan author of children's literature and press articles. She was especially prolific in the 1930s and 1940s and began to publish on her own in 1937. Among her writings, in which patriotic and religious sentiments are central, the best-known are *Un balilla non trema. Storia vera di un bimbo di Liguria* (1937) y *Grande dramma, piccoli eroi* (1938) (see A. Levi, *Storia della "Biblioteca dei miei ragazzi"*, Pisa, Bibliografia e informazione, 2012).

³⁸ M.R. Gentile, *Grande dramma, piccoli eroi*, Florence, Adriano Salani, 1940.

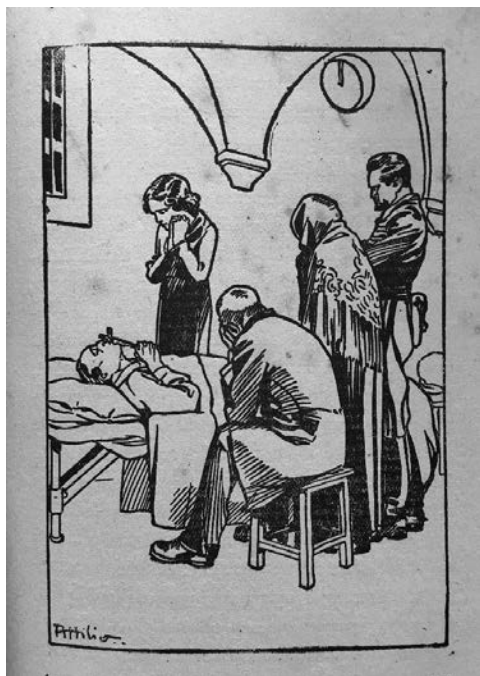
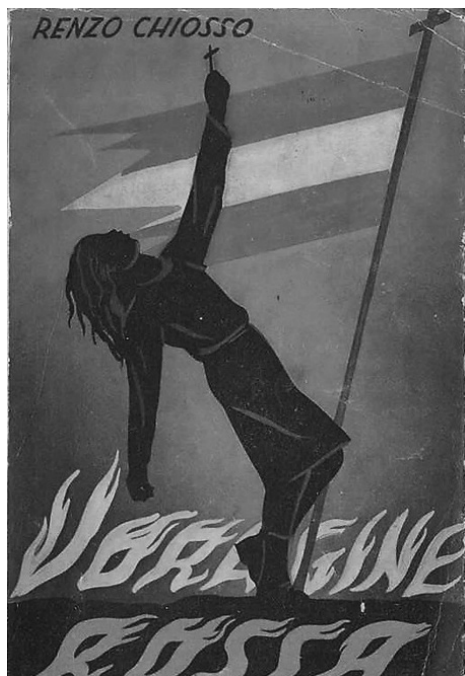
³⁹ C. Cottone, *Spagna*, in *Il libro della quinta classe elementare. Aritmetica, Geografia, Scienze*, Rome, La Libreria dello Stato, 1941, p. 162.

⁴⁰ Bargellini, *Logroño*, cit.

⁴¹ Petrucci, *I racconti della sera. Le campane di Malaga*, cit.

⁴² Renzo Chiosso was an important literary figure as well as a set designer for numerous films, especially between 1913 and 1919; his literary work took on greater importance in later years, particularly towards the end of the fascist period (see R. Poppi, *I registi: dal 1930 ai giorni nostri*, Rome, Gremese, 2002).

⁴³ Marqués, *La Guerra Civil española en la literatura italiana*, cit.; Marqués, *Los brigadistas*



Pic. 1 and Pic. 2. Cover of *Voragine rossa*, and illustration of the death of the protagonist, Álvaro⁴⁴

The cover itself clearly underlines the important role of religion in defending Spain against the *red chaos* (Pic. 1).

In this story, Álvaro is a young republican who, upon witnessing the savagery of his army, repents and embraces the insurgent cause. In the end he dies, kissing a crucifix (Pic. 2)⁴⁵. The religious theme also appears in the story *Il capellano navarrino* [The Navarran chaplain], contained in the work *La fiammata* [The flame], by Agostino Poma⁴⁶. The story, which takes place in the context of the battle of the Ebro, narrates the exploits of a priest, father Ciordia. After the republicans cut off all contact with other insurgent forces, father Ciordia

italianos en la guerra civil española, cit.

⁴⁴ R. Chiosso, *Voragine rossa. Una storia commovente di amore e di eroismo. Il Popolo spagnolo muore per difendere la sua fede, le sue tradizioni, il suo onore*, Alba, Pia Soc. S. Paolo, 1939; Chiosso, *Voragine rossa*, cit., p. 161.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

⁴⁶ Agostino Poma was a prolific author of infant and children's literature in fascist Italy. In a similar line to those described here, his 1944 work *Giosuè Borsi* stands out. Borsi was an important Italian writer who fought and died in the First World War and whose sacrifice for his homeland fits in perfectly with the stories of father Ciordia and the son of general Moscardó in his work *La fiammata*. (N. Turi, *Raccontare la guerra. I conflitti bellici e la modernità*, Florence, Firenze University Press, 2017).

single-handedly succeeds in crossing the occupied zone to reestablish telephone communications between the rebel factions that have been separated. He accomplishes the mission with serenity and determination and is received with celebration for his deed⁴⁷.

Closely associated with religiosity is the virtue of sacrifice. In a story by Poma titled *Più che l'amore* [More than love], we find what may be the most explicit demonstration of the values espoused by Italian fascism. The tale relates the conversation between general Moscardó, from the insurgent army, and his son, who has been captured by the republicans. After the son tells his father that the republicans will spare his life if his father surrenders, the father, in a demonstration of his loyalty to the rebel cause, responds:

My son, in order to save your life, which means more to me than my own, I am being asked to sacrifice the honor of many soldiers. This is impossible! Can I take such a decision, knowing that all of nationalist Spain would curse my action? My dear son, you are a Spaniard and a Christian. Prepare yourself to die, shouting: Long live Spain! Long live Christ!⁴⁸

This idea is reiterated in the text *L'eroe della Falange* [The heroes of the Phalanx], by Paola Bologna⁴⁹. Here we learn the story of Pedrito Alonso, who participated in the war mainly in Madrid. Like Poma, Bologna shows in many of his passages the value of sacrificing one's life. He states that «Italian soldiers know that moving forward often means offering to your country the supreme sacrifice of your life»⁵⁰. We can see how fascist Italy took care to incorporate into its school materials ideas that would encourage in its students resignation in defense of their country and their family, a mission that they should face with courage, loyalty, religiosity and sacrifice. At the same time, as we mentioned above, these texts provided a studied portrayal of the enemy, who was represented fundamentally by Russian communism. At the conclusion

⁴⁷ A. Poma, *Il capellano Navarrino*, in Id., *La fiammata*, Alba, Pia Società S. Paolo, 1940, pp. 163-171.

⁴⁸ Poma, *Più che l'amore*, in Id., *La fiammata*, cit., p. 152.

⁴⁹ Paola Bologna was an author whose principal activity was in the realm of illustrations, beginning in the 1920s. Her most important contributions were for *Tanti cuori, tanti rubini* by Adriana Enriques (Paravia, 1924), *Il cuore nascosto* by Enrico Carrara (Paravia, 1924) and *La vita che ci fa forti*, by Michele Mastropaolo (Paravia, 1949). *L'eroe della Falange* was published by Anonima Veritas Editrice, a publisher established in 1935 under the presidency of the Società della Gioventù di Azione Cattolica (GIAC). During its early years this publisher mainly produced books and pamphlets of propaganda. After this it became consolidated as a publisher of spiritual, theological and pastoral writings, an activity that began in the 1920s and continues to the present day (G. Chiosso, A.V.E., *Anonima Veritas Editrice*, in Id. (ed.), *TESEO '900. Editori scolastico-educativi del primo Novecento*, Milan, Editrice Bibliografica, 2008, pp. 46-49).

⁵⁰ In fact, towards the end of the story, Pedrito Alonso's best friend and battlefield companion, Alonso, dies. The distress that this causes for the protagonist reinforces the idea of sacrifice as sometimes being necessary for the defense of one's honour and country (P. Bologna, *L'eroe della Falange. Romanzo spagnolo*, Rome, AVE, 1938, p. 58).

of the war, Ezio Bonomi and Luigi Rinaldi brought together two chapters in textbooks – of literature and readings, respectively – about the Spanish Civil War and the figure of the enemy⁵¹. The first of these, in a section called *I legionari italiani e la guerra di Spagna* [Italian Legionnaires and the Spanish Civil War], states that «the communist territory of Spain continues to be a shameful page in the history of old Europe»⁵². Rinaldi dedicates a reading text to the civil war titled *La guerra di Spagna è terminata* [The Spanish Civil War is over]. The passage contains several allusion to, and attacks against, the enemy:

Russia had incited Spain for the purpose of leading it into evil Bolchevism and its negation of faith, its hatred of healthy energy and of order, its opposition to all decent peoples and civil governments. Having planted hatred in the hearts of innumerable miscreants from the wretched classes in France, England, Russia and Spain, they armed them and sent them off to combat for the red flag⁵³.

The text even includes allusions formulated by the *Duce* about the enemy in the Spanish Civil War:

The Bolsheviks pompously declared «Spain will be the tomb of fascism». Mussolini, in the speech he gave in Geneva, responded: «It is infinitely more likely that Spain will be the tomb of communism». As always, He was right⁵⁴.

Fascism not only promoted a set of ideals associated with the insurgence and the Italian troops that children were meant to identify with. It also portrayed those characteristics and values that students should *not* imitate and that were represented above all by Russian communism. These included cruelty, cowardice, Bolchevism, anti-Catholicism, disorder and hate.

⁵¹ Luigi Rinaldi and Ezio Bonomi were two of the most representative authors of the fascist regime. The former, whose stories were used mainly in the subjects of history and readings, was known for his filo-fascist ideology and his exaltations and praises of Mussolini (M. Colin, *Les livres de lecture italiens pour l'école primaire sous le fascisme* (1923-1943), «Histoire de l'Éducation», n. 127, 2010, pp. 57-94). Ezio Bonomi was a prolific author of writings. While he continued his school writings after the Second World War, we find in the *Elenco dei libri di testo per le scuole elementari* (1945) a note attached to his name expressing reservations about the author, reservations which presumably have to do with the latent fascism of his texts (AINSMI, fond «CLN regionale della Lombardia», series «Commissariati», subseries «Commissariato Scuola», folder 79, dossier 271; quoted in: P. Genovesi, *Il manuale di storia in Italia. Dal fascismo alla Repubblica*, Milan, FrancoAngeli, 2009, p. 108).

⁵² E. Bonomi, *I legionari italiani e la guerra di Spagna*, in *Il libro della quinta classe elementare. Letture*, Rome, Libreria dello Stato, 1940, p. 125.

⁵³ L. Rinaldi, «La guerra di Spagna è terminata», in *Il libro della quinta classe elementare. Letture*, Rome, La Libreria dello Stato, 1939, p. 154.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 155.

2.2 *War as a military struggle. Equipment and armament*

With the outbreak of the war and Mussolini's decision to become involved, school texts and materials were quickly brought up to date to reflect the *Duce's* support for Franco. From this point on, textbooks, notebooks, the children's press and children's literature all begin to feature abundant military chronicles and illustrations, while Italian war machinery becomes a source of pride and exaltation for young Italians instructed in fascist elementary schools.

The immediacy of Italy's support for Franco and the emphasis placed on armament can be observed in a text by Ezio Bonomi. His description of the historical event and the challenge it posed to the Italian military culminates in a glorification of their virtues:

As soon as the war for the conquest of the empire was over, a new battlefield appeared for the valiant Italian legionnaires.

Spain was involved in a heroic war of independence against communist intrusion. Italian volunteers rushed to the aid of Generalísimo Franco's extraordinary soldiers: and over the land and sky of Spain the brilliant virtues of the Italian warriors shone once more⁵⁵.

The prompt support for the insurgent army led by general Francisco Franco, together with the praise for the Italian soldiers – accompanied, again, by contempt for the enemy – marked the beginning of the wartime chronicles. In this sense, the three fronts described above where the Italian forces played an important part are fully covered in the school materials at this educational stage. The school texts describe the battles that took place in Málaga – on the southern front –, in Albentosa, Barcelona, Barracas, Guadalajara, Madrid and Tortosa – on the central front – and in Bilbao and Santander – on the northern front⁵⁶. From a geographic point of view, therefore, Italian participation in the civil war was recounted in its entirety.

The subject of arms and armament, on the other hand, was reflected more in the illustrations than in the texts. The school textbooks and literature narrated battles and specific or general events, but without going into excessive detail about the arms, which were dealt with in the illustrations.

With regard to the battles that took place on land, the notebooks include color illustrations (Pic. 3) as well as photographs (Pic. 4). These images show situations of direct combat. In the first image, we see the Italian militia seeking cover in the shrubbery near Cherta, in Castellón. They are carrying rifles and accessories for their munitions. They are also wearing helmets and gloves for their protection. On the back cover of the notebook is a commentary meant to accompany the illustration on the front cover:

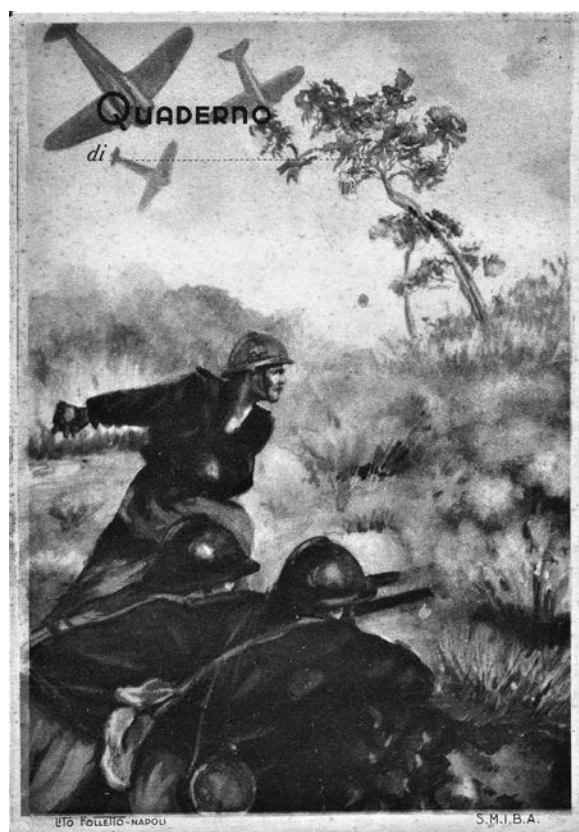
⁵⁵ Bonomi, *I legionari italiani e la guerra di Spagna*, cit., pp. 125-126.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 126; Partito Nazionale Fascista, *Il primo e secondo libro del fascista*, Rome, Partito Nazionale Fascista, 1942, p. 12.

With the fraternal help of the *Ala Legionaria* [Legionnaire Wing], that descends to a very low altitude to attack the enemy, the legionnaires hold their ground in Cherta against violent attacks without giving an inch, before counter-attacking and sending the reds running, leaving Cherta firmly in the hands of the legionnaires⁵⁷.

The second image, taken on the northern front, shows a photograph of four militiamen in a trench made of bales of straw, their rifles poised. The third image, from the Aragon offensive, portrays a similar scene, with five soldiers holed up in a trench, pointing their rifles towards the horizon⁵⁸.

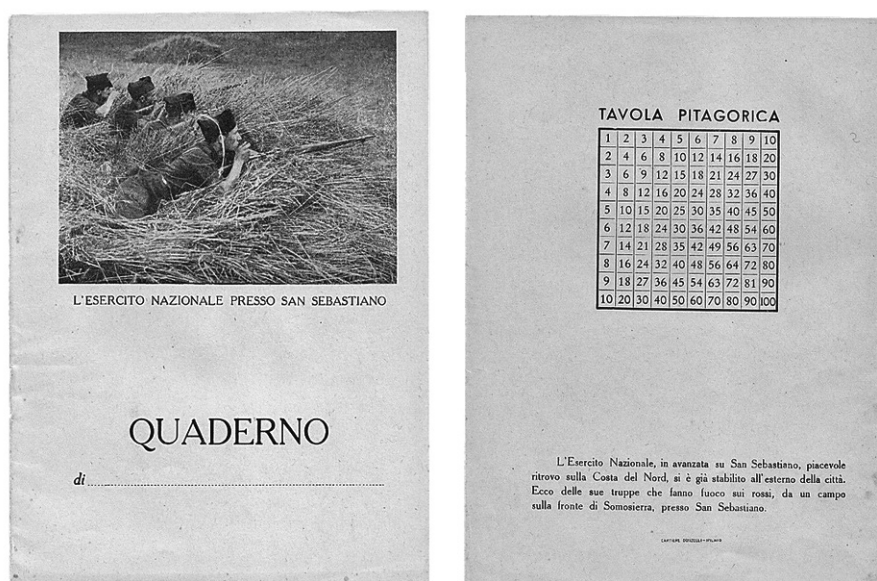
We can see how the notebooks made an effort to convey the idea of cooperation between Spaniards and Italians on the battlefield. Such images were invariable accompanied by a triumphant, belligerent language that sought to ridicule and humiliate the actions of the republicans and their allies.



Pic. 3

⁵⁷ *Eroismo italiano sui campi di Spagna*, Naples, S.M.I.B.A., c. 1930-1940 (see Museo del Quaderno <<http://www.museodelquaderno.it/>>, quaderno AB406).

⁵⁸ *In Aragona*, Milan, Cartiere Donzelli, c. 1938-1943.



Pic. 4

Pic. 3 and Pic. 4. Two notebook covers showing Italian army in combat in Cherta (Castellón, Valencia) and San Sebastián (Guipúzcoa, Basque Country)⁵⁹

Italy's main contribution in the domain of military technology, however, was its aviation. With its base in Mallorca (Balearic Islands) it was, as mentioned above, used on different fronts during the conflict, and in fascist schools and educational materials it was a recurring theme. It was especially conspicuous in the children's press⁶⁰. In 1938 and 1939 the «Corriere dei Piccoli»⁶¹, published two weekly comics titled *L'eroe di Villahermosa* [The hero of Villahermosa],

⁵⁹ *L'esercito nazionale presso San Sebastiano*, Milan, Cartiere Donzelli, c. 1937-1943; *Eroismo italiano sui campi di Spagna*, cit.

⁶⁰ As Michel Matly notes, the Spanish Civil War did not receive in the Italian children's press an especially massive divulgation, due principally to the influence of imports from the United States, which were prohibited in July of 1938 (see Matly, *L'image de la Guerre civile espagnole dans la bande dessinée entre 1936 et 1975*, cit.).

⁶¹ Founded in 1908, this publication was directed by Silvio Spaventa Filippi as part of the *Corriere della Sera*. The children's edition of Spaventa sought to promote «enthusiasm, the chance to dream, to have fun, to believe in fantasy and in positive feelings» (G. Bono, A. Castelli, *Gli anni del "Corriere dei Ragazzi". Quando il "Corriere dei Piccoli" diventò grande*, Milan, BUR, 2009, p. 13).



Pic. 5. Detail of Italian aviation in the Balearic Islands in *Il nibbio delle Baleari*, in the «Corriere dei Piccoli»⁶⁴

and *Il nibbio delle Baleari* [The miracle of the Baleares], written by Giubra and illustrated by Vittorio Cossio⁶². Of these two, the second in particular focuses on Italy's aerial participation over the islands, with two images of their aircraft in combat (Pic. 5)⁶³.

Aerial warfare also appears in children's literature, and in stories such as *La fiammata* and *L'eroe della Falange* aviation plays a central role. The cover of the first of these shows an Italian airplane crashing into a mountain, with a plume of smoke that seems to suggest the colors of the insurgents' flag (Pic. 6). The second publication features illustrations at the beginning of each chapter. One of these, shown below, is a print of a combat plane flying by a town that has been taken by Franco's rebels (Pic. 7).

⁶² Giubra was the nickname of Giuseppe Brancolini, a recognized writer who despite his production for the children's press, was known above all for his activity as a composer, with works such as *Redenzione! Inno a Trento e Trieste* (1915), *Novella di Natale* (1930) o *Mamma, il tuo cuore!* (1931). Vittorio Cossio was an important illustrator for the children's press in Italy. He and his brother Carlo Cossio began their work as illustrators for children's books in 1928, contributing to magazines such as «Rin-Tin-Tin», «Primarosa», «Corriere dei Piccoli». His best-known stories were *Furio Almirante* (1941) and *Raff, Pugno d'Acciao* (1945) (see M. Horn, R. Marschall, *The World Encyclopedia of Cartoons*, 2 vols., Chelsea House Publishers, 1983).

⁶³ Both *L'eroe di Vallehermosa* and *Il nibbio delle Baleari* dealt with wartime situations in the Spanish context. The illustrations in the latter tale highlight the military aspect and continue to chronicle the conflict through to Franco's victory. These publications had a considerable repercussion, and Umberto Eco himself tells of how, before learning to read, he pored over the illustrations of *Il nibbio delle Baleari* (see U. Eco, *Il superuomo di massa. Retorica e ideologia nel romanzo popolare*, Milan, La nave di Teseo, 2016).

⁶⁴ Giubra, V. Cossio, *Il nibbio delle Baleari*, «Corriere dei Piccoli», vol. XXXI, n. 16, 16 April 1939, p. 16.



Pic. 6 and Pic. 7. Cover of *La fiammata*, by Agostino Poma, and a print heading the chapter of the work *L'eroe della Falange*, by Paola Bologna⁶⁵

And finally, the school notebooks give us a good idea of the importance attached to Italian aviation at this stage of the childrens' schooling. It was common for the notebook covers to feature battle scenes of the Italian planes in action (Pic. 8 and Pic. 9).

In summary – and coinciding with the story by Ezio Bonomi – school materials focus principally on situations of direct attacks by land and air. The maritime domain is limited to images of republican ships under attack by the Italian aviation (Pic. 9).

⁶⁵ A. Poma, *La fiammata*, Alba, Pia Società S. Paolo, 1940; Bologna, *L'eroe della Falange*, cit., p. 95.



Pic. 8 and Pic. 9. Cover of the notebooks *Regia Aeronautica Italiana. Bombardatori legionari* (Turin, Carlo Ranotti & C., c. 1930-1940) and *Battaglia aereo-navale nei cieli di Spagna* (Naples, S.M.I.B.A., c. 1930-1940); see Museo del Quaderno <<http://www.museodelquaderno.it/>>, quaderni AA868 and AB408

2.3 War as barbarism. The emotional, social and cultural consequences of a civil conflict

The materials used for schooling children in the final years of Italian fascist rule give us a clear idea of the interest that Mussolini's regime had in creating a triumphal atmosphere at the conclusion of the civil war. However, many of the texts go a step further, relating the aftermath of each battle. We find descriptions of chaos and anguish, of the devastating scenarios and dire poverty that are a direct result of the war. The texts tell of broken families – albeit always from the perspective of the Italian intervention and the insurgent camp –, of republicans who had no qualms about killing the loved ones of the Italian children or of laying to ruin their cities and their belongings.

From the emotional dimension, fascism strove to encourage in its young readers empathy for the characters involved in enthralling, harrowing stories.

The children's literature and school textbooks provide abundant examples: characters in circumstances where their parents go into combat or, in the worst case, support the republican side, a cause for disgrace and humiliation in the family. Numerous are the characters and children who are forced to flee from the chaos of the war brought about by the republicans and who may even have to sacrifice their lives, always from a perspective of faith in the Catholic church.

One way of evoking these situations was with descriptions of scenes where battles had been fought, and of how the Italian soldiers fighting for Franco's cause were warmly embraced by the locals. This element appears frequently in the textbooks. In *Le feste natalizie* [Christmas holidays] and *Il suono della tromba* [The sound of the trumpet], by Piero Bargellini, we learn about how affectionately the Italian fighters were taken in by Castilian townspeople when they had a respite between battles; in this case, the break in the fighting coincided with Christmas. The story tells of the presents the fighters received from their families and of the emotion they felt at being so far from home at such a time:

The Christmas holiday is approaching. It's always raining in this sad town. It even rains inside the church. Kneeling on the floor is like kneeling in the street.

The legionnaires have tried to make do, when they're lucky, by making little stoves and spreading straw on tables for mattresses. While they are resting someone sings, accompanied by an accordion, traditional songs from their land.

And then the packages from their homes arrive.

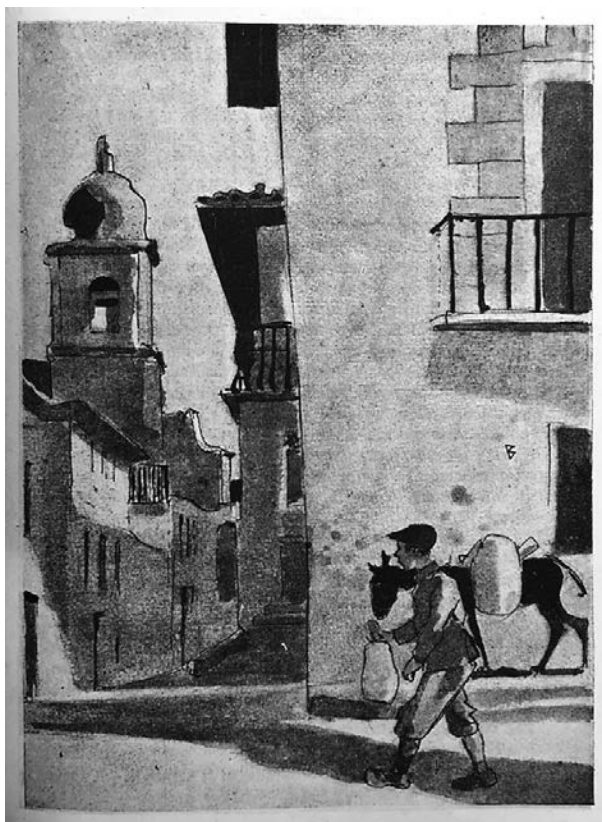
The legionnaires celebrate when a package arrives. Sometimes they will give it a kiss before opening it. Or they touch it against their cheek, so as to feel the warmth of their family.

Then, they call their mates [...] and they start opening the packages on the straw mattresses. They remember how, as children, on Christmas morning they used to empty their Christmas stocking on their bed, rejoicing with each present⁶⁶.

This text offers a summarized version of the consequences of the civil war. It gives a context to the situation, describing a sad, cold town that is in ruins, where it even rains inside the church due to the damage from the battles (Pic. 10). It fuses this context with the mood of the soldiers celebrating the arrival of gifts from their families and evoking childhood memories, all of which helps to create a situation that the readers can easily relate to. And all of this in a tragic, hostile surrounding, the result of a civil conflict.

In this story, Bargellini provides a clue to one the unifying, recurring themes of fascist school literature: the anti-clericalism of the republicans and the burning of churches. The church represented not only a patrimonial treasure

⁶⁶ Bargellini, *Le feste natalizie*, in Id. (ed.), *Lecture per la quinta classe elementare dei centri urbani*, cit., p. 120.



Pic. 10. Drawing of Logroño in the tale *Le feste natalizie*⁶⁷

but a space of spirituality and faith. In the text *Logroño* we read that «the sons of blasphemy ransacked the beautiful churches built by thier own fathers. They tore down the palaces of the nobility, not realizing that they were erasing the achievements of Spanish civilization and art in Spain»⁶⁸.

Finally, the texts go on to envision a future of sacrifice as Spain sets out to recover from the war. In the section dedicated to Spain within the subject of Geography, Carmelo Cottone reflects on the country's situation and on how the civil war has left numerous ruins and victims in its wake:

Spain will have to overcome enormous challenges for its redemption: the ruins left by the war are enormous and rebuilding them is going to require a gargantuan effort. The reconstruction of Spain is going to call for deliberate willpower and boundless energy. We should have faith in the resurrection of Spain. A people who, after centuries of decadence

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 121.

⁶⁸ Bargellini, *Logroño*, cit., p. 118.

and abandon, during five years wrecked the country's vital centers but was able, nonetheless, to find the strength to rise up in arms, anxiously volunteering to fight under Franco's flag and, although requiring the help of foreign nations, to lead a bloody and victorious war for three years⁶⁹.

Once again we see here an emphasis on the patrimonial, social and even the economic aspects of the civil war. Cottone refers specifically to the duration of the conflict, as if it were a spiritual purging process that the country needed to go through.

In short, virtually all of the school materials analyzed make reference to the consequences of the war, either through the chronicling of specific events or stages of the war or by giving a global analysis of it. The damage caused is treated as a natural, inevitable effect, one that is necessary for the country's *salvation*.

Conclusions

The Spanish Civil War was given immediate and ample representation in school textbooks, notebooks, press and literature in Italy. The perspective given to the conflict is essentially one of identity. Italian children studying in elementary schools under fascism were taught, with the example of the Spanish Civil War, that they must be loyal – to their country and to their family –, brave, Catholic and, in union with this last trait, willing to make sacrifices. They should, if the situation arose, be ready to give their lives for the fascist cause and that of its allies.

The school materials that we have analyzed also show the way in which the civil war served as showcase for the potential of Italian armament. Illustrations portray the crucial role played by Italy's military engineering in battles – especially in air combat – and the importance of the provisional military air base established in the Balearic Islands.

The sources also show the war as an emotional event. The consequences of the war become engrained in the minds of the younger generations of Italians by means of moving stories about characters who undergo harrowing emotional experiences, losing loved ones and even losing their own lives. At the same time, the descriptions of the devastation of the cities and towns highlight the patrimonial, cultural and even the economic losses caused by the war.

Furthermore, what is evidenced across all of the categories analyzed is fascism's determination to revive the spirit of the Roman Catholic Empire

⁶⁹ Cottone, *Spagna*, in *Il libro della quinta classe elementare. Aritmetica, Geografia, Scienze*, cit., p. 162.

through the victory of the insurgent army, which it supported unflinchingly. Another aspect of the materials has to do with the characters and protagonists of the texts and illustrations, who are invariably male, thus reinforcing the military ideal associated with the figure of the man. In this sense, it is curious to find women authors narrating scenes of warfare; while they are undoubtedly showing their sympathy for the fascist cause, the few feminine characters portrayed in the stories are always in a secondary role.

In short, the Spanish Civil War is an example of how a concrete, transnational, historical event can be used as a curricular tool for the legitimization of a national identity, a political and ideological system and its international projection. In this sense, and with possible future lines of research in mind, we believe that similar sources could be used to study Nazi Germany, or to examine the representation of alterity in the case of Italy, contrasting them with the Francoist discourse of the time.

Dolcezza psichiatrica e cura educativa in Adelmo Sichel

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Psychiatric kindness and educational care of Adelmo Sichel

ABSTRACT: This research analyses the intersections between existential-phenomenological psychiatry and relational pedagogy of encounter, according to the standard of the anthropological phenomenology, which was experimented by the little-known Italian psychiatrist Adelmo Sichel from Reggio-Emilia, explained in terms of education in order to relaunch a *care pedagogy* of the person. The aim is to highlight, within the epistemological controversy of the *daseinsanalytical thinking*, the pedagogical value and the educational topicality of this approach affecting the human side, hence it is based on the pedagogical category of the *Cure*. The reconstruction of Sichel's biography, the anti-psychiatry movement as well as the historical and legislative excursus, from the segregating Act of 1904 No. 36 about mental hospitals and the *Mariotti* custodial Act of 1968, to the *Basaglia* revolutionary Act of 1978 No.180, all restore the *Significance* of the Copernican revolution both in medical and educational domains. Professional *skills* are outlined, in order to deal with the dynamics of the educational delivery and Sichel's *psychiatric kindness*, which lies in humanising educational activities, giving back to the individual his dignity, in the size of the experiential and dialogical encounter with the *Alter Ego*, within an asymmetric but complementary connection. An empathetic dance based on the *Logos*, as pedagogical technique of mirroring, thanks to the healing *vis (power)* of words; it corresponds to the reminding strategy of *coping*, according to a narrative and autobiographical thought. As described in the diary like life breviary *Dolorosa felicità*, as well as the analysis of other Sichel's writings. Suspended between the arrogant *hubris* of the technique and the prolific contamination of pedagogical and therapeutic knowledge, the educational practice is enriched by de Martino's ethno psychiatric approach and by Deverux's transcultural and complementary perspective, which apply to educational contexts as well. In summary, the physician/philosopher Sichel outlines the epistemological breakthrough, which he intensely pursued, guided by the *theorein* of the analogous presence, overcoming the stereotyped diagnostic isolation in the sterile application of standard protocols, cause of the human relationship obliteration; the *theorein* of the analogous presence aspires to the establishment of a pact based on trust and on the solidary alliance generated by enteropathy.

EET/TEE KEYWORDS: History of education; Psychiatric kindness; Educational care; Legislation; Adelmo Sichel; XXth Century.

Introduzione

Medico psichiatra di formazione fenomenologico-esistenziale, Sichel costituisce una figura di rilievo, che si staglia sul crinale psichiatrico della Cura, nel contesto storico-culturale dell'antipsichiatria, basata essenzialmente sul rovesciamento istituzionale e sulla centralità della persona *hic et nunc*.

Nato il 18 maggio del 1927 a Guastalla da una storica famiglia sulle rive del fiume Po, Adelmo visse ed operò essenzialmente a Reggio Emilia. Secondogenito dell'avvocato Manlio Sichel e di Maria Fiaccadori, nonché nipote dell'omonimo nonno sindaco di Guastalla e deputato socialista insieme a Camillo Prampolini. Trascorse l'infanzia e l'adolescenza durante il periodo fascista negli anni Trenta. Nel suo breviario di vita e intellettuale, *Dolorosa felicità. Antiche memorie del Po*, Sichel scrive:

Eravamo nati in un'epoca derubata dei valori reali. A noi erano rimasti gli affetti luminosi dell'amicizia e della famiglia. Poi venne la guerra che rivelò il grande inganno. I sorrisi scopersero denti duri, preludio all'avventura di morte che ci aspettava. Guastalla consumava le sue ultime bandiere per festeggiare le vittorie d'Africa e di Russia. E venne il buio¹.

È proprio durante questi anni concitati e terribili che consegue prima il diploma e successivamente la laurea alla facoltà di Medicina, presso l'Università di Parma. In qualità di chirurgo si trasferisce a Praticello di Gattatico, dove intraprende l'attività di medico condotto, sotto la guida del dottor Ercole Pisi, divenendo un punto di riferimento per la popolazione di quel paese di provincia e dove conoscerà anche la sua futura moglie Laura Brozzi, dalla quale avrà tre figli.

L'innata curiosità, l'interesse sincero per l'umano e l'insaziabile passione per la conoscenza, lo spinsero ad approfondire lo studio in maniera autodidatta ed a specializzarsi in Psichiatria, entrando così a contatto con la realtà manicomiale di Reggio Emilia. Su Sichel Vanna Iori scrive:

Psichiatra fenomenologo figura di grande rilievo intellettuale per l'originalità del pensiero ed il rigore scientifico, capace di sottrarsi ai tecnicismi e affrontare il mistero che ogni persona rivela nei suoi modi di essere-nel-mondo².

Sichel lavorò anche a Reggio Emilia nel frenocomio di San Lazzaro, luogo di ricovero e degenza riservato al contenimento degli alienati, infermi di mente, folli rei, poveri mentecatti.

Questo spazio della follia costituisce un classico esempio della disastrosa ospedalizzazione forzata e di istituzionalizzazione manicomiale di stampo kraepeliniano. Ha rappresentato una vera e propria *cittadella* di internamento,

¹ A. Sichel, *Dolorosa felicità. Antiche memorie del Po*, Parma, Edizioni Diabasis, 2002, p. 56.

² V. Iori, *Ricordo di Adelmo Sichel*, Bologna, Clueb, 2003, p. 1.

repressione e custodia coatta in anguste celle, dove gli ammalati venivano curati mediante tecniche che vanno dall' idroterapia, all'impiego dell'elettricità (ovvero l'uso dell'elettroshock), dagli psicofarmaci (attraverso la somministrazione del Prozin, primo esemplare di psicofarmaco), alle pratiche di psicotomia. Nella *cittadella* si tentava di rieducare i pazienti impiegandoli nelle attività agricole dei campi circostanti alla struttura.

Sichel promosse il C.I.M. (Centro di Igiene Mentale) ed affiancò all'attività di psicoterapeuta, anche quella di formazione psichiatrica, mediante seminari, conferenze, grazie ad una tenace ricerca e studio personali. Egli assunse, inoltre, il ruolo di primario del S.I.M.A.P. (Servizio Igiene Mentale Assistenza Psichiatrica) e dal 1969 diresse i servizi sanitari a Guastalla, nonché fu anche uno dei redattori della «Rivista Sperimentale di Freniatria».

Egli fu, inoltre, primario ai servizi psichiatrici di Reggio Emilia, ha tenuto seminari di formazione a Torino, Piacenza e Ferrara, ma anche conferenze in Germania, a Friburgo e a Berlino. Ha scritto numerosi saggi per diverse riviste italiane e tedesche, continuando a svolgere appassionatamente l'attività di terapeuta per tutta la vita, anche dopo la pensione, nel suo studio privato di Reggio, fino alla sua morte, dovuta ad un tumore intestinale, avvenuta il 2 luglio del 2003.

1. *La battaglia antipsichiatrica*

L'analisi e la denuncia della realtà manicomiale come universo concentratorio, luogo di stigmatizzazione ed emarginazione sociale, apre la feconda e straordinaria stagione della contestazione antipsichiatrica avvenuta nel 1968, alla quale aderì anche il neo specializzando in psichiatria Adelmo, supportato dall'amico Giovanni Jervis, già collaboratore di Basaglia nella rivoluzionaria esperienza avviata a Gorizia, la quale costituisce il presupposto della riforma basagliana.

Sichel vive negli anni concitati delle famose *calate* dalla montagna emiliana, organizzate per denunciare la crudeltà dei manicomi, da parte

della popolazione interessata a rendersi conto direttamente della realtà e del significato del manicomio, nella convinzione di dover intervenire sulle cause dell'emarginazione, l'esclusione sociale e la morte civile. Durante il periodo delle visite popolari all'Istituto psichiatrico S. Lazzaro di Reggio Emilia vi furono discussioni, dibattiti e documenti³.

Anche egli lottò per la causa, nella convinzione assoluta di umanizzare le terapie e di liberare i matti dalla prigione fisica del manicomio e da quella

³ G. Antonucci, *Il pregiudizio psichiatrico*, Milano, Eleuthera, 1989, p. 37.

psichica della sofferenza mentale. Ha sperimentato la cura nella modalità della *Sorge* heideggeriana e del *Dasein* per evitare che la psichiatria rimanga unicamente riservata a tecnici specialisti, ma divenga una forma espansa di attenzione e di benevolenza reciproca e diffusa, perfettamente praticabile anche nei contesti scolastico-educativi *tout court*.

Questa battaglia culturale contro i manicomi, istituiti nel Regno d'Italia con la Legge 36 del 14 febbraio 1904 e la critica serrata alla psichiatria, furono agevolate dal fecondo clima politico proprio di quegli anni, favorevole ad una presa di coscienza forte nei confronti della disumana segregazione psichiatrica. Un'epoca in cui si consuma il passaggio cruciale dall'ottocentesca psichiatria di matrice positivista ed organicista di Pinel, che interpretava la follia come una malattia congenita del corpo e dalla rigida nosografia psichiatrica di Kraepelin, che si limitava ad indagare la disfunzionalità dell'organo cerebrale, al nuovo paradigma libertario fenomenologico, capace di cogliere il vissuto della singolarità esistenziale, nella sua unicità e specificità.

Avviene il passaggio epocale dal *nosos*, come patologia mentale, al *pathos*, come sofferenza individuale. Il cervello non costituisce più l'esclusivo oggetto di studio, bensì la vita interiore, la soggettività dei pazienti, poiché la malattia mentale rappresenta uno dei modi di porsi dell'essere umano, una sua modalità, una peculiare disposizione soggettiva, verso la realtà e la vita interpersonale. Scrive Iori: «L'ignoto e l'inesplicabile nell'esistenza (in particolare la dimensione della follia) hanno sempre alimentato il pensiero di Sichel, che pure non ha mai perduto il senso della vita, dei valori, della storia»⁴.

In definitiva l'anti-proposta dello psichiatra reggiano, il paradigma decostruttivo sicheliano, si inserisce nella radicale stagione della trasformazione della società, durante gli anni successivi alle rivendicazioni ideologico-culturali sessantottine, quando si innesca il dibattito sulle realtà manicomiali e sulle istituzioni totali, luoghi di isolamento e di contenimento disumano. Negli anni Settanta, è proprio grazie alle istanze dettate dalla Legge n°180 del 13 maggio 1978⁵ (nota come Legge Basaglia), firmata dall'On. Bruno Orsini, che declina definitivamente l'ottica della segregazione, quella dell'educatore contenitivo-correttivo, che ha la mansione di «sorvegliare e punire», ricordando l'opera di Foucault⁶. Entrano in una crisi irreversibile le pratiche di cura rieducative custodialistico-assistenziali, di tipo coercitivo e castiganti, anche nel nome del rispetto del principio giuridico dell'*Habeas corpus*, non più adeguate alla logica del modello di servizio, concepito in termini di *welfare*, che adotta una politica di responsabilità, creatività, oblatività ed empatia. La L.180 inaugura una clinica sociale per il Singolo, non tanto per la guarigione da una malattia, bensì

⁴ Iori, *Ricordo di Adelmo Sichel*, cit., p. 3.

⁵ Cfr. M. Morello, *I malati di mente dalla legislazione preunitaria alla legge Basaglia*, Fano, Aras Edizioni, 2012.

⁶ M. Foucault, *Sorvegliare e punire. Nascita della prigione*, Torino, Einaudi, 2014.

per restituire valore all'esistenza ed al riconoscimento dell'altro come soggetto degno di rispetto ed attenzione.

Ma cosa resta, dunque dell'utopica rivolta culturale basagliana? Certamente permangono radicate la diffidenza e la paura sociale verso la malattia mentale, che appare ancora incompresa e rifiutata. Scrive Basaglia nell'opera *L'istituzione negata*: «Stiamo distruggendo una realtà repressiva (quella delle strutture psichiatriche), ma nessuno può dire quale sarà il passo successivo»⁷.

Basaglia ha sperimentato sul campo un rovesciamento radicale della realtà istituzionale e creato una sorta di prima «comunità terapeutica», nell'ospedale goriziano, cambiando di fatto l'intero assetto della società italiana e scardinando la logica custodialistico-detentiva della Legge sui manicomi n. 431 del 1968 e più conosciuta come Legge Mariotti.

Negli anni della contestazione si inserisce anche l'esperienza di Barbiana di Don Milani, il quale contribuì, attraverso il suo impegno contenuto nel motto *I Care*, ad orientare la presa di coscienza civile e sociale verso la realtà in fermento dell'epoca, schiudendo prospettive educative uniche e rivoluzionarie, come la celebre Scuola di Barbiana, improntata interamente sul valore dell'accoglienza e dell'inclusione⁸. Ancora più incisiva è la stata la riflessione di Freire⁹ sulla valenza emancipatrice e dialogica dell'educazione, volta a modificare gli assetti sociali, attraverso una piena coscientizzazione delle masse soggiogate ed escluse. Una pedagogia, quella freiriana, militante, schierata sempre a favore degli oppressi, mossa dall'ideale di liberazione che spezza le catene dell'ignoranza e del millenario giogo «oppresso-oppressore», che affranca dallo sfruttamento, dalla discriminazione e dall'emarginazione sociale. Una pratica educativa non calata dall'alto, ma vicina alla persona in condizioni di sofferenza e di disagio interiore, che va oltre l'angusto «dispositivo» denunciato da Foucault, nel suo attacco al potere delle istituzioni carcerarie. Una scelta di campo in prima linea a favore dell'inclusione degli ultimi che diventano consapevoli e cittadini attivi in un «inedito possibile». Si delinea in questo modo una figura di educatore dialogico, disciplinatamente silenzioso, che non svilisce se stesso né l'altro e che, come ricorda Freire, «impara a parlare ascoltando perché capace di promuovere una relazione educativa fondata sulla reciprocità, mentre parla, tace per ascoltare l'altro che silenzioso e non messo a tacere, parla»¹⁰.

Entro queste coordinate storico-culturali, si innesta l'umanizzata psichiatria di Sichel, un antropo analisi, il cui oggetto d'indagine topico è la *human condition*, nella sua modalità heideggeriana di *Essere-nel-mondo*, *in-der-welt-*

⁷ Cfr. F. Basaglia, *L'istituzione negata. Rapporto da un ospedale psichiatrico*, Milano, Baldini e Castoldi, 2014.

⁸ Cfr. R. Sani, D. Simeone, *Don Lorenzo Milani e la scuola della parola. Analisi storica e prospettive pedagogiche*, Macerata, eum, 2001.

⁹ Cfr. P. Freire, *La pedagogia degli oppressi*, Torino, EGA Edizioni, Gruppo Abele, 2011.

¹⁰ Id., *Pedagogia dell'autonomia. Saperi necessari per la pratica educativa*, Torino, EGA, 2004, pp. 93-95.

sein, che si dispiega come storia della vita, come *Lebenswelt*, ossia una totalità cartesianamente ricomposta di *res cogitans* di *res extensa*, unità di *Leibene Körper*, in rapporto immediato con il mondo, gli altri e le cose.

2. Il paradigma eidetico-educativo sicheliano

Il sentiero eidetico-educativo tracciato da Sichel, si snoda non tanto nel ricostruire le cause del disagio mentale, secondo il classico approccio naturalistico-nosografico, ma nel descrivere l'*Erlebnis* dell'essere nel mondo, in tutte le sue sfumature e varietà, al fine di renderla intelligibile e comprensibile, mediante un solidale rapporto educativo di cura che ricomponga l'*Umwelt* comunitario, l'orizzonte di senso perduto, attraverso un profondo legame interpersonale con l'alterità, una comprensione esistenziale «entropica della altruità»¹¹. Il riconoscimento dell'«altruità» è la capacità di accedere e di comprendere l'altro per mezzo dell'«entropatia», l'husserliana *Einführung*, termine poi tradotto da Ricoeur. La capacità entropica è:

questo atteggiamento spirituale che permette di penetrare nell'intima esperienza altrui, non è un inserirsi intellettuale; piuttosto un modo simpatetico di con-sentire con l'altro che richiede, per così dire, un impegno anche personale in quanto si tratta per ciascuno di saper vedere nell'altro ciò che sarebbe egli stesso se fosse al suo posto¹².

L'entropatia è una tecnica squisitamente psicopedagogica, ma la comprensione è premessa indispensabile anche nel campo educativo, rendendo possibili uno scambio di esperienze ed un «autentico commercio spirituale»¹³ a partire dal vissuto quotidiano dell'altro nel mondo.

In sostanza Sichel avendo abbracciato la via della riduzione fenomenologica, ha sperimentato un percorso originale e creativo, un atteggiamento autentico di *epochè* educativa, che restituisce coscienza e responsabilità del personale progetto esistenziale. Numerose sono le possibilità ed i confini di cura educativa in un'ottica fenomenologico-esistenziale, attraverso il colloquio empatico, il quale richiede una profondità umana, disponibilità simpatetica, *skills* professionali specifiche straordinarie e si avvale della preziosa *vis* delle parole che accolgono, perché in esse, colui che apprende percepisce tutta la disponibile apertura di chi si prende cura, condizione indispensabile per intraprendere un percorso relazionale condotto a due mani, il cui esito non è mai predeterminato, né scontato, sempre inusitato.

¹¹ Cfr. P. Bertolini, *L'esistere pedagogico. Ragioni e limiti di una pedagogia come scienza fenomenologicamente fondata*, Firenze, La Nuova Italia, 1988, pp. 77-81.

¹² Bertolini, *L'esistere pedagogico*, cit., p. 82.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 105.

La tesi centrale, dunque, del paradigma umanistico-esistenziale sicheliano, può essere sintetizzato nella fiducia nel positivo processo di sviluppo potenziale implicito in ogni persona, nell'accettazione, nell'assertività, nel rispetto sincero e nella vicendevole comprensione empatica, che produce un *feedback* reciproco di retroflessione continua, immersione e rispecchiamento nell'altro. Un entrare in contatto con l'altruità, senza dirigere, ma incontrando, riconoscendo ed accompagnando, dando spazio all'altro, valorizzandolo per consentirgli di essere ciò che è: «diventa ciò che sei», raccomanda Nietzsche, in modo fluido ed aperto, verso sentieri inusitati e sorprendenti, abitando l'heideggeriana «radura nel bosco» (*Erlichtung*).

Sichel sperimenta il *Dasein* sul campo, nell'incontro *vis a vis* con il paziente, tramite una terapia esistenziale accogliente, in un *setting* dialogico aperto alla comunicazione profonda tra due esistenze in ascolto reciproco, promuovendo una relazione improntata al valore della cura o *therapeia*, verso la persona umana ed alla reciproca «comprensione empatica», in una comunicazione che si fa *communio*. Si trova in questo «*cumsentire* immedesimativo», proprio la grande lezione jaspersiana.

Educare vuol dire allora andare incontro «sulla linea dell'umano», affrontando il nuovo, nella consapevolezza di appartenere a mondi differenti.

L'indagine di tipo fenomenologico-antropologico, proposta da Sichel, scava a fondo la soggettività delle persone con le quali entra in relazione dialogica, interrogandosi sistematicamente sulle basilari caratteristiche e competenze attitudinali di uno psichiatra, sostenendo che:

La posizione del fenomenologo è quella di colui che lasciando esprimere l'altro nello stesso tempo lo interroga con ciò che da lui si esprime. In questo modo il terapeuta diventa l'esecutore dell'incontro che parte dal reale essere nel mondo di un altro¹⁴.

Un approccio esistenziale che *epochizza* la tensione speculativa soggettiva e la *techné*, per non sminuire l'autenticità dell'incontro globale con l'altro, concepito secondo la definizione di Binswanger, come *homo natura*, delimitando il confine che distingue l'essere uomo (*menschein*) dall'esserci e ricomponendo la dimensione globale di «persona spirituale». Principio cardine dell'analitica esistenziale è, infatti, quello di avere una olistica *vision d'ensemble* dell'uomo, *in toto*.

In definitiva, essendo l'assunto di fondo della psichiatria fenomenologica, quello che essa è dell'uomo e per l'uomo, oppure non è affatto, l'atteggiamento fenomenologico-ermeneutico, restituisce il vissuto dell'educando a valori fondamentali, come il desiderio di esistere consapevolmente in uno spazio dialogico condiviso, una sorta di *intermundia*, rappresentabile dallo «zwischen» di Buber, il «volto» di Lévinas, la «noità» di Binswanger, la

¹⁴ A. Sichel, *I modi dell'incontro. Idee per una psicoterapia fenomenologica*, Poggibonsi, Antonio Lalli Editore, 1983, p. 21.

«trasparenza» di Calvi, la «reciprocità» di Callieri, la «gentilezza» di Borgna, la «complementarità» di Devereux, l'«altruità» di Bertolini o la «presenza analoga», identificata da Sichel.

3. *La dimensione della Cura educativa nell'incontro dialogico*

Nel suo testo chiave *I modi dell'incontro*, Sichel espone la sua elaborazione teorica e metodologica nei confronti dell'alterità, la via per entrare a contatto con l'altrui mondo, attraverso sentieri inesplorati di intimità, reciprocità e complicità.

Sichel sostiene che un fenomenologo:

è tale se impegna se stesso, nella totalità del suo essere-uomo, a partecipare agli sviluppi di un rapporto da cui lasciar emergere le possibilità dell'essere-nel-mondo-assieme-agli altri e non quando imprime all'incontro le caratteristiche del suo sapere, nella compiutezza dell'essere tecnico, fermo nella sola capacità di applicare i suoi strumenti alla situazione¹⁵.

Nella concezione sicheliana il terapeuta si trova totalmente immerso nell'universo altrui, rimanendo lucido ed autentico durante l'esperienza dell'incontro, per giungere alla comprensione (*verstehen*) del flusso di coscienza, così come emerge, come 'appare' nella sua immediatezza e spontaneità.

La cura esistenziale auspicata da Sichel concentra il suo *focus* sul libero arbitrio, l'autodeterminazione e sulla ricerca di senso (*seinsfrage*), perfettamente declinabili anche in campo educativo. La sua attenzione è rivolta verso il Singolo individuo in un approccio antropologico ottimistico più sensibile all'istanza umana, in quanto sottolinea la capacità dell'uomo di poter compiere autonomamente scelte razionali e di sviluppare al massimo il proprio potenziale in relazione con l'alterità.

Anche per Sichel, in una relazione di cura, non può che educare dolcemente, rispettosamente, conscio che l'approccio antropofenomenologico nell'azione educativo-empatica, è un dispiegamento (*auslegung*), un rendersi conto (*gewahren*), ma soprattutto un «*modus amicitiae et amoris*». in cui si è autenticamente se stessi, in un'apertura all'esserci, così totale ed incondizionata che la Arendt ha definito *amor mundi*.

La dimensione interpersonale dell'incontro è, dunque, sempre duale, *l'etre-a-deux*, la reciprocità, sostiene Callieri, designa in modo quasi perentorio l'appartenenza quale categoria primaria dell'umano, un Tra, un *Inter*, che costituisce un vero e proprio dominio primordiale, il «mondo primario» della relazione Io/Tu, come definito da Buber, un'interrelazione che si delinea

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 21-22.

continuamente nella metaforica danza relazionale, durante un lavoro di reciprocità, come una coppia di danzatori, che seguono, l'armonico fluire del ritmo narrativo-esplorativo. Il classico *être a deux*, può essere, ulteriormente amplificato ed allargato, mediante un'*epochè* ulteriormente interattiva, che sposa in pieno l'antico adagio ippocratico: «*similia similibus curantur*», base comune della terapia gruppale, nutrita della filosofia agostiniana: «*nihil est homini amicum sine homine amico*».

Secondo Callieri, è necessario coltivare nella formazione personale la passione per l'esistenza. Un invito che sembra essere stato colto ed attuato in pieno da Sichel, descritto dai conoscenti come un uomo dal carattere sanguigno, amante del convivio, dotato di ironia e soprattutto appassionato di discussioni intorno alla vita, anche se sempre refrattario all'avvento delle nuove tecnologie. L'incontro genera, inoltre, sempre uno scarto, un *gap* congenito, tra mondi che si compenetrano e questo *hiatus* per Callieri si può colmare solo con l'infinita passione per l'esistenza:

deve questa essere una vera '*paideia*', una formazione, una *Bildung*, innegabilmente anche etica, ed essere la vera svolta antropologica: svolta che si concretizza nella disponibilità, nel bisogno di empatia, in un certo grado di oblatività, in un atteggiamento di tolleranza e di accettazione dell'anormale nell'altro e di riconoscimento in esso di un alter-ego, dunque di un tu. Sapersi porre con l'altro (non l'*autre* ma l'*autrui* di Lévinas) e non meramente di fronte all'altro, anche se delirante, significa cercare di scorgere l'uomo, cioè la persona, anche là dove, forse con posizione meno impegnata, si scorgerebbe soltanto un disturbo mentale o del cervello. È forse questa *dimensione interpersonale*, la vera 'rivoluzione copernicana' della psichiatria¹⁶.

L'incontro è però anche stupore, possibilità, occasione di sperimentare la temporalità e di costruire spazi comuni, di abitarli e di danzare in essi, citando una metafora di Barthes, poiché la sfida più ardua per uno psichiatra fenomenologo-mentore, al pari di Sichel, è quella di «abitare la distanza»¹⁷ altrui, promuovendo l'*empowerment* del Sé, potenziando la capacità di adattamento al mutamento continuo. Secondo Rogers:

Quando l'empatia è al meglio i due individui partecipano ad un processo paragonabile ad una coppia di danzatori; il Cliente è quello che conduce, il terapeuta quello che segue. Il fluire armonioso e spontaneo dell'energia durante l'interazione ha un suo ritmo estetico di particolare bellezza¹⁸.

¹⁶ B. Callieri, *Un raccordo fra cultura fenomenologica e clinica psichiatrica: l'incontro con la persona delirante*, «Rivista Sperimentale di Freniatria», vol. CXX, supplemento al n. 5, 1996, pp. 1027-1028.

¹⁷ G.P. Quattrini, *Per una psicoterapia fenomenologico-esistenziale*, Firenze, Giunti, 2011, p. 134.

¹⁸ C. Rogers, N.J. Raskin, *La psicoterapia centrata sulla persona*, «ACP, Rivista di Studi Rogersiani», 1991, p. 4.

Una relazione educativa si rivela, dunque, efficace solo attraverso la fiducia e la restaurazione del rapporto umano, in quella sorta di gentilezza terapeutica auspicata anche da Borgna e riassunta nelle parole di Bleuer: «il più forte stende la mano al più debole»¹⁹, dove l'incontro/apertura all'altro, è relazione (*Beziehung*), disponibilità al cambiamento ed alla trasformazione reciproca, come avviene nei meccanismi autopoietici.

Sichel evidenzia come il *logos* è la via ideale per far crescere realtà importanti, quali i servizi territoriali o le strutture socio-formative, ma che rischiano invece di essere soppiantate dalla funzionalità dell'apparato tecnico-organizzativo, denunciando di fatto il rischio esponenziale della tendenza a mettere l'uomo al servizio di una serie di batterie di tecnicismi predeterminati e standardizzati, anziché porre la tecnica al servizio dell'uomo. Sostiene Sichel, infatti:

L'adattamento al mondo sofisticato della tecnica richiesto all'uomo moderno, in modo affrettato e costrittivo, ne trascura o ne ignora l'essenza originaria formata da un complesso di visioni, di riflessioni, di pensieri, di sentimenti che si costituivano in un senso e tendevano ad una meta. Tutto questo è ora trattenuto nell'indifferenza della scienza positiva che trascura il dialogo con questi aspetti dell'umano²⁰.

Metodologia pedagogica privilegiata dal medico reggiano, è il racconto di Sé, in quanto raccontare la propria storia di vita in un'attività di *storytelling* è un bisogno primario, un'esigenza di riconoscimento per far luce interiore, rivivere o rivisitare emozioni e vissuti, lasciando traccia di noi, mediante quello che Demetrio ha definito un «pensiero autobiografico»²¹, efficace antidoto all'oblio della memoria. Un lavoro di *self empowerment* che incrementa la consapevolezza e l'autodeterminazione. Contrario ai protocolli *standard* preconfezionati ed ai manuali diagnostici, pieni di classificazioni stereotipate, Sichel concepisce la terapia narrativa, come un lavoro condotto a due mani, nella ricomposizione identitaria delle tessere esistenziali. Un assetto educativo-terapeutico in cui la *pars destruens* e la *pars construens* convergono, trovando un punto di contatto nelle diverse prospettive di alterità che si incrociano nello sguardo, nel tempo e nello spazio e che conducono gli interlocutori in co-evoluzione ad uno statuto ontologicamente diverso, come accade nei sistemi autopoietici.

Soffriamo di ricordi, ammonisce Freud e ricordare è sempre un rivivere, ne è consapevole anche Sichel, che amò dolorosamente i ricordi della sua terra, il Po ed il paese natio, come testimoniato dal suo percorso di viandante esistenziale dei luoghi interiori, nella sua opera autobiografica racchiusa in un ossimoro: *Dolorosa Felicità*. Un racconto dal sapore epifanico che si snoda

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 181.

²⁰ A. Sichel, *Libera lettura di alcuni scritti di Piro, Madera, Borgna, Valent, raccolti nel volume: Linguaggi della psicosi, linguaggi della complessità*, «Rivista Sperimentale di Freniatria», vol. CXVI, n. 1, 1992, pp. 159-160.

²¹ Cfr. D. Demetrio, *Raccontarsi. L'autobiografia come cura di sé*, Milano, Raffaello Cortina Editore, 1996, p. 6.

intorno alla memoria, ai paesaggi dell'anima alla ricerca inesauribile del proprio Sé, dell'Io originario. Un viatico, un pellegrinaggio esistenziale nei luoghi originari dell'infanzia, delle radici tanto essenziale per la vita futura, così come afferma lo stesso autore: «Io appartengo a quei paesaggi, non soltanto perché li ho conosciuti, ma perché vengo di là portando con me il mistero di un luogo»²². I paesaggi di Guastalla, luoghi primigeni dell'esistenza identitaria di Sichel, riverberano nei suoi "ricordi sparsi" che raffiorano alla mente. «Non c'era storia in queste impressioni, era vita e basta, le radici originarie del vivere che precedono la storia»²³. Ed ancora, in questo incanto «il fiume scorreva, sornione e silenzioso, cullando il sole sulle sue onde, desideroso di lontane destinazioni»²⁴. Paesaggi intimi dell'anima, luoghi di memorie antiche che nascono dall'incontro dell'uomo con la realtà circostante. Il lento fluire del fiume come libero flusso di coscienza, che si manifesta nel tempo della tradizionale traversata del Po e della sua periodica piena, quando «mai come in questi momenti la gente sentiva che il fiume era il vero destino»²⁵. Attraverso la scrittura della propria autobiografia Sichel ha compiuto un viaggio formativo-esistenziale nella memoria, in una sorta di stato di grazia, un peregrinare introspettivo ed episodico, che gli ha consentito di comprendere che siamo tutti la nostra biografia. L'incontro con l'altrui biografia ha, inoltre, molti punti di contatto con la propria ed un educatore deve saperli cogliere, poiché l'attività autobiografica lenisce le emozioni negative dei ricordi e, dunque, il perdersi per poi ritrovarsi, costituisce una feconda pratica relazionale. Raccontarsi diviene, allora un'esortazione ad aver cura di sé, come detta l'imperativo etico contenuto nel motto greco *epimelestai eautou!* (occupati di te stesso!).

«Comunicare» è sinonimo di curare, come testimonia anche l'etimologia greca e latina della parola comunicazione da *koiné* = *comune* e *communis* = rendere comune, condividere; infatti *munus* = dono, è un dialogo che ha valore educativo, poiché quanta più passione è in noi, tanto più è intenso il nostro grado di vivere con gli altri, al contrario la dissolvenza della comunicazione conduce all'isolamento, alla chiusura esistenziale, al fallimento della relazione, alla patologia. Fulcro del sentiero tracciato da Sichel, la sua lezione più grande ed il cuore dell'eredità da lui lasciata, può sintetizzarsi fondamentalmente nella relazione dialogica empatica ed autentica, la quale ha immediate ed evidenti ricadute positive di resilienza. Ne sono la prova *mutatis mutandis*, gli effetti disastrosi della dissociazione tra messaggi verbali e non verbali, una incongruenza che origina l'effetto patogeno causato dal *double bind* (doppio legame), formulato da Bateson. La valenza creativa e curativa della parola è indispensabile ed indiscutibile nell'agire pedagogico, in quanto essa ha il potere

²² Sichel, *Dolorosa Felicità. Antiche memorie del Po*, cit., p. 24.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 20.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 22 e 23.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 90.

di creare legami, di costruire ponti e gettare ancore di salvezza tra le persone ed i rispettivi vissuti. Il dialogo, dunque, è lo strumento privilegiato dell'educatore e la lezione di Sichel può essere mutuata anche in campo strettamente educativo, maieuticamente inteso anch'esso, nel senso che:

Uno degli elementi per elaborare responsabilmente le modalità dello *stare insieme* è l'educazione, e in particolare l'insegnamento, che nel rapporto tra adulto e bambini, o comunque tra docente e discente, richiede una disciplina relazionale capace di favorire non solo l'apprendimento, ma anche, una vicinanza umana di buona qualità²⁶.

Ma prendersi cura dell'altro è un campo minato, tanto che, scrive Bertolini:

tanto delicato, questo terreno, da esigere dagli operatori dell'educazione che non si limitino a uno pseudo esercizio della loro professione-pseudo in quanto non consapevole della grande responsabilità esistenziale che ha nei confronti degli educandi a lui affidati, un'*autentica professionalità* che tenga quindi conto di quella dialettica tra il razionale e l'irrazionale, tra la passione per il vivere e la capacità di dare a essa una direzione sensata²⁷.

Un'ulteriore lezione lasciata in eredità da Sichel è quella di aver valorizzato il silenzio come pratica educativa, di aver compreso che esso è una forma di comunicazione non verbale preferenziale di alcuni disagi esistenziali, di averne colto la potenza creativa, analogica e anche talvolta una strategia di resistenza, attuata da chi si trincerava dietro il silenzio, un *modus vivendi* per evitare l'angoscia, per impedire l'accesso alle proprie dinamiche inconscie, come una forma di salvaguardia patologica del Sé.

Il valore comunicativo-terapeutico del silenzio, volano di abissi creativi, viene intercettato dai fenomenologi, i quali si pongono sempre in atteggiamento di ascolto attivo dei silenzi dell'Altro. Prezioso è l'esempio educativo offerto da Sichel, rappresentato da una specie di *talking cure*, che include anche il non parlare o meglio il parlare in silenzio, in una modalità di 'indifferenza creativa'²⁸.

Il tutto avviene autonomamente e consapevolmente, in una logica di *self-help*, che modifica le esperienze frustranti in altre più soddisfacenti, in co-costruzione collaborante con l'educatore.

La Cura educativa, dunque, è essenzialmente responsabilità ed è ancora, più che mai, una parola del nostro tempo, poiché costituisce un atteggiamento innato, un paradigma centrale nella vita di ciascuno, bisognoso di disponibilità, attenzione, condivisione. L'alleanza tra cura ed educazione è una miscellanea di competenza tecnica, dolcezza, sensibilità e gentilezza. Una cura che è infinita

²⁶ G.P. Quattrini, *Per una psicoterapia fenomenologico-esistenziale*, Firenze, Giunti Editore, 2001, p. 383.

²⁷ P. Bertolini, *Demoni tra formazione e de-formazione*, «Adulità: rivista semestrale sulla condizione adulta e i processi formativi», 17 aprile 2003, p. 38.

²⁸ Cfr. G.P. Quattrini, *Per una psicoterapia fenomenologico-esistenziale*, Firenze, Giunti, 2011.

accuratezza, mai banale, in un ossimoro una «irrequietezza serena», così come l'ha definita il neuropsichiatra Trabucchi, una pratica tranquilla, ma insieme rassicurante. A tal fine: «Il primo passo per una relazione di cura è la conoscenza dell'umano, cioè la definizione dell'obiettivo dell'intervento in una certa persona e in una determinata condizione»²⁹, situata, incarnata *hier und jetzt*, cucita su misura, costruita attorno alla peculiare vulnerabilità dell'essere umano che si ha di fronte. La cura è un atto di libertà il cui strumento privilegiato di cui si avvale è prevalentemente il linguaggio, in quanto la cura è relazione, precisamente una relazione che trasforma e si rigenera nell'incontro. L'attualità di Sichel consiste anche nell'aver saputo cogliere questa debolezza, la sottile trama biologica, unita alle influenze derivanti dall'ambiente socio-culturale, ma soprattutto la persona nella sua globalità ed unicità, nella consapevolezza che:

Qualsiasi sia la rivoluzione tecnologica alla quale assisteremo nei prossimi decenni, non si intravede la possibilità concreta che negli atti di cura possa essere sostituito l'operatore intelligente, colto, generoso, curioso, capace di costruire ponti dove ancora non arrivano le macchine³⁰.

L'atteggiamento sempre vigile e disponibile dell'educatore accogliente innesca una relazione d'aiuto *in itinere* in cui:

La cura è così una sorta di navigazione 'a vista' sempre ardua e rischiosa non solo per questa sua vocazione autobiografica, ma soprattutto per l'incertezza di un percorso in cui si incontrano, se si fa del paziente non l'oggetto della cura ma il vero soggetto guida del viaggio terapeutico, vari momenti di incertezza³¹.

Si entra, pertanto in una relazione dialogica in un modo e se ne esce trasformati, costretti a vedere le cose sotto una nuova luce e ad accogliere una sorta di *quid novi* inaspettato. Ma per favorire questo occorre un dialogo gentile, sensibile, poiché la mancanza di tatto genera esclusione. Per Sichel il tatto è una dote essenziale, poiché consente di percepire l'atmosfera e di sintonizzarsi nella sfera altrui, senza invaderla, ma abitando con garbo e generosità.

4. Prospettive epistemologiche etnografico-transculturali nell'educazione

Nel dialogo avviene una sorta di incontro etnografico, transculturale, infatti, l'etnografia concepisce l'incontro, come un'apertura tra diverse culture e forme di vita. Il concetto di «etnocentrismo critico» invita l'educatore a riconoscere il retroterra culturale dell'altro, senza rimanere vittima di pregiudizi.

²⁹ M. Trabucchi, *Cura. Una parola del nostro tempo*, Milano, Edizioni San Paolo, 2018, p. 19.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 124.

³¹ Acocella, Rossi, *La cura: ambiti e forme in psicoterapia e nella relazione d'aiuto*, cit., p. 102.

Per tali ragioni l'approccio etnografico sembra pienamente in linea con l'*habitus* adottato da Sichel, incline al dialogo ermeneutico-antropocentrico, prezioso anche nel *setting* scolastico, per riconoscere i differenti valori e le storie di vita personali.

La conoscenza-incontro con l'alterità può avvenire, anche per Sichel, solo attraverso una relazione profonda, mediante una procedura analoga, un intimo rapporto analogico che contenga le personali problematiche. Spiega Sichel:

Pensare analogicamente significa esercitare una riflessione sulla ragione, ponderare, dedurre, far correre il ragionamento dall'intuizione, congetturare su ciò che sta al di là dell'osservato usando ciò che sta al di qua dell'osservante come qualità di una somiglianza che consenta il riconoscimento³².

Estremamente interessante si dimostra la lettura di Devereux del tema dell'incontro, in chiave transculturale, quale riconoscimento nell'altro, della stessa umanità che si rivela a se stessa, come scoperta dell'altro in noi, potenziando l'autoconoscenza, attraverso una reciproca contaminazione/interpretazione:

vi è insita nella nostra mente, una dimensione socio-culturale ineludibile, un delicato involucro entro il quale costruiamo la nostra fragile identità, sempre a rischio fratture e lesioni. Il principio complementaristico contiene una visione di identità come «essenza stessa dell'umanità»³³.

In tempi recenti anche Goussot ha esteso i concetti e le pratiche della etno psiconalisi transculturale nei contesti scolastici e formativi³⁴, per favorire il meticciamento culturale.

È quanto ha testimoniato, Sichel nella sua doppia veste di medico-filosofo e con la sua duplice anima di uomo di cultura dalle indispensabili competenze tecniche, unite alla indubbia componente umanistica. L'opera di Sichel si colloca, dunque, sempre nello spazio di cerniera tra l'aspetto clinico-sanitario e quello socio-educativo, unico luogo di una possibile alleanza terapeutica, tra *bios* e *paidéia*, in quanto la scienza medica, conclude Gadamer, per non tradire l'umano, deve affiancare al paradigma biomedico, quello prettamente umanistico-esistenziale³⁵, affinché essa non si riduca ad un'asettica tecnica di guarigione, bensì una cura *ad hoc*, dosata sapientemente e pazientemente cucita addosso, come un abito su misura. Scrive Massa: «Resta fondamentale, in tutti i casi, la centralità del rilievo esistenziale che rivestono di per sé la vicenda

³² A. Sichel, *Diagnosi e psicosi. La presenza analoga*, «Rivista Sperimentale di Freniatria», vol. CXIV, n. 4, 1990, pp. 816-817.

³³ G. Devereux, *Une theorie ethnopsychoanalyse de l'adaptation*, in R. Bastide, F. Raveau (edd.), *Table Ronde sur l'adaptation des Africains en France*, Parigi, EPHE, 1965, p. 10.

³⁴ A. Goussot (ed.), *L'approccio transculturale di Georges Devereux nelle relazioni di aiuto*, Roma, Aracne, 2009; Id., *Le disabilità complesse: sofferenza psichica, presa in carico e relazione di cura*, Santarcangelo di Romagna Maggioli, s.e., 2011.

³⁵ Cfr. H.G. Gadamer, *Dove si nasconde la natura*, Milano, Raffaello Cortina Editore, 1994.

educativa, la situazione formativa e le relazioni intersoggettive che s'inscrivono in esse»³⁶. Tra scienza dell'educazione e psichiatria corre un *fil rouge* sottile ed un loro incontro è oggi più che mai auspicabile, poiché in un tempo di eccesso di farmacoterapie e di sovramedicalizzazione, quest'ultima rischia di sostituire o di soffocare l'altra, mentre curare attraverso l'educazione sembra l'unica via percorribile, quella intrapresa anche da Sichel, poichè ritengo che oggi l'educatore e lo psicologo siano accomunati da un unico inscindibile legame, da un reciproco dialogo, uniti, *cum grano salis*, da una feconda collaborazione, *rari nantes in gurgite vasto*, senza che l'uno invada indebitamente il campo dell'altro. Il contributo di fenomenologi, quali Sichel resta, secondo me, prezioso per una strada ancora percorribile. La sopravvivenza della fenomenologia esistenziale appare, infatti, assicurata da poche figure di riferimento, come Sichel, il quale ha operato sulla base di un costante rigore metodologico e di una cultura enciclopedica, in un campo minato, dove la sua forza e debolezza assieme, sono il continuo ricominciamento sempre imprevedibile ed originale. Pertanto all'analisi esistenziale come *ars sanandi*, andrebbe affiancata l'analisi narrativa, quella gruppale o qualsiasi altra modalità di cura basata sulla biswangeriana *noità*, ma sempre nella certezza che la strada indicata dalla riduzione fenomenologico-eidetica, sia l'unica via percorribile per curare ed educare, integrata da un approccio critico e complementare tra la comprensione dell'individuo e quella della società e della sua cultura di riferimento. Intendo un impianto pedagogico metaculturale, estremamente utile qualora le persone appartengano ad universi culturali diversi, che si incontrano mediante una «pratica transculturale»³⁷. Per questo motivo solamente una metapsicologia ed una pedagogia metaculturale possono «garantire quella 'neutralità culturale' che permette la comprensione degli elementi psicopatologici e quindi la possibilità di un'alleanza educativa, anche in relazione allo sviluppo di un'etnopsichiatria che sappia fronteggiare l'emergenza odierna dell'incontro con le diversificate esperienze di emarginazione ed esclusione sociale degli emigrati ed immigrati, al fine di favorire quell'umanesimo etnologico, auspicato da De Martino, per attuare un etnocentrismo critico-relazionale, che esorcizzi la paura dell'incontro con l'alieno, in ogni contesto di vita quotidiana, in particolare nei servizi sociali, sanitari ed educativi. La via transculturale e meticciasca, si configura come una pratica della prossimità, una cura fenomenologica declinata transculturalmente, per «recuperare la *phronesis* di Aristotele, poggiata sulla triade *ethos*, *logos*, *pathos* e che Devereaux ammirava molto, cioè la saggezza pratica di chi costruisce relazioni con l'*Alienus* che si fa *Alter*, in diversi contesti e in particolare nelle situazioni di relazione di aiuto»³⁸, in quanto l'identità

³⁶ R. Massa, *Istituzioni di pedagogia e scienze dell'educazione*, Roma-Bari, Laterza, 1990, p. 223.

³⁷ A. Goussot, *L'approccio transculturale nella relazione di aiuto. Il contributo di Georges Devereaux tra psicoterapia ed educazione*, Fano, Aras Edizioni, 2014, p. 32.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 367.

è sempre una questione di co-costruzione sociale che avviene nella circolarità della sicheliana presenza analoga ed è: «proprio specchiandomi nello sguardo altrui che compongo il mio ritratto interiore»³⁹. Pensare l'uomo alla luce dell'analisi esistenziale in prospettiva fenomenologico-transculturale, ritengo sia l'eredità e lo scenario possibile da applicare sia in campo psicoterapeutico che in ambito educativo. Integrare i metodi fenomenologici con la prospettiva interpretativa della *Grounded theory*, viste le loro sensibili assonanze ed il comun denominatore che la scientificità deve fondarsi sulle evidenze e non su teorie preconcepite, reputo sia la strada da imboccare, per integrare l'approccio eidetico-esistenziale con le tradizionali prassi educative.

Conclusioni

L'adesione all'orizzonte di comprensione eidetica anche in campo prettamente educativo, mostra i due volti antitetici della fenomenologia, ovvero, da un lato, una fucina formativa, una feconda pratica, una miniera di risorse di possibilità esistenziali da sperimentare nel colloquio ermeneutico, dall'altra, evidenzia tutte le difficoltà applicative di una metodologia labile, frammentaria, fondata su basi scientifiche, essenzialmente sismiche e asistematiche. L'approccio fenomenologico supera, infatti, il principio della *reductio scientiae ad mathematicam*, in quanto:

la filosofia fenomenologica della ricerca, che chiede al ricercatore di disattivare i suoi strumenti epistemici abituali per stare in una dimensione precategoriale, applica la logica della remissione alle cose. Una logica che si ispira all'etica della delicatezza⁴⁰.

Si tratta di una delicatezza che reputo necessaria, quasi un imperativo categorico nel campo educativo-relazionale ed in particolare mi riferisco all'atteggiamento di attenzione aperta, rilassata, distesa, mai investigativa, assunto dal fenomenologo, in linea con ciò che Heidegger ha definito «abbandono» (*gelassenheit*), durante il percorso di narrazione esperienziale o *narrative inquiry*. Da una parte, dunque, la tecnica della riduzione eidetica che coglie la datità originaria, sembra la via privilegiata per capire l'interlocutore e per questo motivo l'atteggiamento fenomenologico adottato da Sichel dovrebbe essere parte costitutiva della formazione di ogni educatore, dall'altra non si può ignorare il fatto che non possa esistere una percezione (*wahrnehmung*) naturale dei dati, non mediata da trame gnoseologiche e gravida di teorie. Il

³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 206.

⁴⁰ L. Mortari, *Cultura della ricerca e pedagogia. Prospettive epistemologiche*, Roma, Carocci Editore, 2007, p. 88.

limite della fenomenologia sta però nel non poter offrire altra risposta che non sia l'incontro interumano di esperienze vissute tra diversi *intermundia*.

Nonostante le ambiguità congenite di questo approccio, credo, tuttavia, che il valore della fenomenologia, vada riconosciuto ed apprezzato per l'atteggiamento metodico assunto da chi entra in una relazione di cura, restando sempre vigile, parziale, provvisorio, poco rassicurante, un *infinitum imperfectae*, un perenne debuttante, costantemente impegnato in un'eterna popperiana navigazione a vista. Un'altra delle criticità della prassi fenomenologica consiste nel saper guidare contemporaneamente in modo sofisticato ed ingenuo, la capacità di rimanere aperti ai diversi modi di esistere di chi si ha di fronte, senza perdere di vista la necessità di entrare in sintonia con l'altrui *motus animi*, in un'*interrelationship*, di scambi interpersonali empatici, mettendo in conto il rischio di anticipazioni delle esperienze, di inficose proiezioni, come nella di profezia che si autoadempie, difficile da controllare e dominare. L'orientamento fenomenologico, sembra essere, alla Feyerabend, radicalmente anarchico sul piano epistemologico, un *Giano* bifronte, insofferente a regole e codici da un lato, che scotomizzano le risonanze di senso, ma anche insensibile ad ogni illusione ingenua che non può entrare nel suo apparato gnoseologico. Per questo i risultati assomigliano più ad atti psichici propri dei poeti, filosofi, letterati ed artisti in genere, che non a quelli della ricerca scientifica naturalisticamente fondata: più un'etica o estetica dell'umana esistenza, priva di prospettive scientifiche. La scientificità viene comunque garantita dai sentieri eidetici che conducono alle ineludibili precognizioni, nell'eterna disponibilità a modificarle, *work in progress*, nell'urto con i dati empirici.

L'educazione, la formazione e la cura si radicano, infatti sempre nell'esistenza e la dimensione fondativa di ogni rapporto, di qualsiasi natura, psichiatrica, pedagogica, amicale o amorosa, è proprio la relazione interumana. L'opera di Sichel restituisce valore alla persona con delle potenzialità in modo non paternalistico, bensì amorevolmente rispettoso e quasi agapico, come totale accettazione incondizionata dell'alterità in modo spontaneo, positivo, senza riserve e senza valutazioni di giudizio o atteggiamenti valutativi di sorta. Egli ha perseguito un'interpretazione/spiegazione non dogmatica dell'esperienza umana, una deontologia professionale, quella maturata da Sichel, che consente alle persone, di cercare e di trovare opportunità, potenzialità, scelte e risposte in modo personale.

Sichel è, però, consapevole della colpa degli effetti livellanti della società contemporanea che soffoca le singole individualità, riduce la capacità di esprimersi autonomamente ed amplifica gli spazi solitari del silenzio, come testimoniano le sue stesse parole premonitrici, cariche di timori per l'indifferenza e la chiusura solipsistica tipica della società globale della comunicazione di massa, che si andava sviluppando, nei confronti delle relazioni umane e di cura tra le persone, sempre più incapace di creare legami autentici e relazioni umane significative.

Continuare a definire gli altri (chiunque siano, sani o malti di mente), con un discorso che evita di incontrare colui di cui parla, girandogli attorno con trame paradigmatiche in cifre, rende colpevoli di una colpa i cui effetti tendono ad avvilitare l'uomo. Di questa colpa dobbiamo liberarci subito senza neppure riflettere, altrimenti dovremmo concludere che non esiste più nessuno che meriti un'attenzione affettuosa, che susciti un interesse attraente, che si avvicini per offrirci un sorriso o una lacrima. Fra poco non avremo attorno che facce segnate da cifre i cui significati dovremo cercare nelle viscere di un computer⁴¹.

Una relazione in modalità duale ad alta valenza etico-esistenziale, si alimenta, infatti, mediante la reciproca apertura alla comprensione umana, che sia da *input* anche alla costante autocura. Oggi, in un'epoca di deriva ipertecnologica, di diffusa tecnocrazia e di estremo scientismo tecnocratico, andrebbe recuperato l'ideale dell'educatore-mentore, come ha saputo ben rappresentare Sichel, svolgendo anche un ruolo culturale di rilievo, andando ben oltre il seminato della semplice professione di cura.

⁴¹ A. Sichel, *Diagnosi e psicosi. La presenza analogica*, «Rivista Sperimentale di Freniatria», vol. CXIV, n. 4, 1990, pp. 818-819.

The teaching profession in XXIst Century Spain described through teacher testimonies

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ABSTRACT: The various characteristics comprising the teaching profession is constantly under review. Here we analyse the profile of a teacher by studying the perceptions that teachers have regarding their own professional competencies and skills, highlighting the societal demands placed on them and the way in which they respond. This study was achieved by analysing 333 booklets containing the testimonies of retired teachers, randomly selected from 1,500 booklets which comprise the collection of «Testimonies of School Life» housed at the Pedagogical Museum of the University of Salamanca (Centro Museo Pedagógico – CeMuPe). Among many other aspects, these booklets preserve the teachers' reflections concerning the characteristics of their profession in the 21st century and the professional skills needed most for performing their job satisfactorily. The analysis of the teachers' perceptions indicated that vocation is considered by the majority to be the most important factor; female teachers place more importance on vocation than male teachers; and young teachers advocate for a higher level of professionalism in their teaching practices.

EET/TEE KEYWORDS: Profession; Teacher; Competencies; Testimonies; Spain; XXIst Century.

Introduction

The present historiography has allowed us to study schools and the culture generated around schools over time. This school culture has been defined as «the set of theories, norms and practices, recorded and stored in the oral memory, in the material memory and in the written memory»¹. The increased interest in studying school culture ratifies the use of various resources for analysing the school context, many of which have been traditionally excluded from the heritage of education such as oral culture, as this has been considered less relevant than the accounts provided by written culture².

The aim of incorporating new sources of information in the study of school culture lies in the need to shed light on the relationships between the main protagonists: the students and their teachers³. Hence the rise in interest in unravelling the many types of relationships established in the classroom that characterize the internal history of a school⁴. Precisely, the information gathered from this investigation is based on the knowledge of experienced teachers, with the intention of providing new teachers with an insight into this profession. This in turn can provide them with the opportunity to learn from the experiences of their predecessors.

In addition to conserving the internal history of schools, through this study we are helping to awaken appreciation for pedagogical museums, which aim to recover, protect and preserve historical and educational heritage⁵. In a similar way, Ruiz-Berrio⁶ points out that in order for the critical reconstruction of the school, school-related objects and other resources to take place, their recovery, interpretation and conservation must take on a special importance within society.

The University of Salamanca is participating in this new endeavour through the creation, in 2010, of its very own museum dedicated to preserving educational heritage. The CeMuPe (Pedagogical Museum of the University of Salamanca) is founded on research focused on the conservation of historical and educational

¹ B. Martín-Fraile, *Testimonios de maestros: modelos y prácticas*, Salamanca, Ediciones Universidad de Salamanca, 2017.

² A. Escolano, *La cultura material de la escuela*, in A. Escolano (ed.), *En el centenario de la Junta para la Ampliación de Estudios, 1907-2007*, Berlanga de Duero (Soria), Centro Internacional de la Cultura Escolar, 2007, pp. 15-17.

³ N.E. Romero, *El libro de texto como objeto de prácticas de editores y docentes*, «Foro de Educación», vol. 13, n. 19, 2015, pp. 357-379; A. Escolano, *Las culturas escolares del siglo XX. Encuentros y desencuentros*, «Revista de Educación», n. extraordinario, 2000, pp. 201-218.

⁴ J. Ruiz-Berrio, *Historia y museología de la educación. Despegue y reconversión de los museos pedagógicos*, «Revista Interuniversitaria de Historia de la Educación», n. 25, 2006, pp. 271-290.

⁵ A. Viñao, *El patrimonio histórico-educativo: memoria, nostalgia y estudio*, «Con-ciencia social: anuario de didáctica de la geografía, la historia y las ciencias sociales», n. 15, 2011, pp. 141-148.

⁶ Ruiz-Berrio, *Historia y museología de la educación. Despegue y reconversión de los museos pedagógicos*, cit.

heritage, and at the same time serves as a useful tool for training future teachers. It includes in its statutes open lines of patrimonial research, involving the study of material culture (didactic resources, furniture, equipment, school belongings and tools and photographs); written culture (school manuals, school notebooks, educational magazines and various documents); and oral culture, which is intangible in nature and is transmitted to us by the protagonists of the school – the testimonies of the teachers and the students. It is precisely oral culture that is the starting point of the research carried out here.

Thus, throughout this study we aim to gain knowledge into school culture by analysing the impact it has experienced from various components related to the school context: the curricular practices exercised by teachers, what Escolano⁷ calls the empirical culture of the school, built by teachers performing their job and in the practical sphere of the teaching profession.

Our research exposes the crossroads in which teachers find themselves today, owing to the circumstances that surround their profession. This question is elaborated on, on one hand, by revealing some of the societal demands that teachers experience, and also by analysing the basic priorities that define the manner in which teachers responds to society using their professional competence. The aim of this research is not only to examine the profile of the teaching profession, but also to draw lessons from experienced teachers that may be of service to new teachers of the 21st century.

Study approach

The teaching profession, society and the challenges of the 21st century

‘I think I have already done my job; it is now time for others to get to work’. These supposed words or those similar could be the thoughts that enter the mind of any teacher when the time arrives to say farewell to their professional lives and to start enjoying life in a different manner. Everyone has the feeling of leaving with a job well done, and above all, with the feeling that the numerous and head-spinning changes to which their profession is currently being subjected to are not made for them⁸.

Being a teacher in the 21st century means understanding that the reality of this profession is forever changing. A teacher should not only be a «firm, committed worker, sustained by human values and attitudes, willing to face challenges

⁷ A. Escolano, *Tiempos y espacios para la escuela: ensayos históricos*, Madrid, Biblioteca Nueva, 2000.

⁸ J.M. Muñoz-Rodríguez, *Función docente y sociedad. Límites y oportunidades del maestro*, «Revista Portuguesa de Pedagogia», n. Éxtra-Série, 2011, pp. 385-400.

and able to find a balance among the efforts and interests of parents, students and peers»⁹, but also the promoter of responsible citizens. A person capable of interpreting the social contexts that surround them and respond to the many challenges faced. The teacher must act as a facilitator and guide, one who is a master of their subject matter, providing the students with the necessary tools to understand, using different languages, the local and global world in which they interact and grow. In short, the teacher must be an excellent professional who identifies, stimulates and develops the abilities of students in order for them to compete successfully in today's plural and global, neoliberal society¹⁰.

Society, teaching and the teacher's role in itself, together with the expectations of families, beliefs and values, change at a vertiginous pace. If we analyse these factors as well as the demands placed on education by the students and new teacher training trends we can observe the transformation that the teaching profession is undergoing.

In other words, teachers are asked to go above and beyond, where their role is not only to educate, but to educate in society; to form citizens and to promote their integral development, responding to the social and personal demands of the students and, sometimes, to their personal circumstances. To this end, the teacher, in addition to facilitating access to an education based on the acquisition of knowledge, must direct the development of skills, which evolve into competences. These skills are necessary for students to integrate into society in an autonomous way and, above all, in a productive way¹¹:

Teachers are asked to do a bit of everything: take care of the students during recess, ensure the entering and exiting of the school is done in an orderly manner, fill in forms, attend to the mothers and fathers, prepare the students for participating in various types of competitions, organize outings and parties among other activities. The teacher is subjected to excessive pressure to remain in an unchanging state while being a source of knowledge, showing fairness with respect to their relationships with others and an emotionally balanced person. This coating of exemplary behaviour must be added to the list of excessive demands placed on the teacher who is situated between who they really are and who they should be, between reality and the image¹².

In short, a lot is asked of the 21st century teacher, sometimes with little advice and with limited training¹³. No longer is it only required to teach subject

⁹ Muñoz-Rodríguez, *Función docente y sociedad. Límites y oportunidades del maestro*, cit.

¹⁰ E.J. Díez, *La globalización neoliberal y sus repercusiones en educación*, «REIFOP. Revista Electrónica Interuniversitaria de Formación del Profesorado», vol. 13, n. 2, 2010, pp. 23-38.

¹¹ Muñoz-Rodríguez, *Función docente y sociedad. Límites y oportunidades del maestro*, cit.

¹² F. Esteban, M^a. R. Buxarraís, *El sentido de la actividad educativa escolar en la formación del profesorado*, in J. Hernández, S. Molina, M. Inda (edd.), *La escuela hoy*, Oviedo, Ediciones Universidad de Oviedo, 2010, pp. 101-107.

¹³ A. Pavié, *Formación docente: hacia una definición del concepto de competencia profesional docente*, «Revista electrónica interuniversitaria de formación del profesorado», vol. 14, n. 1, 2011, pp. 67-80.

matter in the best way possible, and even less so, if indeed that is possible, when the current image of a teacher is conditioned by the way in which society values the teaching profession. Therefore, the list of competences that a teacher of the 21st century should have becomes the fundamental tool for facing the requirements that society demands from the teacher through their profession: social responsibility, the need for continuous training, complexity and diversity of tasks and roles, to guide, accompany, motivate, and to educate¹⁴.

The teaching profession, competences and skills

Different authors have focused their studies on teacher training and its repercussions on the teaching profession. Baelo and Arias¹⁵ have conducted a detailed study on the training model that arose after the Organic Law of the General Organization of the Educational System of 1990 (LOGSE) was approved. This model is critical of the previous one promoted by the General Law of Education of 1970, the technological or technocratic model that trains teachers in the acquisition of technical knowledge, in educational programming, evaluation by objectives, etc. This new approach presents a model that reflects on actual practices, where the teacher is a researcher in the classroom and where reflection on action is the priority.

Fernández-Soria¹⁶ analyses the evolution of teacher training. During this progression, the training model that stands out above the rest was established in 2007 after the proposed degrees in Teacher of Primary Education and Teacher of Early Childhood Education were approved. In this model, content is no longer the main focus, but rather the competences that should be acquired as stipulated by European regulations in the field of education.

This legislative and conceptual change, and therefore methodological, is reflected in some studies, such as the one by Fernández-Muñoz¹⁷, which researches into the new competences that teachers must develop in order to respond to the societal needs of the 21st century. These authors concluded that

¹⁴ Z. Martínez, L. Villardón, *Imagen del profesor en el Grado de Educación Primaria*, «Tendencias pedagógicas», n. 25, 2015, pp. 149-165.

¹⁵ R. Baelo, A.R. Arias, *La formación de maestros en España, de la teoría a la práctica*, «Tendencias Pedagógicas», n. 18, 2011, pp. 106-131.

¹⁶ J.M. Fernández-Soria, *Ser Maestros. Sentidos y realidades del oficio y la formación del magisterio*, in O. Barberá, A. Mayordomo (edd.), *Escoles y Mestres*, Valencia, Universitat de València, 2017, pp. 65-49.

¹⁷ R. Fernández-Muñoz, *Competencias profesionales del docente en la sociedad del siglo XXI*, «Organización y gestión educativa: Revista del Fórum Europeo de Administradores de la Educación», vol. 11, n. 1, 2003, pp. 4-7.

the new teaching profession, its competences and its evolution are closely linked to the influence of information and communication on society.

Along these same lines, we refer to the words of Tiana¹⁸ regarding the commitment of a teacher to their profession and professional development, which are based on the «development of professionalism that demonstrates high levels of competence, a good command of one's specialty and conduct appropriate to the constitutional principles comprising the foundation of civic coexistence». This approach aims to facilitate the process of students acquiring the essential elements of human culture that will allow them to enjoy a satisfying and enriching life, not only with respect to work or academically, but also in social contexts¹⁹.

Bozu²⁰ defines the profile of a teacher as the «set of competences that characterize the training of a person, those which allow them to carry out, perfectly, the responsibilities needed for performing the tasks and roles of a certain profession». Similarly, Moreno²¹ states that «the orientation of competency-based teaching is a challenge that will require teachers to make the effort to adapt their methodologies; both teachers of compulsory education and of the faculties of education have to prepare the students in this new direction».

In 2015, the 21st Meeting of School Boards of the Autonomous Regions of Spain took place, where the role of teachers in the 21st century was examined. Among the conclusions, it was highlighted that most of the research being conducted in this area refers to the need to improve the professional competence of teachers as a fundamental requirement for improving educational systems. In this sense, the intimate relationship between educational results and teacher training was emphasized. Any educational system concerned about this relationship requires solid training and a great deal of vocation, motivation and commitment to the progress of students.

This report outlined the set of qualities and competences that every teacher must have in order to achieve good results, which include general culture, knowledge of their subject and pedagogical and methodological knowledge of teaching and learning processes. Furthermore, solid knowledge regarding the ethical dimension of the teaching profession, understood as a professional commitment based on values, attitudes and styles of behaviour towards the social goal of forming citizens of the future²², must be added.

¹⁸ A. Tiana, *Un nuevo código deontológico para la profesión docente*, «Participación educativa», n. 16, 2011, pp. 39-48.

¹⁹ Tiana, *Un nuevo código deontológico para la profesión docente*, cit.

²⁰ Z. Bozu, *El perfil de las competencias profesionales del profesorado de la ESO*, Barcelona, Departamento de Didáctica y Organización Educativa, 2010.

²¹ A. Moreno, *Las nuevas competencias para el profesor del siglo XXI*, «Participación educativa», n. 16, 2011, pp. 8-30.

²² C.E. del Estado, *El profesorado del siglo XXI. XXI. Encuentro de Consejos Escolares Autonómicos y del Estado*, Madrid, Subdirección General de Documentación y Publicaciones del Ministerio de Educación, Cultura y Deporte, 2015.

All the studies presented emphasised that the development of professional competences within the teaching profession is paramount for facing the challenges that society poses. This in turn bestows to faculties of education and teacher training schools an important role in the process of reforming educational systems. Therefore, it is necessary to improve the training of future teachers in relation to the transmission and the teaching and acquisition of these skills²³.

The testimonies of teachers as a resource for training, oral culture

The testimonies of teachers constitute an exceptional resource for studying the evolution of the teaching profession since the 19th century, highlighting the importance of training, the role of the educator and the transmitter of values²⁴. Martín-Fraile and Ramos-Ruiz²⁵ draw attention to the importance of recovering in-depth knowledge on the events that occur inside the classroom, raising awareness of the professional experience of teachers. This knowledge can help to establish whether standard teaching practices can improve, or not. At the same time it can identify which strategies used by teachers are the most suitable for improving not only the educational process in general but the students' overall academic success. Using the accounts provided by experienced teachers can rescue practices that have allowed students to acquire and develop different types of competences, the result of the teachers' work. For this reason it becomes vitally important «to understand the profession of the teacher with a look from inside, from inside the subject, turning it into a definite educational reality, since these stories allow us to visualize how she or he understands the way of doing things and analyses the conditions of the trade»²⁶.

On this basis, we consider the oral and written testimonies of teachers as an instrument and a fundamental resource for research. Using these accounts we can carry out a historical reconstruction of the meaning of the teaching profession. The research carried out at the Pedagogical Museum of the University of Salamanca makes a reconstruction of oral history using these testimonies, which has allowed us on one hand to have access to school histories, and on

²³ Moreno, *Las nuevas competencias para el profesor del siglo XXI*, cit.

²⁴ N. de Gabriel, *La profesionalización del magisterio en España (siglos XIX-XX): literatura, biografías, memorialística*, «Historia y Memoria de la Educación», vol. 1, n. 1, 2015, pp. 59-92.

²⁵ B. Martín-Fraile, I. Ramos-Ruiz, *La memoria de la profesión: el oficio de maestro y las prácticas de enseñanza*, in P. Celada (ed.), *Arte y oficio de enseñar: dos siglos de perspectiva histórica / XVI Coloquio Nacional de Historia de la Educación*, Burgo de Osma (Soria), Sociedad Española de Historia de la Educación, 2011, pp. 371-380.

²⁶ F. Imbernón (ed.), *Vivencias de maestros y maestras. Compartir desde la práctica educativa*, Barcelona, Grao, 2005.

the other, the missions set out by teachers in schools, the missions of yesterday and the missions of the future.

Given this background, this research aims to increase the awareness of students and teachers about the profession they are about to practice or are already practicing, focusing on the professional skills considered as a priority for the teaching profession in the 21st century. Therefore, there is nothing better than shining the spotlight on those who have dedicated their entire working life to being educators: the retired teachers.

In short, it is our intention to provide essential information and guidelines for carrying out and improving the teaching profession, using past knowledge to successfully confront present and future challenges.

Aim

The main objective of this study was to analyse the testimonies and accounts of retired teachers regarding topics characteristic of the teaching profession in the 21st century. This has allowed us to extract the professional competences that these ex-teachers considered to be the most essential, information that would allow new teachers to perform their roles in a more successful and effective way.

In addition, two specific objectives were also addressed: to check whether there were differences in the perception of the teaching profession between male and female teachers and between participants born before and after 1948. This particular year marks significant differences with regard to the topics analysed depending on the age of the teachers.

The originality of this work lies in the analysis of the testimonies themselves, as this is the first time that this type of historical document has been used in this manner. Through a historiographical and statistical approach, the study of these documents, describing the professional life of teachers living during 20th century Spain, has opened new paths and avenues for research into teaching oral culture.

Materials and method

Participants

This study forms part of a larger research project set out to analyse 1,500 booklets containing the testimonies and experiences of retired teachers of Early Childhood Education or Primary Education who had taught in different rural

and urban schools in Spain. This material belongs to the Pedagogical Museum (CeMuPe) of the University of Salamanca.

The sample used in this work, collected in the year 2017, is incidental and non-probabilistic. It consists of 333 testimonies of retired teachers teaching in the autonomous communities of Castile & Leon, Extremadura and Asturias. The ages of the persons included in the study range between 61 and 94 years, with an average age of 71.70 (dt 6.110), of which 65.8% of the participants are women. Table 1 reflects the characteristics of the initial training of the teachers participating in this study.

Tab. 1. Initial training of teachers participating in the study

	FREQUENCY	PERCENTAGE	VALID PERCENTAGE	ACCUMULATED PERCENTAGE
EARLY CHILDHOOD-SPECIFIC TEACHING QUALIFICATION	30	9.0	9.4	9.4
PRIMARY-SPECIFIC TEACHING QUALIFICATION	84	25.2	26.4	35.8
GENERAL TEACHING QUALIFICATION	157	47.1	49.4	85.2
BASIC GENERAL EDUCATION QUALIFICATION	30	9.0	9.4	94.7
PEDAGOGY	5	1.5	1.6	96.2
PSYCHOLOGY	3	0.9	0.9	97.2
OTHERS	9	2.7	2.8	100.0
TOTAL	318	95.5	100.0	
LOSSES	15	4.5		
TOTAL	333	100.0		

Most of the individuals included in this research (81.3%) had completed studies related to teacher training at different levels: General Teacher, Teacher Training of Basic General Education and Primary School Teacher Training. Nine percent had received training specific for Early Childhood Education (pre-school) and approximately 5% had completed university degrees related to the field of education, including Pedagogy and Psychology.

Instrument

To carry out this research, an *ad hoc* questionnaire was used that included different aspects of teaching such as the number of years as a teacher, educational practices, understanding of the teaching profession, social role and personal perspective of the teaching profession. The design, preparation and validation of the questionnaire have been described in other research works²⁷. At the time of completing the surveys, individual interviews were conducted and the questions were explained. The teachers' answers were then collected in individual answer booklets. The contents of the questionnaire were distributed in six main sections, which were in turn subdivided into hierarchical and structured questions. In this study, the written answers to the question «Which should be the characteristics of teaching in the 21st century?» were analysed.

Teacher testimonies are a fundamental resource for research. Their stories allow us to make a historical reconstruction of the significance and life of a school. This collective record, constructed by the personal experiences of each of the teachers forming part of this sample and representing a permanent chronicle of testimonies that constitutes the oral memory of school culture, will be analysed later on.

Procedure

Using material belonging to the Pedagogical Museum (CeMuPe), an activity was designed with students enrolled in a teacher training degree course at the University of Salamanca. The task consisted of finding retired teachers willing to fill in a questionnaire regarding their perception on different key areas within the teaching profession. The students were asked to find a retired teacher and to arrange several meetings so that the person could provide written answers to the questions comprising the questionnaire.

Of the 1,500 testimonies included within the "Testimonies of School Life" collection, 333 teacher stories were randomly selected and their content analysed. Information related to opinions on the professional skills required to be a good teacher were registered. As a result, categories were identified based on the characteristics most frequently mentioned by the teachers. These categories are shown in Table 2.

Twelve categories were established during the initial phase of the study, which were then reduced to seven: vocation/love for working with children, promoter

²⁷ 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*, Salamanca, Ediciones Universidad de Salamanca, 2017.

of responsible citizens, professionalism, promoter of integral education, social skills, desire for learning, transmitter of knowledge, and others which consisted of comments mentioned by less than 2% of the total sample.

Once the categories defining the main profiles required for being a good teacher had been established, the data was quantitatively analysed using the statistical program SPSS 23. The descriptive parameters were carried out through frequency analysis. Contingency tables were made to analyse whether gender or birth year had an influence on the teachers' perceptions regarding the characteristics needed to be a good teacher in the 21st century. The variables sex and birth year were independent (or explanatory) and the variable «characteristics of the 21st century teacher» was the dependent variable (or to be explained).

Results

Table 2 shows the frequencies of the seven most recurrent categories detected in the teachers' responses to the question regarding the characteristics of teaching in the 21st century.

Tab. 2. Most frequent categories regarding the teaching profession

PROFILE	FREQUENCY	PERCENTAGE
VOCATION/LOVE FOR WORKING WITH CHILDREN	152	45.8
PROMOTER OF RESPONSIBLE CITIZENS	134	40.4
PROFESSIONALISM	130	39.2
PROMOTER OF INTEGRAL EDUCATION	129	38.9
SOCIAL SKILLS	109	32.8
DESIRE FOR LEARNING	103	31.0
TRANSMITTER OF KNOWLEDGE	96	28.9
OTHERS	5	1.5

The profile of vocation/love for working with children was the most frequent category identified in the teachers' responses, with almost half of participants highlighting its importance. This was followed by the profile of a teacher who acts as a promoter of responsible citizens. In third and fourth place came professionalism and the role of a teacher as a promoter of the integral education of the students, but the difference in frequency was minor. Also, it was mentioned that the role of a teacher should include the need to promote the students' social skills and social competence, the importance of teacher training and finally the more traditional role of a teacher as a transmitter of knowledge.

By complementing the quantitative data collected with the qualitative comments provided by the teachers themselves, which will be described in forthcoming papers, a certain dichotomy was detected among teachers who viewed teaching as being purely vocational («Teaching should not just be a job, but a vocation» [Booklet 1093]) and those who looked at teaching from a totally professional point of view («The job of a teacher, or rather, the profession of a teacher» [Booklet 1173]). Several other participants emphasized that the role of a teacher was to accompany children throughout the process of learning: «The teacher must be a person with vocation, with scientific and pedagogic training that accompanies children in the teaching and learning process» (Booklet 428). Some stressed that the main role was to foster the students' desire for learning: «incite in the student love and admiration for knowledge» (Booklet 1607).

Tab. 3. Differences between female and male teachers

PROFILE	SEX	FREQUENCY	% WITHIN THE SEX	% WITHIN THE PROFILE	VALUE	P-VALUE	CONTINGENCY COEFFICIENT
TRANSMITTER OF KNOWLEDGE	M	32	29.9	34.0	0.075	0.784	0.015
	F	62	28.4	66.0			
PROMOTER OF RESPONSIBLE CITIZENS	M	42	39.3	32.1	0.074	0.786	0.015
	F	89	40.8	67.9			
VOCATION/LOVE FOR WORKING WITH CHILDREN	M	34	31.8	23.0	12,183	0.000	0.190
	F	114	52.3	77.0			
PROFESSIONALISM	M	40	37.4	31.5	0.192	0.661	0.024
	F	87	39.9	68.5			
DESIRE FOR LEARNING	M	36	33.6	35.3	0.378	0.538	0.034
	F	66	30.3	64.7			
PROMOTER OF INTEGRAL EDUCATION	M	48	44.9	38.4	2.759	0.097	0.092
	F	77	35.3	61.6			
SOCIAL SKILLS & SOCIAL COMPETENCE	M	43	40.2	40.6	4.161	0.041	0.112
	F	63	28.9	59.4			

In addition to the frequency and the percentages of a positive response within the year of birth and within the profile, Table 3 contains the experimental value (Chi-square), the p-value and the contingency coefficient of the test for the crossing of the variable sex with the seven profile categories defined as variables. According to the analysis, the relationship between the sex of the subjects and the variables for vocation/love for working with children ($P = 0.000$) and social skills ($P = 0.041$) are significant. That is to say, the retired female teachers place more importance on these two profiles than the male teachers. For the other two variables, a negative answer is predominant in the group of women. However, the association between sex and the other variables is not very strong as indicated by the contingency coefficient values.

Tab. 4. Differences between teachers born before and after 1948

PROFILE	BIRTH YEAR	FREQUENCY	% WITHIN THE BIRTH YEAR	% WITHIN THE PROFILE	VALUE	P-VALUE	CONTINGENCY COEFFICIENT
TRANSMITTER OF KNOWLEDGE	< 1948	43	25.3	46.2	4.144	0.042	0.115
	>1948	50	36.0	53.8			
PROMOTER OF RESPONSIBLE CITIZENS	< 1948	69	40.6	53.9	0.109	0.742	0.019
	>1948	59	42.4	46.1			
VOCATION/LOVE FOR WORKING WITH CHILDREN	< 1948	86	50.6	61.0	3.743	0.053	0.109
	>1948	55	39.6	39.0			
PROFESSIONALISM	< 1948	37	21.8	30.1	51,336	0.000	0.377
	>1948	86	61.9	69.9			
DESIRE FOR LEARNING	< 1948	59	34.7	60.8	1,927	0.165	0.079
	>1948	38	27.3	39.2			
INTEGRAL EDUCATION PROMOTER	< 1948	65	38.2	54.6	0.012	0.912	0.006
	>1948	54	38.8	45.4			
SOCIAL SKILLS & SOCIAL COMPETENCE	< 1948	48	28.2	47.5	3.403	0.065	0.104
	>1948	53	38.1	52.5			

On the other hand, in addition to the frequency and the percentages of a positive response within the birth year and within the profile, Table 4 contains the experimental value (Chi-square), the p-value and the contingency coefficient of the test for the crossing of the variable birth year (previous to 1948 and later) with the variable profile.

According to the analysis, the relationship between the birth year and the variable related to professionalism is clearly significant ($P = 0.000$), where teachers born after 1948 make reference to professionalism much more often. We also find that this group of teachers expresses, to a much lesser extent, the need for vocation and love for working with children than their colleagues born before 1948. Another difference that was detected was that teachers born after 1948 placed more importance on the need for teacher training.

Discussion and conclusions

After analysing the teachers' testimonies, we found that the list of characteristics mentioned most reflected the best components of each model the teachers had experienced during their years of teaching. This was a direct consequence of the teachers being exposed to several educational laws over their careers. The teachers interviewed provided us with a repertoire of very diverse opinions on the teaching profession and what they thought the characteristics of

teaching in the 21st century should be. We must emphasize that a teacher must have enthusiasm and vocation, and be dedicated to teaching and educating. Dignity, vocation and dedication are the bases on which this profession is supported. These three words summarize the different categories or profiles of a teacher that appear throughout the teacher testimonies which are: transmitter of knowledge, promoter of responsible citizens, a person who has vocation and a love for working with children, professionalism, desire for learning, a promoter of integral education, and a person who has and is able to teach social skills and social competence. All these elements constitute a set of competences that are closely related to the teaching model offered by teacher training degree courses which structure teaching according to learning outcomes²⁸.

The profile of vocation and love for working with children is still what most teachers consider to be important. The data from this study also show that the difference between male teachers and female teachers is statistically significant, where women place more importance on vocation. This result is closely related to the professional opportunities that women had at the time, and even more so in provinces where the only university studies available were associated with teacher training. We have also found that teachers born after 1948 opt for a more professional profile with regard to teaching, which can be seen as a result of the social changes that occurred in the last decades of the 20th century.

The teachers who answered the questionnaire describe a professional profile that is not based solely on the teacher being an educator simply dealing with the transmission of knowledge. A good teacher should guide his or her students throughout the learning process, transmitting values and motivating them to learn. Their aim should be to help create critical citizens, capable of reflecting autonomously and able to face new social challenges in an active and participatory way. All of this is achieved by incorporating new changes into teacher training courses that educate future teachers in a clear way regarding their role in education. This approach is closely related to the conclusions drawn from the 21st Meeting of School Boards of the Autonomous Regions of Spain²⁹.

This type of analysis on the professional histories of teachers has allowed us to observe the dynamics of change and transformation of the educational system, adapting to the demands of today's society. It has also allowed us to better characterise the basic competences that should be incorporated into teaching degree courses. Therefore, the results of this study have allowed us to:

²⁸ M. Fernández-Soria, *Ser Maestros. Sentidos y realidades del oficio y la formación del magisterio*, in O. Barberá, A. Mayordomo (edd.), *Escoles y Mestres*, Valencia, Universitat de València, 2017, pp. 65-69.

²⁹ C.E. del Estado, *El profesorado del siglo XXI. XXI. Encuentro de Consejos Escolares Autonómicos y del Estado*, Madrid, Subdirección General de Documentación y Publicaciones del Ministerio de Educación, Cultura y Deporte, 2015.

1. affirm that there are significant relationships between the professional experience of teachers and the historical contexts where they carry out their teaching.

2. introduce in the teacher training classroom the knowledge and the use of research tools and techniques both quantitative and statistical, as well as qualitative and ethnographic, such as in-depth interviews, the analysis of contents and the use of unpublished resources such as the booklets.

3. assess how professional experiences may influence the future roles that students who are studying to be teachers will play.

In sum, we are able to ensure that the qualities of enthusiasm, vocation and dedication, as well as being skilful at transmitting knowledge, forming responsible citizens with a high level of professionalism, should all form part of the repertoire of future teachers. All this would help them to carry out their profession according to the changing, uncertain and technological society of the 21st century. Also, we could ask ourselves how we will know when a student arrives with true vocation and enthusiasm for the teaching profession. We propose that there is a need to develop instruments that measure if those students wishing to enrol in a teaching degree actually possess the characteristics they will be required to have. And, from the perspective of the university teacher, we should ask ourselves if we are able to teach these characteristics or if there should be some form of selection process among students throughout their training.

After looking at the testimonies of retired teachers in relation to the teaching profession, we feel there is a need for the convergence of academic, legislative and empirical contexts, or in other words, the amalgamation of regulations and theoretical and educational praxis, in order to combine academic and professional practice together with the obligations that educational legislation continually dictates. This fact presents a challenge to university teachers, who are aware that the traditional role of a teacher, one that has persisted for many decades, is no longer suitable in current times. Today, there is a need for teachers who can take on new competences: to educate participatory, critically thinking and responsible citizens at the service of a democratic community. Teachers must be competent at carrying out their jobs, paying attention to diversity and having an inclusive attitude; being innovative, striving to improve the quality of teaching, banish individuality in professional practice and work and reflect collaboratively with other teachers, become competent with the use of technology and be willing to embrace life-long learning, an activity that gives meaning to their profession.

The question of sources in historical research on school and educational heritage*

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ABSTRACT: Recent studies on the conservation and promotion of historical-educational heritage in Italy have been informed by the Spanish, Portuguese, and French historiographical traditions, as well as by new lines of inquiry concerning the material culture of schools and the construction of school memories. Based on scholarly analyses and field research outcomes, the present paper outlines the goals to be pursued in order to develop a solid line of inquiry into this theme within Italian history of education. A particular focus is brought to bear on the issue of sources, and it is sought to show that the use of novel sources, alongside those traditionally drawn on by historians of education, can contribute to advances in key research domains, such as the history of educational thought, educational institutions and educational practice, as well as more recent areas of study such as the history of material culture in schools.

EET/TEE KEYWORDS: Historical research; History of school; Educational heritage; Europe; XXth-XXIst Centuries.

As documented by several Italian researchers (including Monica Ferrari¹,

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¹ Cfr. M. Ferrari, G. Panizza, M. Morandi (edd.), *I beni culturali delle scuole: conservazione e valorizzazione*, «Annali di storia dell'educazione e delle istituzioni scolastiche», 2008, pp. 15-192.

Juri Meda², Marta Brunelli³, Anna Ascenzi⁴), recent studies in our country on the conservation and promotion of historical-educational heritage have been informed by the Spanish, Portuguese, and French historiographical traditions⁵, as well as by new lines of inquiry into the material culture of schools⁶ and the construction of school memories via a range of mediums⁷ (including toponymy, film, teacher awards, teachers' memoirs, iconography and literature).

Analysing the theme of school memories implies pursuing multiple objectives. At a conference organised by the «Sociedad Española para el estudio del Patrimonio Histórico-Educativo» (SEPHE) and the «Società Italiana per lo studio del Patrimonio Storico-Educativo» (SIPSE) held in Palma (Mallorca) in November 2018⁸, Roberto Sani outlined some of these goals, which include: developing a more precise definition of the concept of historical-educational heritage itself and the role of history of education in drawing out the value of this heritage; training a new generation of scholars to push back the frontiers in

² Cfr. J. Meda, *La conservazione del patrimonio storico-educativo: il caso italiano*, in J. Meda, A.M.^a. 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 (Berlaga de Duero, 14-16 de noviembre de 2011)*, Macerata, eum, 2013, pp. 167-198.

³ Among M. Brunelli's works on the theme, see at least the most recent: *L'educazione al patrimonio storico-scolastico. Approcci teorici, modelli e strumenti per la progettazione didattica e formativa in un museo della scuola*, Milan, FrancoAngeli, 2018.

⁴ Cfr. A. Ascenzi, E. Patrizi, *I Musei della scuola e dell'educazione e il patrimonio storico-educativo. Una discussione a partire dall'esperienza del Museo della scuola «Paolo e Ornella Ricca» dell'Università degli Studi di Macerata*, «History of Education & Children's Literature», vol. IX, n. 2, 2014, pp. 685-714.

⁵ Here, I recall only: A. Escolano Benito (ed.), *La cultura material de la escuela. En el centenario de la Junta para la Ampliación de Estudios, 1907-2007*, Berlaga de Duero-Soria, CEINCE – Centro Internacional de la Cultura Escolar, 2007; Id., *La cultura material de la escuela y la educación patrimonial*, «Educatio Siglo XXI», vol. 28, n. 2, 2010, pp. 43-64; A. Viñao Frago, *Memoria, patrimonio y educación*, «Educatio Siglo XXI», vol. 28, n. 2, 2010, pp. 17-42; J. Ruiz Berrio (ed.), *El patrimonio histórico-educativo: su conservación y estudio*, Madrid, Biblioteca Nueva, 2010; M.J. Mogarro, *Des objets qui racontent des histoires: le patrimoine éducatif dans l'internationalisation des théories et des pratiques pédagogiques*, «LaRivista», vol. 2, 2014, pp. 149-158; Ead. (ed.), *Educação e Património Cultural. Escolas, Objectos e Práticas*, Lisbona, Colibri, 2013; *Le Patrimoine de l'éducation nationale*, Charenton-le-Pont, Flohic Éditions, 1999.

⁶ For a recent, wide-ranging reflection on the theme and the various aspects of it that have been explored in Italy to date, see: J. Meda, *Mezzi di educazione di massa. Saggi di storia della cultura materiale della scuola tra XIX e XX secolo*, Milan, FrancoAngeli, 2016.

⁷ Of particular note in this regard is a research project co-financed by the Italian Ministry for Education, Universities, and Research in 2017, coordinated by Professor Roberto Sani and entitled *School Memories between Social Perception and Collective Representation (Italy, 1861-2001)*. This study brings together researchers in history of education from a number of Italian universities and is designed both to explore school memories as a theme that has received little research attention to date, and to develop accessible online inventories of the various sources that have contributed and can further contribute to the reconstruction of individual and collective school memories.

⁸ Cfr. R. Sani, *L'implementazione della ricerca sul patrimonio storico-educativo in Italia: itinerari, priorità, obiettivi di lungo termine*, in S. González, J. Meda, X. Motilla, L. Pomante (edd.), *La Práctica Educativa. Historia, Memoria y Patrimonio*, Salamanca, FahrenHouse, 2018, pp. 27-44.

this new domain of research; and publishing inventories of the sources that make up our educational heritage. The resulting research agenda is wide-ranging and implementing it will require several years of collaborative teamwork among scholars in the field. Hence, the recently founded «Società Italiana per lo studio del Patrimonio Storico-Educativo» – which brings together research teams from several Italian universities – has incorporated the pursuit of this agenda among its statutory aims⁹.

The task currently facing historians of education in this domain might be compared to that proposed to Italian researchers some years ago by scholars such as Giuseppe Ricuperati, Marina Roggero, Marino Raicich, Ester De Fort, and Giovanni Vigo. At that time, the challenge was to introduce into history of education an appreciation of the role of social and economic context, the lived experience of the protagonists of the educational relationship, and actual educational practice¹⁰. This meant that traditional studies on the history of educational thought needed to be rethought to incorporate new methodologies and sources. Italy was lagging behind other countries in developing instruments for mapping and replicating these sources so that they could be used and analysed¹¹.

In that context, in an attempt to identify the factors underpinning Italy's lack of a solid history of schooling, Raicich among others raised the possibility that one cause might be the way the Italian school system was set up after Unification: the «median freedom» extended to private schools by the Casati

⁹ The text of the statutes may be viewed at <<http://www.sipse.eu>> (last access: 06.03.2020). For background on how the society came into being and defined its aims see: M. Brunelli, *La recente costituzione della Società Italiana per lo studio del Patrimonio Storico-Educativo (SIPSE)*, «History of Education & Children's Literature», vol. XII, n. 2, 2017, pp. 653-665.

¹⁰ Here I recall only a selection of the works published between the mid-1970s and early 1980s that contributed to laying the ground for a whole new approach to studying the history of education: G. Ricuperati, M. Roggero, *Istruzione e società in Italia: problemi e prospettive di ricerca*, «Quaderni storici», vol. XIII, n. II, may-august 1978, pp. 640-665; G. Ricuperati, *La storia dell'istruzione nella storiografia contemporanea*, in *Storia della scuola e storia d'Italia*, Bari, De Donato, 1982, pp. 71-93; G. Vigo, *Scuola ed economia*, in *ibid.*, pp. 25-47; M. Raicich, *Scuola cultura e politica da De Sanctis a Gentile*, Pisa, Nistri Lischi, 1981 (especially the introduction on pp. 11-81); and E. De Fort, *Storia della scuola elementare in Italia. Dall'Unità all'età giolittiana*, Milan, Feltrinelli, 1979, which combined analysis of institutional policy and a reconstruction of the educational and cultural milieu with the use of statistical data and an investigation of schooling from the 'bottom up' with a view to shedding light on everyday life in the classroom.

¹¹ For an analysis of how Italian historical-educational research has evolved in recent decades, see: C. Ghizzoni, *La recente pubblicazione del Dizionario Biografico dell'Educazione (1800-2000) e un trentennio di ricerche storico-pedagogiche in Italia*, «History of Education & Children's Literature», vol. XI, n. 1, 2016, pp. 368-376; A. Barausse, C. Ghizzoni, J. Meda, *Écrire l'histoire des élèves en Italie aux XIX^e et XX^e siècles*, in J.-F. Condette, V. Castagnet-Lars (edd.), *Pour une histoire renouvelée des élèves (XVI^e - XX^e siècles)*, Vol. I: *Approches historiographiques*, «Histoire de l'Education», vol. 150, n. 2, 2018, pp. 125-150; C. Covato, R. Sani, *Una historiografía en constante evolución. Nuevos itinerarios y perspectivas de investigación en el campo de la historia de la educación*, «History of Education & Children's Literature», vol. XIV, n. 2, 2019, pp. 911-934.

Law of 1859, and the fact that no one model of schooling emerged as dominant (and specifically the fact that the state school system did not clearly prevail over private school offerings), meant that, as the education system developed – with difficulty –, no foundation was laid for constructing school memories. Raichich particularly emphasized the lack of interest – or perhaps it would be more appropriate to say the lack of constancy – of the Ministry of Education in conserving accounts of education and schooling, making them available to scholars, and consequently, fostering research in this field¹².

In sum, the fact that historians were displaying scant interest in schooling and in the vast corpus of print and unpublished sources produced by the various actors within the school system itself, and the continued currency of abstract, and sometimes ideological, perspectives within the history of educational thought, as well as an objective lack of funding (which made it seem unlikely that Italy would soon close the gap with other countries in terms of bringing to light the documentary heritage produced by and in schools), all conspired to make Raichich pessimistic about the future of this avenue of inquiry, especially given the lack – at the time – of dedicated research groups¹³.

Some decades later, we are in a position to claim that the gaps pointed up in the early 1980s have been largely filled (e.g., by the publication, unfortunately later discontinued, of the «*Fonti per la storia della scuola*» series commissioned by the Ministry of Cultural and Environmental Heritage¹⁴; catalogues of education journals¹⁵, education publishers¹⁶, legislation on text books¹⁷ and,

¹² Raichich, *Scuola cultura e politica da De Sanctis a Gentile*, cit., pp. 26-35 (the direct citation is from p. 29).

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 81.

¹⁴ The series was brought out to provide access to the collections of documentary sources about schools that are held at the Central State Archives in Rome. Seven volumes have been published to date, the most recent of which was issued in 2005, however.

¹⁵ See the following works curated by G. Chiosso: *Scuola e stampa nel Risorgimento. Giornali e riviste per l'educazione prima dell'Unità*, Milan, FrancoAngeli, 1989; *I periodici scolastici nell'Italia del secondo Ottocento*, Brescia, La Scuola, 1992; *Scuola e stampa nell'Italia liberale. Giornali e riviste per l'educazione dall'Unità a fine secolo*, Brescia, La Scuola, 1993; *La stampa pedagogica e scolastica in Italia (1820-1943)*, Brescia, La Scuola, 1997.

¹⁶ See: Id. (ed.), *TESEO. Tipografi e editori scolastico-educativi dell'Ottocento*, Milan, Editrice Bibliografica, 2003; Id., *TESEO '900. Editori scolastico-educativi del primo Novecento*, Milan, Editrice Bibliografica, 2008.

¹⁷ A. Ascenzi, R. Sani (edd.), *Il libro per la scuola tra idealismo e fascismo. L'opera della Commissione centrale per l'esame dei libri di testo da Giuseppe Lombardo Radice ad Alessandro Melchiori (1923-1928)*, Milan, Vita e Pensiero, 2005; A. Barausse (ed.), *Il libro per la scuola dall'Unità al fascismo. La normativa sui libri di testo dalla Legge Casati alla Riforma Gentile (1861-1922)*, Macerata, alfabetica, 2008; A. Ascenzi, R. Sani (edd.), *Il libro per la scuola nel ventennio fascista. La normativa sui libri di testo dalla Riforma Gentile alla fine della seconda guerra mondiale (1923-1945)*, Macerata, alfabetica, 2009; A. Barausse, «Nonostante tanto diluvio di libri scolastici». *I libri di testo per le scuole elementari e le indagini ministeriali di Bargoni e Bonghi durante gli anni della Destra storica (1869-1875)*, Lecce, Pensa MultiMedia, 2018.

most recently, the *Dizionario Biografico dell'Educazione*¹⁸), while seminars, such as that organized by the «Centro di Documentazione e di ricerca sulla storia dell'educazione in Alto Adige» at the Free University of Bozen-Bolzano, play an additional part by contributing to laying the scientific bases for the construction of school memories which, according to Raichich, have traditionally been neglected by our educational institutions themselves.

To home in now on the focus of the current paper, the aim is not to encourage research that draws exclusively on sources that have been under-investigated to date, but rather to call for the design of studies that consciously supplement traditional sources with 'new' ones, with a view to reconstructing the multiple dimensions of school and educational history. To make this clearer, I next present some examples based on my own field research. A first key observation is that investigating historical-educational heritage can contribute to advancing our knowledge of some of the better established domains of research in our discipline, including the history of educational thought and that of educational institutions.

This point is confirmed by an in-depth analysis, conducted by Renata Bressanelli and I at the Istituto «Pasquali-Agazzi» in Brescia¹⁹. The same would be true of other similar institutions, such as the Museo della Scuola e dell'Educazione «Mauro Laeng» at the Education Department of Roma Tre University²⁰.

The historical-educational heritage resources held at the Institute include the books in its library²¹, which was set up by Pietro Pasquali in the late 1800s to serve the needs of teachers and mothers. The library was gradually expanded over time, in support of the Istituto's training activities, but all the older works have been conserved, including the books of Pietro Pasquali, the Agazzi

¹⁸ G. Chiosso, R. Sani (edd.), *Dizionario Biografico dell'Educazione 1800-2000*, Milan, Editrice Bibliografica, 2013.

¹⁹ The Istituto «Pasquali-Agazzi» was set up in 1964, as a joint initiative of Brescia City Council and the publishing house La Scuola. The Institute is based at the municipal infant school in the Mompiano district of Brescia where, in the late 1800s and early 1900s, a new teaching method for kindergartens, inspired by Fröbel, was developed by the teachers Rosa and Carolina Agazzi under the guidance of the head of education in Brescia, Pietro Pasquali. The Istituto's official mission is to take all the steps required to keep this educational project alive (that is to say Mompiano school and the teaching method implemented there), as well as training student and in-service kindergarten teachers in the Agazzi method, setting up a permanent exhibition – designed based on the Agazzi sisters' principles – at the infant school, and running a research library: cfr. R. Bressanelli, C. Ghizzoni, *L'Istituto «Pasquali-Agazzi» di Brescia: per una storia dell'educazione infantile in Italia fra '800 e '900*, in González, Meda, Motilla, Pomante (edd.), *La Práctica Educativa. Historia, Memoria y Patrimonio*, cit., pp. 1073-1082.

²⁰ See L. Cantatore's recent work, *The MuSEd of Rome Tre between past and present. With unpublished writings by Giuseppe Lombardo Radice and Mauro Laeng*, «History of Education & Children's Literature», vol. XIV, n. 2, 2019, pp. 861-884.

²¹ See Meda, *La conservazione del patrimonio storico-educativo: il caso italiano*, cit., for a detailed account of the different sources that may be viewed as belonging to historical-educational heritage.

sisters and the Centro Didattico Nazionale per la Scuola Materna (CDNSM), whose headquarters were located at the institute²². Clearly this is a specialised library, where scholars interested in the history of early childhood education and its leading exponents in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries in Italy and internationally can source valuable materials that are not readily available elsewhere.

As mentioned above, the history of pedagogical thought stands to gain from the study of historical-educational heritage. In addition to books, the Istituto holds a corpus of other salient materials, specifically the papers of the founders of Mompiano kindergarten (the Agazzi sisters and Pasquali) and documents produced in the infant school itself, which over many years have been moved around and reorganized in such a way as to obscure their original logical flow and create the need for them to be catalogued and inventoried²³.

Many studies on Pietro Pasquali, and Rosa and Carolina Agazzi have already been published; these mainly offer analyses of their writings and, in some cases, feature reproductions of documents held at the Istituto²⁴. However, such publications do not reflect the latest developments in historical-educational research, either because they predate them or because, despite being more recent, they simply present documentary material, some unpublished, without examining it relative to its broader context²⁵. Hence, further in-depth examination of the sources is not only possible but also desirable. The documents in the archive include preliminary outlines for Pasquali's writings, including articles that appeared in a wide range of contemporary journals and teaching manuals, as well as notes for lectures that he delivered around the country on the themes of kindergarten education, manual work as part of the school curriculum, or broader educational and school-related themes.

²² Cfr. F. Bonacina, *Centri Didattici Nazionali*, in *Enciclopedia Pedagogica*, curated by M. Laeng, Brescia, La Scuola, 1989, Vol. II, cc. 2476-2482.

²³ Cfr. Bressanelli, Ghizzoni, *L'Istituto «Pasquali-Agazzi» di Brescia: per una storia dell'educazione infantile in Italia fra '800 e '900*, cit.

²⁴ The literature on the founders of the Mompiano infant school and their early childhood education project is extensive. See at least: A. Agazzi, *Il metodo delle sorelle Agazzi per la scuola materna*, Brescia, La Scuola, 1950; R. Mazzetti, *Pietro Pasquali, le sorelle Agazzi e la riforma del fröbelismo in Italia*, Rome, Armando, 1962; D. Orlando, *L'ambiente socio-culturale e l'esperienza educativa agazziana*, Brescia, La Scuola, 1967; S.S. Macchietti, *Pietro Pasquali tra scuola e società. Dall'ultimo Ottocento al primo Novecento: intuizioni e proposte di un educatore*, Brescia, Istituto di Mompiano «Pasquali-Agazzi», 1984; M. Bagnalasta Bàrlam (ed.), *Rosa Agazzi nella cultura pedagogica italiana e nella realtà educativa della scuola materna*, Brescia, Istituto di Mompiano «Pasquali-Agazzi», 1995; F. Pruneri, *Oltre l'alfabeto. L'istruzione popolare dall'Unità d'Italia all'età giolittiana: il caso di Brescia*, Milan, Vita e Pensiero, 2006, pp. 211-213, 224-227; M. Grazzini, *Sulle fonti del Metodo Pasquali-Agazzi e altre questioni. Interpretazioni, testi e nuovi materiali*, Brescia, Istituto di Mompiano «Pasquali-Agazzi», 2006; M. Grazzini (ed.), *Rosa Agazzi. Epistolario inedito (499 documenti, 1882-1950)*, Brescia, Istituto di Mompiano «Pasquali-Agazzi», 2015.

²⁵ See the studies conducted by M. Grazzini, already cited in the previous footnote.

The same might be said of the writings of the Agazzi sisters, especially Rosa's. The two sisters and their teaching method were extensively investigated from the late 1930s onwards²⁶ and recently have once again become the focus of research documenting the Catholicization of the Pasquali-Agazzi method²⁷, whose roots were secular. However, this second group of studies have analysed the Agazzis' thinking from within the traditional paradigm of the history of ideas. On the one hand, they do touch on the cultural and political factors underpinning the gradual adoption – over time – of the Agazzi method, in preference to the Montessori method, as a model for all Italian infant schools. On the other hand, they tend to overlook the early childhood education context of the late 1800s in which the Agazzi model developed and the associated teaching practices, which continued to inspire educational action in Italian kindergartens for many years thereafter. Of potential interest from this point of view are the materials produced by the Agazzi sisters during a course on the Fröbel method they attended in Brescia in the 1890s, or their manuscript notes on their work as teachers at other kindergartens in Brescia before taking up posts at the Mompiano school in 1895: sources such as these inform us about the Agazzis' thinking prior to developing their own method as well as about life in Italian kindergartens in the late nineteenth century.

This last reflection points to a further line of inquiry that can benefit from the rediscovery of historical-educational heritage, namely the history of teaching practices, which to date has drawn on syllabuses, manuals, and education journals. In this regard, our case study – the Istituto Pasquali-Agazzi – offers at least two types of useful source in addition to those already mentioned.

The first type is teaching aids. Alongside Fröbel's gifts, the Istituto holds «trinkets», or everyday objects, including some collected by the children themselves (e.g., buttons, pieces of wood, pieces of fabric or crockery, seeds, leaves), used by the teachers to foster the pupils' observational and sensory skills, as well as their intellectual and linguistic training. This category also includes «labels», or images of everyday objects that were familiar to the young pupils, which were fashioned from different materials (fabric, metal, or wood) and stuck to objects used by or belonging to the children, with a view to training them in tidiness and the care of their own persons and property.

²⁶ In addition to the studies cited in footnote 24, see: M. Casotti, *Il metodo Montessori e il metodo Agazzi*, Brescia, La Scuola, 1931; M. Agosti, V. Chizzolini, *La scuola materna italiana*, Brescia, La Scuola, 1939; A. Agazzi, *Il «metodo italiano» per la scuola materna*, Brescia, La Scuola, 1942; G. Ugolini, *Mompiano: storia di un'idea e di un'esperienza educativa*, Brescia, La Scuola, 1942.

²⁷ Cfr. F. De Giorgi, *La scuola materna e l'insegnamento della religione cattolica nel secondo dopoguerra*, in L. Caimi, G. Vian (edd.), *La religione istruita nella scuola e nella cultura dell'Italia contemporanea*, Brescia, Morcelliana, 2013, pp. 313-336; F. De Giorgi, *I cattolici e l'infanzia a scuola. Il «metodo italiano»*, «Rivista di storia del cristianesimo», vol. IX, n. 1, january-june 2012, pp. 71-88. On this theme, see also Grazzini, *Sulle fonti del Metodo Pasquali-Agazzi e altre questioni. Interpretazioni, testi e nuovi materiali*, cit.

Clearly, this is a very different kind of documentation to that cited up to now (books, manuscripts, unpublished papers) and traditionally drawn on by historians of education; this is documentation that can help us to venture beyond the history of educational ideas and enter into the domain of educational practices²⁸.

The second type of source whose rediscovery can contribute to inquiry into educational practice is photographic material. Some photographs are on display to this day at the Istituto «Pasquali-Agazzi» and, as intended by the founders in the 1960s, have been used to illustrate to visitors and teachers attending in-service training at the institute, how the method translated into everyday teaching practice in kindergartens. Iconographic repertoires are a highly versatile source within historical-educational heritage, in that they may be used by scholars as supplementary documentation for multiple strands of research²⁹. In the case of the Istituto «Pasquali-Agazzi», the type of photographs held there may be used to investigate daily life at kindergarten, in that they document the different parts of the day (reception, preparing for lunch, free play), as well as the various teaching-learning activities.

Photographs provide us with data about the layout of educational spaces and furnishings, thus also informing research into the material culture of infant schools, a field of inquiry that is still in its infancy in Italy³⁰. This area of research, the last that I shall touch upon, stands to benefit enormously from the conservation and rediscovery of historical-educational heritage. In this regard, the archives at the Istituto «Pasquali-Agazzi», as well as those held at other similar institutions, contain interesting sources, such as, for example the various components of the children's outfits (aprons, bibs, handkerchiefs, napkins, collars)³¹.

And now some final remarks. The first concerns the potential and limits of this analysis of sources in research on historical-educational heritage. It is crucial for scholars in the field to agree on the need to work towards mapping the relevant sources. SIPSE, having included fostering a network of relationships among its aims (see Article 3 of its founding charter as earlier mentioned), will play a key role here, in terms of making institutions with similar interests around Italy aware of one another's work and bringing them into contact with one another.

²⁸ The question of kindergarten teaching aids as a history of education theme is addressed in the following studies: M. Ferrari, M. Morandi, E. Platé (edd.), *Lezioni di cose, lezioni di immagini. Studi di caso e percorsi di riflessione sulla scuola italiana tra XIX e XXI secolo*, Parma, Edizioni junior, 2011; M. Ferrari, M. Morandi (edd.), *Le cose e le loro lezioni: itinerari di analisi pedagogica in prospettiva diacronica*, Mantua, Comune di Mantova, 2017.

²⁹ On the use of iconographic source in historical-educational research, see the special issue of «History of Education & Children's Literature», vol. XIII, n. 1, 2018, edited by B. Sureda Garcia, M. del Mar del Pozo Andrés, and entitled *Images of the European Child*.

³⁰ On this topic, see Meda, *Mezzi di educazione di massa. Saggi di storia della cultura materiale della scuola tra XIX e XX secolo*, cit.

³¹ For further background on these sources, see again the references provided in footnote 23.

This will prompt a further key action, that is to say, the inventorying and cataloguing of sources as diverse (as books, unpublished documents, artefacts, teaching aids, photographs, and school furniture).

At this level, we encounter two problems. The first is economic: in the past, as mentioned above, a policy of conservation and promotion of school memories was lacking at the national level, despite the fact that financial resources would probably have been available to support it. Nowadays, in contrast, although there is greater scientific awareness of the rich cultural heritage of schools and the education system generally, funding for reconstructing school memories is scarce or difficult to obtain. The other problem is how to go about developing the required competence, raising awareness among the producers and keepers of historical-educational heritage and assets, and establishing shared conservation and cataloguing practices. In sum, much work lies ahead. However, I believe that a feasible first step will consist in interested researchers encouraging institutions to drop their exclusively local, exhibitionist, or celebratory perspectives on heritage assets.

And one final consideration: those approaching historical-educational research for the first time, such as young PhD students, must be given training in handling a wide range of sources³². This will lead us, albeit gradually and via a process of trial and error, closer to attaining the ultimate aim of research in our field, that is to say, providing a reconstruction of our country's educational history that comprehends all of its multiple dimensions, from the institutional and intellectual ones to those of the material culture and the lived experience of subjects. It is not and should never be a question of research for its own sake, a mere exercise in erudition, but rather one of attempting to recover, in the present, memories of the educational action of the past as carried out by a range of agents at a variety of different levels, with a view to reinforcing a shared sense of identity and opportunity among student teachers, and therefore among the younger generations at large.

³² Cfr. Sani, *L'implementazione della ricerca sul patrimonio storico-educativo in Italia: itinerari, priorità, obiettivi di lungo termine*, cit., pp. 34-38, which has flagged as a priority for the scientific community training PhD students to specialize in the recovery of historical-educational heritage.

Notices / Recensioni

Notices

Recensioni

Jakob Benecke, *Soziale Ungleichheit und Hitler-Jugend. Zur Systematisierung sozialer Differenz in der nationalsozialistischen Jugendorganisation*, Weinheim-Basel, Juventa, 2015, 256 pp.

The author of this valuable work scrutinizes how the *Hitler-Jugend*, behind a facade of treating all its members equally, deployed highly discriminatory policies that gave rise to hierarchies of status and forms of exclusion, including among its own ranks. Nazi propaganda painted the regime's youth organization as a locus of unity, reflecting the Nazi Party's position as the sole political party: it was supposed to be a place where the German youth, irrespective of religious identity and social class, could share experiences, develop a common outlook, and overcome the social inequalities of the past. Benecke draws on his earlier study *Die Hitler-Jugend 1933 bis 1945. Programmatik, Alltag, Erinnerungen. Eine Dokumentation*, Weinheim-Basel, Juventa, 2015, which brought

to light a considerable corpus of documents concerning the HJ's programmes and everyday activities, as well as on memoirs about the organization, to build up a detailed reconstruction of its actual functioning. The regime's effective aim was not to attain equal status for all, but rather to replace previous power structures with new ones conforming to Nazi ideology. The HJ uniform, large-group synchronized movement, and photos showing tens, hundreds, and thousands of youths marching in step with one another, all conceal a more complex reality, which the author unmasks through his analysis of a large body of unpublished documentation. Indeed, Nazi pedagogy promoted exclusion both on ideological racist grounds and based on other discriminants. Its stated purpose was to form the characters and bodies of the youth, securing young Germans' faithfulness to the regime via a process of psychological, emotional, and physical indoctrination. Benecke identifies four stages in the history and

development of the HJ: an initial phase, prior to 1933; the phase of the organization's rise to dominance, between 1933 and 1936; a third phase in which it intensified its educational work, from 1936 to 1939; and the war phase, ending in 1945. Each of the four phases had its own internal dynamics, determining a gradual progression from an initial spirit of adventure to forced regimentation on pain of death during the war, with almost all German youths ultimately entering the HJ. Members who did not comply with the rules faced humiliating penalties and possible demotion. Physical shortcomings or fear were stigmatized and the movement's educational approach made use of violence and coercion: for example, a youth who did not know how to swim and was afraid of deep water would be forced underwater three times, to the point of making him lose consciousness. Such Spartan-like, repressive practices were widely adopted, in a practical application of Darwinist ideology. It was not enough to be Aryan: youths were expected to display strength and courage, and to embrace Hitler's ideological framework. Sports contests were highly competitive and accidents (such as the fracturing of limbs) were far from infrequent. Between 1933 and 1938, 649 young members of the HJ died for their efforts: specifically, in drowning incidents (21%), in road accidents (40%), from sports injuries (6.6 %), during outdoor play (2.2%), from pneumonia (5.5 %), or from gunshot wounds (4%). The scale of punishment ranged from a warning, to detention lasting a few days or a few years, or deportment to a concentration camp. For example, between 1939 and 1941, severe disciplinary penalties were imposed on 2,701 adolescents and youths (in 15% of cases for homosexual behaviours). Bencke examines the documents outlining the disciplinary measures. The youths to

be disciplined fell into three categories: those deemed guilty of moral transgression, those accused of engaging in inappropriate conduct, and those punishable for racial motives. Moral transgression meant sexual crimes, namely abortion in girls, and masturbation and homosexuality in the case of boys. Homosexuality accounted for two-thirds of this category and one-fifth of all offenses. The second category encompassed those found guilty of theft, indiscipline, criticizing Hitler and the regime, or associating with Jews. Those who rejected Nazi ideology were first threatened and then brutally punished. The third category included not only the children of mixed marriages and Jews, but also the weak of mind. All those with mental disabilities, including minors, were initially sterilized and later killed. The words «jew» and «homosexual» became insults. Youths with sensory disabilities were admitted to the HJ and the personal accounts of both men and women indicate that they experienced this as a liberation, because it gave them the opportunity to spend time outside the special boarding schools where they lived in relative isolation. Similarly, girls – whose formation, including their physical education, was designed to prepare them for motherhood and roles of subordination – gained the opportunity to display other skills and qualities with the potential to enhance their self-awareness. Non-Germans were excluded from HJ, but with the hardening of anti-Jewish laws, the children of mixed marriages, who had initially been accepted, were also barred from the movement. Even those who were only one-quarter Jewish were denied admission, yet physical aspect made a difference: a youth with Aryan features might be allowed to join, while a sibling who was somewhat more Semitic in appearance would be humiliated and mocked and immediately refused

entry. Furthermore, the movement had an internal hierarchy of its own, with many youths seeking to rise above the *masses* to occupy positions of command. In any case, most of youths joining the HJ had a strong political allegiance to the organization, especially in the early stages, he minorities who were excluded or excluded themselves because they were opposed to the regime, did not constitute a serious threat, although they were treated as such. Control was enforced by systematic recourse to power and violence. Children were encouraged to report their peers or even their own parents. Youths of low social status could aspire to joining the HJ in order to feel less marginalized and more socially integrated. As previously demonstrated in the work of Heidi Rosenbaum, the social, political or religious affinities of their families could influence how youths experienced the movement. During World War II, especially in 1944 and 1945, minors as young as 14 years were drafted into military service. The bravery of some of these youths was exploited in the regime's propaganda, which presented them as heroes and martyrs. At least 74,000 youths from the HJ lost their lives. In addition, during the war, about two million children were taken from families in cities at risk of bombardment and transported in special trains to camps (Lager) in rural areas, where they underwent indoctrination and strict Spartan training. This book, which is undergirded by meticulous archival research, offers a critical examination of the sources and brings into focus the history of thousands of children who were violated in body and soul. A vast bibliography and a discussion of Luhmann's and Elias' hermeneutical perspective are also provided. The author, a young history of education professor, displays critical acumen and methodological skill, uncovering, via a wealth of doc-

umentary evidence, the multiple impacts of Nazi totalitarianism on the young.

Simonetta Polenghi

Hervé A. Cavallera, *Storia delle dottrine e delle istituzioni educative*, Brescia, La Scuola, 2017, 448 pp.

Une histoire de la pédagogie occidentale depuis ses origines grecques et latines est une tâche immense qui implique l'étude de la pensée de ses principaux représentants, des grandes doctrines d'éducation et des réalisations institutionnelles qui en ont résulté. Hervé A. Cavallera ouvre ainsi une page profondément immergée dans la culture et la civilisation européenne.

Le monde gréco-romain ne connaissait pas les distinctions qui se sont établies au cours de l'évolution des sociétés. Il confondait l'éducation familiale, l'éducation religieuse et l'éducation civique. Les parents, les grands-parents et les prêtres transmettaient les traditions, les usages et les bonnes manières aux enfants. Certes, les modèles éducatifs de Sparte et d'Athènes opposaient le totalitarisme à la démocratie; mais ils étaient tous les deux destinés à une intégration du citoyen dans la société. En sollicitant la recherche intérieure de la vérité et en insistant sur la nécessité d'une vie pleine de droiture, Socrate donnait un sens à la pédagogie. Tout ce que les penseurs entendront plus tard sous le nom de «classique» était déjà présent chez Platon, orienté vers un itinéraire éducatif où confluaient la doctrine pythagoricienne raffinée par l'ironie socratique. Un nouveau monde s'ouvrit avec Aristote dont le discours réaliste était tourné vers l'amélioration sociale plus que vers l'idéal. Les philosophes hellénistiques plaçaient la sagesse au centre d'une vie maîtrisée. On passait ainsi de l'Etat idéal de Platon à une

vie sereine contrôlée par l'éducation.

Dans la Rome antique, les notions d'éducation restaient présentes chez Caton, Cicéron et Quintilien; mais c'est Sénèque, le précepteur de Néron, qui savait le mieux discerner les vices de ses contemporains en les invitant à la pitié. Les Pères de l'Eglise considéraient que sa pensée pouvait se concilier avec la morale chrétienne et Montaigne admirait sa tournure d'esprit; mais ce fut saint Augustin qui dota l'Occident d'une véritable philosophie chrétienne. Le destin de l'homme pouvait être sauvé du péché par la grâce de Dieu qui est connaissance et amour. La grandiose théorie de la cité mystique des âmes prédestinées s'opposait ainsi à la cité temporelle. Saint Augustin se faisait éducateur en insistant sur la maîtrise du langage pour confondre les ennemis de la vérité. Dieu est notre maître intérieur et il nous appartient d'en interpréter la parole; mais l'enseignement joue aussi son rôle en connaissant le caractère, les besoins et les motivations de l'élève. La première éducation chrétienne contribua de façon décisive à la naissance et au développement des écoles par l'exigence d'une diffusion du verbe divin auprès des clercs. Le monachisme était une école de vie qui impliquait un noviciat (*Schola claustris*) auquel s'ajoutait la «*schola canonica*» à l'usage des laïcs. Le maître lisait le texte sacré et le commentait, les élèves le répétaient. Les écoles bénédictines devinrent rapidement une référence en Occident et les écoles cathédrales décernaient un diplôme (*Licentia docendi*) qui habilitait à l'enseignement. La contribution du monachisme à la conservation des textes fut décisive pour la préservation de l'identité culturelle de l'Europe chrétienne.

La renaissance carolingienne ne se limitait pas à l'Ecole palatine d'Alcuin. Elle concernait les disciplines du «trivium» orientées vers la formation de l'esprit

(grammaire, rhétorique, dialectique) et celles du «quadrivium» où prévalait une orientation religieuse inspirée de l'orphisme et du pythagorisme. La grammaire était le fondement des arts libéraux. Elle apprenait à écrire, mais soignait aussi le style. Des éléments de logique apparaissaient dans les traductions de Boèce dont la spiritualité chrétienne rencontrait l'héritage stoïcien et néo-platonicien. L'événement majeur de la période fut pourtant la naissance des universités avec leurs quatre Facultés: Arts, Droit, Médecine et Théologie, régies par leurs propres lois. La permanence des structures laïques de l'école et la continuité d'une culture dépendante des clercs caractérisaient par contre l'empire romain d'Orient. Cette séparation du profane et du religieux s'expliquait par l'amour des études classiques comme instrument fondamental de la formation de l'homme.

L'éducation médiévale a promu une culture plus attentive à la dimension religieuse, mais qui n'oubliait pas ses répercussions sur le monde laïque. Dans une communauté de maîtres et de disciples, la Scholastique de Thomas d'Aquin avait recours à Aristote pour expliquer la foi chrétienne par la lecture et la discussion des textes sacrés. Si Dieu était le seul vrai maître, l'apprentissage de la science était le principe qui guidait l'enseignement (*De magistro*, in *De Veritate*, Quaestio XI). L'école était réservée à un petit nombre, mais les parents jouaient un rôle décisif dans l'éducation des enfants. L'automne de la philosophie médiévale fut caractérisé par un cheminement de la foi où l'intelligence s'opposait à l'abstraction. La pensée, souvent empreint de révolte politique, s'affranchissait des éléments doctrinaux. Ainsi, l'enseignement d'Abélard résidait-il dans l'éthique plus que dans l'érudition et la foi était limitée par des principes rationnels. La *Divine Comédie* de Dante

apparaissait comme le chef d'œuvre de cet imaginaire médiéval.

Bien qu'elle ne fût pas absente dans les périodes antérieures, la question de l'éducation devint partie intégrante de la société pendant la Renaissance. Au Moyen Âge, le savant était l'homme de Dieu. L'Humanisme lui attribua une condition nouvelle. La figure du «Courtisan», conseiller du prince, s'affranchissait de tout contact avec le peuple et avec la théologie, anticipant sur celle de l'intellectuel. Pier Paolo Vergerio (1370-1444) fut le premier exemple d'éducateur de l'Humanisme. Les préoccupations encyclopédiques de son traité *De ingenius moribus* étaient destinées à former la classe dirigeante à la vertu. Guarino Veronese enseignait le grec à Ferrare auprès de la famille d'Este. Il y fonda une école réputée qui comprenait un degré élémentaire pour apprendre à lire et écrire en latin et en italien, un cours de grammaire et un autre de rhétorique. Bien qu'attentif à l'éducation physique, l'enseignement de Guarino reposait sur le monde classique. Cette séparation du quotidien fut une préoccupation majeure de Vittorino da Feltre. Précepteur de la famille de Gonzague, il créa à Mantoue la «Scuola Giocosa» qui se présentait comme l'école parfaite de l'époque. On y enseignait le grec et le latin, la grammaire et la rhétorique afin de soustraire les classiques à l'interprétation de l'Eglise. Le cursus comprenait la philosophie, les mathématiques et diverses sciences, ces disciplines érudites étant équilibrées par des exercices physiques et artistiques. Les élèves riches payaient les études des plus pauvres. L'Italie du XV^e siècle servit de référence à l'Europe entière. Elle inspira les critiques d'Erasme qui étaient différentes de celles de Luther dans la mesure où elles préservaient le libre arbitre. Rabelais partageait l'idéal des Humanistes. Il détestait une morale catholique trop étroite,

faisait confiance à la nature humaine et à la culture classique pour former l'homme idéal de l'époque. Comme tous les humanistes, Montaigne croyait à l'excellence de la nature et condamnait toutes les formes d'éducation destinées à la contraindre. Il confiait l'instruction à un précepteur qui devait être à l'écoute des enfants tout en disposant d'une autorité complète. L'enseignement de l'histoire reposait sur la fréquentation des «grandes âmes» du passé; il accompagnait celui de la philosophie qui jouait un rôle pédagogique central. Les sciences étaient cultivées en vue d'un perfectionnement de la raison et les langues vivantes pour permettre la découverte d'autres univers. Le savoir devait être actif pour mettre l'intelligence en mouvement et il s'accompagnait d'activités physiques. Montaigne concevait l'éducation comme une culture de l'âme et en bon humaniste il voulait former le gentilhomme; mais il était plus que celà. Sa haine des persécutions en faisait l'incarnation de l'esprit de tolérance, son respect de la liberté du citoyen un précurseur de la laïcité.

Les guerres d'Italie incitèrent les penseurs de la péninsule au réalisme politique. Machiavel voulait un prince doté de la force du lion et de la ruse du renard pour le bien de l'Etat. Le scepticisme de Guichardin illustre la fin du rayonnement intellectuel et artistique de l'Italie. La *Cité du soleil* de Tommaso Campanella répondait aux idées de la Renaissance, mais poussées à leurs extrêmes conséquences. Dans le monde germanique, Luther préconisait l'alphabétisation dans la langue vernaculaire pour que le peuple pût lire et méditer la parole de Dieu. L'avenir de la Réforme dépendait de l'éducation et l'action de Melanchton dans le domaine scolaire en fit le *Praeceptor Germaniae*. Pour son disciple Johannes Sturm qui passait pour le plus grand éducateur de son siècle, la piété devait être rattachée à la maîtrise de

la langue latine, les études comprenant la théologie, la physique et les sciences naturelles. Le maître devait veiller à la clarté de son enseignement et tenir compte de la personnalité de l'élève. Une nouvelle culture s'affirmait dans le monde de la Réforme qui préconisait une discipline austère, le succès de la vie sur terre dépendant de la volonté de Dieu. Les Jésuites étaient par contre à la pointe de la Contre-Réforme et leur *ratio studiorum* représentait le texte fondamental de leurs collèges. Le programme reposait sur la lecture, l'explication et le commentaire des classiques. La première classe était consacrée à la grammaire et à la syntaxe, les deux autres à l'éloquence selon le modèle cicéronien. Les collèges de Jésuites furent à l'origine des lycées napoléoniens pendant que les Frères des Ecoles chrétiennes donnaient naissance à l'enseignement primaire. La *Contre Réforme* a permis l'affirmation de la notion d'école pour tous et la prépondérance d'une tradition humaniste qui s'inscrivait dans l'esprit de la philosophie médiévale plus que dans la continuité de la Renaissance. Le XVI^e siècle fut celui de la révolution scientifique et Comenius érigea la pédagogie en science autonome. Il dota la construction scolaire d'un système pyramidal basé sur la sélection. Parmi ses épigones, Philippe Jacob hilippe Jacob Spener organisait des réunions d'édification mutuelle (*collegia pietatis*) à l'intention des pasteurs afin de rénover l'Eglise luthérienne par la prédication et la recherche du salut. Le théologien August Francke qui enseignait dans les séminaires de piétisme germanique de l'université de Halle créait des écoles à caractère plus pratique qui permettaient une insertion professionnelle dans le monde du travail.

Avec Descartes, la démarche de la pensée s'engageait dans la lutte contre l'évidence sensible et progressait, vers les vérités premières. Le *Discours de la Méthode*

était un modèle de rationalisme soumettant toutes les démarches intellectuelles à des déductions rigoureuses garantissant l'élimination des erreurs de raisonnement; mais Descartes était aussi un moraliste. Il présentait l'amour comme un désir du bien lorsque la volonté lui permettait d'atteindre la maîtrise des passions. Cet idéal cornélien mêlé de stoïcisme se transformait en morale définitive fondée sur un jugement vrai et la liberté qui en découlait; mais la rencontre de la morale cartésienne avec ses rigueurs rationnelles n'était pas exempte d'ambiguïtés qui interdisait cette synthèse intervenant au niveau de Dieu. Spinoza dépassait sans doute ce dualisme, bien que son rationalisme religieux et son libéralisme politique s'inspirât de Descartes. Son *Ethique* était un traité de la béatitude, à la philosophie sans mystère. L'homme accédait à une liberté absolue qui lui permettait de réaliser en lui-même la personne de Dieu. Ce panthéisme autorisait une analyse de l'âme humaine et l'éducation d'un individu réel. Ami de Descartes, Bérulle diffusait en France les écoles de l'Oratoire qui s'adressaient aux enfants de l'aristocratie. On y enseignait le français, le latin, les mathématiques, la physique, l'histoire et la géographie. Pascal soutenait l'existence de deux modèles de connaissance, l'esprit de finesse s'opposant à celui de géométrie, qui permettaient d'accéder ou de vivre dans la sagesse. Il rejoignit les messieurs de Port Royal qui pratiquaient l'austère morale du jansénisme: l'homme naît naturellement corrompu et sera sauvé par la grâce. Leurs petites écoles s'opposaient aux collèges de Jésuites en étudiant le français avant d'accéder aux classiques. La «grammaire de Port Royal» exposait avec logique les faits et les lois qui intéressent les modes d'expression de la pensée humaine. Les sciences étaient enseignées selon la méthode intuitive et l'histoire pouvait as-

sumer une valeur exemplaire ou revêtir la dimension d'un exercice critique. La discipline refusait les châtements mais sollicitait la maîtrise du comportement en favorisant l'introspection. Pierre Nicole incarnait l'honnête homme de Port Royal (*Essais de morale. De la faiblesse de l'homme*).

Fénelon succomba au quiétisme, l'amour de dieu n'étant accessible que par les œuvres et la prière (*Explication des maximes des saints*) (1697). Il se soumit à la condamnation pontificale et la littérature mystique disparut en France jusqu'au XIX^e siècle; mais Fénelon fut un éducateur et on sent dans ses écrits un esprit de réforme et le goût des grands plans de transformation. L'éducation devait tenir compte des besoins de la vie et les filles méritaient d'être «éclairées». Les «Aventures de Télémaque» étaient un traité de pédagogie politique qui montrait une autre façon de régner par l'exemplarité dans la vie publique et privée, par le souci du peuple et non de la gloire. Bossuet se dressait au contraire contre un esprit nouveau qui menaçait le dogme dans la philosophie de Malebranche aussi bien que dans celle de Spinoza. Il combattait les tendances qui triomphèrent au XVIII^e siècle: le libre examen, l'esprit de tolérance et la négation du divin.

L'empirisme de Locke ouvrait la voie à celui de Hume, son sensualisme à Condillac et son matérialisme à Helvétius, d'Alembert et Diderot. Les *Pensées sur l'éducation* (1693) utilisaient la raison et la liberté à des fins pratiques. Certes, Locke ne séparait pas l'instruction d'une éducation morale; mais celle-ci n'oubliait pas l'utilitaire et la priorité allait aux connaissances les plus urgentes. L'éducation de Locke s'adressait à une bourgeoisie qui concevait la culture comme un moyen d'accroître la capacité d'agir. Avec Newton, la science mécanicienne s'affranchissait de toute re-

lation religieuse; mais ce fut avec Leibnitz et sa distinction entre la possibilité logique et celle de l'existence qu'elle rompit avec Descartes. L'individu possédait des vertus innées et universelles qu'il lui appartenait de découvrir, la connaissance ne pouvant se réduire à la seule expérience. Ce rationalisme essayait de concilier l'objectivité des idées scientifiques avec le spiritualisme dynamique d'une métaphysique idéaliste. L'empirisme de Hume et d'Adam Smith précéda les Lumières françaises qui comptaient Pierre Bayle parmi ses précurseurs. Les commentaires de ce dernier, imbus d'un inlassable esprit critique, raillaient les croyances au surnaturel pour dénigrer une religion révélée séparée de toute morale. Montesquieu dépassait ce négativisme pour s'élever à une étude des institutions humaines par une méthode scientifique. La loi manifestait une raison ordonnatrice et la citoyenneté dans une République reposait sur l'union des esprits (*L'Esprit des lois*). Montesquieu faisait progresser la connaissance historique en l'appliquant aux faits et non pas à des théories abstraites (*Considérations sur les causes de la grandeur et de la décadence des Romains*). Voltaire apparaît comme le vulgarisateur des idées nouvelles sur la tolérance et la lutte contre les superstitions. Historien, il s'intéressait à la Nation et aux progrès économiques plus qu'au souverain. Il était déiste et croyait à la nécessité d'une religion pour le peuple; mais il la séparait de la morale et de la politique. Si Montesquieu apparaissait comme un réformateur modéré, Voltaire restait partisan d'une monarchie éclairée par les philosophes.

L'auteur accorde une grande importance au sensualisme matérialiste d'Helvétius pour qui le caractère résulte du milieu social, de l'expérience et de l'éducation. L'enseignement devait permettre à l'élève de s'épanouir dans la voie de son choix, son ultime fin étant de rendre les

citoyens plus forts et vertueux; mais cet objectif ne pouvait être atteint sans une révolution politique contre l'alliance du trône et de l'autel. En faisant de la pensée l'une des propriétés de la matière, Diderot bouleversait les fondements traditionnels de la morale, le vice et la vertu variant suivant le temps et le lieu. Buffon suivait la même voie en appliquant les principes de la méthode expérimentale à l'histoire de l'homme; mais sa conception du progrès était moins intellectuelle que celle des Encyclopédistes. Il considérait la science comme indépendante de la théologie et le spectacle de la nature ne pouvait prouver l'existence de Dieu. Rousseau appliquait parfaitement les idées des Lumières à l'éducation. Il dégageait l'individu de l'action pernicieuse de la société et critiquait le pseudo idéal qui faisait de l'enfant un singe savant et un automate faussement raisonnable. La nature voulait que l'individu fût un enfant avant d'être un homme et toute perturbation de cet ordre naturel créait de jeunes docteurs et de vieux enfants. Rousseau insistait sur les manières de voir, de sentir et de penser propres à l'enfance qui devait être à peine guidée par un précepteur à l'attitude attentive, mais non permissive. L'enfant exerçait son corps, formait son jugement et fortifiait sa conscience au contact de la nature. L'éducation de Rousseau apparaît aujourd'hui comme une anticipation de l'auto éducation et de l'activisme pédagogique.

L'illuminisme italien fut beaucoup moins radical que les Lumières françaises et il s'accommoda du despotisme éclairé des Bourbons de Naples et des Habsbourg en Lombardie. Les penseurs du nord de la péninsule étaient plus pragmatiques, mais l'illuminisme napolitain voyait dans l'éducation un moyen indispensable au renversement politique et social du royaume. Vico réfutait la pensée de Descartes et la physique de Gassendi pour bâtir une

œuvre qui va servir de fondement à l'historiographie et à la sociologie moderne. Antonio Genovesi voyait dans la culture, libérée de la rhétorique et des subtilités métaphysiques, un facteur essentiel de la croissance économique et sociale. Disciple des physiocrates et admirateur du *Contrat social* de Rousseau, Gaetano Filangeri confiait l'éducation à une école publique. Les principales innovations vinrent pourtant du Piémont où des écoles publiques entrèrent en concurrence avec les collèges de Jésuites, tout en respectant le cursus de la *Ratio studiorum*. Pendant que la dynastie de Savoie entendait former un Etat fort, la réforme josphiste cherchait à satisfaire les aspirations de la bourgeoisie lombarde en améliorant l'enseignement. Le personnage essentiel de l'Italie napoléonienne fut le napolitain Vincenzo Cuoco qui attribuait l'échec de la République parthénopéenne à une conception révolutionnaire trop abstraite de la liberté. Il conçut pour le royaume de Murat un système scolaire organique avec une école primaire gratuite et un enseignement secondaire à deux degrés basé sur l'italien et le latin.

L'illuminisme allemand réfutait le dogmatisme religieux protestant. Le *Philantropium* de Bernard Basedow reposait sur la religion naturelle pour dispenser des leçons de choses suivant la méthode intuitive. Il était également soucieux d'hygiène et d'éducation physique. Dans les réflexions de Kant sur l'éducation, l'enfant avait besoin d'une discipline capable de freiner ses instincts avant d'acquérir l'instruction de ses maîtres. La pédagogie devait devenir une science distinguant les activités physiques d'une éducation morale, l'objectif suprême étant la prise de conscience de l'existence d'un Etre suprême qui déterminait les comportements.

Le XIX^e siècle était l'âge du Romantisme. La philosophie accentuait sa dimension éthique et religieuse, la fascina-

tion de la subjectivité s'insurgeant contre la froide objectivité des sciences expérimentales. Hostile aux conceptions rationalistes et naturalistes de la religion, le théologien Friedrich Schleiermacher en puisait l'essence dans la dépendance de l'homme à l'égard de la divinité. L'éducateur devait concilier les exigences de l'enfant avec celles de la réalité en usant de la prévention et de la répression. Les parents formaient son sentiment moral et l'école y ajoutait celle des aptitudes. Admirateur de Rousseau, Johan Paul Richter situait l'essence de la magie romantique dans l'imagination et soutenait la nécessité d'une éducation libre et spontanée; mais c'est Pestalozzi qui adapta la pédagogie d'auto éducation de *L'Emile* à l'enfance malheureuse. La rénovation de l'éducation devait régler la question sociale. A l'école d'Yverdon, le développement mental de l'élève obéissait à une loi de complexité croissante dans un enseignement qui prenait en compte l'instruction professionnelle. En Allemagne, la nouvelle éducation se développait à l'ombre de l'idée de nation, Fichte faisant passer le concept de patrie dans le discours pédagogique; mais c'était Schelling qui inaugurait l'ère des philosophes de l'absolu. Ce moment intégrait à la philosophie le sentiment d'une nature médiatrice entre l'homme et la divinité qui servait de fondement à la poésie romantique allemande. L'Art révélait le divin des choses et l'étude des créations de l'esprit permettait de remonter à l'absolu. Hegel abordait l'éducation à travers les Droits de la famille, tout en réaffirmant le caractère fondateur du discours pédagogique. Homme d'Etat prussien, Guillaume de Humboldt élaborait un système qui distinguait l'instruction élémentaire d'une instruction scolaire (*Langues, histoire et mathématiques*); mais ce fut sa conception de l'université qui devait s'imposer comme modèle de haute culture. Elle en

faisait un lieu de recherches et transformait ses professeurs en savants. Les deux principaux pédagogues allemands de la première moitié du XIX^e siècle furent Herbart et Froebel. Le premier se voulait réaliste, les représentations étant pour lui des forces extérieures à la pensée et à la vie psychique. Froebel était plus proche des idées de Pestalozzi. Son *Education de l'homme* (1826) cherchait l'équilibre des facultés de l'enfant dans des exercices, des jeux et des chants pratiqués en plein air; mais ses «jardins» laissaient une trop grande liberté aux enfants et il furent interdits en Prusse et en Saxe.

En Italie, les congrégations religieuses innovaient en matière d'éducation pendant la Restauration. Elles insistaient sur l'éducation populaire afin de suppléer aux insuffisances des institutions des Etats. Le criticisme de Kant apparaissait au prêtre Antonio Rosmini Serbati comme un repli de la raison qui rendait toute métaphysique suspecte et il essaya d'élaborer un système de pensée capable de surmonter les erreurs du relativisme. Il s'agissait de sauvegarder la dimension transcendante de l'anthropologie chrétienne par une réorganisation du savoir autour de la pensée humaine. L'éducation était un perfectionnement qui conduisait à la morale religieuse. A l'inverse de Rosmini, Raffaello Lambruschini était un praticien de l'éducation. Il affirmait l'importance de la famille et idéalisait l'esprit de l'éducateur dans une perspective empreinte de spiritualisme catholique. Le nom de l'abbé Ferrante Aporti reste associé à, une conception de l'enseignement maternel qui dépassait la simple assistance. L'exigence d'une éducation des enfants respectueuse de la formation du citoyen s'imposait et la loi Boncompagni (1848) fixait le cadre général d'une instruction publique axée sur la conscience civique. En Italie centrale, les traditions d'éducation populaire remontaient au Moyen Age

toscan et la loi du 30 juin 1852 créait un ministère de l'Instruction publique dans le Grand duché. Dans le Royaume des Deux-Siciles, Marco Gatti préconisait une réorganisation du système éducatif. A la veille de l'unité nationale, le Piémont disposait d'une école laïque qui va s'imposer à toute l'Italie; mais les congrégations religieuses avaient joué un rôle irremplaçable dans l'instruction des Italiens.

La seconde moitié du XIX^e siècle fut celle du positivisme. Auguste Comte s'inscrivait dans la tradition du XVIII^e siècle en lui incorporant une réflexion contemporaine qui bénéficiait des progrès de la science. Son illuminisme révolutionnaire procédait à une refonte de la société basée sur la foi dans la science, mais en sollicitant une religion positive. Son disciple Emile Littré voyait dans l'éducation positive un agent de renouveau social. Le pouvoir pédagogique oscillait entre l'autorité et l'intérêt et Max Weber expliquait que celui de l'éducateur se partageait entre un don charismatique et la formation professionnelle. L'évolutionnisme de Spencer s'appliquait à toutes les formes de l'existence et le matérialisme mécanique préconisait une éducation tournée vers l'utilitaire. En assimilant les sciences morales aux sciences naturelles, le déterminisme d'Hippolyte Taine faisait des sentiments et des pensées les produits naturels de l'esprit humain. Les facultés maîtresses résidaient dans l'hérédité, milieu et le moment. En Italie, l'anthropologie de Cesare Lombroso orientait le positivisme vers un scientisme intransigeant. L'exigence d'une pédagogie scientifique opposait Andrea Angiulli à Pietro Siciliani qui se distinguaient par des conceptions différentes de la théorie de l'évolution et des exigences éthiques de l'éducation. Le mérite de Roberto Ardigo consistait à enrichir la pédagogie d'une dimension psychologique, la science du fait éducatif impliquant l'exer-

cice et l'éveil des aptitudes. L'objectif de l'éducation résidait désormais dans la formation d'une réalité sociale laïque, la religion civile tenant lieu de morale scientifique. Les pédagogues positivistes italiens luttèrent pour l'école publique et une didactique respectueuse de la nature des enfants, avec une philosophie naturaliste et anticléricale.

Les nouvelles philosophies du XX^e siècle renouaient avec une spiritualité de marque religieuse. L'école active s'imposait dans l'instruction et le scoutisme devenait la référence des mouvements de jeunesse. La pensée pédagogique de Otto Willmann, Eduard Spranger et Theodor Litt se référait à l'humanisme germanique et les écoles de Rudolf Steiner mettaient en valeur la créativité de l'enfant. Ovide Decroly élaborait sa méthode des centres d'intérêt et les recherches d'Edouard Claparède sur la psychologie de l'enfant montraient la nécessité de l'adaptation de l'école aux besoins des élèves. Jean Piaget consacrait la collaboration définitive de la psychologie de l'enfant à la pédagogie. Il entendait par intelligence la dynamique de l'adaptation au milieu et l'accommodement des notions venues du monde extérieur à celles qui étaient déjà acquises. Adolphe Ferrière fondait en Suisse la Ligue Internationale de l'Éducation nouvelle où s'exprimaient l'élan vital de Bergson et l'héritage éclairé de l'éducation pour tous. En France, Roger Cousinet mettait au point une méthode de travail libre par groupes et Célestin Freinet introduisait la typographie à l'école dans une pédagogie fondée sur la coopération. Aux États-Unis, la pédagogie de John Dewey, à travers le concept de l'expérience, s'imprégnait de la foi américaine dans la démocratie. Alfred North Whitehead était un des fondateurs de la logique mathématique et du néo-réalisme anglais. Sa recherche du concret critiquait les abstrac-

tions et sa métaphysique faisait une large place aux problèmes de la vie. En Italie, les sœurs Agazzi établissaient des normes pratiques: l'éducation était tributaire des moyens mis en œuvre mais restait liée au milieu qui devait permettre l'utilisation de la spontanéité de l'enfant. A cette orientation d'origine catholique, s'opposait la méthode scientifique de Maria Montessori qui finit par accentuer au fil du temps une imprégnation religieuse non confessionnelle. La philosophie idéaliste actualiste de Giovanni Gentile tendait à récupérer la personne humaine dans sa plénitude. Elle renouait avec une pédagogie humaniste orientée vers la formation d'un esprit libre et engagé dans la vie active. Giuseppe Lombardo Radice mettait la créativité de l'enfant au service de l'expression linguistique et spirituelle. Sa pédagogie fut une des meilleures manifestations de l'actualisme dans le domaine de l'éducation. L'Etat éthique de Gentile ne fut pas la seule expression d'un Etat éducateur. Le pédagogue soviétique Anton Makarenko entendait réadapter les enfants à la vie sociale par le travail. Il proposait une éducation politique capable de former l'individu suivant les normes de la révolution soviétique et décrivait l'homme en lutte contre lui-même pour adapter sa personnalité à la collectivité.

La pédagogie de la première moitié du XX^e siècle restait étroitement liée à la philosophie. Elle cherchait avec des moyens différents à sauvegarder la dignité de la personne et la valeur des organisations (état, église, société) dont elle faisait partie. La fin du siècle fut orientée vers une pédagogie utilitaire et par l'affirmation d'un subjectivisme soutenu par les sciences humaines. L'influence catholique se manifestait dans la diffusion de la pensée d'Emmanuel Mounier. Le personnalisme se proposait de former l'homme social dans le respect de son individualité.

L'éducation devait stimuler la personne dans son milieu. Champion du néo-thomisme, Jacques Maritain parlait de l'intérêt spontané pour libérer l'intuition intellectuelle et faire cohabiter les activités physiques et mentales en habituant l'âme au recueillement de la vie intérieure. Le personnalisme connut un grand succès dans les milieux intellectuels spiritualistes italiens. (Luigi Stefanini, Mario Casotti et Aldo Agazzi). L'éducation obéissait à un mouvement de l'esprit qui transcendait l'histoire et la nature. La pédagogie laïque connaissait de multiples versions, en particulier à Florence où Lamberto Borghi diffusait la pensée démocratique de Dewey avec un idéal de collaboration fortement imprégné par les sciences humaines; mais les pédagogues américains de l'après-guerre n'avaient pas la même envergure. Si Jérôme S. Bruner insistait sur l'importance de la transmission culturelle, Erik Erikson était fasciné par les stades de l'éducation où s'affrontaient des attitudes contradictoires. En Italie, l'évolution la plus spectaculaire fut celle d'Ugo Spirito qui abandonna la méritocratie de l'école pour prôner son ouverture cosmopolite et la formation d'un citoyen du monde. Au-delà de ses excès, il fut l'un des premiers à saisir les caractères d'une société post-moderne plongée dans l'évolution perpétuelle des sciences et de la technique.

Au cours des années 1960, Max Horkheimer et Theodor Adorno mettaient en crise le modèle capitaliste occidental en le présentant comme un moyen d'oppression des classes possédantes pendant qu'Herbert Marcuse en faisait leur instrument de répression. Les mouvements contestataires de 1968 traduisaient de nouvelles aspirations de la jeunesse auxquelles les pédagogues s'efforçaient de répondre. La solution pouvait résider dans la transformation de l'école démocratique en communauté d'action (Ar-

nould Clause) ou en lieu d'éducation à la liberté civile, morale et religieuse (Mauro Laeng), dans une pédagogie humaniste se référant à la tradition éthique et religieuse occidentale (Giuseppe Acone) ou dans une pédagogie critique ouverte aux suggestions du structuralisme et de la dialectique dans une collaboration plus étroite entre la science et la morale (S. Peters). L'auteur constate que le processus de globalisation du monde actuel affaiblit l'identité nationale sans favoriser la stabilité sociale et l'économie de marché qui prétend garantir la liberté l'asservit à la logique du profit. La nécessité d'une langue commune fait triompher celle de la technique pendant que s'effacent les formules capables de traduire la complexité de la pensée. La politique européenne limite l'action éducative à des méthodologies destinées aux apprentissages. L'avenir appartient à un retour sur une attitude éducative capable de donner un sens au développement de la personne. Hervé A. Cavallera nous donne dans cet ouvrage une démonstration magistrale des liens existant entre les courants de pensée d'une époque et ses systèmes éducatifs. L'histoire de l'éducation n'est pas seulement celle des méthodes d'enseignement. Elle est d'abord celle des grands courants philosophiques qui les inspirent.

Michel Ostenc

Dana Kasperová, *Československá obec učitelská v kontexte reformy vzdělávání učitelů a reformy školy* [The Czechoslovak Teaching Community in the Context of Teacher Training Reform and School Reform], Praha, Academia, 2018, 530 pp.

The young historian of education, Dana Kasperová, is a lecturer at the Department of Pedagogy and Psychology, Facul-

ty of Science, Humanities and Education, Technical University of Liberec (the Czech Republic). Following her two precisely elaborated scientific publications *Výchova a vzdělávání židovských dětí v Protektorátu a v ghetu Terezín* (2010) and *Výchova průmyslového člověka a firma Baťa v meziválečném Zlíne* (2014), which deal with an unexplored issue of education of Jewish children in Bohemia and company education of the "industrial man" in the company Baťa in Zlín, Kasperová prepared another interesting publication that focuses on the topic of the interwar teachers' organisation – *The Czechoslovak Teaching Community in the Context of Teacher Training Reform and School Reform*. The Czechoslovak Teaching Community (CTC) played an important role in pedagogical discussion, school reform and reform of training of national schools teachers in the interwar Czechoslovakia during its existence between 1920 and 1939.

The publication *The Czechoslovak Teaching Community in the Context of Teacher Training Reform and School Reform* was published by the publishing house Academia in Prague in 2018. Again, it is a pioneer research of an issue that has not been systematically examined before. The author analyses the CTC and its activity as a model example of teachers' organisation, which strived for unity of all existing teacher associations, reform of teacher training, university education of teachers of national schools, and also, its engagement in the school reform, mainly in the design of the reform school programme, after the establishment of Czechoslovakia (1918). The CTC published, justified and clarified its statements in the community's journal «Časopis Československé obce učitelské» [The Czechoslovak Teaching Community Journal], which was published between 1921 and 1939.

The journal represents a primary source of Kasperová's reconstruction of the development of this community as well as basic levels of pedagogical discussion initiated by the members of the community.

The research of the activity of the CTC is of considerable importance from the perspective of pedagogical past in Czechoslovakia, because the issue of teachers' organisations in the interwar period represented an essential part of the interwar pedagogical discussion. It had two basic levels: the specialised one, on the development of pedagogy as a science; and the discussion on the school reform and teacher training related to it. Also, the example of the CTC enables to observe the development of professionalisation of teaching in the interwar Czechoslovakia and dissemination of the outcomes of pedagogical discussion of teaching public.

The publication is structured according to themes. In the introduction, the author has set the following goals: 1) to reconstruct the development of the CTC and its other organisations related to its programme, 2) to reconstruct the role of the CTC in the discussion on the school reform of the so-called first and second period of the education reform in the interwar Czechoslovakia, 3) to observe mutual relationships between the school reform and the reform of training of national schools teachers in discussions of the CTC, 4) to reconstruct the development of the CTC and main directions of the community discussion within the overall reform of the society in the interwar period.

In the first chapter, the author surveyed the contemporary state of research in the field of teachers' communities, especially the CTC, and explained methodological foundations of the work. Considering primary sources, the author draws mainly from «Časopis Československej obce učiteľskej» [Journal of the Czechoslovak

Teaching Community], which was its platform and its collection is completely processed in the National Museum in Prague. Another important source is represented by «Časopis školy vysokých štúdií pedagogických» [Journal of the School of Higher Pedagogical Studies], which was issued on an irregular basis as an appendix to the Journal of the CTC. The collection of this journal is not complete, some issues were not preserved. Among other sources were published reports on the activity of the School of Higher Pedagogical Studies in Prague and Brno and reports on the activity of pedagogical academies, fund of the CTC in the Prague City Archives, and also, the fund of the Ministry of Education and National Edification in the National Archives in Prague. The author has also used archival documents of the National Pedagogical Museum and Library of J. A. Comenius in Prague, part 31 (The School of Higher Pedagogical Studies in Prague) and part 33 (activity of teachers' associations). The survey and analysis of primary archival sources led the author to specification of three fundamental areas of activities of the CTC, which are dealt with in detail in individual chapters: 1) the CTC as a teachers' organisation, 2) the CTC and the reform of teacher training, and 3) the CTC and the school reform (p. 42).

The first area – the CTC as a teachers' organisation, forms content of the first chapter. Kasperová surveys a broader context of association activity of teachers: beginnings of associations activity of teachers, teachers' congresses at the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century, and uniting efforts of teachers after the establishment of the CSR through Ústredná rada učiteľských organizácií (tr. Central Council of Teachers' Organisations) that represented the first attempt to unite teachers' associations, and consequently, the author sur-

veys all teachers' associations in the first Czechoslovak Republic. An essential part is devoted to the establishment and development of the CTC from 1920 to its cessation in 1939. The second chapter examines the engagement of the CTC in wages requirements of teachers, certifying the efforts of the CTC in professional interests of teachers. The parity act of 1919 brought unification of wages of teachers with public servants. Unfortunately, the validity of the act was terminated due to the economic situation in 1921 by passing another act that reduced teachers' wage supplements. The CTC perceived it as endangerment of existential certainty of teachers. The activities of the CTC eventuated in passing of the reparation act of 1922, which returned the wage supplements to the original measure.

The second area – the significance of the CTC in the reform of teacher training – forms content of two extensive chapters (3rd and 4th). One of the main aims of the CTC was the effort to make teacher training a part of university education. Kasperová surveys the efforts of teachers' associations for university education of teachers already in the period to 1918, subsequently, after the establishment of the republic (1918) and after the establishment of the CTC (1920). Even though successful implementation of these efforts appeared to be real after the establishment of the CSR, the issue of the school reform, which was in the process of shaping and the disunion of opinions of the professional and political representatives eventually caused that teachers were still trained only at secondary-school level. According to Kasperová's findings, the CTC played an immensely important role in the enforcement of university education of teachers. However, its attempts to reform secondary-school teachers' institutes and higher secondary schools were not accepted by

the ministry (the main problem was the shortage of qualified associated professors and professors who would provide training). The CTC reacted by establishment of the School of Higher Pedagogical Studies in Prague (SHPS, 1921) and in Brno (1922); both played an important role in the reform of teacher training and also in the school reform, which is covered in the 4th chapter. The SHPS was supposed to accept teachers and graduates of teacher institutes who opted for further pedagogical study. In 1921, the CTC showed great activity toward establishment of the Institute of Experimental Pedagogy in Prague (similar institutes were established also in Geneva, Gent and Brussels at that time), which was meant to become the centre of university teacher training. Its mission was meant to educate a scientific young generation for teaching at the SHPS. The SHPS was established by teachers by themselves; its organisation, scientific work and study had a university nature. The study lasted four semesters at least. The attenders payed the enrolment fee and the fee for dormitory, majority of costs, however, was covered by the CTC. Kasperová presents detailed study programmes at the SHSP in Prague and in Brno and also, profiles of notable persons who lectured there.

Implementation of a certain model of university training of teachers took place only in 1929, when the CTC established an experimental Private Faculty of Education at the SHPS in Prague, which was later renamed to the Private Two-Year-Long Pedagogical Academy in 1932. The original intention of the SHPS was to educate qualified teachers who demanded new pedagogical and psychological knowledge and also, to run courses providing qualification to teach at burgher schools. Gradually, these schools gained a much stronger position, not only in teacher training,

but also in spreading of the school reform after 1929. They also became centres of pedagogical research, a place of centralisation and networking of important personalities in the field of pedagogy and psychology. Prof. Otokar Chlup was the director of the experimental institute and prof. Otakar Kádner was the director of the SHPS in Prague.

At the end of the 1930s, the SHPS in Prague established branches in other Czech towns, too: Plzeň (1937), Tábor (1938) and in 1939 in České Budejovice, Pardubice and Mladá Boleslav. Unfortunately, activity of these schools was terminated on November 23rd 1939, when the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia was established and all universities were closed. The SHPS was represented by institutions that examined possibilities of the reform of teacher training, they interconnected research and practice and teachers, promoted scientific methods of work in pedagogy, which could have been consequently applied in practice by teachers. Their graduates became promoters of the school reform. They also had very lively contacts with internationally acclaimed pedagogues, who often lectured at the SHPS. They certify that «the school reform is not possible without cardinal reform of teacher training and vice versa» (p. 310).

The third part – the CTC and the school reform, is processed in the 5th chapter, which is the most extensive one. The topic of the school reform was, according to Kasperová, the second central topic of the CTC together with teacher training. She emphasises that «uniqueness of the interwar school reform resided mainly in the fact that it was capable of connecting progressive teachers with the then scientific elite of the developing pedagogical and psychological disciplines» (p. 313). Thus, the reform effort was discussed from the

bottom and reflected under an expert supervision of the scientific educational elite. The centre of these efforts and connections was the School of Higher Pedagogical Studies in Prague and the Institute of Experimental Pedagogy. In 1928, under the supervision of prof. Václav Příhoda, a reform committee that prepared the concept of a united internally differentiated school and verified it in practice was formed on its ground. The SHPS promoted ideas of the school reform by organising so-called pedagogical weeks (between 1928 and 1937), through community journals, professional publications, excursions abroad, and through organisation of lectures on the school reform. Like this, the experts in pedagogy, psychology, sociology and philosophy deepened and developed pedagogical discussion of the period. In this time, according to Kasperová, the Czech pedagogy is typical of turning away from philosophically oriented pedagogy and its inclination to positivist-oriented pedagogy, later experimental pedagogy, pedagogical pragmatism and behaviouralism. Conflicts between the promoters of the classical, philosophically-oriented pedagogy (O. Chlup) and the empirically-oriented pedagogical directions (V. Příhoda) appeared. It demonstrates an intensive interwar discussion in Bohemia, and also, the fact that the CTC was a flagship of the reform efforts of teacher training and the school reform, even though a second top-level teacher organisation *Zváz československého učitelstva* (tr. The Association of Czechoslovak Teachers) was established in 1926.

The attempts of the CTC in the area of the school reform are observed by Kasperová in two basic time lines: from the establishment of the CTC to the establishment of the SHPS in Prague (1920-1929), and 2) between 1929 and the outbreak of the Second World War and the cessation of

the CTC. She describes specific attempts for the school reform in detail, e.g. themes and course of pedagogical weeks, discussions on curricula of individual types of school, introduction of film to schools, themes of reform conferences for teachers, various research activities of the CTC and the Institute for Experimental Pedagogy and Psychology, and the opening of a model secondary school Atheneum in Prague-Nusle in 1934.

Considering the title of Kasperová's publication, *The Czechoslovak Teaching Community*, readers may look for a kind of an amendment to the mainstream pedagogical discussion and pedagogical reality in Czechoslovakia after its establishment in 1920. However, studying the book makes the readers understand that key discussions, initiatives and efforts that influenced orientation of education in the new republic, the form of teacher training and pedagogical thinking were taking place in the CTC, through its protagonists. The publication is elaborated very precisely, it is a basic research based on archival sources, the text is amended with 737 footnotes, 7 appendices and also, nominal index and subject index. I may state that if someone would like to learn more about pedagogical past of the interwar Czechoslovakia, the publication is recommended. It is suitable both for professional public and students as well as all interested in the given topic.

Blanka Kudláčová

Don K. Philpot, *Character Focalization in Children's Novels*, Londra, Palgrave Macmillan, 2017, 314 pp.

The publication of Dr. Don K. Philpot under the title *Character Focalization in Children's Novels* by Palgrave Macmillan

is well worth a review. Judging by the title, the monograph should fall within the specialty of children's literature and narratology, since focalization is a unique narratological term. However, as it turns out, the monograph under review should be more properly fit for scholars in children's literature and linguistics, especially stylistics. As Philpot summarizes, the book «makes three significant claims about character focalization based on a systemic-functional analysis of focalizations in ten contemporary realistic children's novels». It can therefore be regarded as a systemic-functional analysis of an important narratological phenomenon of character focalization from three facets: perceptual, psychological, and socio-psychological.

The book is divided into four parts. Part I *Investigating Character Focalization in Children's Novels* is devoted to defining the core terms and surveying their history. After an uncommonly short introduction that covers only five pages virtually, Chapter Two *Conceptualizing Character Focalization* gives an account of Philpot's personal encounter with the term character focalization, followed by reviews of previous studies on character focalization by narratologists such as Genette and Rimmon-Kenan, by children's literature scholars including John Stephens, Robyn McCallum and Perry Nodelman, by stylistics scholars including Paul Simpson, Mick Short, Dan McIntyre, Ruqaiya Hasan and Susan Ehrlich. As a literature review chapter, it is substantially informative and clearly written. It should also be noted that, although the monograph should be taken as literary criticism, it is in fact written in the style of a linguistic study. It contains a subsection titled *Research Questions*; it often crams a great number of subsections within very few pages – there are sixteen headings from pages 46 to 52. These may not quite appeal to the

reading taste of a literary scholar, but may be inevitable for a monograph that uses interdisciplinary framework. Another minor flaw with Chapter Two is the outdateness for subsection 2.4.5 Focalization: Where Do We Go from Here?, where the most recent reference item is in 2009.

Chapter Three *Focalizing Structures* offers a comprehensive category of linguistic structures that function as focalizing agents. The different major types of structures identified are listed according to their original order in the book: perceptual, psychological experiences, sensory and psychological ascription, descriptive seeing experiences spotting, noticing and tracking, psychologically oriented elements, free thinking structures, mental noting structures, knowledge structures, past-orienting thinking structures, imagined event, deliberation and rumination structures, dream structures. It can be seen that the structures listed are not organized very orderly and some structures that obviously belong to the same type are scattered about, such as free thinking structures and past-oriented thinking structures. Another problem is that each major structure has different number of subsections with subtypes or even sub-subtypes, such as 3.4.2.3.3 PAS Concessive Clause Structures. Each type or subtype is illustrated with some examples from the ten novels selected, plus explanations of the structure, but on the whole they are rather confusing and scattered. These two chapters describe the heuristic framework and focalizing structures that help scholars to ascertain specific meanings conveyed by individual character focalizations.

Chapter Four *Character Focalization Selection and Development* examines character focalization selection in a novel and identifies the focalization patterns, with an aim to discover the selection and development of patterned and distinctive

ways of perceiving in fictional worlds.

Having delineated the theoretical and heuristic framework of the study, the book proceeds to the second part *Perceptual and Psychological Development*. Chapter Five focuses on augmented, reconfigured, and emergent hearing- and seeing-patterns in five of the ten novels. Chapter Six focuses on the types of emotions triggered by fictional world events in all ten novels and individual emoting profiles. It provides an overview of the emoting experiences of all ten focalizing characters and explores at length the emoting patterns in these novels. Chapter Seven focuses on the thinking development of five focalizing characters. Thus, the second part of the book identifies and explores the sensory and psychological development after the selection of the character focalization. It examines «the patterned ways that focalizing characters see, hear, emote, and think in their fictional worlds» (p. 211).

Part III *Personal Development and Understandings* engages with understanding about the self and about other characters in the fictional world. Chapter Eight focuses on the focalizing characters' developing perceptions of themselves, their self-oriented thinking. It examines the perceptions of Yolonda and Gilly in terms of their efficacy and the perceptions of Lucky, Frances, and Jess in terms of their identifications, qualities, abilities, or failings, and concludes that «self-oriented thinking that focuses on the dimension of efficacy may be exclusively construed by thinking structures or partly construed by the focalizing character's doing and speech' (p. 212).

Chapter Nine focuses on other-oriented thinking, which involves eight dimensions as delineated in the second chapter. This chapter examines other-oriented thinking in four novels in terms of four dimensions, covering Aref's perceptions of his

grandfather, Maxine's perceptions of her parents, Gilly's perceptions of her birth and foster mothers, and Jess' perceptions of his friend. This thinking pattern may be exclusively construed by thinking structures or partly construed by the focalizing or another character's speech.

Chapter Ten focuses on the meanings available to focalizing characters retrospectively about their fictional world experiences. The characters struggle to overcome personal problems and think about their personal situations. These statements reflect the sensory, emoting and cognitive experiences of each focalizing character, often with similar linguistic markers.

Chapter Eleven *Character Focalization in and Beyond Children's Novels* serves as the conclusion of the whole book. It returns to the central questions of the book: How is character focalization structured, and what personal meanings are represented by individual focalizations? Philpot argues that «character focalization is a novel-length aggregate structure consisting of sets of clause-, sentence-, or paragraph-length structures that construe the perceptual and psychological experiences of one fictional world individual» (p. 284) And these structures reflect the development of different personal experiences. It also incorporates a discussion of future applications of character focalization heuristic with middle school students and comparative studies of novels for adults.

This book is a rare contribution to the combined studies of children's literature, narrative theory and stylistics in the sense that the application of focalization from narrative theory in children's literature, after the initial important explorations by children's literature scholars such as John Stephens and McCallum, has been in decline in recent years, therefore leaving an important interdisciplinary research methodology in children's literature un-

duly underdeveloped. Although children's literature is often regarded only as a genre within literature, no different from other literary genres, it is in fact quite different in its whole system from the author to the readers. Other traditional heuristic frameworks are often inadequate in their discussion of the implied reader, implied author, and the textual devices because they lack a comprehensive set of tools to notice the fundamental differences between adult literature and children's literature. This is exactly where narratology comes in. The application of narratology in children's literature research have been called for by renowned scholars such as John Stephens and Maria Nikolajeva, but such interdisciplinary research work is still underdeveloped due to the methodological nature of narratology, which is itself a complex and fast-developing subject, thus intimidating many literary scholars. Within the framework of narratology, focalization has been a heated debate and especially lends itself to children's literature research conveniently because it discusses the agent in the text who reveals the sensory and mental information to readers and serves as the mediator between the fictional world and the reader. It is in this sense that the application of focalization from narratology in children's literature is truly significant.

The book deserves recommendation in another sense that, different from other monographs that combine narratology and children's literature studies, it has a dogmatic pursuit to catalogue linguistic types, resulting in a set of 43 different patterns identified in the target novels. Literary scholars also catalogue types, but Philpot has the style of a linguist. Therefore, for those scholars who want to find inspirations in a specific pattern in sensory experience or thinking pattern, this book provides an excellent inventory.

The last unique value of the book is

that it combines educational application and intends to provide a plausible toolbox for educators, teachers and middle grades students to explore literary texts from the perspective of focalization. Previously, these people lack a proper analytical tool to interpret literary texts that can investigate the working of the novels in rigorous, sustained, substantive, and personally enriching ways. As argued by Philot, «commercial reading and language arts programs and popular instructional practices [...] do not provide such explorations [...] None of the theoretical perspectives [...] focus in any sustained or substantive way on the perceptions and personal experiences of fictional world children» (p. 294). Therefore, the analytic tools and patterns provided in the book can well serve to help students access personal meanings in novels with focalizing characters. They can also learn how to shift their perspective and put themselves in other people's shoes by exploring character focalization, character perception and character thinking. In this light, the proposed instruction for middle grades students has a potential to help student in their acculturation.

Despite its obvious contributions, the book is also not without shortcomings. The most notable one is its potential to be further refined to make it a book, instead of a doctoral dissertation. From the way arguments are organized and the structure of all the subheadings, it can be inferred that the book is largely based on a doctoral dissertation without much changes. Therefore, there are many places where further argumentation may be pursued and where formal redundancies may be deleted. It is a pity that among the many patterns identified in the analysis, many are under-explored. They are quickly listed and illustrated without further analyses that contextualize these formal features in the discussion of the progression of the

plot and the development of the themes in the novel. These places are exactly where a linguist has done his/her job of identifying formal patterns and where a literary scholar should start to make formal features meaningful to the progression of the plot. One of the precautions when applying linguistic and formal analysis to literary studies is the oversimplification or universal claims which should be made very cautiously, and it is probably due to this that the statements made in this book do not venture too much. In fact, if the individual texture and variety of these focalization patterns can be more fully discussed in the book, readers, especially literary scholars, may benefit more from the book.

On the whole, the book is targeted at reader groups of students, teachers, and scholars in the fields of narratology, stylistics, children's literature, educational psychology and linguistics. It has made a contribution to these fields and in a certain sense it has filled the gap of the combined research of narratology and children's literature.

Haifeng Hui, Xiaoling Ke

Roberto Sani, *Education, school and cultural processes in contemporary Italy*, Macerata, eum, 2018, 243 pp.

L'ouvrage s'inspire d'une série d'articles publiés par l'auteur dans la revue «History of Education and Children's Literature» consacrés à l'éducation en Italie de l'Unité au second après-guerre. Le premier chapitre traite de la formation des élites de l'Etat libéral aux premiers temps de l'Unité. Elle était fortement imbue d'une tradition littéraire et des valeurs nationales du romantisme pour rendre au pays le prestige de son glorieux passé. Les

nouvelles classes dirigeantes, fortement marquées par une culture empreinte de la pensée de Gioberti et de Mazzini, représentaient une élite restreinte animée d'une religion civique pleine de méfiance à l'égard des masses populaires. Celles-ci furent tenues à l'écart de la construction du nouvel Etat, la démocratie étant considérée comme un facteur de division. Les classes moyennes qui étaient l'élément moteur du Risorgimento estimaient que le peuple appartenait à une autre civilisation que la leur. L'étude de l'Eglise, de l'Etat et de l'Ecole aux premiers temps de l'Unité italienne s'appuie sur une très importante bibliographie. Le rôle de l'Eglise dans la construction du nouveau système scolaire sollicite la période qui s'étend de la loi Boncompagni (1848) à la loi Casati, fondatrice de l'Ecole de l'Etat libéral (1859). La législation piémontaise minimisait l'utilité sociale de l'enseignement privé, refusait l'équivalence de ses diplômes avec ceux de l'école d'Etat et multipliait les obstacles dans l'attribution de subventions publiques. La loi Casati allait dans le même sens, ne concédant à l'enseignement privé qu'une liberté réglementée. Les rapports de l'Eglise et de l'Etat sur la question scolaire étaient conflictuels, suscitant de nombreux recours à l'arbitrage du Conseil d'Etat. Avec le «Syllabus» et l'encyclique «Quanta Cura» (1864) condamnant les erreurs modernes, le conflit entre l'Eglise et l'Etat se radicalisa, suscitant des débats théologiques dans des milieux catholiques étrangers aux intransigeants. La législation de 1866-1867 interdit certains ordres religieux; mais les catholiques s'opposaient à la centralisation de l'enseignement et se faisaient les défenseurs de la liberté des maîtres. En défendant la liberté d'expression, ils contribuèrent à une évolution démocratique de l'Etat italien et à une amélioration de ses relations avec la société civile.

La présence du clergé dans l'école primaire publique resta stable pendant les premières années de l'Unité, l'enseignement catholique se développant même en multipliant les sources de conflit avec l'Etat. Les écoles publiques étaient beaucoup plus nombreuses que les établissements privés dans l'enseignement primaire: 28,490 contre 6,805 en 1864, et 43,380 contre 9,167 en 1872. Dans l'enseignement secondaire, l'enseignement privé l'emportait au niveau des gymnases (1^o cycle) en 1860, les deux types d'écoles s'équilibrant au second cycle des lycées; mais il fallait tenir compte de l'enseignement dispensé dans les séminaires. L'enquête de 1876 montrait que 20% seulement de leurs élèves avaient une vocation religieuse. L'accroissement de ces effectifs venait des soupçons d'immoralité qui pesaient sur les établissements publics depuis les polémiques lancées contre eux par la presse catholique intransigente. Les séminaires répondaient à un réel besoin dans les régions où les établissements secondaires d'Etat étaient en nombre insuffisant; mais beaucoup d'entre eux avaient perdu leur vocation de formation des prêtres. La suprématie des lycées d'Etat s'affirma en 1881; mais les congrégations religieuses enseignantes continuaient à jouer un rôle essentiel dans l'éducation des filles de la bourgeoisie et de l'aristocratie. En affinant l'analyse, l'auteur montre que le conflit entre l'Eglise et l'Etat sur la question scolaire aux premiers temps de l'Unité portait moins sur l'école en elle-même ou sur une certaine conception de l'école que sur la nature de la nouvelle Italie et la formation du citoyen. «L'ère de Giolitti» a représenté une période importante dans l'histoire de l'école italienne, caractérisée par des réformes destinées à remédier aux insuffisances de la loi Casati: la loi Nasi (19 février 1903, n. 45) et le «Testo unico» sur la situation juridique des maîtres

(21 octobre 1903, n. 431), la loi Orlando (8 juillet 1904, n. 407) sur la réorganisation de l'école primaire et la prolongation de la scolarité à 12 ans, avec la création des V^e et VI^e classes pour lutter contre un analphabétisme qui touchait 45% des Italiens en 1901, la loi sur le Sud de l'Italie (15 juillet 1906) sur les locaux scolaires, les traitements des instituteurs des écoles rurales, les écoles du soir et des jours fériés pour les adultes. La loi Daneo-Credaro (4 juin 1911, n. 407) transféra la responsabilité des écoles primaires des communes à l'Etat et la loi Credaro (21 juillet 1911, n. 466) créa le lycée moderne sans latin, à côté du lycée classique. La période giolittienne vit également s'accroître l'intérêt de l'opinion publique et des institutions locales pour les problèmes de l'école. Elle fut aussi celle de l'épanouissement des associations d'enseignants et de grands mouvements politiques nés du monde ouvrier et du catholicisme. De vives polémiques continuaient à opposer les laïques aux catholiques concernant l'enseignement religieux à l'école publique; mais les catholiques étaient désormais partagés entre les Jésuites de «*La Civiltà cattolica*» qui voulaient cléricaiser l'école et les partisans de la liberté de l'enseignement.

A côté des lois réorganisant le système scolaire, l'extension de l'enseignement primaire entraîna une attention particulière pour la formation des maîtres, un problème resté sans solution après la loi Casati. Le débat, centré sur l'école normale primaire, opposait avec des nuances les associations d'enseignants et les pédagogues laïques ou socialistes aux idéalistes et aux catholiques. Avec la création de l'Institut magistral, la réforme Gentile de 1923 supprima l'ébauche d'une formation pédagogique des maîtres et confia à leurs initiatives pédagogiques le soin de sortir l'école primaire du carcan méthodologique où une interprétation formaliste

du positivisme l'avait enfermée. L'auteur regrette en particulier la disparition des Ecoles pédagogiques créées dans les universités par le ministre Luigi Credaro. Roberto Sani consacre deux chapitres à l'enseignement en Italie pendant l'entre-deux-guerres, axés sur les manuels scolaires. Les travaux des commissions des livres de textes à l'époque fasciste permettent d'étudier les critères retenus par l'Etat pour juger les manuels scolaires et les moyens employés pour contraindre les éditeurs à s'y conformer. L'étude des grandes maisons d'édition représente une autre approche des manuels scolaires (Mondadori, La Nuova Italia, Sansoni, Le Monnier). Des travaux portant sur les régions soulignent l'importance de l'édition en Toscane. Une approche novatrice de la vie scolaire s'appuie sur les cahiers rédigés par les élèves pendant la période fasciste. Ils étaient particulièrement appréciés dans l'Ecole du travail, une création de la Charte de l'Ecole du ministre Giuseppe Bottai correspondant aux IV^e et V^e classes de l'enseignement primaire. Les journaux, les mémoires et les correspondances des enseignants représentent également un matériel documentaire important.

Les études centrées sur les rapports entretenus par des personnages essentiels de l'école italienne avec des maisons d'édition ne représentent encore que des ébauches d'investigations: Giovanni Gentile et les éditions Sansoni, Le Monnier, Bemporad et Olschki, Ernesto Codignola et les éditeurs Vallecchi et La Nuova Italia, Giuseppe Lombardo Radice et les éditions Sandron, Battiato et Giannotta. Les publications éducatives catholiques de l'entre-deux-guerres se conformaient en Italie à des modèles imposés par le processus de nationalisation des masses et par la stratégie de la dictature fasciste; mais en dépit de la réconciliation de l'Eglise et de l'Etat, les initiatives destinées à les

rapprocher restaient limitées aux cercles restreints du clérico fascisme (La revue florentine «Il Frontespizio» de Giovanni Papini, Giuseppe De Luca et Pietro Bargellini). La littérature catholique ignorait la propagande fasciste et se référait à ses propres valeurs en exaltant la responsabilité individuelle dans une vie privée centrée sur la famille et les communautés locales. Ces modèles étaient différents de ceux d'un régime totalitaire et s'avéraient inconciliables avec eux; mais ils ignoraient la modernisation de la culture catholique à laquelle ils se référaient. On peut s'interroger sur la capacité de cette éthique à s'appliquer après la Deuxième guerre mondiale à l'évolution d'une société de masse séduite par le consumérisme.

Après la Seconde guerre mondiale, le rôle de l'école fut de promouvoir l'idéal démocratique parmi les nouvelles générations en s'inspirant des principes de la Constitution républicaine. La réorganisation de l'école italienne par Guido Gonella se heurta à un contexte particulièrement difficile. Le ministre démocrate-chrétien d'Alcide De Gasperi fut confronté à la «protesta laica» menée par Ernesto Codignola dans la revue «Scuola e Città» qui attaquait sa politique scolaire, critiquant la centralisation ministérielle, les ingérences confessionnelles dans l'école publique et les libertés excessives concédées aux établissements privés. Gonella fut également la cible des milieux intellectuels «actionnistes» issus de l'*intelligentsia* de la Résistance. Le philosophe Guido Calogero défendait dans les colonnes du «Mondo» une école publique laïque dont la pédagogie fondée sur le dialogue devait permettre l'épanouissement d'une nouvelle culture ouverte à une société démocratique. Le ministre ne pouvait même pas s'appuyer sur les secteurs catholiques qui entendaient donner plus d'importance aux initiatives privées (Les Jésuites de «La

Civiltà cattolica», l'université catholique de Milan et les associations des écoles catholiques. Gonella était enfin confronté à l'hostilité d'une haute administration scolaire persuadée que l'école façonnée par la réforme Gentile de 1923 pouvait parfaitement répondre aux exigences d'une société démocratique. Gonella échoua dans sa tentative d'adapter l'école italienne aux réalités sociales de l'après-guerre afin de la rendre plus formative que sélective. L'évolution des milieux politiques à la fin des années 1950 permit à Aldo Moro, ministre de l'Instruction publique (1957-1959) d'introduire d'importantes réformes dans le système scolaire. Moro avait participé aux débats en affirmant les droits de la famille à choisir l'éducation de ses enfants, mais aussi en revendiquant le rôle de l'enseignement public dans la formation civique du citoyen. L'instruction civique fit son apparition dans l'école (Décret du 13 juin 1958, n. 585) et le «piano decennale» de Moro devait financer une réforme organique du système scolaire (décembre 1958). Les programmes d'instruction civique furent critiqués par les groupes politiques qui lui reprochaient de se référer trop brièvement aux principes de la Constitution et d'ignorer le mot «démocratie». Ils n'échappèrent pas non plus aux attaques des associations d'enseignants catholiques.

Les gouvernements Moro de centre-gauche des années 1960 promulguèrent la loi du 31 décembre 1962, n. 1859 sur l'école unique dans l'enseignement secondaire qui devait permettre au système scolaire italien de respecter l'égalité des chances de tous les élèves et la loi du 18 mars 1968, n. 444, créant une école maternelle d'État; mais ils échouèrent dans leur tentative de réorganiser l'université, malgré le projet de loi n. 2314 du ministre Luigi Gui; mais les profondes mutations liées au concile Vatican II et le nouveau

climat politique instauré par le centre gauche firent évoluer les associations catholiques d'enseignants vers une nouvelle définition de leur rôle à l'intérieur de l'école italienne.

L'ouvrage de Roberto Sani s'achève sur l'œuvre éducative et pastorale de Lorenzo Milani. La formation du prêtre s'était pliée à une discipline spirituelle ascétique conçue comme un enracinement dans le peuple et elle fut fortement influencée par une Eglise florentine ouverte aux luttes ouvrières de l'après-guerre. Lorenzo Milani était plein de réserves à l'égard d'une pastorale trop proche des modèles de socialisation du monde séculier et il critiquait l'anticommunisme des activités récréatives des œuvres catholiques. Dans son école de Barbiana, il accueillait des adolescents venus de milieux sociaux différents pour leur faire vivre une expérience solidaire fondée sur la justice, instrument privilégié de l'évangélisation du peuple. L'enseignement de la langue occupait une place centrale dans cette pédagogie, sa maîtrise étant indispensable pour éviter l'échec scolaire et la marginalisation sociale. Lorenzo Milani voulait rendre à l'homme sa dignité en lui donnant une culture alternative des pauvres qui, unie à la foi, forgeait une conscience. Il trouvait dans cette démarche les éléments d'une refonte radicale de la pratique pastorale; mais son ministère sacerdotal et ses expériences éducatives, jalonnés de rapports complexes avec l'Eglise catholique et sa hiérarchie, les choix anticonformistes de son parcours ecclésiastique et social rendent toute classification difficile.

L'ouvrage de Roberto Sani est une synthèse d'études historiques et pédagogiques étayée d'une grande richesse bibliographique; mais il ne se contente pas d'un aspect informatif qui apporte une pierre supplémentaire à l'édifice de l'histoire de l'éducation en Italie. L'auteur

montre qu'en dépit de son intransigeance, l'opposition de l'Eglise à la centralisation autoritaire de l'Etat libéral a contribué à préserver des libertés locales et respecté des traditions populaires méprisées par les classes dirigeantes. Elle a su s'éloigner d'une revendication de la cléricatisation de l'école au profit d'une liberté de l'enseignement et conserver son autonomie pendant la dictature fasciste en utilisant à son profit les atouts que lui fournissaient les accords du Latran. Après la Deuxième guerre mondiale, elle a évolué d'une éthique centrée sur la famille et les communautés locales vers des positions plus conformes aux exigences démocratiques et consuméristes d'une société de masse. L'approche méthodologique de l'auteur fondée sur la formation du citoyen s'avère particulièrement féconde. Elle permet d'établir un lien unissant l'évolution de l'Eglise italienne, toujours préoccupée par la présence des valeurs chrétiennes dans le concept de citoyen, et l'idée de Nation du Risorgimento à la République.

Michel Ostenc

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La memoria e le carte. Gli archivi e la valorizzazione del patrimonio storico-educativo. A proposito del recente Convegno nazionale di studi di Matera (4-5 ottobre 2019)

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The memory of papers. The archives and the enhancement of the historical and educational heritage». About the National Study Conference (Matera, October 4-5th, 2019).

ABSTRACT: This paper offers a focus on the scientific initiative dedicated to *The memory of papers. The archives and the enhancement of the historical-educational heritage*, included in the cultural scenario of Matera European Capital of Culture 2019 to promote and spread out a culture of conservation and enhancement of the specific historical-educational heritage in the territory. The Conference therefore proposed to start and bring the first results, in the various Italian territorial realities, of a recognition of places, archives and sources useful for the knowledge and enhancement of a heritage often overlooked and instead a cultural deposit of historical, identity and community value.

EET/TEEKEYWORDS: History of education; Historical research; Historical-educational heritage; Archival sources; Italy; XXIst Century.

Nello scenario culturale di Matera Capitale europea della Cultura 2019 si è inserita l'iniziativa scientifica dedicata a *La memoria e le carte. Gli archivi e la valorizzazione del patrimonio storico-educativo* che ha inteso promuovere e diffondere sul territorio una cultura della conservazione e valorizzazione dello specifico patrimonio storico-educativo. La manifestazione, accolta nel nuovo Campus dell'Ateneo lucano a Matera, è stata promossa dall'Università degli Studi della Basilicata unitamente alla Deputazione Lucana di Storia Patria, al cui interno opera un Gruppo di ricerca su «Educatori e istituzioni della Basilicata in età moderna e contemporanea», con il sostegno della Società Italiana per lo

Studio del Patrimonio Storico Educativo (SIPSE). A latere del convegno è stato allestito un breve percorso espositivo riguardante la vita e la rappresentazione della scuola tra Otto e Novecento, in Basilicata.

Le ragioni scientifiche del Convegno

L'idea di organizzare il Convegno Nazionale che si è svolto a Matera nei giorni 4 (con due sessioni di lavoro) e 5 ottobre 2019 (con una Tavola rotonda conclusiva) è provenuta originariamente dall'opportunità d'inserirsi nel quadro delle iniziative programmate nell'anno in cui la città è stata designata Capitale europea della Cultura, per focalizzare lo sguardo su una tipologia di beni culturali, quelli scolastici e storico-educativi a più largo raggio, non ancora percepiti a pieno dall'opinione pubblica generale come preziosi beni collettivi.

La proposta del tema oggetto del congresso è andata maturando in considerazione del crescente interesse dimostrato dalla comunità scientifica internazionale degli storici dell'educazione verso i temi e i filoni di ricerca legati allo studio e alla valorizzazione di tale patrimonio. In particolare, il convegno rispecchia l'esigenza di protezione, conservazione e valorizzazione dei beni storico-educativi allocati presso musei dell'educazione, centri di documentazione e ricerca, scuole storiche e più in generale negli istituti scolastici di ogni ordine e grado; di tutela del patrimonio storico-educativo nazionale (sia esso di natura biblioteconomica, archivistica, architettonica o museale) attraverso iniziative volte a evitarne la dispersione e il deterioramento; di promozione della costituzione di poli periferici di censimento, raccolta e catalogazione di tale patrimonio.

L'obiettivo fondamentale condiviso dal Comitato scientifico internazionale del convegno – sotto il coordinamento di Anna Ascenzi, Presidente della SIPSE, Michela D'Alessio, membro del Consiglio Direttivo della SIPSE e docente dell'Università della Basilicata, Antonio Lerra, Presidente della Deputazione Lucana di Storia Patria e Juri Meda, Segretario della SIPSE – ha inteso sviluppare principalmente l'interesse del mondo scolastico e più in generale della società civile nei confronti dei beni culturali della scuola. Il Convegno si è proposto, pertanto, di avviare e portare i primi risultati, nelle diverse realtà territoriali italiane, di una ricognizione dei luoghi, degli archivi e delle fonti utili alla conoscenza e valorizzazione di un patrimonio spesso trascurato e che si qualifica invece come un giacimento culturale dal valore storico, identitario e comunitario.

La cultura materiale della scuola e lo studio del patrimonio storico-educativo

Negli anni Novanta del Novecento lo storico francese Dominique Julia consegnava un contributo fondativo di un nuovo filone di studi e ricerche¹, ponendo per primo in uso una metafora che oramai è ampiamente ripresa in relazione alla conoscenza della cultura scolastica: l'uso strumentale della cosiddetta «scatola nera» della scuola per addentrarsi nei congegni della vita educativa e nelle vicende dei suoi protagonisti. L'attenzione è stata pertanto trasposta dall'elemento esterno di rappresentazione delle istituzioni alla vita della scuola e ai suoi attori principali – gli insegnanti, i dirigenti scolastici, i direttori didattici, gli ispettori scolastici, gli alunni –, così come pure agli strumenti di apprendimento dello «scrivere, leggere e far di conto» e quindi verso la materialità e la quotidianità scolastica. Questa consiste principalmente nell'interesse per gli edifici scolastici, insieme agli arredi e alle suppellettili di aule, laboratori e gabinetti scientifici, palestre, biblioteche di classe e d'istituto (banchi, cattedre, lavagne, carte geografiche ecc.); così come per il corredo didattico dell'alunno (penne, inchiostro, manuali e quaderni scolastici, ecc.) e per la strumentazione del docente (penne, diari e registri di classe, ecc.).

Merita segnalare come il Convegno organizzato dall'Università della Basilicata con la Deputazione lucana di Storia Patria e il patrocinio della SIPSE abbia preso pertanto le mosse dalla riflessione che si è andata concentrando negli ultimi anni intorno al genere e alla definizione dei beni culturali scolastici² – nel loro valore materiale e in quello di fonti e oggetti di analisi storico-scolastica ed educativa³. Di qui l'opportunità di dare vita a un momento condiviso di

¹ Oltre alle fonti scritte, iconografiche e orali si pone l'esigenza di considerare tutta la ricchezza euristica delle fonti materiali storico-educative, nel solco degli orizzonti investigativi dischiusi dal noto saggio sulla «cultura scolastica» come oggetto storico consegnato da Dominique Julia: le suggestioni dello studio, a ben vedere hanno costituito una sorta di spartiacque negli anni Novanta del Novecento nelle prospettive e lenti d'indagine affidate agli storici dell'educazione. Cfr. D. Julia, *Riflessioni sulla recente storiografia dell'educazione in Europa: per una storia comparata delle culture scolastiche*, «Annali di storia dell'educazione e delle istituzioni scolastiche», n. 3, 1996, pp. 119-147.

² Sulle prime focalizzazioni delle specificità concettuali e metodologiche riguardanti la definizione della categoria patrimoniale storico-educativa si rinvia a M. Ferrari, *I beni culturali della scuola tra storia e pedagogia*, «Annali di storia dell'educazione e delle istituzioni scolastiche», n. 15, 2008, pp. 21-26; A. Barausse, *Alla scoperta di nuovi tesori. Le carte e i libri scolastici come beni culturali*, in I. Zilli (ed.), *Atlante delle emergenze culturali del Molise: risultati, riflessioni e implicazioni di un primo censimento*, Campobasso, Palladino, 2010, pp. 127-144; M. Brunelli, *La catalogazione dei "beni culturali" della scuola: questioni metodologiche e concettuali*, in H.A. Cavallera (ed.), *La ricerca storico-educativa oggi: un confronto di metodi, modelli e programmi di ricerca*, 2 vols., Lecce, Pensa Multimedia, 2013, Vol. I, pp. 193-218; V. Viola, *Cataloguing school cultural heritage. The experience of University of studies of Molise*, in A.M. Badanelli Rubio, M. Poveda Sanz, C. Rodriguez Guerrero (edd.), *Pedagogía museística: prácticas, usos didácticos e investigación del patrimonio educativo*, Actas de las VI Jornadas científicas de la SEPHE, Madrid, Universidad Complutense de Madrid, 2014, pp. 153-162.

³ Per una riflessione chiarificatrice circa la definizione condivisa della categoria di patrimonio

riflessione sullo stato dell'arte e sugli sviluppi degli studi e dei percorsi d'indagine condotti nelle diverse parti della Penisola, per la ricognizione e valorizzazione del patrimonio esistente in alcuni archivi istituzionali e privati⁴. Le prime acquisizioni in tale spettro di attenzioni rappresentano, così come emerso dal bilancio delle giornate materane, un fertile cantiere di lavoro: i relatori hanno avuto il merito di segnalare, in tale occasione, quelle che appaiono alcune tra le più promettenti piste di ricerca per la valorizzazione delle tracce materiali e immateriali della vita scolastica, quali fonti per una riflessione sull'esperienza e la cultura dell'educazione, nei diversi ambiti territoriali.

Si è inteso in tal modo fare luce su alcuni vissuti di personalità del mondo dell'educazione attive nelle diverse realtà locali dell'Italia tra Otto e Novecento, grazie al recupero e interrogazione delle fonti conservate in diversi luoghi archivistici, da quelli pubblici, a quelli specifici conservati nelle scuole storiche, a quelli privati di insegnanti e alunni, senza naturalmente tralasciare le opportunità conoscitive di collezioni donate e conservate presso Centri di documentazione e Musei della scuola d'interesse nazionale. Provando a individuare una connotazione generale di tali fondi archivistici, si può affermare che nel loro insieme essi restituiscono la possibilità d'illuminare diversi contesti e tempi educativi. Le fonti individuate e portate all'attenzione generale si qualificano, così, nella dimensione di risorse di studio e ricerca dall'importante potenzialità euristica, secondo le stesse affermazioni di Augustin Escolano sulla storia materiale quale vettore essenziale di tutta la storia dell'esperienza, nell'educazione⁵.

L'analisi storico-educativa e scolastica dei materiali presenti negli archivi segnalati ha così permesso di ricostruire alcuni profili identitari di singole istituzioni locali, dalla Lombardia alla Calabria, così come quelli biografici e professionali di protagonisti più noti o invece lasciati finora nell'ombra: per addentrarsi nelle pieghe più interne delle esperienze educative di istituti, operatori dell'educazione, maestri e alunni, sullo sfondo delle dinamiche che hanno accompagnato le strade dell'alfabeto nell'«Italia delle Italie».

storico-educativo, in cui si ricomprendono i termini diversamente identificativi di «patrimonio storico-scolastico», di «beni culturali scolastici» o «patrimonio culturale delle scuole» si vedano le precisazioni di J. Meda, *Il patrimonio storico-educativo: oggetti da museo o fonti materiali per una nuova storia dell'educazione?*, in V. Bosna, A. Cagnolati (edd.), *Itinerari nella storiografia educativa*, Bari, Cacucci, 2019, pp. 139-154.

⁴ La «diversa titolarità di beni e oggetti scolastici del passato [...] fa in modo che il patrimonio culturale da essi costituito sia in parte privato e in parte pubblico». *Ibid.*, p. 140.

⁵ A. Escolano Benito, *Repensar la cultura material de la escuela: acotaciones y comentarios*, Comunicazione presentata nel corso della III International Conference on School Material Culture, *Production, use and circulation of school furnishings and teaching aids between Europe and Latin America in XIX and XX centuries* (Macerata, 12-13 settembre 2017). Cfr. inoltre J. Meda, *Mezzi di educazione di massa. Saggi di storia della cultura materiale della scuola tra XIX e XX secolo*, Milano, FrancoAngeli, 2016.

La valorizzazione delle carte d'archivio tra storia e memorie: l'educazione al patrimonio scolastico

Sappiamo come i luoghi di scuola, e in special modo gli archivi storici d'istituto⁶ che giacciono spesso abbandonati sotto la polvere e l'incuria del tempo e degli uomini, sono dei veri e propri depositi di memoria storico-culturale poichè conservano beni rilevanti e fonti documentarie di straordinario valore. Sebbene il patrimonio storico-educativo rappresenti una categoria relativamente recente di riconosciuto valore culturale⁷, esso si compone di beni materiali e immateriali, fruiti o prodotti nei diversi contesti educativi, che consentono di ricostruire e trasmettere la memoria del passato storico e culturale, locale e nazionale. La valenza culturale e sociale del patrimonio storico-educativo nazionale è da ricondurre alla sua capacità di concorrere a una riflessione aggiornata sui processi di scolarizzazione, sulla storia delle discipline scolastiche e delle pratiche d'insegnamento tra passato e presente, a partire dalle labili tracce di una documentazione archivistica e scolastica generalmente considerata materiale «minore», cui oggi occorre invece assicurare la salvaguardia e una forma di conservazione attenta e duratura⁸. Negli ultimi decenni è andata infatti crescendo la consapevolezza del valore storico della documentazione prodotta in particolare dalle scuole⁹, secondo non solo un

⁶ Sull'importanza degli archivi quali fonti privilegiate per la storia dell'educazione si soffermava Simonetta Soldani, ormai oltre vent'anni fa, nel saggio in cui rifletteva sull'utilità e sull'opportunità di ricostruire, di esplorare, di rendere accessibili tali giacimenti culturali. Gli archivi scolastici hanno rappresentato nel tempo un *corpus* documentale di significato solo amministrativo, per lo più abbandonato nei seminterrati e in spazi occasionali. Si tratta di una «memoria sommersa» che occorre ancora oggi far tornare a galla, poichè questa documentazione scolastica contribuisce alla valorizzazione non solo della dignità storica delle singole istituzioni, ma ancor più della loro identità culturale. Cfr. S. Soldani, *Andar per scuole: archivi da conoscere, archivi da salvare*, «Passato e presente», vol. XV, n. 42, sett.-dic. 1997, pp. 137-150. Sulle successive attenzioni alle problematiche di conservazione e valorizzazione del patrimonio storico-educativo concentrato negli istituti scolastici ed educativi italiani si veda J. Meda, *La conservazione del patrimonio storico-educativo: il caso italiano*, in A. Badanelli, J. Meda (edd.), *La historia de la cultura escolar en Italia y en España: presupuestos y proyecciones*, Macerata, eum, 2013, pp. 167-198.

⁷ Sull'evoluzione della storia dell'educazione in Italia in direzione di una storia materiale e immateriale della cultura scolastica, e sul «vero e proprio movimento culturale e storiografico» dal carattere internazionalista e transnazionale, nel pregnante terreno di ricerca sul patrimonio, si rimanda a quanto illustrato con novero di riferimenti da R. Andreassi, A. Barausse, *Il "Museo della scuola e dell'educazione popolare dell'Università degli Studi del Molise" tra internazionalizzazione della ricerca e percorsi di educazione al patrimonio storico educativo*, in Bosna, Cagnolati (edd.), *Itinerari nella storiografia educativa*, cit., pp. 155-185.

⁸ F. Klein, *La storia dell'educazione e le fonti: gli archivi scolastici*, «Annali di storia dell'educazione e delle istituzioni scolastiche», n. 5, 1998, pp. 37-43.

⁹ Dal 1999 con l'autonomia degli istituti scolastici sancita col D.P.R. 8 marzo n. 275, gli archivi scolastici sono stati assoggettati alle norme di tutela vigenti per gli archivi degli enti pubblici. Grazie all'emanazione del decreto D.Lg. 29 ottobre 1999 n. 490, ogni istituzione scolastica ha l'obbligo da quella data di ordinare e conservare i propri archivi, in maniera integrale e redigendo un inventario dei documenti che abbiano più di quarant'anni. Il D. Lgs. 22 gennaio 2004, n. 42 ha sancito

sentire comune intorno al patrimonio custodito nei loro depositi e archivi, ma anche una più matura convinzione del loro genere di fonte privilegiata per la storia dell'istruzione.

La documentazione scolastica conservata in quegli straordinari concentrati di vita e di storia che sono le singole scuole, infatti, va considerata nella sua portata insostituibile di notizie, informazioni, stimoli e suggestioni utili alla ricostruzione del vissuto quotidiano e del concreto «fare scuola» nelle aule italiane. Questi giacimenti culturali offrono, in particolare, utili chiavi di accesso alle modalità, i contenuti e i risultati dell'insegnamento, diversamente difficilmente sondabili sul piano esclusivo delle disposizioni normative, dei programmi e delle discipline scolastiche fissati negli indirizzi nazionali¹⁰. In particolare, le realtà scolastiche locali, invertendo uno sguardo degli storici della scuola a lungo proiettato dall'alto e dal centro, verso un'attenzione, si potrebbe dire dal basso e dalla periferia, favoriscono non certamente un approccio localistico o municipalistico ma una indagine a raggio locale volta a verificare l'impatto dei mutamenti politici sulle scuole, soprattutto nei momenti principali di passaggio storico; i diversi tempi e le modalità di scolarizzazione nelle diverse aree del Paese; lo sviluppo ad esempio delle scuole elementari, degli istituti di istruzione secondaria, come le condizioni dell'edilizia scolastica; la pluralità delle situazioni locali, all'interno delle dinamiche di lungo periodo che hanno accompagnato lo sviluppo dell'istruzione elementare e media nelle singole province, nel corso dell'Ottocento e del Novecento.

Si intende quindi ribadire come soprattutto il patrimonio dei beni culturali scolastici consegnati da tali corpi documentali restati a lungo dimenticati possa aiutare a ricomporre l'articolarsi e il differenziarsi dei processi scolastici ed educativi nazionali¹¹, nei diversi contesti territoriali e sociali. Pertanto la

l'obbligo di vigilanza da parte delle Sovrintendenze archivistiche regionali sugli archivi storici degli istituti.

¹⁰ Intorno al valore dei beni prodotti dalle diverse istituzioni scolastiche come beni culturali, nel corso degli ultimi decenni si sono svolti alcuni momenti convegnistici che hanno alimentato la discussione sul nuovo oggetto di studi in Italia. Si possono ricordare il convegno *La scuola che cambia fa la storia: un progetto per il 2000* tenutosi a Venezia il 15 e 16 ottobre 1999 per iniziativa dell'Istituto veneziano per la storia della resistenza e della società contemporanea, i cui atti sono stati raccolti in M.T. Segà (ed.), *La scuola fa la storia: gli archivi scolastici per la ricerca e la didattica*, Portogruaro Segà, Nuova dimensione, 2002 e il convegno *Gli archivi storici delle scuole: un bene culturale per la scuola dell'autonomia. Strumenti, figure, contesti per la valorizzazione*, tenutosi a Torino il 20 aprile 2001 per iniziativa dell'Istituto piemontese per la storia della resistenza e della società contemporanea con la collaborazione di alcuni istituti scolastici e degli archivi di stato locali. Si vedano inoltre L. Lajolo, *Scuola e società: archivi scolastici e ricerca didattica*, s.l., s.n., 2005; D. Ragazzini, *Dal documento alla documentazione. Nuove competenze per la memoria e l'identità nella scuola dell'informazione*, Firenze, Le Monnier, 2001; Istituto romano per la storia d'Italia dal fascismo alla Resistenza, *Memorie di scuola. Indagine sul patrimonio archivistico delle scuole di Roma e provincia*, Milano, FrancoAngeli, 2006, pp. 9-29; M. Ferrari, M. Morandi (edd.), *Documenti della scuola tra passato e presente. Problemi ed esperienze di ricerca per un'analisi tipologica delle fonti*, Bergamo, Junior, 2007.

¹¹ Sulle attenzioni ad una storia della scuola articolata e multiforme nelle sue diverse realtà

salvaguardia, valorizzazione e fruibilità dei patrimoni documentari scolastici incentivate dai centri¹² e dai musei della scuola italiani di recente nascita¹³ convergono con l'espansione delle fonti e delle chiavi di studio promossa dal recente rinnovamento nel campo della storiografia scolastico-educativa.

Individuando nei piccoli o grandi tesori archivistici presenti nelle scuole, tra le carte di famiglia e nei musei, dei preziosi depositi di memoria, lo storico dell'educazione è chiamato a identificare, interrogare e utilizzare con «acribia filologica e [...] rigore storiografico»¹⁴ sotto la sua lente investigativa le diverse fasi di recupero, conservazione e valorizzazione di tali patrimoni restati spesso «sommersi». In tale spettro di considerazioni, le carte, per l'appunto, i registri, così come gli inventari di singoli fondi librari e i fascicoli riguardanti gli insegnanti giacenti negli archivi storici, comunali e scolastici possono fornire una pluralità di fonti documentarie di rilevante interesse per ricostruire la storia della vita educativa e le vicende dei suoi protagonisti. Il patrimonio storico educativo in tal senso si rivela un vero e proprio «serbatoio» di notizie, per ricostruire un percorso storiografico in cui tutti i contenuti sono da interpretare in relazione non solo alla storia specifica della scuola e dell'educazione, ma al suo strettissimo rapporto con la società tutta: anche in relazione alla storia istituzionale più allargata, alla storia della mentalità, alla storia della vita quotidiana, quindi in una dimensione che è a metà fra ricostruzione storica e fruizione, recupero e conservazione di quelle che sono memorie individuali e memoria collettiva, all'interno dei processi di sviluppo sociale e culturale della nazione¹⁵.

territoriali e nei differenti tempi di sviluppo cfr. M. D'Ascenzo, *Linee di ricerca della storiografia scolastica in Italia: la storia locale*, «Espacio, Tiempo y Educación», vol. III, n. 1, 2016, pp. 249-272; A. Barausse, C. Ghizzoni, J. Meda, *Editoriale "Il campanile scolastico". Ripensando la dimensione locale nella ricerca storico-educativa*, «Rivista di Storia dell'Educazione», vol. IV, n. 1, 2018, pp. 7-14.

¹² Cfr. A. Barausse, M. D'Alessio, *The "Memory archive" of CeSIS and MUSEP of University of Molise. A space between history and memory for research and education to citizenship through educational heritage*, relazione al Pre-Conference Workshop *Archives and museums about the history of education with a view to emancipatory processes*, all'International Standing Conference for the History of Education, *Education and emancipation* (ISCHE 39), (Buenos Aires, 16-23 luglio 2017).

¹³ Sulla prospettiva di una «museologia critica» e formativa nell'educazione al patrimonio si rinvia a Andreassi, Barausse, *Il "Museo della scuola e dell'educazione popolare dell'Università degli Studi del Molise" tra internazionalizzazione della ricerca e percorsi di educazione al patrimonio storico educativo*, cit., specie alle pp. 159-165.

¹⁴ R. Sani, *L'implementazione della ricerca sul patrimonio storico-educativo in Italia: itinerari, priorità, obiettivi di lungo termine*, in S. González, J. Meda, X. Motilla, L. Pomante (edd.), *La pratica educativa. Historia, Memoria y Patrimonio*, Atti della VII Jornadas Científicas de la SEPHE - I Congresso Nazionale della Società Italiana per lo Studio del Patrimonio Storico Educativo SIPSE (Palma di Maiorca, 20-23 novembre 2018), Salamanca, FahrenHouse, 2018, p. 31.

¹⁵ Una focalizzazione sul tema della «memoria scolastica» è stata posta al centro del Simposio Internazionale organizzato dalla Facoltà di scienze della educazione di Siviglia, *La memoria escolar. Nuevas tendencias en la investigación historico-educativa: perspectivas heurísticas y cuestiones*

Si sta ora tornando da più parti a riconoscere il valore storico educativo depositato in tali giacimenti documentari e alcune amministrazioni più illuminate hanno concesso dei finanziamenti per concorrere ad un censimento descrittivo degli archivi di alcune scuole, per puntare a strappare dalla dimenticanza la deplorabile trascuratezza di ritagli preziosi del passato. In tal senso si è dato avvio ad una campagna di sensibilizzazione anche delle amministrazioni in Basilicata per uno sviluppo d'interesse, a partire dalle comunità locali, verso tali insostituibili tasselli della storia educativa e sociale da guardare entro il quadro allargato della storia generale dell'istruzione. Non si tratta, infatti, solo di un recupero della memoria storico-scolastica, passivo e a volte sfumato in tinte nostalgiche, che risponde a quello che può considerarsi un «rifugio» per il proprio bisogno d'identificazione, limitato ad un approccio emozionale e di solo recupero di vissuti, quanto piuttosto di un'operazione culturale in cui si realizza un approccio dinamico ad un patrimonio culturale comune, di più utile fertilità sociale e pubblica.

I giacimenti culturali educativi e scolastici nei diversi contesti italiani

I saluti di apertura per conto della Magnifica Rettrice dell'Ateneo lucano Aurelia Sole sono stati portati da Michela D'Alessio a tutti i colleghi e al folto pubblico intervenuto. Ha quindi fatto seguito l'intervento del Sindaco di Matera Raffaello De Ruggieri che con le sue vibranti parole ha toccato da vicino la sensibilità degli studiosi e di tutti i presenti, nell'incalzante incoraggiamento volto a valorizzare il significato e la portata degli archivi sotto la cui polvere non si cela una nostalgica rievocazione del passato, ma la fonte principale per maturare un consapevole sguardo critico sulle vicende storiche che ci hanno preceduto; in questo si è naturalmente indirizzato ai numerosi studenti del corso di Scienze della Formazione Primaria che hanno partecipato all'atteso evento.

La prima sessione dei lavori è stata quindi introdotta e coordinata dalla vicepresidente della SIPSE Carmela Covato, dell'Università degli Studi di Roma Tre, ed ha visto succedersi tra i relatori alcuni dei più autorevoli studiosi del settore, operanti negli atenei italiani e all'interno del Consiglio direttivo della SIPSE.

Carla Ghizzoni e Renata Bressanelli (Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore di Milano) hanno aperto la sessione illustrando i risultati di lavoro condotti

metodologicas (Siviglia, 22-23 settembre 2015). Sul sensibile oggetto storiografico si veda la sezione monografica dedicata alla trattazione dei vari aspetti che investono questa memoria, intesa come pratica individuale, collettiva e/o pubblica di rievocazione d'un comune passato, insieme all'«uso pubblico» che ne è stato fatto in età contemporanea, «History of Education & Children's Literature», vol. XIV, n. 1, 2019, pp. 11-394.

intorno a *L'Archivio dell'Istituto «Pasquali-Agazzi» di Brescia*, sorto a Mompiano (Brescia) allo scopo di dare una duratura testimonianza del metodo ideato dalle sorelle Rosa e Carolina Agazzi con il supporto del loro maestro Pietro Pasquali. I numerosi materiali documentano lo stretto rapporto che legò queste tre figure le quali diedero vita, nella loro scuola materna, a una proposta didattica ancor oggi applicata e apprezzata. Il lavoro di riordino, conservazione e valorizzazione del pregevole patrimonio storico-educativo ivi conservato (documenti di archivio, periodici, libri, sussidi didattici) potrà dare rinnovate opportunità di studio dell'educazione infantile in Italia, insieme a nuove attività formative per studenti secondari e universitari e promuovere, nel contempo, una maggiore consapevolezza nella società civile in ordine agli sviluppi della cura dell'infanzia tra Otto e Novecento. Lorenzo Cantatore (Università degli Studi Roma Tre) ha quindi esposto le recenti acquisizioni riguardanti *L'archivio di Giuseppe Lombardo Radice presso il Museo della scuola e dell'educazione «Mauro Laeng» di Roma*, attraverso un originale affondo nelle potenzialità euristiche dei nuovi materiali riemersi dai depositi dello storico museo romano, che concorrono ad una lettura ravvicinata specialmente delle annotazioni autografe e delle riflessioni del pedagogo siciliano, «ai margini» dei testi di studio, dall'indubbio interesse. Nel campionario delle carte private (familiari e di lavoro) e dei contatti epistolari con tanti uomini e donne del suo tempo conservati nell'archivio, risiede la ricchezza storico-educativa di quella che appare la vera «officina didattica» dell'importante «vate» della pedagogia italiana del primo Novecento. Mirella D'Ascenzo (Università degli Studi di Bologna) si è soffermata sull'esperienza de *Gli archivi scolastici di Bologna e dell'Emilia-Romagna*, riportando una significativa testimonianza delle diverse strade ed opportunità conoscitive che, in una rete collaborativa con scuole e soprintendenze regionali, è possibile attivare in tale direzione di individuazione, esplorazione, scavo e valorizzazione di raccolte storiche a carattere educativo.

Dopo la pausa, Chiara Meta (Università degli Studi Roma Tre) è intervenuta con la relazione *Fra le carte di Mario Alighiero Manacorda, un intellettuale militante*, illustrando il recente riordino, da parte di una società specializzata, del fondo custodito presso il Museo «Mauro Laeng» di Roma, che lo ha reso disponibile al pubblico e agli studiosi, con la possibilità di ricostruzione di momenti, esperienze e rapporti del noto intellettuale italiano negli anni della sua militanza politica e culturale. L'intervento di Lucia Paciaroni e Sofia Montecchiani (Università degli Studi di Macerata) ha fornito un utile osservatorio delle possibilità poste in atto *Per un censimento dei fondi scolastici ed educativi negli Archivi di Stato italiani*, grazie al confronto dei dati ricavati dalla Guida generale agli archivi di stato italiani, dal Servizio informativo degli archivi di stato (SIAS) e dal Servizio informativo unificato per le soprintendenze archivistiche (SIUSA): bilanciando pertanto lo sguardo offerto dagli archivi personali e privati, con quello orientato ad istituzioni pubbliche e indirizzando verso possibili tracce investigative, nel settore delle «carte» educative conservate

nelle varie sedi locali degli archivi di Stato italiani. Le tipologie archivistiche d'interesse educativo e/o scolastico pubblici e private prese in considerazione sono varie: archivi assistenziali, archivi scolastici e archivi associativi e consortili; archivi comunali, editoriali, ecclesiastici e religiosi; familiari e personali; giudiziari, istituzionali, dell'amministrazione scolastica nazionale; politici, provinciali e sindacali. Il lavoro presentato può rappresentare un importante strumento di corredo per la ricerca archivistica e storico-educativa.

Brunella Serpe (Università degli Studi della Calabria) è tornata a ribadire e comprovare tutta la ricchezza documentaria conservata ne *Gli archivi dell'ANIMI per la storia della scuola in Calabria*, illustrando le tante opportunità che la miniera di documentazione conservata presso l'archivio storico dell'Ente può fornire alla ricostruzione di vicende e protagonisti dell'azione sociale ed educativa condotta a favore delle regioni meridionali, negli anni della delega statale, con aperture di asili, colonie, biblioteche, scuiolette rurali. Oltre a restituire notizie e vive indicazioni sul ruolo di protagonisti quali Umberto Zanotti Bianco, l'archivio dell'ANIMI conserva materiali utili a seguire l'intervento straordinario in Calabria, soprattutto nelle esperienze di tanti maestri e maestre dei villaggi, chiamati a presidiare culturalmente quelle terre lasciate nella problematicità del ritardo nella lotta contro l'analfabetismo e verso un loro riscatto sociale ed economico. Allo scopo di ricostruire la storia educativa in Puglia, Antonella Cagnolati (Università degli Studi di Foggia) e Vittoria Bosna (egli Studi di Bari) hanno presentato i primi risultati dell'esplorazione condotta nell'archivio scolastico della Scuola Primaria «G. Mazzini» di Bari, dove sono conservati documenti d'interesse dal 1895-1896 fino al 2000. Tra le fonti reperite, si è inteso analizzare in particolare i registri scolastici ben rappresentati per il periodo 1923-1924 fino al 1946-1947, ricchi di dettagli importanti quali gli elenchi degli alunni e delle alunne, iniseme ai nomi dei maestri e delle maestre. Per ciascun anno scolastico è stato calcolato l'ammontare numerico dei registri presenti onde ricavarne un istogramma che coprisse l'arco cronologico in questione. In seguito si è proceduto al conteggio delle classi suddivise per livelli (prima, seconda, terza, quarta, quinta), poi in base ad una suddivisione per genere (classi maschili e classi femminili); si è calcolato il numero di maestri e di maestre in servizio per ciascun anno. Come si può ben arguire, la ricerca è complessa e necessita di tempi lunghi per arrivare alla ricostruzione delle fasi di vita della scuola «G. Mazzini».

Intrecciando ancora lo sguardo «tra memoria e ricerca» Luigiaurelio Pomante e Roberto Sani (Università degli Studi di Macerata) hanno illustrato la portata de *Gli archivi universitari per la storia dell'istruzione superiore in Italia*, ricostruendo le origini e gli sviluppi del Museo per la Storia dell'Università di Pavia e del Museo Europeo degli Studenti di Bologna (MEUS), unici esempi italiani di istituzioni museali interamente dedicate alla storia universitaria. Nel primo caso, il Museo per la Storia dell'Università di Pavia, creato nel 1932 ma inaugurato poi ufficialmente nel 1936, raccoglie una notevole quantità di

strumenti scientifici, preparati anatomici e patologici, documenti e volumi antichi, che sono una testimonianza materiale della storia plurisecolare dell'ateneo pavese. Dal carattere meno «istituzionale», il Museo Europeo degli Studenti intende favorire la conoscenza e lo studio del mondo studentesco ripercorrendo, attraverso oltre otto secoli, il ruolo che lo studente ha ricoperto all'interno dell'Università e nella società. L'esposizione presenta circa quattrocento oggetti, dipinti, manoscritti, sculture, manifesti, ricostruzione d'ambienti, costumi di varie epoche, numerose installazioni video per approfondimenti tematici, film, documentari.

A conclusione dei lavori della mattina Anna Ascenzi e Juri Meda (Università degli Studi di Macerata) hanno ricomposto la ricchezza e il significato degli apporti degli studiosi intervenuti, intorno al tema posto al centro del convegno. In particolare hanno rimarcato le finalità e gli scopi della SIPSE, sottolineando l'opportunità di iniziative scientifiche, formative e divulgative che vedano la compartecipazione di istituzioni attente al tema del patrimonio storico-educativo. In una fertile stagione di studi e ricerche, ma anche di sensibilizzazione verso una rigenerazione della memoria utile alla ricostruzione e al consolidamento dell'identità etico-civile legata ai territori e alle comunità, in una storia sociale allargata.

Alcune piste d'indagine in Basilicata

Nel pomeriggio la seconda sessione dei lavori è stata introdotta e coordinata dalla docente dell'Università della Basilicata Michela D'Alessio che, quale coordinatrice dall'unità di ricerca su «Educatori ed Istituzioni scolastiche nella Basilicata moderna e contemporanea» operante all'interno della Deputazione Lucana di Storia Patria, ha sottolineato la vicinanza di attenzioni del gruppo di lavoro alle stesse finalità della giovane Società Italiana per lo Studio del Patrimonio Storico-educativo. L'organizzazione del convegno materano ha rappresentato quindi una positiva occasione per dare conto di alcune piste d'indagine fin qui intraprese e delle prime risultanze del cantiere di lavoro portato avanti sul versante particolarmente fertile di stimoli rappresentato dalla conoscenza e valorizzazione della cultura scolastica della regione, tra Otto e Novecento.

Il primo intervento è provenuto da Carmela Biscaglia (Deputazione) che ha illustrato le importanti potenzialità euristiche delle fonti archivistiche d'interesse educativo, presenti nel seminario di Tricarico tra il XVII e XX secolo. Dalla documentazione d'archivio emergono dati rilevanti sugli aspetti educativi e didattici, conseguenti non solo alle direttive pontificie e agli indirizzi dei vescovi, come pure sulle strategie poste in atto per sopravvivere alle riforme del Decennio francese, finalizzate a chiudere i seminari e a rendere pubblica e

laica l'istruzione scolastica, sottraendola ai violenti attacchi anticlericali dello Stato postunitario, che si appuntarono sui loro ginnasi-licei, da sempre aperti anche ai giovani non votati al sacerdozio. Migliorandone l'offerta formativa e riconfigurando i piani di studio su quelli governativi, il suo liceo, fortemente richiesto dalla borghesia, colmò un vuoto dello Stato.

La relazione successiva di Agnese Sinisi (Deputazione) "*Egregio Sig. Maestro*". *Le carte di Michele Lomuti, maestro elementare nelle campagne lucane tra Otto e Novecento*, attraverso la breve descrizione di un piccolo fondo documentario privato relativo ad un insegnante elementare della Basilicata, nato a Genzano di Lucania nel 1870, ha sottolineato l'importanza degli archivi personali e familiari per la storia delle scuole nelle aree rurali del XIX e XX secolo. La documentazione presentata comprende testimonianze sul percorso formativo del maestro e sui suoi rapporti con le istituzioni comunali e statali, materiale didattico, fotografie, corrispondenza con alcuni ex alunni emigrati nelle Americhe. Il contributo della Sinisi s'innesta nei recenti percorsi attenti ad «prosopografia dal basso» per lo studio storico dei concreti contesti ambientali della scuola e per la ricostruzione della professione docente in area meridionale.

Elena Vigilante (Università della Basilicata/Deputazione) ha dedicato la sua relazione alla ricostruzione dei profili e del ruolo dei *Provveditori agli studi della Basilicata fascista nelle carte del Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione*, attingendo a fondi archivistici dello Stato, centrale e periferici. La studiosa ha effettuato in particolare una prima schedatura dei provveditori agli studi che operarono nella Basilicata fascista al fine di comprendere criteri di selezione, disegni e strategie del regime nella gestione di un territorio caratterizzato da gruppi di interessi economici deboli e da un tessuto sociale scarsamente politicizzato. Le prime risultanze di lavoro portano a considerare come in Basilicata operarono quasi sempre provveditori provenienti da altre regioni (con alcune importanti eccezioni) di prima nomina, soggetti a turnover frequenti, destinati alle province italiane meno influenti e alle colonie. Rispetto all'età, all'istruzione e alla politicizzazione, i dati dei provveditori lucani confermano il quadro nazionale: in linea di massima furono più giovani dei loro omologhi liberali, ebbero un buon livello di istruzione e fino al 1936 raramente furono politicizzati. La relazione di Donato Verrastro (Università della Basilicata/Deputazione) incentrata sulle *Istituzioni educative e formative nelle carte della Pontificia opera di assistenza (1944-1970)* ha portato alla luce i primi esiti di una ricerca sull'inedita storia della Pontificia opera di assistenza (POA), un'istituzione creata nel 1944 da Pio XII nel solco di un intenso programma di assistenza alla popolazione italiana dopo la caduta del regime fascista e nella ricostruzione post-bellica. Finanziata soprattutto dai cattolici d'America, fu tra le prime istituzioni a occuparsi di una pionieristica forma di *welfare* pubblico in Italia, inserendosi all'interno delle complesse dinamiche ideologico-politiche tra centro democristiano e sinistra italiana. Nell'Italia del secondo dopoguerra (la POA sarebbe stata soppressa solo nel 1970), è interessante cogliere l'intensa azione compiuta nel campo della

formazione e dell'educazione; in particolare è documentata l'organizzazione, nei ventisei anni attività, di colonie estive e invernali per l'infanzia e l'adolescenza, la creazione di asili infantili e istituti per l'infanzia, oltre che l'avvio di doposcuola. È inoltre da segnalare la costante attività convegnistica legata alla ricerca e alla condivisione di tecniche e strategie pedagogiche aggiornate. Margherita Torrio (Deputazione), ha quindi presentato un altro archivio riemerso dalle memorie familiari nella sua relazione *Professione "maestro": le carte di Michele Torrio nell'archivio privato di famiglia*. Attraverso le carte del maestro e uomo politico socialista, la studiosa ha rilevato come sia possibile inseguire la storia, le personali vicissitudini e l'impegno didattico nella scuola italiana, in particolare elementare, dalla prima metà del Novecento al secondo dopoguerra. Dal suo archivio, è possibile così attingere testimonianze importanti sul percorso professionale, sugli orientamenti didattici, sui bisogni della scuola e sulle sue carenze, fino alle trasformazioni durante il periodo fascista. In questo passaggio, infatti, il maestro lucano fu trasferito d'ufficio nella frazione di San Biase (presso Francavilla sul Sinni e Chiaromonte), poi a Latronico, dove fu isolato sino alla fine del regime. Nel 1945 Vincenzo Torrio fu nominato esponente della Consulta Nazionale, durante i cui lavori fu assegnato alla IV Commissione Istruzione e Belle Arti, presieduta da Concetto Marchesi.

Dopo la pausa ha fatto seguito la relazione di Rocco Labriola (Deputazione) che ha presentato i risultati di un'attività di ricerca condotta da alcuni anni su *Gli archivi scolastici del periodo fascista nella scuola elementare di «Santa Maria» di Potenza*. Tra la cospicua documentazione si segnalano i Registri degli scrutini e degli esami risalenti fino all'anno scolastico 1921-22 che testimoniano la presenza di una scuola serale, rurale, di due classi, prima e seconda elementare nella frazione di Montocchio, gestita dall'ANIMI. La parte tuttavia più completa della documentazione è relativa al periodo tra l'anno scolastico 1939-40 e il 1944-45 e comprende 29 giornali di classe riguardanti due soli istituti: quello urbano di «S. Maria» e quello rurale di «Avigliano Scalo», entrambi scuole elementari miste. Questi giornali di classe offrono importanti informazioni su tutta la vita e le vicende delle scuole: dall'edilizia ai sussidi didattici, dall'incidenza delle organizzazioni giovanili ai metodi d'insegnamento, dalla propaganda fascista alle riflessioni degli insegnanti. Da tali analisi emergono non pochi dubbi sulla reale «fascistizzazione» delle scuole in questione.

Nel suo intervento Clelia Tomasco (Università della Basilicata-Deputazione) ha quindi illustrato gli esiti di una prima ricognizione e alcune prospettive d'indagine, a partire da *Le carte sull'istruzione nell'archivio storico comunale di Potenza*. Qui il fondo Istruzione Pubblica custodisce preziose carte risalenti alla fine dell'Ottocento e alla prima metà del Novecento che concorrono ai processi di recupero e sedimentazione della memoria pubblica intorno alla cultura locale dell'istruzione, in una più approfondita conoscenza di protagonisti, luoghi e spazi di scuola del circondario potentino. La studiosa ha evidenziato la presenza

di alcune relazioni annuali risalenti al primo ventennio del Novecento curate dai direttori didattici Telesca e Giambrocono, che restituiscono valutazioni complesse sulla condizione delle scuole elementari del capoluogo di regione; le richieste per l'acquisto di suppellettile consegnano una precisa osservazione e conoscenza degli arredi scolastici, degli strumenti didattici e delle prassi didattiche. Le fonti archivistiche presentate restituiscono pertanto segni tangibili della storia sociale dell'istruzione del territorio, per l'affermazione dei processi di scolarizzazione. Valeria Verrastro e Rosangela Bruno (Soprintendenza archivistica e bibliografica della Puglia e Basilicata) hanno quindi prospettato la ricchezza documentaria conservata ne *Il fondo Provveditorato agli Studi della Provincia di Potenza* giacente nell'Archivio di Stato del capoluogo lucano, segnalando l'esigenza di un ulteriore riordino e alcuni casi esemplari delle opportunità conoscitive dei processi di scolarizzazione che investirono il territorio lucano, dal 1930 in poi.

Alessandro Albano ha invece dedicato il suo intervento al reperimento di alcune *Carte dal fronte*, per illustrare l'esperienza dei maestri lucani nella Grande Guerra. Attraverso fonti documentarie quali diari e lettere, è possibile non solo ricostruire fatti ed avvenimenti delle «prime linee», ma anche «rivivere» le difficoltà quotidiane della guerra, le angosce e le paure ad essa connesse. Tra le numerose fonti particolarmente significative al riguardo, si colloca *l'Epistolario di guerra del Sergente Maggiore Canio Forenza*, pubblicato nel 1925 con prefazione di Giuseppe Lombardo-Radice. Una fonte, questa, particolarmente significativa anche per l'occasione della sua pubblicazione: il decennale dell'ingresso dell'Italia nelle contese della Grande Guerra, a sette anni dalla fine della stessa e con l'intento di alimentare non solo il ricordo del giovane, aspirante, maestro, ma soprattutto gli ideali che lo portarono al «sacrificio estremo». Altra rilevante esperienza di maestro lucano al fronte fu quella di Michele Rigillo, nativo di Rionero in Vulture, di cui resta il fitto carteggio che intrattenne con Giustino Fortunato. Significative risultano dai due fondi anche le differenze rispetto alle percezioni e rappresentazioni degli eventi bellici nei quali furono direttamente coinvolti i due maestri-soldati. Michela D'Alessio e Maria Giordano si sono infine soffermate sull'esperienza del maestro Arturo Arcomano nella scuola nuova della Basilicata negli anni Cinquanta del Novecento, riportando alla luce i materiali conservati nell'archivio privato dell'educatore lucano, insieme ai ricordi e alle testimonianze raccolte tra i suoi alunni del tempo. Un'occasione per ripercorrere «il soffio di aria nuova» che circolò nel piccolo paese di Roccanova dopo il 1950 valicando, per un verso, i limiti delle prassi didattiche tradizionali, nella partecipazione alle innovazioni introdotte dal Movimento di Cooperazione Educativa tra maestri silenziosi ma accomunati dagli stessi intenti educativi e didattici; per l'altro, l'isolamento della regione meridionale, nell'adozione delle tecniche di Frainet e quindi in una forma di liberazione dai vincoli delle superstizioni e pregiudizi dell'attardato

Mezzogiorno d'Italia, e verso una partecipazione attiva dei piccoli alunni, nei rapporti intrattenuti con le scuole di tutta Italia.

Le considerazioni conclusive sono state affidate al Presidente della Deputazione lucana di Storia Patria Antonio Lerra che, ripercorrendo i mesi di lavoro che hanno condotto all'organizzazione del congresso condiviso con la SIPSE, ha sintetizzato argutamente i contenuti più interessanti emersi dalle relazioni del pomeriggio. Le incursioni degli studiosi operanti all'interno del gruppo di ricerca su «Educatori e istituzioni della Basilicata» hanno consentito di sondare le diverse strade attraverso cui esplorare e studiare collezioni di natura privata e familiare, piuttosto che pubblica e istituzionale. Si tratta, come può dedursi a sintesi della sessione pomeridiana, di significative raccolte storiche dall'indubbio valore educativo che attendono di essere ulteriormente approfondite ed esaminate, nel solco degli approcci storiografici più recenti interessati al patrimonio storico-educativo, con riguardo specifico all'ambito regionale.

La salvaguardia, la valorizzazione e la fruibilità del patrimonio storico-educativo: quali prospettive? La Tavola rotonda conclusiva

Il convegno è proseguito il 5 ottobre con la mattinata dedicata a una Tavola rotonda finale che ha visto la partecipazione anche della dirigente dell'Ufficio scolastico Regionale Debora Infante. Hanno nello stesso contesto portato alcune significative testimonianze i dirigenti scolastici dell'Istituto di Scienze Umane «Tommaso Stigliani» di Matera e dell'Istituto Tecnico «Guglielmo Gasparrini» di Melfi, sollecitati a presentare la storia e i più interessanti materiali custoditi tra le principali scuole storiche della regione. La dirigente Infante ha poi illustrato i primissimi risultati di un lavoro di censimento dei beni culturali scolastici avviato con tutti gli istituti della Basilicata, attraverso la somministrazione di un questionario, i cui esiti destano vivo interesse per futuri approfondimenti.

Il momento del confronto conclusivo tra gli studiosi, gli appartenenti alla SIPSE, il gruppo della Deputazione lucana e i rappresentanti del mondo scolastico regionale, ha profilato la possibilità di una collaborazione fattiva. Sul piano della divulgazione degli studi sul ricco patrimonio storico-educativo disseminato nelle diverse regioni e dell'avvio di una più stretta condivisione di momenti e iniziative a livello nazionale.

Roberto Sani (Università degli Studi di Macerata) ha rimarcato la necessità di uno studio rigoroso e metodologicamente fondato: illustrando, infatti, gli esiti attuali della «vera e propria rivoluzione storiografica» che ha investito negli ultimi decenni la ricerca intorno al patrimonio storico-educativo in Italia, non si è sottratto a un perentorio richiamo ad una «lettura in chiave autenticamente storica» dello stesso. Al contempo ha sottolineato l'opportunità di avviare una

formazione dedicata ai giovani studiosi su questo versante specifico, anche attraverso dottorati o master organizzati dalla stessa SIPSE.

Antonio Lerra ha raccolto le suggestioni del dibattito, per ribadire la piena disponibilità a collaborazioni future e specialmente al rafforzamento degli interventi attraverso la rete delle storiche deputazioni di storia patria, a cominciare da quelle del Meridione d'Italia, che è stato di recente chiamato a coordinare. Si tratta di una progettualità di rilevante portata scientifico-culturale che mira pertanto ad un coordinamento interistituzionale, nazionale e regionale, nell'obiettivo della ricognizione, tutela, valorizzazione e fruibilità del patrimonio storico-educativo nelle singole realtà regionali, attraverso l'apporto e la condivisione dei risultati tra studiosi, operatori del settore, nella collaborazione con la SIPSE, la Giunta Centrale degli Studi Storici, gli Istituti di Storia Patria, le Università e i Centri di ricerca, gli Uffici Scolastici regionali, con i rappresentanti delle diverse istituzioni.

Lerra ha inoltre illustrato i futuri impegni della Deputazione, che intende dare vita ad una Collana specifica di studi e ricerche su «Educatori e istituzioni scolastiche in Basilicata». L'attività della Deputazione Lucana mira pertanto a dare corpo a un programma di ricerca interessato a individuare piste e itinerari per il recupero dei protagonisti e dei «luoghi della memoria scolastica», la loro conoscenza e valorizzazione, attraverso nuove modalità di attenzione al patrimonio educativo, che conducano allo sviluppo di nuovi studi sulla storia e la vita della scuola nel Mezzogiorno d'Italia. In tale ottica un primo solco di lavoro è costituito da una «mappatura» delle intitolazioni degli istituti scolastici regionali che – nella loro specifica funzione di attrattori di identità e memoria collettiva esercitata nei contesti locali tra diverse generazioni di studenti – possono costituire, d'intesa con l'Ufficio Scolastico Regionale e le Soprintendenze, una traccia significativa per riportare alla luce educatori anche meno illustri che hanno svolto un ruolo incisivo nel passato educativo e culturale meridionale. In tale lavoro di ricostruzione di singole «biografie storiche e didattiche d'istituto», il cantiere di ricerca costituisce, a ben vedere, il campo preparatorio di studio e supporto scientifico-educativo che la Deputazione potrà assicurare a possibili attività riguardanti lo studio e anche il riuso culturale e sociale degli ambienti scolastici e del patrimonio educativo delle scuole storiche della Basilicata, favorendo un processo partecipativo della comunità allargata. Resta infatti ancora da «conoscere e da salvare» tutto il ricco giacimento culturale rappresentato dalle mura degli edifici scolastici e dalla cultura prodotta tra i banchi di scuola.

Lo scopo, pertanto, delle due giornate lucane sulla *Memoria e le carte* è stato duplice: per un verso, di natura più strettamente scientifica, così come si è avuto modo d'illustrare; per l'altro, legato alla volontà di favorire la maturazione di una sensibilità allargata intorno al valore culturale di un patrimonio che, oltre ad essere conosciuto, merita salvare dalla dispersione della memoria e ricondurre al centro dell'attenzione, in particolare, dei dirigenti scolastici e

delle comunità di riferimento, per la sua capacità di far dialogare in un filo intergenerazionale il passato e il presente, guardando anche al suo impiego per formare i cittadini del domani.

Da un lato, quindi, si è messa a frutto l'occasione di mettere a fuoco singoli tasselli della pluriforme storia della scuola in Italia, a partire dai documenti d'interesse educativo conservati nei tanti e diversi archivi nazionali e locali; dall'altro, si è fortemente incentivata l'attenzione del mondo scolastico e civile verso lo specifico patrimonio educativo dalla forte connotazione culturale (alla stessa stregua dei beni artistici o archeologici ad esempio), quale un prezioso bene comune da salvaguardare, studiare e allo stesso tempo rendere fruibile ai diversi pubblici.

Un percorso di riappropriazione identitaria, nell'intreccio dei fili delle memorie individuali e delle storie di scuola, nel grande telo della vita educativa italiana.

Le forme della memoria scolastica: interventi nazionali e prospettive internazionali. A proposito del secondo seminario PRIN*

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School Memories: national actions and international perspectives. About the second PRIN meeting

ABSTRACT: This article collects and summarizes all the papers presented at the second meeting within the project of relevant national interest (PRIN) «School Memories between Social Perception and Collective Representation (Italy, 1861-2001)». The event represents one of the scheduled meetings of the project members and was aimed to clarify the state of art of the project and to highlight the future engagements. On this occasion, the research outcomes of the three working committees (database, website, *public history*) have been presented. In addition, the objectives and themes of the project have been analysed in depth also from an international and European perspective, which provided new ideas and cues of reflection for the future work.

EET/TEE KEYWORDS: History of education; School memories; National Research Project; Italy; Portugal; XIXth-XXIst Centuries.

* Il presente contributo è frutto del lavoro congiunto delle due autrici, nello specifico Sofia Montecchiani è autrice del primo paragrafo, mentre Lucia Paciaroni è autrice del secondo.

1. *Le forme della memoria scolastica: prospettive internazionali e approcci metodologici*

Il 17 gennaio 2020, presso il Dipartimento di Scienze della Formazione dell'Università degli Studi Roma Tre, si è svolto il secondo seminario nazionale PRIN «Le forme della memoria scolastica. Primi interventi in ambito nazionale e alcune prospettive internazionali», iniziativa che si inserisce tra le attività scientifiche programmate nel contesto del Progetto di ricerca di interesse nazionale «School Memories between Social Perception and Collective Representation (Italy, 1861-2001)»¹.

Il progetto, avviato ufficialmente nell'agosto 2019, pone al centro la scuola e si propone di analizzare il complesso processo di definizione del suo *sentimento* a livello individuale e collettivo, e di recuperare il ruolo da essa svolto e la sua immagine pubblica in Italia tra il XIX e il XXI secolo.

I lavori si sono aperti con i saluti di Lorenzo Cantatore e, nella prima parte della mattinata, sono stati coordinati da Juri Meda, il quale ha subito sottolineato l'importanza dell'incontro, che rientra tra gli appuntamenti fissi programmati nel calendario del progetto PRIN e dedicati agli 'addetti ai lavori', non solo per il carattere scientifico degli interventi, ma anche per la sua apertura in prospettiva internazionale.

Oltre alla riflessione sulla tematica di ricerca dal punto di vista metodologico e storiografico, e alla restituzione di quanto fatto finora dalle singole commissioni di lavoro (database, sito web, *public history*), infatti, il seminario si proponeva di aprire lo scenario di indagine anche all'ambito della progettazione europea: in questa occasione, di fatto, è stata ospitata Ana Isabel Da Câmara Madeira, docente dell'Istituto di Educazione dell'Università di Lisbona, coordinatrice di un progetto di ricerca dedicato alla memoria in Portogallo dal titolo «Rescued Memories, (Re)Constructed Identities: Schooling experiences, heritage and local education dynamics – MRIR», che gode di finanziamenti nazionali ed europei.

Madeira si occupa di storia dell'educazione e di educazione comparata; la sua produzione scientifica è soprattutto caratterizzata da una riflessione sull'educazione coloniale portoghese e negli ultimi anni si è dedicata con particolare attenzione al filone della memoria. Lei stessa, in apertura del suo intervento, sottolinea come il fatto di essere attualmente titolare di un insegnamento di Storia e memoria dell'educazione presso l'Università di Lisbona, testimoni come il tema della memoria si stia sempre più affiancando alla riflessione storiografica, classificandosi come uno degli assi portanti a cui le comunità scientifiche internazionali dovranno guardare nei prossimi anni.

¹ Progetto di durata triennale approvato con Decreto del Direttore generale per il coordinamento, la promozione e la valorizzazione della ricerca del Ministero dell'Istruzione, dell'Università e della Ricerca n. 226 del 12 aprile 2019 e finanziato dal medesimo MIUR.

Dopo aver presentato i membri del team di ricerca e l'ambito geografico preso in analisi², nel suo intervento (*Rescued Memories, (Re)constructed Identities: Schooling experiences and local education dynamics*), Madeira ha descritto gli assi teorici e metodologici di base, le iniziative sociali attivate e le finalità del progetto di cui è coordinatrice che, nello specifico, prevedono la creazione di una 'Banca della memoria', l'individuazione del 'Patrimonio educativo locale', l'uso della stampa locale per la valorizzazione della memoria scolastica ed educativa, la stesura di un indice bibliografico, la creazione di un insegnamento di storia locale, la programmazione di corsi di formazione per insegnanti sulla storia e sul patrimonio locale e, infine, la pubblicazione dei prodotti scientifici di vario genere risultanti dal lavoro di ricerca.

La proposta portoghese intende quindi contribuire alla costruzione di una memoria dell'educazione a livello locale e soprattutto rurale, attraverso l'identificazione del patrimonio materiale e immateriale correlato all'ambito educativo e scolastico, raccogliendo testimonianze orali e scritte, in particolar modo interviste e autobiografie, e creando percorsi per la cittadinanza attiva grazie alla collaborazione e al coinvolgimento di protagonisti locali e partner istituzionali.

Il progetto, approvato nell'aprile 2018, avviato ufficialmente nell'ottobre dello stesso anno e con termine fissato per settembre 2021, si articola su tre assi principali: la raccolta di fonti storiche finalizzate alla produzione di conoscenze storiche qualificate sulle esperienze educative del passato; l'identificazione del patrimonio storico-educativo a livello locale; e la creazione di prodotti scientifici 'tangibili' associati all'educazione e alla formazione nell'ambito storico-educativo locale. In particolare, per quanto riguarda quest'ultimo asse, è necessario precisare che esso non prevede soltanto la creazione di programmi, curriculum scolastici o accademici, moduli tematici, o l'attivazione di corsi di formazione per gli insegnanti sulla storia delle istituzioni scolastiche ed educative locali, ma anche la produzione di contenuti storici fruibili nell'ambito del turismo culturale e funzionale al consolidamento dei processi identitari nelle zone rurali prese in esame, esposte in molti casi al rischio di spopolamento.

Madeira ha poi precisato come la proposta portoghese di generare 'memorie di scuola' e 'memorie sulla scuola' permetta in realtà di determinare i confini di ciò che la storiografia educativa definisce *school culture*³, grazie alla valorizzazione delle fonti storiche locali, alla promozione delle identità regionali e allo scambio intergenerazionale.

Intorno a questo progetto numerose sono le iniziative già attivate, come ad esempio la raccolta di immagini e fotografie, l'organizzazione di eventi presso

² Nello specifico il progetto portoghese ha analizzato la memoria scolastica dei distretti di Beira Baixa, che comprende Mação, Sertão, Vila de Rei (NUTII), e di Médio Tejo, che comprende invece Proença-a-Nova e Oleiros (NUTIII).

³ A. Viñao Frago, *La escuela y la escolaridad como objetos históricos. Facetas y problemas de la historia de la educación*, «História da Educação», vol. 12, n. 25, 2008, pp. 9-54, <<https://www.redalyc.org/articulo.oa?id=321627131002>> (ultimo accesso: 18.02.2020).

musei scolastici e non solo (per citarne un esempio, *Senior Christmas*, ultima iniziativa del 2019), servizi televisivi o interviste a ex-scolari e/o ex-insegnanti. Queste attività, in particolare, possono essere di ‘ispirazione’ alla sezione del progetto PRIN italiano coordinata da Gianfranco Bandini, che si occupa per l'appunto di *public history*.

Al termine della prima relazione, Meda ha sottolineato come sia ben emersa da essa l'importanza dell'interazione tra storia e sociologia, e dell'apertura verso un'ottica di progettazione europea, la quale tenga sì conto delle eccellenze della ricerca, ma anche della pratica applicazione e ricaduta delle conoscenze storiche in ambito sociale.

La parola è quindi passata a Roberto Sani che, in qualità di coordinatore nazionale del progetto PRIN, ha precisato alcuni elementi dal punto di vista metodologico e teorico, ed ha ricordato le prossime scadenze previste dal progetto.

In particolare, Sani ha ribadito le grandi potenzialità e i meriti del progetto di ricerca, tra cui c'è sicuramente quello di aver unito diverse generazioni di studiosi, che devono costituire un gruppo omogeneo che sappia dialogare anche in una prospettiva internazionale e che renda la memoria un filone d'indagine storiografico.

Il PRIN rappresenta inoltre un'imperdibile occasione per «riconvertire il nostro modo di far ricerca in ambito storico-educativo e scolastico e per avviare confronti necessari» con gli altri ambiti scientifico-disciplinari, soprattutto perché nel corso del tempo – a partire anzitutto dal Convegno internazionale di Siviglia del 2015⁴ – la riflessione sulla memoria è diventata fertile terreno di confronto e di rottura tra le varie discipline.

Nel suo intervento (*La memoria della scuola italiana tra percezione sociale e rappresentazione collettiva. 1861-2001*) Sani ha quindi espresso la necessità di riprendere in mano la ricerca e di rendere ‘interscambiabili’ le fonti immesse nei database, così come la riflessione sul metodo, sull'approccio, sui contenuti e sulle categorie interpretative che si dovranno ripensare o creare *ex-novo*, seguendo però un'unica metodologia d'indagine e un unico approccio. I primi lavori sul tema⁵ hanno infatti rilevato l'estrema complessità delle fonti, che costituisce però anche un elemento di grande ricchezza, e la necessità di una ‘crescita’ dal punto di vista metodologico.

⁴ Il 22 e 23 settembre 2015 si è tenuto a Siviglia il simposio internazionale *School Memories. New Trends in Historical Research into Education: Heuristic Perspectives and Methodological Issues* (Seville, 22-23 September 2015). Gli atti ufficiali sono stati pubblicati in C. Yanes-Cabrera, J. Meda, A. Viñao (edd.), *School Memories. New Trends in the History of Education*, Cham, Springer, 2017.

⁵ Si vedano ad esempio: J. Meda, L. Pomante, M. Brunelli (edd.), *Memories and public celebrations of education in contemporary times*, «History of Education and Children's literature», vol. XIV, n. 1, 2019, pp. 9-394; P. Alfieri (ed.), *Immagini dei nostri maestri. Memorie di scuola nel cinema e nella televisione dell'Italia repubblicana*, Roma, Armando Editore, 2019.

Per quanto riguarda le attività specifiche di ricerca, nel corso del 2020 partirà il lavoro di reperimento e schedatura delle fonti e il loro inserimento nei rispettivi database, al quale dovrà essere affiancata un'attenta riflessione individuale e collettiva attorno ad alcune possibili tematiche di approfondimento.

L'obiettivo finale a cui si deve tendere è il simposio internazionale che si celebrerà a Macerata nel 2022 alla chiusura dei lavori del progetto PRIN. Per questo motivo, tra settembre e ottobre 2020 sarà avviata una *call for papers*, con la quale si raccoglieranno proposte scientifiche nazionali e internazionali e che avrà il merito di portare in Italia specialisti della memoria in tutte le sue molteplici forme, e di collegare la ricerca storiografica con la riflessione sull'attuale utilizzo della memoria scolastico-educativa. La messa a punto di questa *call* implica necessariamente l'avvio di una riflessione interna dei singoli gruppi di lavoro, di una precisa identificazione delle tematiche da approfondire e delle relazioni da presentare, promuovendo una comune sensibilità in ordine all'impiego e all'interpretazione delle fonti relative alla memoria, estremamente diverse le une dalle altre, e che hanno quindi l'esigenza di essere interpretate e indagate in modo diverso e assolutamente rigoroso.

Sani, infine, ricorda il terzo seminario nazionale PRIN, fissato a Firenze per il 17-18 settembre 2020, con cui si verificherà lo stato d'avanzamento dei lavori e in cui sarà previsto un momento di dibattito circa i risultati presentati dalle singole commissioni di lavoro. Una sezione del seminario sarà finalizzata all'individuazione e alla preparazione degli argomenti da sviluppare poi all'interno della *call for papers*.

In chiusura, inoltre, sono state richiamate due questioni fondamentali da dover sciogliere nei prossimi mesi: il concetto di 'invenzione della tradizione', quando in realtà la tradizione è inventata e re-inventata quasi ciclicamente, e il problema della periodizzazione (1861-2001), in merito al quale si dovrà stabilire se considerare tale arco temporale come periodo in cui le figure studiate e analizzate abbiano solamente operato, o se tenerne anche conto come periodo della loro celebrazione.

2. *Banche dati, sito web e public history: l'attività delle commissioni interuniversitarie*

Nella seconda sessione del seminario sono state presentate le attività delle tre commissioni di lavoro interuniversitarie coordinate da Juri Meda, Paolo Alferi e Gianfranco Bandini e costituitesi in occasione del primo seminario nazionale PRIN, che si è tenuto a Macerata il 27 e 28 giugno 2019⁶.

⁶ Si tratta delle commissioni per la progettazione e gestione del sito web, per la progettazione e implementazione delle banche dati e per la progettazione e realizzazione dei percorsi didattici

Ad aprire i lavori è stato Roberto Sani, il quale ha sottolineato l'importanza dell'incontro in quanto «occasione per avviare una riflessione comune sul lavoro svolto in questi ultimi mesi» e, prima di lasciare la parola ai coordinatori delle commissioni, ha invitato Umberto Silvi, coordinatore amministrativo del progetto per l'ateneo capofila, a presentare alcuni aspetti tecnici e amministrativi del progetto.

Sani ha poi ripreso la parola per introdurre i successivi relatori evidenziando il clima di proficua collaborazione che ha caratterizzato gli incontri delle tre commissioni. Il primo intervento è stato di Juri Meda, coordinatore della commissione per la progettazione e implementazione delle banche dati⁷, il quale ha presentato il resoconto dei tre fruttuosi incontri organizzati tra settembre e dicembre 2019 presso l'Università degli Studi di Firenze.

La commissione si è concentrata, in particolare, sulla determinazione delle specifiche qualità euristiche delle fonti oggetto di catalogazione e sulla definizione dei campi descrittivi e delle modalità di descrizione analitica delle stesse fonti per ciascuna banca dati. I membri della commissione hanno prestato particolare attenzione al contenimento della spesa al fine di disporre di risorse suppletive da destinare al lavoro dei ricercatori addetti al reperimento delle fonti e dei catalogatori. Hanno inoltre determinato un numero massimo di schede di catalogazione inseribili all'interno di ciascuna banca dati.

Successivamente Meda ha presentato il numero di record che ciascuna unità di ricerca dovrà inserire nelle proprie banche dati e ha illustrato le modalità di lavoro alle quali dovranno attenersi le singole unità, le quali sono quindi chiamate a procedere a un'attività di censimento e catalogazione delle singole fonti reperite, inserendo anche una descrizione analitica.

Il secondo intervento dedicato al lavoro delle commissioni è stato affidato a Paolo Alfieri, coordinatore del gruppo impegnato nella progettazione e nella gestione del sito web⁸, il quale ha illustrato il lavoro svolto.

Alfieri ha spiegato che, sulla base della proposta presentata in occasione del primo seminario nazionale PRIN⁹, la commissione ha progettato le varie sezioni del sito. Quindi, è stata presentata la struttura della *home page*, che conterrà spazi riservati alla descrizione del progetto, agli attori coinvolti, alle notizie di vario genere e agli eventi strettamente collegati al progetto PRIN. In seguito, è

e delle iniziative di *public history*. Per un ulteriore approfondimento, si veda: L. Paciaroni, S. Montecchiani, *Le forme della memoria scolastica. A proposito del primo seminario nazionale PRIN*, «History of Education & Children's Literature», vol. XIV, n. 2, 2019, pp. 1047-1053.

⁷ La commissione per la progettazione e implementazione delle banche dati, coordinata da Juri Meda, è composta anche da Silvia Cantelli, Anna Debè, Carla Ghizzoni, Chiara Meta e Fabio Targhetta.

⁸ La commissione per la progettazione e gestione del sito web, coordinata da Paolo Alfieri, è composta anche da Luca Bravi, Carla Callegari, Chiara Lepri, Giordana Merlo e Lucia Paciaroni.

⁹ In occasione del primo seminario nazionale PRIN, che si è tenuto il 27-28 giugno 2019 presso l'Università degli Studi di Macerata, è stata presentata la prima bozza del sito web nell'intervento *Il portale web www.memoriascolastica.it* a cura di Luigiaurelio Pomante e Lucia Paciaroni.

stato illustrato dettagliatamente in che modo l'utente possa navigare nelle varie sezioni e accedere ai contenuti.

Alfieri si è soffermato, in particolare, sulla sezione dedicata alla memoria scolastica, prevista nel menù principale, la quale sarà suddivisa in tre sottosezioni. La prima sarà dedicata alla memoria scolastica individuale, che consiste nell'autorappresentazione di sé fornita da ex-insegnanti ed ex-alunni attraverso le testimonianze orali, i diari, le autobiografie e la memorialistica in genere. La seconda a quella scolastica collettiva, composta, invece, dalla rappresentazione che della scuola e degli insegnanti hanno offerto l'industria culturale e il mondo dell'informazione. La terza, infine, alla memoria scolastica pubblica, costituita dalla rappresentazione che della scuola e degli insegnanti è stata fornita nell'ambito delle commemorazioni ufficiali promosse dalle istituzioni pubbliche in base a una precisa politica della memoria¹⁰. All'interno di ciascuna pagina sarà possibile non solo trovare una descrizione di una particolare tipologia di memoria, ma sarà inserito anche l'elenco delle categorie che ne fanno parte, le quali saranno collegate alle banche dati e saranno rese accessibili all'utente.

Alfieri ha evidenziato l'importanza anche di un'altra sezione, quella dedicata alla *public history*, la quale sarà progettata in stretta collaborazione con la commissione coordinata da Gianfranco Bandini, così come sarà previsto un confronto anche con quella impegnata nella progettazione e realizzazione delle banche dati. Ha, infine, rilevato come sarà fondamentale avviare una riflessione sulla realizzazione di un logo che possa riassumere in qualche modo le varie forme di memoria scolastica.

A chiudere la seconda sessione è stato Gianfranco Bandini, coordinatore della commissione per la progettazione e realizzazione dei percorsi didattici e delle iniziative di *public history*¹¹, il quale ha presentato i risultati degli incontri che hanno portato alla definizione di una serie di azioni da realizzare nei prossimi tre anni, suddividendole in prioritarie e non. La commissione si è posta, innanzitutto, l'obiettivo di realizzare specifici percorsi didattici e iniziative di *public history* intese come forme di socializzazione dei risultati scientifici del progetto.

Tra le azioni prioritarie è stata inserita l'attività di ricognizione presso le varie unità di ricerca al fine di individuare le attività didattiche, di disseminazione o di *public history*, già realizzate in passato e che costituiscono casi di eccellenza. Bandini ha fatto l'esempio delle iniziative rivolte alle scuole progettate dal Museo della Scuola «Paolo e Ornella Ricca» dell'Università di Macerata, sottolineando come altri musei della scuola e dell'educazione abbiano già avviato

¹⁰ Su queste particolari forme di memoria scolastica, si veda: J. Meda, A. Viñao Frago, *School Memory: Historiographical Balance and Heuristics Perspectives*, in Yanes Cabrera, Meda, Viñao Frago (edd.), *School Memories. New Trends in the History of Education*, cit., pp. 1-9.

¹¹ La commissione per la progettazione e realizzazione dei percorsi didattici e delle iniziative di *public history*, coordinata da Gianfranco Bandini, è composta anche da Paolo Bianchini, Francesca Borruso, Marta Brunelli e Stefano Oliviero.

iniziative rientranti nella tematica in questione, laboratori, progetti didattici rivolti alle scuole, mostre, eventi pubblici o eventi di *living history*.

Per procedere a questa fase di ricognizione la commissione ha previsto una scheda, nella quale dovranno essere indicati la tipologia e la descrizione dell'attività, i soggetti organizzatori, la durata e i destinatari. Inoltre, Bandini ha evidenziato che, attraverso questo lavoro, potranno essere definite delle linee guida per la realizzazione degli eventi, in modo da uniformare le attività di disseminazione, divulgazione, *public history*, da parte delle singole unità di ricerca, sia durante che nella fase conclusiva del PRIN.

A chiudere il seminario è stato il coordinatore nazionale del progetto Roberto Sani il quale ha ribadito l'importanza di lavorare in un'ottica di collaborazione, guardando anche alle prospettive internazionali e prevedendo attività interdipartimentali in modo «che questo progetto diventi un fiore all'occhiello non solo a livello nazionale e che rappresenti, per tutti noi, una sfida per raggiungere importanti risultati nell'ambito della ricerca storico-educativa».

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