

HISTORY OF EDUCATION & CHILDREN'S LITERATURE XXI/1 2026

eum

History of Education & Children's Literature (HECL)

half-yearly journal / rivista semestrale
Vol. XXI, n. 1, 2026
ISSN 1971-1093 (print)
ISSN 1971-1131 (online)
2026 eum (Edizioni Università di Macerata, Italy)
Registrazione al Tribunale di Macerata
n. 546 del 3/2/2007

Editor-in-Chief / Direttore
Roberto Sani

Editorial Manager / Redattori Capo
Luigiaurelio Pomante, Marta Brunelli, Sofia Montecchiani, Lucia Paciaroni

Editorial Office / Redazione
Centro di Documentazione e Ricerca sulla Storia del Libro Scolastico e della Letteratura per l'Infanzia
c/o Dipartimento di Scienze della formazione, dei Beni culturali e del Turismo, Università degli Studi di Macerata, P.le Luigi Bertelli (C.da Vallebona), 62100 Macerata, tel. (39) 0733 258 5965-5967, fax (39) 0733 258 5977
web: <https://www.hecl.it>;
e-mail: roberto.sani@unimc.it

Peer Review Policy

All papers submitted for publication are passed on to two anonymous referees, who are chosen – on the basis of their expertise – among members of an International Referees' Committee. The Editor of the journal is in charge of the entire process, and Luigiaurelio Pomante is in charge of the peer review activities.

Referaggio articoli

Tutti gli articoli inviati alla redazione vengono sottoposti a referaggio anonimo da parte di due esperti, selezionati – sulla base delle loro competenze – nell'ambito di un Comitato Internazionale di *Referee*. Il Direttore della rivista è responsabile del processo, e Luigiaurelio Pomante è responsabile delle attività di referaggio.

Subscriptions

An annual subscription (two issues a year) to the print edition is available.

Fees per year

Euro countries: € 108,00 (VAT included);
other countries: € 139,00 (VAT included).

Single issues

Current issue: € 56 (VAT included);
back issue: € 69 (VAT included).

For further details please contact the publisher-distributor (ceum.riviste@unimc.it).

Abbonamenti

Abbonamenti annuali (due fascicoli l'anno) sono disponibili per la versione cartacea.

Quote annuali

Paesi dell'area Euro: € 108,00 (Iva inclusa);
altri paesi: € 139,00 (Iva inclusa).

Fascicoli singoli

Fascicolo corrente: € 56 (Iva inclusa);
fascicolo arretrato: € 69 (Iva inclusa).

Per ulteriori dettagli si prega di contattare l'editore-distributore (ceum.riviste@unimc.it).

Publisher-Distributor / Editore-Distributore

eum edizioni università di macerata
Palazzo Ciccolini, via XX settembre, 5
62100 Macerata; tel. (39) 0733 258 6080
web: <https://eum.unimc.it>;
e-mail: info.ceum@unimc.it
Orders/ordini: ceum.riviste@unimc.it

Design / Progetto grafico
+ studio crocevia

Cover Picture / Immagine di copertina
Laura Ralli

Impaginazione / Layout
Oltrepagina

Finito di stampare nel mese di giugno 2026
ISBN 979-12-5704-104-5 (print)
ISBN 979-12-5704-105-2 (PDF)

Copyright © 2026 Author(s). The authors retain all rights to the original work without any restrictions.

Copyright © 2026 Autore/i. Gli autori mantengono tutti i diritti sull'opera originale senza alcuna restrizione.

Open Access. This issue is distributed under the terms of the Creative Commons Attribution ShareAlike 4.0 International License (CC BY-SA 4.0) which allows re-distribution and re-use of a licensed work on the conditions that the creator is appropriately credited and that any derivative work is made available under "the same, similar or a compatible license".

Accesso aperto. Questo numero è distribuito secondo i termini della licenza internazionale Creative Commons Attribuzione - Condividi allo stesso modo 4.0 (CC-BY-SA 4.0) che consente la ridistribuzione e il riutilizzo di un'opera a condizione che il creatore sia opportunamente accreditato e che qualsiasi opera derivata sia resa disponibile con "la stessa licenza o una licenza simile o compatibile".

Contents

Indice

Essays and Researches

Saggi e Ricerche

- 11 Yu Fu
The Exemplar of Edutainment: Tong Xiegeng's *Yizhi* Puzzle and His Art of Integrating Learning with Play in Late Imperial China
- 51 Annamária Adamčíková
Formal Education and Latin in the Context of Secondary School Reform in the Period of the First Czechoslovak Republic
- 77 Roberto Sani
I professori di Storia dell'arte nelle Accademie e Istituti di Belle Arti dell'Italia unita (1861-1943). Prima parte
- 137 Teresa González Pérez
Las Conferencias Pedagógicas, una alternativa decimonónica para la formación permanente del magisterio español
- 163 Vladimir Borissovich Pomelov
The development of education and pedagogical thought in Russia in the era of Empress Catherine II (the second half of the XVIII century)
- 185 Refika Altıkulaç Demirdağ
Traditional Resistance and Narrators' Dialogue in Serial Children's Novels in the Modernising Ottoman Empire

- 201 Bomi Yi
The Formation of Good Christians and Obedient Subjects:
The Colonial Eritrean School and the Capuchin Textbooks
- 227 Jiachang Wei
The Strategy Testing and Examinee Backgrounds in Late
Qing Examination Reforms
- 249 Ingela Johansson, Henrik Rahm, Carmen Sanchidrián
Blanco
The wonderful and winding journeys of Nils Holgersson in
Spain
- 269 Rocco Labriola
Dalla caduta del fascismo alle riforme del 1955. Le cause
dell'inadempienza e della ripetenza scolastica in Basilicata e
gli sforzi per debellarle
- 283 Elvan Yalçinkaya, Durdu Celalettin Aslan, Hayati Samur
Social Studies Lessons at Pazarören Village Institute in Tur-
key: An Oral History Study
- 303 Zofia Frączek
The Role of the Family in Realizing Educational Ideals in
Poland during the Interwar Period (1918–1939)
- 321 Haifeng Hui
Reconstruction for Children Across Two Centuries: Educa-
tional Strategies and Moral Transformation in the Adapta-
tion of *Gulliver's Travels* (1726-1895)
- 341 Luigiaurelio Pomante
Giuseppe Lanza del Vasto and the *Community of the Ark*: a
project for school and non-violent, spiritual and moral edu-
cation
- 349 Xiaowei Wu
How Traditional Chinese Elementary Schools Organized
Time: Investigating Entry Age, Annual Cycle, and Daily
Schedule Through School Rules

- 367 Dana Kasperová, Tomáš Kasper
The “New” Civic Education in Czechoslovakia between Pedagogical Autonomy, Political Instrumentalization, Educational Sciences and the Soviet Model (1945-1953/1960) – Transfer Analysis
- 393 Sofia Montecchiani
Curricular Reforms in the Italian University System: Humanities Faculties and the Training of Secondary School Teachers between the Nineteenth and the Twentieth Centuries
- 413 Shu-hui Lin
The Journey of Identity in Taiwanese Bildungsroman
- 439 Barbara Sapała, Małgorzata Sławińska
Who was Nicolaus Copernicus? The Copernican narrative in contemporary Polish-language children’s literature
- 459 Piera Caocci
Prepararsi al concorso magistrale in Italia (1945-1980): testi e guide per gli aspiranti maestri degli istituti magistrali
- 479 Stefania Carioli
Less than Human. A true-life portrait of child abuse in Matilde Serao’s (1856-1927) short story *Canituccia* (1883)
- 495 Simone Marsi
Antonietta Fantozzi: critica, docente, donna. Una microstoria tra educazione letteraria e spazio femminile nell’Italia del primo Novecento

Sources and Documents

Fonti e Documenti

- 521 Roberto Sani
Geografia e storia dell’insegnamento della Storia dell’Arte nelle Accademie e Istituti di Belle Arti dell’Italia unita (1861-1943)

*Critical Reviews***Rassegne critiche, Discussioni, Recensioni***Critical Reviews / Rassegne critiche*

- 605 Giorgio Chiosso
Recenti pubblicazioni storico pedagogiche educative 2024-2025
- 617 Carla Ghizzoni, Lorenzo Cantatore, Alberto Barausse
Cattolici nella storia italiana. A proposito di una recente e importante pubblicazione
- 649 Carmela Covato
Una maestra per contadini ed emigrati. L'esperienza di Cleofe Forti in un recente volume di Anna Pia Bidolli
- 659 Mokhtar Benzaid
Critical evaluation of *Messenger* by Lois Lowry
- 663 Luigiaurelio Pomante
Università sotto esame. Alcune riflessioni sul sistema universitario italiano contemporaneo a partire da una recente pubblicazione
- 669 Maria Ortenzi
L'educazione nelle prime regole monastiche. Spunti di riflessione a partire da un recente contributo

Forum / Discussioni

- 675 Amir Karimi
Chronicles of Learning: Trend Analysis and Clustering in the History of Education
- 701 Marco Antonio D'Arcangeli
Sul senso della storia della scuola in Giacomo Cives

Notices / Recensioni

- 711 Franca Vezzani e Arrigo Desideri, *Rispondimi subito... Lettere di una madrina di guerra e del suo figlioccio durante il II conflitto mondiale* (C. Martinelli)

- 712 Piergiovanni Genovesi, *La Marcia sulla Minerva. Il domino politico della «più fascista» delle riforme 1922-1924* (C. Betti)
- 717 Mette Buchardt (ed.), *Educational Secularization within Europe and Beyond: The Political Projects of Modernizing Religion Through Education Reform* (E. Scaglia)
- 719 Alessandro Breccia, Luigiaurelio Pomante (edd.), *Il Consiglio Superiore della Pubblica Istruzione e il governo del sistema universitario in età repubblicana* (M. Ortenzi)
- 720 Stefania Paoli (ed.), *Ippolito Amicarelli. Preside Rettore del Convitto di Napoli (1865-1889). Da documenti dell'Archivio storico del Convitto di Napoli 1875-1882* (L. Capriotti)

*Essays and
Researches*



Saggi e
Ricerche

The Exemplar of Edutainment: Tong Xiegeng's *Yizhi* Puzzle and His Art of Integrating Learning with Play in Late Imperial China

Yu Fu
Department of History
Hong Kong Baptist University
Hong Kong (China)
21481148@life.hkbu.edu.hk

ABSTRACT: Tong Xiegeng's 童叶庚 (1828–1899) *yizhi* puzzle (*yizhitu* 益智图) exemplifies a pioneering model of edutainment in late imperial China, seamlessly integrating intellectual cultivation, moral education, and aesthetic engagement within an interactive gameplay framework. Invented in 1862 as an evolution of the traditional Tangram, this 15-piece tangram puzzle transcended mere recreation by embedding classical poetry, historical narratives, and ethical maxims into its puzzle-solving mechanics. Through rigorous textual and visual analysis of the series of *yizhi* puzzle books, this study argues that the *yizhi* puzzle achieved edutainment synergy via three innovations: (1) universal accessibility appealing to children, elites, and even the imperial court; (2) multidimensional content design that merged cognitive challenges (e.g., character/poetry assembly) with Confucian moral tales and artistic creation; (3) text-image pedagogical synergy where abstract puzzle outcomes visualized literary texts, enabling embodied learning. Through a comprehensive analysis of Tong Xiegeng's educational ideas in the series of *yizhi* puzzle books, this research illuminates the enduring significance of the *yizhi* puzzle. This exploration not only deepens our understanding of traditional Chinese educational toys but also highlights their potential in shaping modern pedagogical approaches. Furthermore, the series of *yizhi* puzzle books reflects Tong's perspectives on children, childhood, children's games, and toys as an ordinary intellectual of the late Qing Dynasty. This investigation contributes to the history of children's games and toys and to the broader field of Chinese childhood studies.

EET/TEE KEYWORDS: Edutainment; *Yizhi* puzzle; Tong Xiegeng; Text-image integration; Chinese pedagogy; XIX Century.

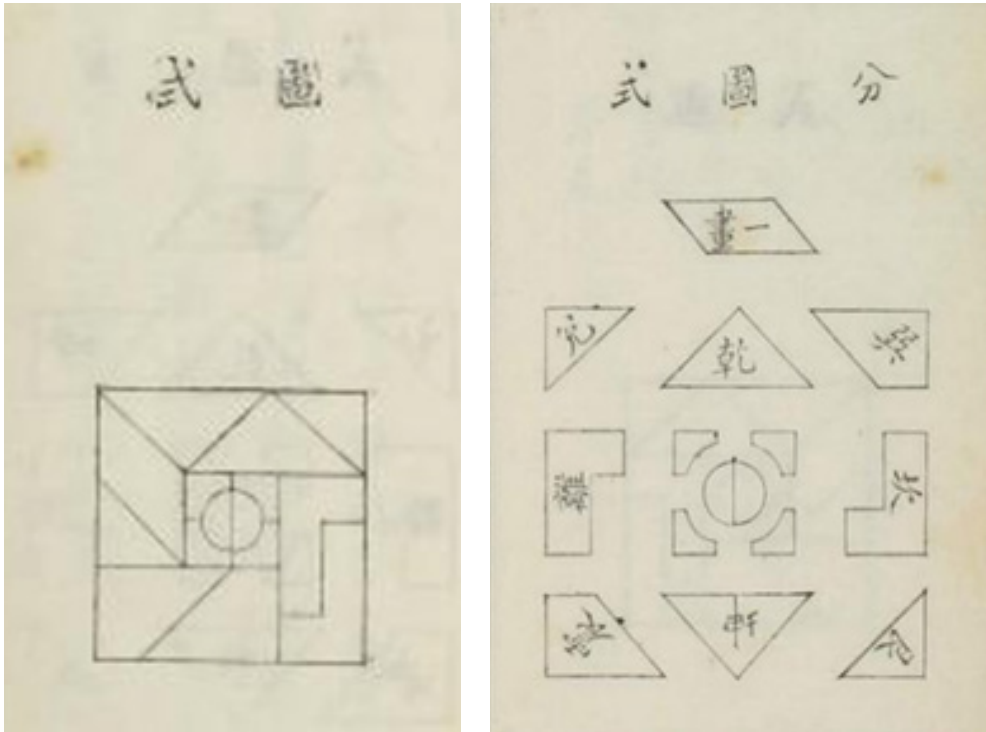
Introduction

The mid-19th century marked a profound transformation in China's perception of childhood. Amidst the backdrop of imperial decline and Western encroachment, reformers like Liang Qichao 梁启超 (1873–1929) began to view children as «the nation's future», emphasizing the need for educational tools that foster both intellectual growth and civic virtues¹. Traditional primers (*mengshu* 蒙书), with their reliance on rote memorization, failed to engage young learners effectively. It was in this context that Tong Xiegeng 童叶庚 (1828–1899), a former county magistrate in Zhejiang, introduced the *yizhi* puzzle [益智图] in 1862 – a 15-piece tangram puzzle designed to nurture wisdom through play (see Pic. 1 and Pic. 2). Unlike top-down reformist agendas, Tong's innovation arose from observing children's play, enhancing the Tangram by incorporating eight additional polygonal pieces inspired by the cosmology of the *Book of Changes* [I Ching 易经], including elements like the «Great Terminus» [太极], the «Two Elementary Forms» [两仪], the «Four Emblematic Symbols» [四象], and the «Eight Trigrams» [八卦], thus unlocking complex creative potentials. Tong Xiegeng and his family also published a series of books related to the *yizhi* puzzle: *Yizhitu* 益智图, *Yizhi xutu* 益



Pic. 1. An Image of Tong Xiegeng Holding a Treasured Mirror. Reprinted from Tong Xiegeng, *Chaojie shanren xiaoying* 巢睫山人小影 in *Yizhitu* 益智图, Shanghai, Shangwu yinshuguan, 1933, Vol. 1.

¹ For further references on the relationship between Chinese children and the state, see J.L. Saari, *Legacies of Childhood: Growing up Chinese in a Time of Crisis, 1890–1920*, Cambridge, MA, Council on East Asian Studies, Harvard University, 1990; A.F. Jones, *The Child as History in Republican China: A Discourse on Development*, «Positions: East Asia Cultures Critique», vol. 10, n. 3, 2002, pp. 695–727; J. Flath, N. Smith (edd.), *Beyond Suffering: Recounting War in Modern China*, Vancouver, UBC Press, 2011; C. Plum, *Lost Childhoods in a New China: Child-Citizens-Workers at War, 1937–1945*, «European Journal of East Asian Studies», vol. 11, n. 2, 2012, pp. 237–258; S. Graziani, *Youth and the Making of Modern China: A Study of the Communist Youth League's Organisation and Strategies in Times of Revolution (1920–1937)*, «European Journal of East Asian Studies», vol. 13, n. 1, 2014, pp. 117–149; P. Zarrow, *Educating China: Knowledge, Society, and Textbooks in a Modernizing World, 1902–1937*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2015, pp. 77–146.



Pic. 2. Tong Xiegeng's Yizhi Puzzle. Reprinted from Tong Xiegeng, *tushi* 圖式 and *fen tushi* 分圖式 in *Yizhitu*, cit., Vol. 1.

智续图, *Yizhi zitu* 益智字图, *Yizhi yanjitu* 益智燕几图, *Yizhitu yinzhiwen* 益智图阴鹭文², and *Yizhitu qianziwen* 益智图千字文. These publications represent the collective achievements of Tong Xiegeng and his family, highlighting their collaborative efforts, although Tong Xiegeng is the sole inventor of the puzzle.

Existing research has predominantly concentrated on the background of Tong and his family, the philosophical connections to the *Book of Changes*, and the artistic and educational significance of the *yizhi* puzzle series³. What

² Unfortunately, *Yizhitu yinzhiwen* was not well preserved and has been lost.

³ Xu Yunqiu 徐运秋, *Tong Xiegeng*, «Guoxue lunheng 国学论衡», n. 6, 1935, p. 48; Zhuo Guan 卓观, *Ji Chongming Tong Xiegeng xiansheng (futu, shufa)* 记崇明童叶庚先生 (附图、书法), «Su duo 苏铎», vol. 2, n. 1, 1941, pp. 23-25; *Ji Chongming Tong Xiegeng xiansheng* 记崇明童叶庚先生, «Jiangsu wenxian 江苏文献», n. 5-6, 1942, pp. 139-140; Kao Gu 考古, Jia Sha 佳莎, *Woguo gudai Yizhitu kaoshu* 我国古代《益智图》考述, «Neimenggu shehui kexue 内蒙古社会科学», n. 2, 1990, p. 72; *Yizhitu qianchu muhou gushi* 《益智图》牵出幕后故事, «Chengshi shangbao 城市商报», n. 9, 2009, A02; Liu Lei 刘磊, *Yizhitu tanwei* 《益智图》探微, «Xungen 寻根», n. 5, 2013, p. 90; Chai Taoxiong 柴焄熊, *Tong Xiegeng*, Shanghai, Shanghai renmin chubanshe, 2015; Id., *Tong Xiegeng yu zhili wanju* 童叶庚与智力玩具, «Chongming bao 崇明报», December 13, 2017, p. 4; Liu Weizhen 刘为珍, *Tong Zhiyu yu tade Tongshi yizhitu* 童治宇与他

has been lacking is a comprehensive analysis of how this puzzle integrates entertainment with education – a gap this study aims to fill. I assert that Tong’s brilliance lay not just in expanding the physical form of the puzzle, but in creating a multimodal edutainment ecosystem: his publications seamlessly integrated puzzles with classical texts, transforming gameplay into a medium for intellectual, moral, and aesthetic education.

The article is organized as follows: The following section explores the educational objectives and target pedagogical audience of Tong’s puzzle book series. The following section delves into the puzzle’s content architecture, illustrating how intellectual, moral, and aesthetic education were embedded into play. Additionally, considering that this series exemplifies the «integration of text and image», we analyze how Tong and his family skillfully utilized this combination. From an educational standpoint, particularly regarding children’s education, what role does this integration play? The final section assesses its legacy, arguing that Tong – an “ordinary intellectual” – challenged conventional biases against games for children and advocated for a child-centered perspective.

1. *Conceptualizing Edutainment: Tong Xiegeng’s Design Philosophy for the Yizhi Puzzle*

Tong Xiegeng created the *yizhi* puzzle as a means to «alleviate his boredom» [自娱]. However, he soon discovered that his invention not only brought him joy but also «provided amusement to others» [娱人]⁴. Although the original purpose of the series of *yizhi* puzzle books was leisure and entertainment, Tong Xiegeng and his family also sought to incorporate educational principles. As a result, the series became a «tool for developing the mind» [开发心智]⁵. The Chinese name of Tong’s puzzle, *yizhitu* 益智图, is indicative of this core aim of the puzzle. *Yi* [益] can be translated as «benefit» or «advantage», indicating something that is helpful or advantageous. *Zhi* [智] can be translated as «intelligence» or «wisdom», referring to intellect, or the ability to think and reason. See, for example, the following passage from the *Analects*: «To devote oneself earnestly to one’s duty to one’s humanity and, while respecting the spirits, to avoid them, may be called Wisdom [zhi]»⁶. The acquisition of wisdom is in-

的童氏益智图, «Xunyang wanbao 浔阳晚», December 15, 2018, A9; Li Xiangwen 李祥文, *Tong Xiegeng Yizhitu zhi yaqu ji buzhu* 童叶庚《益智图》之雅趣及不足, «Mei yu shidai 美与时代», n. 8, 2023, pp. 81-83; Id., *Tong Xiegeng Yizhitu de chushi yu rushi jingshen* 童叶庚《益智图》的出世与入世精神, «Mei yu shidai», n. 9, 2024, pp. 92-95.

⁴ Tong Xiegeng, *zixu* 自序 in *Yizhitu*, cit., Vol. 1.

⁵ Id., *zixu* in *Yizhitu*, cit., Vol. 1.

⁶ The original text is «务民之义，敬鬼神而远之，可谓知矣». Engl. transl. by W.E. Soothill, *The Analects of Confucius*, New York, Paragon Book Reprint Corp., 1968, p. 311.

separable from morality because, remaining with the *Analects*, «To learn, by which the Sage meant the study of morals [...] means the acquisition of wisdom and its expression in conduct»⁷. *Zhi* can also be understood as knowledge. For example, «I am not one who has innate knowledge, but one who, loving antiquity, is diligent in seeking in therein» (also from the *Analects*)⁸.

Tong also consistently emphasizes in his books that «while this is a game» [虽属游戏], «the textual expressions found in these associated books should not be dismissed as insignificant» [笔墨未可视为小道也], which reflects the meticulous efforts of Tong and his family in the design process⁹. A fundamental principle underlying the *yizhi* puzzle is the ability to «extrapolate from one instance to other cases»¹⁰. The patterns in the book series serve as mere samples, encouraging children to leverage the relationships between the puzzle pieces and devise new arrangements that differ from the examples provided. Moreover, they have the freedom to design patterns for various subjects, allowing for creative exploration beyond the confines of the given combinations.

Tong's puzzle attracted a wide-ranging audience, including people of opposite genders, diverse ages and classes. For instance, women were included as the puzzle's intended audience. One example is that Tong described the *yizhi* puzzle as a pastime for intellectuals and accomplished women from wealthy families in *Yizhi xutu*¹¹. Tong's puzzle was also accessible to individuals of all ages, with children naturally falling into the intended audience. This is supported by the origin story of *Yizhi zitu*: the book evolved from Tong's son's handwriting practice, aiding in the development of his calligraphy¹². Additionally, while the initial concept of *Yizhitu qianziwen* emerged from a challenge posed by Tong's friend, its prototype, the *Thousand-Character Classic* [*Qianziwen* 千字文], held significance in traditional Chinese children's educational literature. Moreover, Tong's puzzle not only functioned as a popular folk toy for the general public but also received the attention of the imperial family in the late Qing. For example, Prince Gong 恭亲王 (Yixin 奕訢, 1833–1898), the sixth son of the Daoguang Emperor, was very fond of the *yizhi* puzzle. He even owned an exquisite ivory *yizhi* puzzle set, the pieces of which were placed in a small square copper box that he carried with him. In 1893, Prince Gong provided the four-character inscription [操觚新格] «forging new scribal forms» for *Yizhitu qianziwen*¹³. It was said that Puyi 溥仪 (1906–1967), the last em-

⁷ Soothill, *The Analects of Confucius*, cit., p. 108.

⁸ The original text is «我非生而知之者，好古，敏以求之者也» in Soothill, *The Analects of Confucius*, cit., p. 351.

⁹ Tong Xiegeng, *ba* 跋 in *Yizhi xutu*, Shanghai, Shangwu yinshuguan, 1924.

¹⁰ Id., *bianyan* 弁言 in *Yizhi xutu*, cit.

¹¹ Id., *jiechao* 解嘲 in *Yizhi xutu*, cit.

¹² Zhu Meijun 祝梅君, *Yizhi zitu*, Shanghai, Shangwu yinshuguan, 1924, «zitu fu 字图附». Zhu Meijun is Tong Xiegeng's wife.

¹³ Tong Xiegeng, *tizi* 题字 in *Yizhitu qianziwen*, Shanghai, Shangwu yinshuguan, 1923.

peror of Qing, played with Tong's puzzle during his childhood¹⁴. It remains challenging to substantiate this claim, despite the existence of a collection of *yizhi* puzzle sets in the Palace Museum today¹⁵. Nevertheless, these examples collectively indicate the widespread popularity of Tong's puzzle, even among members of the imperial family.

2. Weaving Knowledge, Virtue, and Beauty: The Multifaceted Content of Edutainment

Examples of poetry, allusions, and objects in *Yizhitu*, along with their annotations, can serve as materials for intellectual, moral, and aesthetic education. Similarly, within *Yizhi zitu*, examples of character combinations and their annotations can function as sources for these three kinds of education. In *Yizhi xutu*, examples of everyday objects and their annotations can be utilized as a medium for moral and aesthetic education. The combinations related to tables in *Yizhi yanjitu* can be used as materials for intellectual education. Examples of character combinations in *Yizhitu qianziwen* can serve as sources for intellectual and aesthetic education.

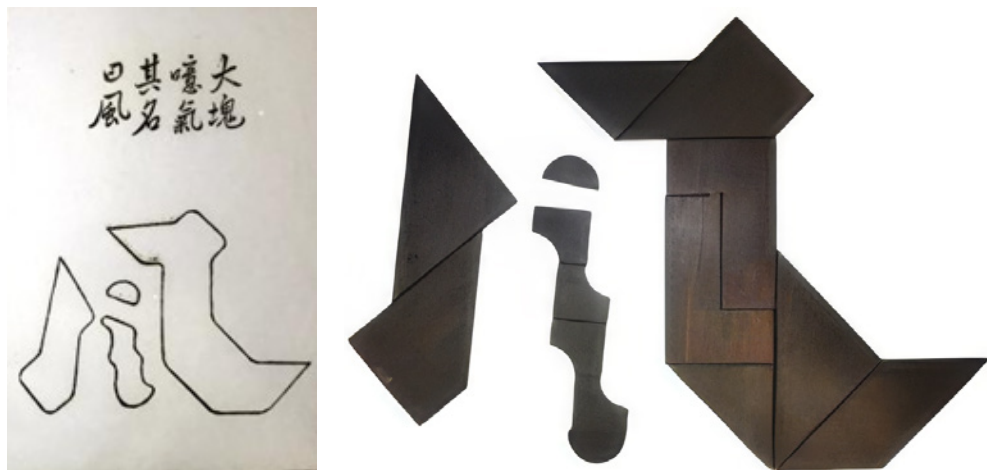
2.1. Intellectual Play: Learning Through the *Yizhi* Puzzle

Playing the *yizhi* puzzle can greatly enhance children's intellectual development by providing them with knowledge in various disciplines, including Chinese characters, poetry, geometry, and history. Firstly, Tong's puzzle serves as a tool for inspiring young children to explore Chinese characters and poetry. For example, *Yizhi zitu* comprises 150 patterns based on Chinese characters, each with its own distinctive features and accompanied by concise explanations. Among them, the pattern for the character *feng* 风 [wind] is accompanied by the following annotation, from the *Zhuangzi*: «dakuai yiqi, qi ming wei feng» 大块噫气, 其名为风¹⁶ (see Pic. 3). In this pattern, the curved part in

¹⁴ Liu Baojian 刘宝建, *Huanggong li de wanju* 皇宫里的玩具, «Zijincheng 紫禁城», n. 6, 2006, p. 39; Peter Rasmussen, Zhang Wei, Liu Nian [刘念], *Quwan 1: Zhongguo chuantong yizhi youxi* 趣玩 1: 中国传统益智游戏, Beijing, Sanlian shudian, 2021, p. 209. Unfortunately, no further primary evidence has been found to confirm the connection between Puyi and Tong's puzzle.

¹⁵ *Qiqiaotu he Yizhitu* 《七巧图》和《益智图》, <<https://www.dpm.org.cn/collection/utensil/233316.html>> (last access: 23.01.2025).

¹⁶ The translation is «When the breath of the Great Mass (of nature) comes strongly, it is called Wind», see Engl. transl. by J. Legge, *The Tao Tê Ching: The Writings of Chuang-Tzû, the Thâi-Shan Tractate of Actions and Their Retributions*, Taipei, Ch'eng-wen Publications, 1976, p. 225.



Pic. 3. The Character *Feng* (Wind) Formed in *Yizhi zitu*. The pattern on the left is reprinted from Zhu Meijun, *Yizhi zitu*, cit., 26b. The pattern on the right is assembled by the author of this article.

the middle can be seen as the breath coming out of the mouth. From another perspective, the overall shape depicts a person standing between two boulders, bent over as if being buffeted by the wind. This combination vividly captures the essence of “wind” and facilitates easy understanding.

Secondly, the combinations of Chinese characters in *Yizhi zitu* could be pieced together into poems or lines from famous works, showcasing the beauty and depth of Chinese language and culture. Examples include «Mingyue zhiru» 明月直入¹⁷, «Qingfeng xulai» 清风徐来¹⁸, «Zhengxin xiushen» 正心修身¹⁹, «Keji fuli» 克己复礼²⁰, «Zhilan junzide, songbai gurenxin» 芝兰君子德,

¹⁷ The original text is «明月直入, 无心可猜», [A beam of bright moonlight floods the room, attesting to my sincere intentions, / truly nothing worth speculating about]. See Li Bai 李白, *Dulu pian* 独漉篇 in *Li Taibai wenji* 李太白文集, Shanghai, Shangwu yinshuguan, 1930, juan 卷 4, yuefu 乐府 2, p. 32.

¹⁸ The original text is «清风徐来, 水波不兴», [A gentle breeze blows in, / the water's surface undisturbed, not a ripple in sight]. See Su Shi, *Qian chibi fu* 前赤壁赋 in *Su Dongpo quanji* 苏东坡全集, Beijing, Beijing yanshan chubanshe, 1998, Vol. I, juan 卷 1, p. 14.

¹⁹ The original text is «物格而后知至, 知至而后意诚, 意诚而后心正, 心正而后身修, 身修而后家齐, 家齐而后国治, 国治而后天下平», [Things being investigated, their knowledge became complete. Their knowledge being complete, their thoughts were sincere. Their thoughts being sincere, their hearts were then rectified. Their hearts being rectified, their persons were cultivated. Their persons being cultivated, their families were regulated. Their families being regulated, their states were rightly governed. Their states being rightly governed, the whole kingdom was made tranquil and happy]. See Engl. transl. by J. Legge, *Li Chi: Book of Rites: An Encyclopedia of Ancient Ceremonial Usages, Religious Creeds, and Social Institution*, New York, University Books, 1967, Vol. 2, p. 412.

²⁰ The original text is «克己复礼为仁, 一日克己复礼, 天下归仁焉», [Virtue is the denial of

松柏古人心²¹, «Bafang tong riyue, liuhe gong shanchuan» 八方同日月, 六合共山川²², «Busu ji xiang, duoqing nai foxin» 不俗即仙骨, 多情乃佛心²³, and «Kaizhang tian'anma, qiyi renzhonglong» 开张天岸马, 奇逸人中龙²⁴, and derived from the works of renowned poets, such as Li Bai and Su Shi, or from the teachings in *The Four Books and Five Classics*, such as *The Great Learning* and *The Analects of Confucius*. By immersing themselves in the game, players are subtly influenced to appreciate and learn these famous poems, fostering a deeper understanding and appreciation of Chinese literature and philosophy.

Similarly, there are 63 assorted lines of famous poetry in the first volume of *Yizhitu*. The selected verses mainly consist of works from the Tang and Song dynasties, accounting for 50% and 25% respectively. The reasons for this choice are quite clear. During the Tang and Song periods, Chinese poetry reached remarkable heights, characterized by profound artistic expression, rich cultural significance, and enduring literary value. The poets of this era were masters of language, adept at capturing the essence of human emotions, nature's beauty, and the complexities of life. Their works have stood the test of time, influencing generations of poets and leaving an indelible mark on Chinese literature²⁵. It is important to highlight that Tang poetry started being integrated into elementary school curriculum in the Mid-Tang Dynasty. One of the factors behind this is the traditional Chinese belief that children could

self and response to what is right and proper. Deny yourself for one day and respond to the right and proper, and everyone will accord you Virtuous]. See *The Analects of Confucius*, cit., pp. 557–558.

²¹ The original text is «芝兰生于深林, 不以无人而不芳; 君子修道立德, 不为穷困而改节», [The orchid thrives deep in the forest, / its fragrance not withheld even when no one is around; / a noble person cultivates virtue and integrity, / unwavering in principles despite hardship]. See *Kongzi jiaoyu* 孔子家语, annot. Wang Su 王肃, Shanghai, Dazhong shuju, 1933, p. 109. «松柏古人心», [The hearts of ancient people are like pine and cypress] is the text of a calligraphic work by Wang Shimin 王时敏 (1592–1680), who was a famous painter of the late Ming and early Qing dynasties.

²² The original text is «八荒同日月, 万古共山川», [All things in the world share the same sun and moon, / while since ancient times, the mountains and rivers have been a shared spectacle]. See Yuan Zhen, *Chuge shishou* 楚歌十首 in *Yuanshi changqing ji* 元氏长庆集, Shanghai, Shanghai yinshuguan, 1936, p. 24.

²³ The original text is «不俗即仙骨, 多情是佛心», [If a person can shed worldly airs, they embody the aura of a celestial being; / and if one is compassionate, they can possess a heart as merciful as that of a Buddha]. See Jiang Shiquan 蒋士铨 (1725–1785), *Linchuan meng* 临川梦, annot. Shao Haiqing 邵海清, Shanghai, Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1989, p. 155.

²⁴ The translation is [The finest horse in the realm boasts a lineage of divine dragons, / while exceptional individuals are akin to dragons among men].

²⁵ B. Watson, *Chinese Lyricism: Shih Poetry from the Second to the Twelfth Century, with Translations*, New York, Columbia University Press, 1971, pp. 109–224; V.H. Mair, *The Columbia History of Chinese Literature*, New York, Columbia University Press, 2001, pp. 274–313, 337–69; S. Owen, *The Late Tang: Chinese Poetry of the Mid-Ninth Century (827–1860)*, Cambridge, MA, Harvard University Asia Center, 2006; M.A. Fuller, *An Introduction to Chinese Poetry: From the Canon of Poetry to the Lyrics of the Song Dynasty*, Cambridge, MA, Harvard University Asia Center, 2017.

acquire the skill of composing poetry through the memorization of poems²⁶. In this sense, Tong Xiegeng adopted the same strategy, since the poems selected in *Yizhi* were well known and not difficult to understand.

Thirdly, it is important to note that the series of *yizhi* puzzle books enhances players' understanding of geometry. Tong's puzzle is a captivating geometric-graphical game that demands keen observation skills and attentiveness to the geometric relationships between its pieces. For example, there are some repeated characters in *Yizhi zitu*, like «human» [人], «big» [大], «self» [己], «book» [书], «rite» [礼], «so» [所], «eight» [八], «nine» [九], «ten» [十], and «thousand» [千]. The character “human” is represented in five distinct patterns. Despite having only two strokes, these examples present completely different arrangements. The strokes vary in thickness and detail with differing annotations. This implies that players must possess keen observation skills, patience, and attention to detail in order to recreate these intricate designs.

Yizhi yanjitu is also closely tied to geometric knowledge. The *yizhi* puzzle can be arranged into various geometric shapes, such as «zhougui» 周规, «zheju» 折矩, «changfang» 长方, «bianfang» 扁方, etc.²⁷. Each category can be further divided into various types, with *zheju* featuring nine additional versions for a total of ten patterns and *changfang* employing three additional versions for a total of four patterns. In fact, in the extant version of *Yizhi yanjitu* referred to for this study, identifying the playing methods can be challenging due to the complex combination of rectangles and squares, while the outlines of triangles, pentagons, hexagons, parallelograms, and semicircles are difficult to discern. There is a total of 30 groups of «original patterns» [正体] in *Yizhi yanjitu*, which includes 100 original patterns. The names of these patterns are based on the layout of the table arrangements. Tong always emphasized that players could generalize from the original examples in the book and create different patterns based on them²⁸.

Lastly, the series of *yizhi* puzzle books offers readers a unique opportunity to gain historical knowledge²⁹. In the late Qing Dynasty, an American mis-

²⁶ Bai Limin, *Shaping the Ideal Child: Children and Their Primers in Late Imperial China*, Hong Kong, The Chinese University Press, 2005, p. 43.

²⁷ In traditional China, the *gui* 规 was a specialized tool used for drawing circles, while the *ju* 矩 was an L-shaped ruler designed for creating right angles, see *Zhoubi suanjing* 周髀算经, attributed to Zhao Junqing 赵君卿 (ca. 182–ca. 250), reorganized by Zhen Luan 甄鸾 (dates unknown), annot. Li Chunfeng 李淳风 (602–670), in *Sibu congkan chubian* 四部丛刊初编, Shanghai, Shangwu yinshuguan, 1936, *zibu* 子部, vol. 388, *juan* 卷 1, p. 6. *Changfang* referred to a rectangular shape, and *bianfang* indicated a flat rectangle shape.

²⁸ Tong Xiegeng, *Yizhi yanjitu*, cit.

²⁹ In village schools for elementary education, there exists a form of introductory textbook called *Mengqiu* 蒙求, which comprises anecdotes and rhymed phrases. The initial *Mengqiu* book was authored by Li Han 李翰, a scholar who achieved the *jinshi* 进士 degree during the Later Tang Dynasty (923–936). The text, presented in rhymed verses, encompassed 596 four-character phrases distributed across two chapters (*juan*), with each phrase containing an allusion.

sionary working at Peking University was entrusted by a friend to investigate the effects of different Chinese children's games. He found that a high-ranking official's son had a keen interest in the *yizhi* puzzle and could skillfully arrange it to depict a hippopotamus and a Luo turtle, associating them with the traditional Chinese stories of Fu Xi 伏羲 and Yu the Great 大禹³⁰. This implies that players, while playing with this toy, are also subtly learning about the historical background behind the examples. Examples of Chinese historical and cultural allusions in the first volume of *Yizhitu* include «Che Wu nangying» 车武囊萤³¹, «Sun Kang yingxue» 孙康映雪³², «Zaobi touguang» 凿壁偷光³³, «Suiyue dushu» 随月读书³⁴, «Yiqiao jinlü» 圯桥进履³⁵, «Yiqin yihe» 一琴一鹤³⁶, «Wanshi diantou» 顽石点头³⁷, «Mianbi liuying» 面壁留影³⁸, «Huxi sanxiao» 虎溪三笑³⁹, «Paozhuang hualong» 抛杖化龙⁴⁰, «Qiniu guoguan» 骑牛

Typically, the first two characters denoted the individual referenced, while the subsequent two summarized the tale, drawing mainly from historical texts or legends. See Engl. transl. by B. Watson, *Meng Ch'iu: Famous Episodes from Chinese History and Legend*, Tokyo, Kodansha International, 1979. Tong Xiegeng's book contains some of the same allusions as *Mengqiu*, but Tong did not use rhymed phrases.

³⁰ I. Taylor Headland, *The Chinese Boy and Girl*, New York, Fleming H. Revell Company, 1901, pp. 116–117.

³¹ Tong Xiegeng, *Yizhitu*, cit., Vol. 1, 25b. For the source of this allusion, Fang Xuanling (comp.), *Jin shu*, cit., vol. 4, *juan* 卷 83, «liezhuan» 列传 53, p. 2177.

³² Tong Xiegeng, *Yizhitu*, cit., Vol. 1, 26a. For the source of this allusion, see Ouyang Xun (comp.), *tianbu xia* 天部下 in *Yiwen leiju*, cit., *juan* 卷 2, p. 23.

³³ Tong Xiegeng, *Yizhitu*, cit., Vol. 1, 26b. For the source of this allusion, see Ge Hong 葛洪 (ca. 238–ca. 363), *Xijing zaji* 西京杂记, Beijing, Zhonghua shuju, 1985, p. 12.

³⁴ Tong Xiegeng, *Yizhitu*, cit., Vol. 1, 27a. For the source of this allusion, see Xiao Zixian 萧子显 (487–537) (comp.), *Nanqi shu* 南齐书, Beijing, Zhonghua shuju, 1972, *juan* 卷 55, «liezhuan» 列传 36, p. 295.

³⁵ Tong Xiegeng, *Yizhitu*, cit., Vol. 1, 27b. For the source of this allusion, see Sima Qian, *Shiji*, cit., Vol. 6, *juan* 卷 55, «liuhou shijia 留侯世家», 25, pp. 2034–2035.

³⁶ Tong Xiegeng, *Yizhitu*, cit., Vol. 1, 28a. For the source of this allusion, see Tuotuo etc. (comp.), *Zhao Bian* in *Songsbi*, cit., *juan* 卷 316, «liezhuan 列传», 75, p. 10323.

³⁷ Tong Xiegeng, *Yizhitu*, cit., Vol. 1, 28b. For the source of this allusion, see *Lianshe gaoxian zhuan* 莲社高贤传, Beijing, Zhonghua shuju, 1991, pp. 7–8.

³⁸ Tong Xiegeng, *Yizhitu*, cit., Vol. 1, 29a. According to legend, the famous Buddhist figure Bodhidharma (382–536) spent a decade meditating facing a wall inside a stone cave. When he departed, an image resembling his meditative posture was mysteriously left on the stone opposite, like a faint ink wash painting. See Ye Feng 叶封, *Shaolinsi zhi* 少林寺志, Yangzhou, Guangling guji keyinshe, 1997, p. 54.

³⁹ Tong Xiegeng, *Yizhitu*, cit., Vol. 1, 29b. During the Eastern Jin Dynasty, the venerable monk Huiyuan 慧远 (334–416), the poet Tao Yuanming, and the Taoist priest Lu Xiuqing 陆修静 (406–477) engaged in joyful conversation. Unwittingly, they crossed the boundary of Tiger Brook and shared a hearty laugh together. See Chen Shunyu 陈舜俞 (?–1076), *Lushan ji* 庐山记, Beijing, Zhonghua shuju, 1985, *juan* 卷 2, p. 9.

⁴⁰ Tong Xiegeng, *Yizhitu*, cit., Vol. 1, 30a. During the Eastern Han Dynasty, Fei Changfang 费长房 (b. 68) encountered Master Hu 壶公 selling medicine in the marketplace. Subsequently, he followed Master Hu into the mountains to study the ways of immortality. Master Hu tested Fei Changfang's determination through various trials and eventually gifted him a bamboo staff, informing him that riding it would lead him back home. Upon returning home, Fei Changfang

过关⁴¹, «Chishi chengyang» 叱石成羊⁴², «Qin'gao chili» 琴高赤鲤⁴³, «Tiantai caiyao» 天台采药⁴⁴, «Baling zuiwei» 霸陵醉尉⁴⁵, «Qiting huabi» 旗亭画壁⁴⁶, «Zuimian wengce» 醉眠瓮侧⁴⁷, «Changji xi'nan» 长吉奚囊⁴⁸, «Shangyu mao-wu» 赏雨茆屋⁴⁹, «Midian baishi» 米颠拜石⁵⁰, «Taxue xunmei» 踏雪寻梅⁵¹,

threw the bamboo staff near his house, and it instantly transformed into a dragon. See Wang Shizhen 王士禛 (1634–1711), *Song Gao Niandong xiansheng yugao huanshan wushou* 送高念东先生予告还山五首 in *Yuyang shanren jinghualu* 渔洋山人精华录, Shanghai, Shangwu yinshuguan, 1937, p. 203.

⁴¹ Tong Xiegeng, *Yizhitu*, cit., Vol. 1, 30b. The founder of Taoism, Laozi, rode a green bull through the Hangu guan 函谷关. See Liu Xiang 刘向 (77–6 BCE), *Laozi, Liexian zhuan* 列仙传, annot. Lin Wu 林屋, Beijing, Zhonghua shuju, 2021, pp. 28–33.

⁴² Tong Xiegeng, *Yizhitu*, cit., Vol. 1, 31a. At the age of fifteen, Huang Chuping 黄初平 (ca. 328–ca. 386) was taken by a Taoist to practice in the stone chamber of Jinhua Mountain while he was out shepherding. He did not return for over forty years. His brother searched for him for many years without success. Eventually, guided by the Taoist, he found Huang Chuping. To show his brother the flock of sheep, Huang Chuping shouted, and the white stones immediately transformed into a flock of sheep. See Ouyang Xun 欧阳询 (557–641) (comp.), *shoubu zhong* 兽部中 in *Yuwen leiju* 艺文类聚, Shanghai, Zhonghua shuju, 1965, *juan* 卷 94, p. 1633.

⁴³ Tong Xiegeng, *Yizhitu*, cit., Vol. 1, 31b. During the Warring States period, Qin Gao 琴高 of the state of Zhao achieved immortality by riding a red carp. See Liu Xiang, *Qin Gao* in *Liexian zhuan*, pp. 88–90.

⁴⁴ Tong Xiegeng, *Yizhitu*, cit., Vol. 1, 32a. During the Eastern Han Dynasty, Ruan Zhao 阮肇 and Liu Chen 刘晨 encountered celestial maidens while gathering herbs on Mount Tiantai, and they became couples with them. See Li Fang, *tiantai shan* 天台山 in *Taiping yulan* 太平御览, Beijing, Zhonghua shuju, 1960, Vol. 1, *juan* 卷 41, “dibu” 地部 6, pp. 194–195.

⁴⁵ Tong Xiegeng, *Yizhitu*, Vol. 1, 32b. During the Han Dynasty, General Li Guang 李广 (?–119 BCE), upon being dismissed from his post, went hunting at the Baling Station 霸陵亭 (located in present-day Shaanxi Province) and was subjected to humiliation by the intoxicated Baling Magistrate. See Sima Qian 司马迁 (145–90 BCE), *Shiji* 史记, Beijing, Zhonghua shuju, 1982, Vol. 9, *juan* 卷 109, «liezhuan 列传», 49, pp. 2867–2878.

⁴⁶ Tong Xiegeng, *Yizhitu*, cit., Vol. 1, 33a. During the Tang Dynasty, the poets Wang Changling 王昌龄 (698–756?), Gao Shi 高适 (704–765), and Wang Zhihuan 王之涣 (688–742) gathered at a tavern and agreed to judge the popularity of their poems based on the number of verses sung by the singer. See Xue Yongruo 薛用弱, *Jiyi ji* 集异记 in *Congshu jicheng chubian* 丛书集成初编, Beijing, Zhonghua shuju, 1985, Vol. 2698, *juan* 卷 2, pp. 8–9.

⁴⁷ Tong Xiegeng, *Yizhitu*, cit., Vol. 1, 33b. Bi Zhuo 毕卓 (dates unknown) loved alcohol, often getting drunk and sleeping by the side of the wine jar. See Fang Xuanling 房玄龄 (579–648) (comp.), *Bi Zhuo* in *Jin shu* 晋书, Beijing, Zhonghua shuju, 1974, Vol. 3, *juan* 卷 49, «liezhuan 列传 19, p. 1381.

⁴⁸ Tong Xiegeng, *Yizhitu*, cit., Vol. 1, 34a. For the source of this allusion, Yu Liangneng 喻良能 (1120–?), *Zhang Chihe shishibian ciyun yipian weixie* 张持荷示诗编次韵一篇为谢 in *Siku quanshu* 四库全书, Shanghai, Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1987, *jibu* 集部, Vol. 1151, *juan* 卷 2, p. 651.

⁴⁹ Tong Xiegeng, *Yizhitu*, cit., Vol. 1, 34b. The translation is [Someone is admiring the rain scenery from within a thatched cottage]. See Sikong Tu 司空图 (837–908), *Dianya* 典雅 in *Congshu jicheng chubian*, cit., Vol. 2612, *juan* 卷 2, p. 4.

⁵⁰ Tong Xiegeng, *Yizhitu*, cit., Vol. 1, 35a. The translation is [Mi Fu 米芾 (1051–1107) worshipped the stones and treated them as comrades and brothers]. See Tuotuo 脱脱 (1314–1356) et alii (comp.), *Songshi* 宋史, Beijing, Zhonghua shuju, 1985, *juan* 卷 444, «liezhuan 列传», 230, «wenyuan 文苑», 6, p. 13124.

⁵¹ Tong Xiegeng, *Yizhitu*, Vol. 1, 36a. The translation is [Someone is searching for plum

«Bowang chengcha» 博望乘槎⁵², «Lianshi butian» 炼石补天⁵³, «Chang'e benyue» 嫦娥奔月⁵⁴, «Qintai kuafeng» 秦台跨凤⁵⁵, «Yunü touhu» 玉女投壶⁵⁶, «Wenjun danglu» 文君当垆⁵⁷, «Feiyan wufeng» 飞燕舞凤⁵⁸, «Erqiao guanshu» 二乔观书⁵⁹, «Wenji guihan» 文姬归汉⁶⁰, «Mulan congjun» 木兰从军⁶¹, «Hong Xian daohe» 红线盗盒⁶², «Xiongwan jiaozi» 熊丸教子⁶³, «Ju'an qimei» 举案齐眉⁶⁴, «Shanyin huan'e» 山阴换鹅⁶⁵, «Gushan fanghe» 孤山放鹤⁶⁶.

blossoms in the snow]. See Zhang Dai 张岱 (1597–1689?), Li Xiaolong 李小龙 (comp.), *Yehang-chuang* 夜航船, Beijing, Zhonghua shuju, 2012, p. 16.

⁵² Tong Xiegeng, *Yizhitu*, cit., Vol. 1, 36b. It is said that Zhang Qian 张骞 (ca. 146–114 BCE) once sailed a wooden raft upstream along the Yellow River and accidentally arrived at the Milky Way (the celestial river), where he encountered the Cowherd and the Weaver Girl. See Chen Yaowen 陈耀文, *Tianzhong ji* 天中记 in *Siku leishu congkan* 四库类书丛刊, Shanghai, Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1991, *zibu* 子部, *juan* 卷 3, p. 73.

⁵³ Tong Xiegeng, *Yizhitu*, cit., Vol. 1, 44a. In legend, the figure Nüwa 女娲, in order to save the people, melted colorful stones to mend the sky. See *Huainanzi* 淮南子, annot. Chen Guangzhong 陈广忠, Beijing, Zhonghua shuju, 2012, p. 323.

⁵⁴ Tong Xiegeng, *Yizhitu*, cit., Vol. 1, 44b. In legend, the figure Chang'e 嫦娥 flew to the Moon Palace after consuming a pill of immortality. See *Huainanzi*, cit., p. 333.

⁵⁵ Tong Xiegeng, *Yizhitu*, cit., Vol. 1, 45a. The daughter of Qin Mugong 秦穆公 and her husband rode a phoenix to become immortal companions. See Liu Xiang, *Xiao Shi* in *Liexian zhuan*, cit., pp. 112–114.

⁵⁶ Tong Xiegeng, *Yizhitu*, cit., Vol. 1, 45b. In legend, the Dongwang Gong 董方公 and a beautiful woman were playing pitch-pot. Whenever they missed the pot, the heavens would sigh or laugh, thus creating lightning. See Li Fang, *touhu* in *Taiping yulan*, cit., vol. 4, *juan* 卷 753, «gongyibu 工艺部», 10, p. 3344.

⁵⁷ Tong Xiegeng, *Yizhitu*, cit., Vol. 1, 46a. Sima Xiangru 司马相如 (179–118 BCE) and Zhuo Wenjun 卓文君 (175–121 BCE) returned from Chengdu to Linqiong 临邛 (now in Chengdu Province), where the Zhuo family resided. They sold their carriage and horses, bought a tavern, and while Wenjun sold wine in the hall, Xiangru and the hired help cleaned the wine vessels together. See Sima Qian, *Shiji*, cit., Vol. 9, *juan* 117, “liezhuan” 57, pp. 2999–3001.

⁵⁸ Tong Xiegeng, *Yizhitu*, cit., Vol. 1, 46b. Empress Zhao Feiyan 赵飞燕 (45–1 BCE), the wife of Emperor Cheng of the Han Dynasty, was highly skilled in dancing. See Xu Ning 徐凝 (dates unknown), *Hangong qu* 汉宫曲 in *Quan Tangshi* 全唐诗, Beijing, Zhonghua shuju, 1960, Vol. 7, *juan* 474, p. 5377.

⁵⁹ Tong Xiegeng, *Yizhitu*, cit., Vol. 1, 47a. The two ancient beauties, Da Qiao 大乔 and Xiao Qiao 小乔, were reading within embroidered curtains. See Hu Kui 胡奎 (dates unknown), *Erqiao guanshu* in *Dounan laorenji* 斗南老人集 in *Siku quanshu*, cit., *jibu*, Vol. 1233, *juan* 卷 5, p. 526.

⁶⁰ Tong Xiegeng, *Yizhitu*, cit., Vol. 1, 47b. For the source of this allusion, see Fan Ye 范晔 (398–445), *Hou Hanshu* 后汉书, Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1965, Vol. 10, *juan* 卷 84, “lienü zhuan” 烈女传 74, pp. 2800–2803; Lily Xiao Hong Lee, A.D. Stefanowska, *Biographical Dictionary of Chinese Women*, Oxford, Taylor & Francis Group, 1998, Vol. 3, pp. 109–112.

⁶¹ Tong Xiegeng, *Yizhitu*, cit., Vol. 1, 48a. For the source of this allusion, see Guo Maoqian 郭茂倩 (comp.), *Mulanshi* 木兰诗, *Yuefu shiji* 乐府诗集, Beijing, Zhonghua shuju, 1979, Vol. 2, *juan* 卷 25, pp. 373–375.

⁶² Tong Xiegeng, *Yizhitu*, cit., vol. 1, 48b. For the source of this allusion, see Li Fang, *haoxia* 豪侠 in *Taiping guangji* 太平广记, Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1961, vol. 4, *juan* 卷 195, p. 14602.

⁶³ Tong Xiegeng, *Yizhitu*, cit., Vol. 1, 49a.

⁶⁴ Tong Xiegeng, *Yizhitu*, cit., Vol. 1, 49b.

⁶⁵ Tong Xiegeng, *Yizhitu*, cit., Vol. 1, 50a. This is the story about Wang Xizhi 王羲之 exchanging his calligraphy for a goose with a Taoist priest. See Fang Xuanling (comp.), *Wang Xizhi* in *Jin shu*, Vol. 4, *juan* 卷 80, “liezhuan” 列传 50, p. 2100.

⁶⁶ Tong Xiegeng, *Yizhitu*, cit., Vol. 1, 50b. In the Northern Song Dynasty, the poet Lin Bu 林

The above allusions are classic stories of famous figures in traditional China, such as Zhang Liang 张良 (?–186 BCE), who was a renowned Chinese military strategist and politician who lived in the early Western Han dynasty, and Mi Fu, who was a celebrated painter, poet, and calligrapher during the Song Dynasty. While some of these allusions may have been embellished over time, their origins trace back to classic works and have been passed down through generations, lending them a certain historical value.

2.2. Moral Tales in the Yizhi Puzzle Form: Embodying Virtues

Unlike ordinary geometric blocks, the *yizhi* puzzle can have a profound and positive impact on children's moral development. *Yizhi xutu* cites a sentence, «dezhe, shanmei zhengda guangming chunyi zhi cheng ye» 德者, 善美正大光明纯懿之称也⁶⁷, to explain virtue. It describes virtue as encompassing various positive qualities such as goodness, beauty, righteousness, magnanimity, brightness, and purity. Moreover, the quote «junzi jinde xiuye, yu jishi ye» 君子进德修业, 欲及时也 [The superior man, advancing in virtue and cultivating the sphere of his duty, yet wishes [to advance only] at the [proper] time] suggests that Tong hopes noble individuals would strive to improve their moral character and pursue their career aspirations in a timely manner through his puzzle⁶⁸.

The examples in Tong's book serve as sources of inspiration, showcasing numerous admirable character traits. Firstly, personal loyalty to the nation and country is an enduring moral principle that holds significant importance across different countries and eras. One example in Tong's book is the phrase «haishang kanyang shijiunian» 海上看羊十九年. This refers to Su Wu 苏武 (140–60 BCE), who is famous because of his unwavering loyalty to the Western Han⁶⁹. Su Wu's tale of resilience and dedication during his mission in a foreign land, where he endured captivity for nineteen long years, showcases his unwavering commitment to his task and his homeland. His faithfulness and patriotism continue to be praised by subsequent generations.

逋 (967–1028) chose to live in seclusion in the mountains by West Lake, where he raised cranes. See Lin Bu, *Lin Hejing ji* 林和靖集, annot. Shen Youzheng 沈幼征, Hangzhou, Zhejiang guji chubanshe, 2012.

⁶⁷ Zhu Meijun, *Yizhi zitu*, 30a. For the source of this sentence, see Le Shaofeng 乐韶凤 (?–1380) and Song Lian 宋濂 (1310–1381), *Hongwu zhengyun* 洪武正韵, Beijing, Zhonghua shuju, 2016, p. 379.

⁶⁸ Zhu Meijun, *Yizhi zitu*, cit., 21a. For the translation of this sentence, see *Zhouyi*, cit., p. 8.

⁶⁹ Tong Xiegeng, *Yizhitu*, Vol. 1, 15b. For the source of this allusion, see Ban Gu 班固 (32–92), *Han Shu* 汉书, Beijing, Zhonghua shuju, 1962, Vol. 6, *juan* 卷 54, «Li Guang Su Jian zhuan 李广苏建传», 24, pp. 2459–2469.

Additionally, integrity and incorruptibility are essential qualities, which could be shown in the story of the phrase «yiqin yihe». During the Northern Song Dynasty, when local official Zhao Bian 赵抃 (1008–1084) was appointed to Chengdu, his belongings consisted of a «guqin» 古琴 in a cloth bag and a white crane in a bamboo basket, both carried on a horse. He carried nothing else, which demonstrated his exemplary integrity as a government official⁷⁰. A similar example is «chu yuni er buran, zhuo qinglian er buyao» 出淤泥而不染, 濯清涟而不妖, which is attributed to Zhou Dunyi 周敦颐 (1017–1073)⁷¹. The author praises that the lotus flower emerges unsullied from the murky mud, cleansing itself in the clear water without losing its natural grace. This embodies the admirable spirit of remaining untainted by impurities, maintaining purity and innocence, and radiating a genuine beauty that is free from artificiality. Also, the phrase «xingzhi ze yingzheng, xingwang ze yingqu» 形直则影正, 形枉则影曲 means that when the form is upright, the shadow will be straight; when the form is curved, the shadow will be crooked. It serves as a reminder for individuals to hold themselves to high standards, enhance their personal cultivation, and ensure that their behavior is upright and incorruptible⁷².

Secondly, from a personal perspective, perseverance and hard work stand as two of the most commendable moral qualities emphasized by Tong's book. The series of *yizhi* puzzle books also highlights the value of diligence through stories like «Che Wu nangying»⁷³ and «Sun Kang yingxue»⁷⁴. These narratives revolve around Che Yin 车胤 (ca. 333–401) and Sun Kang (dates unknown), who utilized the reflected light from the glow of fireflies and the snow, respectively, to pursue their studies. These characters exemplify the virtue of hard work and resourcefulness, serving as role models for children to emulate. Additionally, the protagonist of the story behind the common idiom «zaobi touguang» is Kuang Heng 匡衡 (dates unknown), who ingeniously carved a small hole in his neighbor's wall to borrow light, symbolizing his determination to seek knowledge⁷⁵. Similarly, «suiyue dushu» is an allusion to Jiang Mi 江泌 (dates unknown), who avidly read books in the moonlight⁷⁶. These tales depict

⁷⁰ Tong Xiegeng, *Yizhitu*, cit., Vol. 1, 28a. For the source of this allusion, see Tuotuo etc. (comp.), *Zhao Bian in Songshi*, cit., *juan* 卷 316, «liezhuan 列传», 75, p. 10323.

⁷¹ Tong Xiegeng, *Yizhi xutu*, cit., 4a. For the source of this sentence, see Zhou Dunyi, *Zhou Dunyi ji* 周敦颐集, Beijing, Zhonghua shuju, 1990, p. 53.

⁷² Zhu Meijun, *Yizhi zitu*, cit., 25a. For the source of this sentence, see *Lie Zi* 列子, annot. Tang Jinggao 唐敬臬, Shanghai, Shangwu yinshuguan, 1933, p. 77.

⁷³ Tong Xiegeng, *Yizhitu*, cit., Vol. 1, 25b. For the source of this allusion, Fang Xuanling (comp.), *Jin shu*, cit., vol. 4, *juan* 卷 83, «liezhuan» 列传53, p. 2177.

⁷⁴ Tong Xiegeng, *Yizhitu*, cit., Vol. 1, 26a. For the source of this allusion, see Ouyang Xun (comp.), *tianbu xia* 天部下 in *Yiwen leiju*, cit., *juan* 2, p. 23.

⁷⁵ Tong Xiegeng, *Yizhitu*, cit., Vol. 1, 26b. For the source of this allusion, see Ge Hong 葛洪 (ca. 238–ca. 363), *Xijing zaji* 西京杂记, Beijing, Zhonghua shuju, 1985, p. 12.

⁷⁶ Tong Xiegeng, *Yizhitu*, cit., Vol. 1, 27a. For the source of this allusion, see Xiao Zixian

traditional Chinese figures who dedicate themselves to rigorous study, highlighting the importance of perseverance and a thirst for knowledge. Tong's citation, «gouri xin, riri xin, youri xin» 苟日新, 日日新, 又日新⁷⁷, encourage his readers to strive for daily learning and growth, embracing a mindset of constant improvement. They emphasize the importance of seeking new knowledge, experiences, and personal development each day, without complacency or stagnation.

In addition to diligence and perseverance, Tong believe that respecting one's elders is a commendable quality. For instance, in the story behind the phrase «yiqiao jinlü», the protagonist is the renowned statesman Zhang Liang. This story recounts an event that took place when Zhang Liang was in exile in Pizhou 邳州 (now in Jiangsu Province) as a fugitive wanted by the Qin government. Huangshi Gong 黄石公 (292–195 BCE) deliberately dropped his shoe under a bridge, prompting Zhang Liang to pick it up and hand it back to him. After several tests, Huangshi Gong deemed Zhang Liang to be honest and trustworthy. As a result, he imparted the book *The Art of War by Taigong* [Taigong bingfa 太公兵法] to Zhang Liang. Upon receiving this book, Zhang Liang joined Liu Bang's 刘邦 (256 or 247–195 BCE) cause and, as a brilliant military strategist, contributed to Liu Bang's eventual victory in the race to Guanzhong with the strategies he proposed⁷⁸. A similar example is the annotation to the pattern «pear» [梨] in *Yizhi xutu*, which draws on a well-known story in traditional China. It is said that when Kong Rong 孔融 (153–208) was four years old, he was eating pears together with his siblings. However, he always took the smallest pear to eat. His father, surprised, asked him why. Kong Rong replied, «I am the youngest, so I should take the smallest one»⁷⁹. This story has subsequently been used to teach children to show their respect and love to their siblings.

Furthermore, the phrase «jisuo buyu, wushi yu ren» 己所不欲, 勿施于人 serves as a moral guideline, reminding individuals to cultivate empathy, understanding, and a sense of fairness in their relationships and interactions with others⁸⁰. Being able to convince others with reason and being patient are also crucial moral qualities for an individual. An example is the tale behind the phrase «wanshi diantou». It revolves around the renowned Buddhist monk

萧子显 (487–537) (comp.), *Nanqi shu* 南齐书, Beijing, Zhonghua shuju, 1972, *juan* 卷 55, «liezhuan 列传», 36, p. 295.

⁷⁷ Zhu Meijun, *Yizhi zitu*, cit., 5a. The translation is [If you can one day renovate yourself, do so from day to day]. See *Li Chi*, cit., Vol. 2, p. 415.

⁷⁸ Tong Xiegeng, *Yizhitu*, cit., Vol. 1, 27b. For the source of this allusion, see Sima Qian, *Shiji*, cit., Vol. 6, *juan* 卷55, «liuhou shijia» 留侯世家25, pp. 2034–2035.

⁷⁹ Tong Xiegeng, *Yizhi xutu*, cit., 9b. For the source of this allusion, see Li Fang, *li* in *Taiping yulan*, cit., Vol. 4, *juan* 卷 969, «guobu» 果部 6, p. 4296.

⁸⁰ Zhu Meijun, *Yizhi zitu*, cit., «zitu fu», 3b. The translation is [So ever things you do not wish that others should do unto you, do not do unto them]. See *The Analects of Confucius*, cit., p. 562.

Zhu Daosheng 竺道生 (355–434), who was said to possess a profound understanding of Buddhist teachings and exceptional eloquence. It is said that even lifeless stones would nod in agreement as he expounded upon the intricate principles of the Dharma, showcasing his ability to persuade others through reason and his unwavering patience⁸¹.

Thirdly, embracing the concept of inherent freedom and living with a sense of ease can be considered as a pathway towards pursuing morality. According to Headland, the boy he met in the late Qing even understood traditional Chinese verse by playing with the *yizhi* puzzle, such as «caiju donglixia, youran jian nanshan» 采菊东篱下, 悠然见南山 [Picking chrysanthemums by the eastern hedge, / I gaze at South Mountain in the distance]⁸². These lines convey the poet's contemplation of his seclusion from the beauty of the southern mountains and his realization of the philosophy of returning to simplicity and truth. They depict the poet's serene state of mind when his spiritual world and the natural scenery harmoniously align after his seclusion. The author of these verses, Tao Yuanming, was one of the most well-known poets during the Six Dynasties period. Tao was a reclusive man who spent much of his time farming, reading, sipping wine, receiving occasional guests, and engaging in poetry. His poems typically revolve around the joys and challenges of life, as well as his decision to withdraw from the civil service. He was inspired by the peace and beauty of the natural world close at hand. The esteem for nature and the pursuit of freedom expressed in his verses are truly remarkable. Another example of a similar verse is «yuzhou zhushui aishanchun» 渔舟逐水爱山春⁸³, which conveys the image of fishing boats drifting downstream, chasing the enchanting spring scenery, while the peach blossoms on both sides of the riverbank bloom vibrantly. This poem, coincidentally, is a seven-character verse written by Wang Wei 王维 (699–761) when he was nineteen years old. Its theme is taken from Tao Yuanming's narrative essay *The Record of Peach Blossom Spring* [*Taohuayuan ji* 桃花源记]. Other examples include «qingchi haoyue zhao chanxin» 清池皓月照禅心⁸⁴, «butuo suoyi wo yueming» 不脱蓑衣卧月明⁸⁵, «louguan canghai, mendui zhejiangchao» 楼观沧海日, 门对浙江

⁸¹ Tong Xiegeng, *Yizhitu*, cit., Vol. 1, 28b. For the source of this allusion, see *Lianshe gaoxian zhuan* 莲社高贤传, Beijing, Zhonghua shuju, 1991, pp. 7–8.

⁸² Headland, *The Chinese Boy and Girl*, cit., 125. Tong Xiegeng, *Yizhitu*, vol. 1, 20a. For the translation of Tao Yuanming's verse, see Kang-i Sun Chang, S. Owen (edd.), *The Cambridge History of Chinese Literature*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2014, Vol. 1, p. 222.

⁸³ Tong Xiegeng, *Yizhitu*, cit., Vol. 1, 9b. For the source of this sentence, see Wang Wei, *Wang Wei ji jiaozhu* 王维集校注, annot. Chen Tiemin 陈铁民, Beijing, Zhonghua shuju, 1997, p. 16.

⁸⁴ Tong Xiegeng, *Yizhitu*, cit., Vol. 1, 17b. For the source of this sentence, see Li Qi 李颀 (?–ca. 751), *Ti xuangongshanchi* 题璿公山池 in Li Panlong 李攀龙 (comp.), *Tangshi xuan* 唐诗选 in *Xuxiu siku quanshu*, cit., *jibu*, Vol. 1611, *juan* 卷 5, p. 675.

⁸⁵ Tong Xiegeng, *Yizhitu*, cit., Vol. 1, 18b. For the source of this sentence, see Lü Yan 吕岩 (796–?), *Mutong* 牧童 in *Quan Tangshi*, cit., Vol. 12, *juan* 卷 858, p. 9697.

潮⁸⁶, «guaxi shi haiyue» 挂席拾海月⁸⁷, and «bukai renzhitian, er kai tianzhitian, kaitianzhe desheng» 不开人之天, 而开天之天, 开天者德生⁸⁸.

Finally, Tong also placed great emphasis on the moral education of women. The first example is the pattern «Mulan congjun», found in *Yizhitu*⁸⁹. The protagonist, Hua Mulan 花木兰, is a legendary folk heroine who lived during the Northern and Southern Dynasties. Mulan's story revolves around her decision to disguise herself as a man and join the army in place of her elderly father. Her courageous and selfless actions earned her the emperor's recognition and rewards for her long and heroic service to the nomadic tribes beyond the northern borders. However, instead of assuming a high office, Mulan chose to retire to her hometown to be reunited with her family. To the surprise of her comrades, Mulan first revealed her true identity as a woman. Hua Mulan's filial piety and loyalty have been celebrated by later generations, and she is revered as a true heroine. Similarly, the contributions made by Cai Yan 蔡琰 (Cai Wenji 蔡文姬, ca. 177–?) to the field of culture are commendable in the story behind the pattern named «Wenji guihan». Cai Yan, the daughter of the renowned scholar Cai Yong during the Eastern Han Dynasty, unfortunately fell victim to the chaos of war and was captured. She lived among the Hu people in the territory of the Southern Xiongnu for twelve years. Eventually, Cao Cao 曹操 (155–220) dispatched envoys to retrieve Cai Yan from the Xiongnu, arranging for her remarriage and entrusting her with the task of organizing the books left behind by Cai Yong. Her efforts in preserving and passing on cultural heritage were of significant importance⁹⁰.

The pattern named «Hong Xian daohe» is another example of celebrating women's courage and intelligence. The military governor of Weibo 魏博 (now in Hebei Province), Tian Chengsi 田承嗣 (705–779), had intentions of annexing the territory of Xue Song 薛嵩 (712–772), the military governor of Luzhou 潞州 (now in Shanxi Province). Xue Song was deeply concerned about this. His servant, a woman named Hong Xian, skilled in swordsmanship, bravely

⁸⁶ Tong Xiegeng, *Yizhitu*, cit., Vol. 1, 22b–23a. For the source of this sentence, see Song Zhiwen 宋之问 (ca. 656–712), *Lingyinsi* 灵隐寺 in *Quan Tangshi*, cit., Vol. 1, *juan* 卷 53, p. 653.

⁸⁷ Tong Xiegeng, *Yizhitu*, cit., Vol. 1, 24a. For the source of this sentence, see Li Bai, *Xujiu zeng Jiangyang zai Lu Diao* 叙旧赠江阳宰陆调 in *Quan Tangshi*, cit., Vol. 3, *juan* 卷 169, p. 1744.

⁸⁸ Zhu Meijun, *Yizhi zitu*, cit., 43a. The English translation of this sentence is [If the disposition that is of human origin be not developed, but that which is the gift of Heaven, the development of the latter will produce goodness]. See *The Tao Tê Ching*, cit., p. 454.

⁸⁹ Tong Xiegeng, *Yizhitu*, cit., Vol. 1, 48a. For the source of this allusion, see Guo Maoqian 郭茂倩 (comp.), *Mulanshi* 木兰诗, *Yuefu shiji* 乐府诗集, Beijing, Zhonghua shuju, 1979, Vol. 2, *juan* 卷 25, pp. 373–375.

⁹⁰ Tong Xiegeng, *Yizhitu*, cit., Vol. 1, 47b. For the source of this allusion, see Fan Ye 范曄 (398–445), *Hou Hanshu* 后汉书, Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1965, Vol. 10, *juan* 卷 84, «lienü zhuan 烈女传», 74, pp. 2800–2803; Lily Xiao Hong Lee, A.D. Stefanowska, *Biographical Dictionary of Chinese Women*, Oxford, Taylor & Francis Group, 1998, Vol. 3, pp. 109–112.

volunteered to go to Tian's residence to gather information and issue a warning. While Tian was asleep, Hong Xian initially intended to assassinate him but instead opted to steal his golden casket and return. Tian sent soldiers to pursue her, but she defeated them. Hong Xian presented the casket to Xue Song, who then carefully sealed it and returned it to Tian. Tian was shocked and realized that Xue Song possessed formidable warriors and was not to be taken lightly. As a result, he sought reconciliation and established good relations with Xue Song⁹¹.

While celebrating women's extraordinary public achievements through these heroic narratives, Tong's discourse subtly bridges to another dimension of feminine virtue that is deeply rooted in domestic life. In traditional Chinese culture, women were expected to be good wives and mothers. Tong highlighted the importance of mutual respect between husband and wife, as illustrated by the idiom «ju'an qimei»⁹². This anecdote revolves around the story of Liang Hong 梁鸿 (dates unknown) and his wife, Meng Guang 孟光 (dates unknown). Liang Hong, a renowned scholar in Eastern Han Dynasty, was not enamored with wealth and status, treating his wife Meng Guang with utmost respect. Each time Meng Guang prepared meals for Liang Hong, she would lift the tray to the height of her eyebrows, symbolizing her deep respect for her husband⁹³. This phrase describes the ideal relationship between a married couple, where both partners show equal respect and consideration for each other. It signifies a harmonious and balanced union based on mutual understanding and shared responsibilities. Another example is «xiongwan jiaozi»⁹⁴. Liu Zhongying 柳仲郢 (?–864), a native of official in the Tang Dynasty, was known for his diligent studies. His mother gave him pills made from bear bile at night to help him stay refreshed and focused⁹⁵. This story has become an idiom that metaphorically represents a virtuous mother teaching her son valuable lessons and instilling good moral values.

⁹¹ Tong Xiegeng, *Yizhitu*, cit., Vol. 1, 48b. For the source of this allusion, see Li Fang, *haoxia* 豪侠 in *Taiping guangji* 太平广记, Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1961, vol. 4, *juan* 卷 195, p. 14602.

⁹² Tong Xiegeng, *Yizhitu*, cit., Vol. 1, 49b.

⁹³ For the source of this allusion, see Fan Ye, *Liang Hong* in *Hou Hanshu*, cit., vol. 10, *juan* 卷 83, «yimin liezhuan» 逸民列传 73, pp. 2765–2768.

⁹⁴ Tong Xiegeng, *Yizhitu*, cit., Vol. 1, 49a.

⁹⁵ For the source of this allusion, see Ouyang Xiu 欧阳修 (1007–1072) (comp.), *Xin Tangshu* 新唐书, Beijing, Zhonghua shuju, 1975, *juan* 卷 163, «liezhuan» 列传 88, p. 5023.

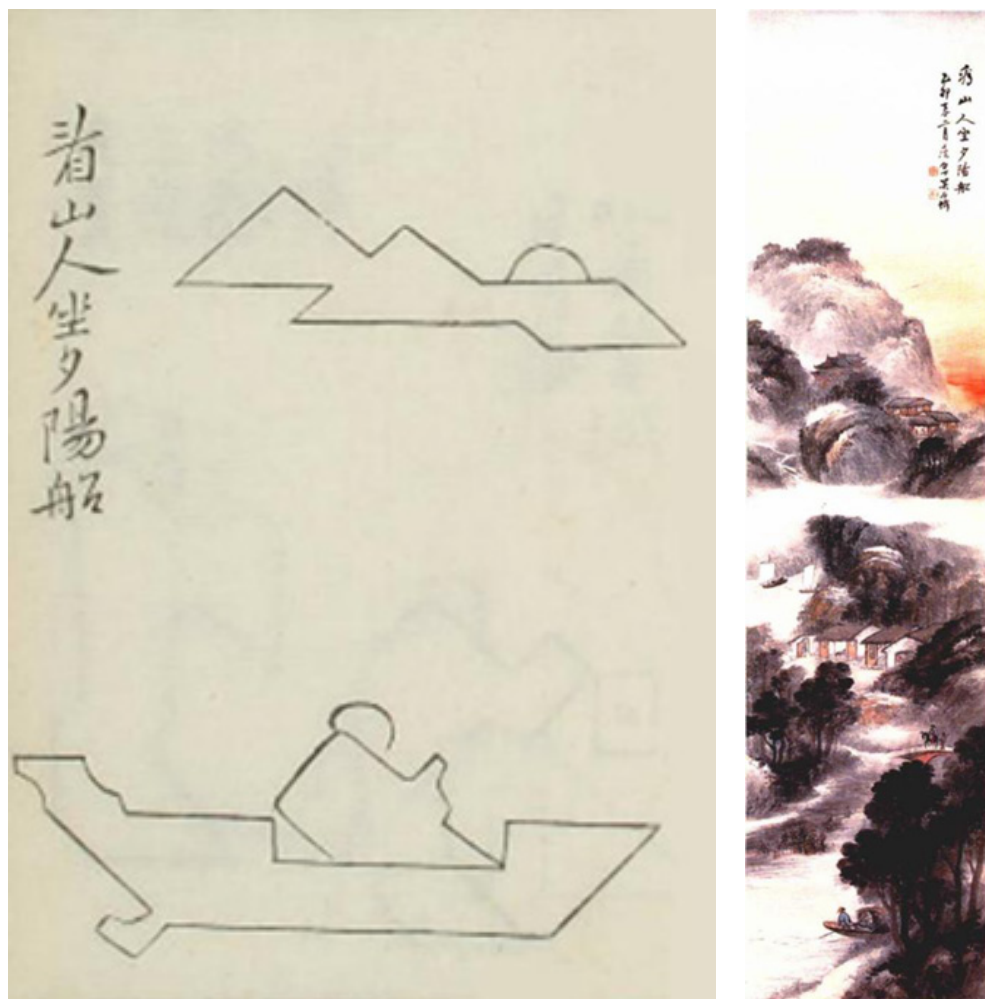
2.3. *Aesthetic Discovery: Finding, Appreciating, and Creating Beauty in Play*

As a friend of Tong Xiegeng remarks, Tong possesses «a sharp and magical talent» [敏妙之才], with «a calm demeanor» [沉静之性], and is naturally «an extraordinary individual» [思必异人]. This friend also points out that «although Tong's artworks may appear entertaining, they also offer a glimpse into the magical artistry within» [兹图虽游戏, 神通亦可以见一斑矣]⁹⁶. That is, although the series of *yizhi* puzzle books is rooted in a game, it holds artistic value due to its adept utilization of gaming and artistic skill.

First of all, the patterns featured in the series of *yizhi* puzzle books are carefully chosen from ordinary objects found in daily life, inspiring players to embark on a quest to uncover and explore the beauty that surrounds them. For example, *Yizhitu* and *Yizhi xutu* include daily necessities, plants, flowers, fruits, vegetables, birds, beasts, fish, insects, valuables, officials, birthday items, military weapons and armor, agricultural equipment, Buddhism and Taoism, art, drama and boudoir items. Tong Xiegeng intends to incorporate items that players would encounter in their daily lives as the primary subject matter of his books. This design philosophy not only bridges the gap between the players and the puzzle, as players are familiar with these carefully selected examples, but also encourages them to develop a habit of observing their surroundings, motivating them to discover and create beauty in everyday life. By actively seeking out beauty in their daily routines, individuals are more inclined to cultivate their own creative abilities and contribute to the creation of beauty in the world. By immersing themselves in the pursuit of discovering and designing patterns, individuals can cultivate a heightened sense of aesthetics and learn to appreciate beauty.

In addition to using everyday items that are easily accessible in daily life as prototypes, Tong Xiegeng also excels at connecting patterns with famous works of art, providing players with an opportunity to indulge in the appreciation of aesthetic appeal. One example in *Yizhitu* is «kanshanren zuo xiyangchuan» 看山人坐夕阳船 and the prototype of this picture is a drawing by Wu Shixian 吴石仙 (1845–1916) (see Pic. 4). Wu was a famous painter of Tong's time, particularly recognized for his landscape artworks.

⁹⁶ Jiuwan 九腕, *xu* 序 in Tong Xiegeng, *Yizhitu*, cit., Vol. 1.



Pic. 4. The Example of a Simplified Picture in *Yizhitu* Based on a Famous Drawing⁹⁷. The pattern on the left is reprinted from Tong Xiegeng, *Yizhitu*, cit., vol. 1, 12a. The pattern on the right is reprinted from Wu Shixian, *Zhongguo gujin shuhua paimai jingpin jicheng* 中国古今书画拍卖精品集成, Tianjin, Tianjin renmin meishu chubanshe, 2005, p. 55.

A comparison between the two patterns reveals that Tong deliberately chose the key elements for his combinations: person, boat, mountain, and the sunset. Tong's combination depicts a person rowing a boat while gazing at the distant mountains, while Wu focuses on the depiction of continuous mountains. No-

⁹⁷ For more biographical information of Wu Shixian, see Ying 英, *Wu Shixian* 吴石仙, «Xiaobao 笑报», May 25, 1930, 3; Wu Shixian xu 吴石仙续, «Xiaobao», May 28, 1930, 3.

tably, Tong's work includes a half sun, symbolizing a sunset, which is the lingering glow of the setting sun in Wu's original drawing. As individuals attempt to assemble this puzzle, they can simultaneously enjoy the famous drawing, merging the worlds of Tong's puzzle and fine art into a single experience. This is not the only example, because *Yizhitu* contains 20 patterns of art prototypes that can be found. From these prototypes, it is apparent that Tong Xiegeng's selections are all from renowned artists in the field of painting, with a particular preference for artworks from the Qing Dynasty. This inclination largely stems from the fact that he lived during that era. Also, this series possesses an abstract beauty, where the simplicity of each piece of the puzzle gives way to combinations that share a common spirit rather than merely resembling each other in appearance.

Despite Tong's puzzles being abstract geometric figures, he and his family made a concerted effort to capture the essence of each subject, paying meticulous attention to detail. For instance, men are identifiable by their semicircular head shapes, while women are portrayed with a right-angled pentagon head shape adorned with an inner arc. This distinction is rooted in traditional Chinese culture, where women traditionally wore buns on their heads. Tong's puzzle emphasizes this characteristic as a significant feature distinguishing males from females.

Moreover, it should be noted that Tong skillfully showcases each character in the *Thousand-Character Classic* using a variety of calligraphic styles, including regular script, running script, and cursive script. For example, among the four characters in Pic. 5, *xing* 性 [character] is regular script because of its clear, concise and uniform strokes. *Jing* 静 (quiet) and *qing* 情 [feeling] are running scripts with a great variation in the thickness of strokes, bold and vigorous brushwork, and an overall sense of flowing natural beauty. *Yi* is cursive script because the strokes are connected to each other in a flowing manner.

A comprehensive breakdown of the calligraphic styles employed in *Yizhitu qianziwen* indicates a strong preference within this series for the styles of running script and regular script, especially the former⁹⁸. This preference is especially prominent in *Yizhitu qianziwen*, where 29% of the Chinese characters are written in regular script, 60% are in running script, and the remaining 11% are in cursive script. As an art form, calligraphy cultivates individuals' appreciation for beauty and enhances their aesthetic sensibilities⁹⁹.

⁹⁸ For further references on the history of Chinese calligraphy, see Tseng Yuho, *A History of Chinese Calligraphy*, Hong Kong, Chinese University Press, 1993; Thomas O. Höllmann, *Chinese Script: History, Characters, Calligraphy*, Engl. transl. by M. Donicht, New York, Columbia University Press, 2017.

⁹⁹ In traditional China, there was a notion that the practice of calligraphy played a role in shaping children's characters. For example, Cheng Hao 程颢 (1032–1085) said, «When I practice calligraphy, I am very serious. My objective is not that the calligraphy must be good. Rather my practice is the way of moral training». Huo Tao 霍韬 (1487–1540) expanded on this abstract



Pic. 5. Four Selected Characters in *Yizhitu qianziwen*. The patterns on the top row are reprinted from Tong Xiegeng, *Yizhitu qianziwen*, cit., Vol. 4, pp. 193–194. The patterns on the bottom row are assembled by the author of this article.

As previously mentioned, Tong encouraged the players of the *yizhi* puzzle to extrapolate new patterns based on a single example pattern. This practice not only engages their imagination but also allows them to creatively arrange various pieces into furniture arrangements, Chinese characters, and both ancient and modern aesthetic objects. Through this process, players actively participate in the creation of beauty.

concept by offering specific guidance on how to cultivate morals through the art of calligraphy. For example, the vertical stroke represented the value of impartiality, while left-falling and right-falling strokes depicted a person raising their hands. Writing vertical strokes taught children about fairness, while the left and right-falling strokes served as reminders to handle tasks with reverence. Although Tong's puzzle may not directly instruct children in calligraphy, engaging in the puzzle-solving process can assist them in honing their strokes, thereby indirectly contributing to the cultivation of their morals. See Zhu Xi and Lǚ Zǔqián 吕祖谦 (1137–1181), *Reflections on Things at Hand*, Engl. transl. by Wing-Tsit Chan, New York, Columbia University Press, 1967, p. 133; Huo Tao, *Huo Weiya jiaxun* 霍渭崖家训, Shanghai, Shangwu yinshuguan, 1924, 25a.

3. *The Synergy of Text and Image: An Innovative Pedagogy for Edutainment*

In the tradition of traditional Chinese literacy primers, a notable practice has been the integration of text and illustrations. According to Evelyn Sakakida Rawski, such illustrated reading primers can be called illustrated glossaries, which distinguishes them from standard glossaries¹⁰⁰. Examples of this can be seen in books like the *Newly Compiled Illustrated Four-Character Glossary* [*Xinbian duixiang siyan* 新编对相四言]¹⁰¹. This book, categorized as an early Yuan Dynasty primer in the miscellaneous characters [*zazi* 杂字] genre, was specifically created for promoting literacy¹⁰². *Dui* 对 represents the concept of matching, while *xiang* 相 refers to illustrations. *Xinbian duixiang siyan* is the earliest illustrated book in the *zazi* genre¹⁰³. It comprises 224 monosyllabic words and 82 disyllabic words, accompanied by 306 illustrations. The text, following traditional custom, is arranged in groups of like objects, starting with heaven or sky, and concluding with such homely items as a dustpan and broom. Within this collection, they are all centered around natural phenomena and everyday objects. Similar books include *Kuiben duixiang siyan zazi* 魁本对相四言杂字, produced during the Ming Dynasty¹⁰⁴. This particular book was created as a children's learning resource, in which words are taught through visual depictions. Each sentence in the book comprises four characters, accompanied by corresponding illustrations. In total, the book presents 308 illustrations, 224 monosyllabic words, and 84 disyllabic words.

In contrast to traditional Chinese children's primers of this kind, the series of *yizhi* puzzle books make advancements in both text and illustration. First-

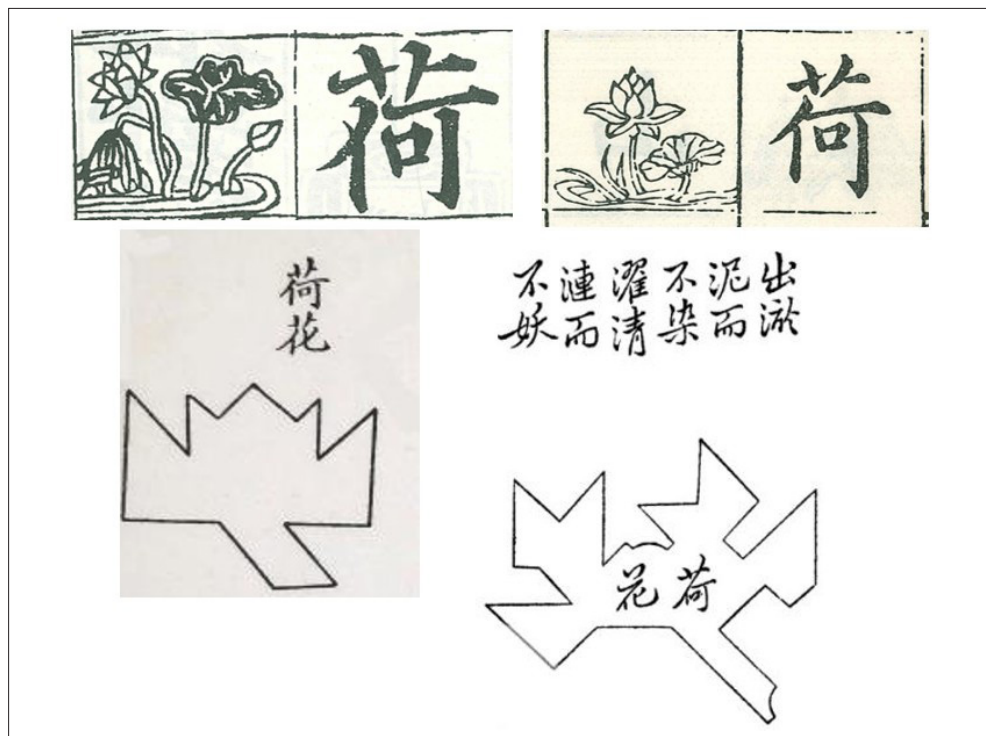
¹⁰⁰ E. Sakakida Rawski, *Education and Popular Literacy in Ch'ing China*, A. Arbor, University of Michigan Press, 1979, pp. 129-131.

¹⁰¹ *Xinbian duixiang siyan*, with Introduction and Notes by L. Carrington Goodrich, Hong Kong, Hong Kong University Press, 2015.

¹⁰² According to Bai Limin's discussion, *zazi* typically contained Chinese characters or terms commonly used in daily life, although the content varied among different versions. Therefore, *zazi* can be seen more as a general guidebook rather than a specific text. See Bai Limin, *Shaping the Ideal Child*, cit., p. 26. For further references on *zazi*, see Rawski, *Education and Popular Literacy in Ch'ing China*, cit., pp. 125-139; Pei-yi Wu, *Education of Children in the Sung* in Wm. Theodore de Bary, John W. Chaffee (eds.), *Neo-Confucian Education: The Formative Stage*, Berkeley, University of California Press, 1989, pp. 309-310.

¹⁰³ Evelyn Sakakida Rawski also introduced another two illustrated books in the *zazi* genre: *Illustrated Four-Character Glossary Zazi* [*Duixiang siyan zazi* 对相四言杂字], said to be a 1371 edition; *Illustrated Four-Character Glossary* [*Duixiang siyan* 对相四言], which seems to be a Qing edition. Since publication information of these two books is incomplete and the figures in these two books are very similar to *Xinbian duixiang siyan*, this thesis will pay more attention to the analysis of the content of *Xinbian duixiang siyan*. Rawski, *Education and Popular Literacy in Ch'ing China*, cit., pp. 129-136.

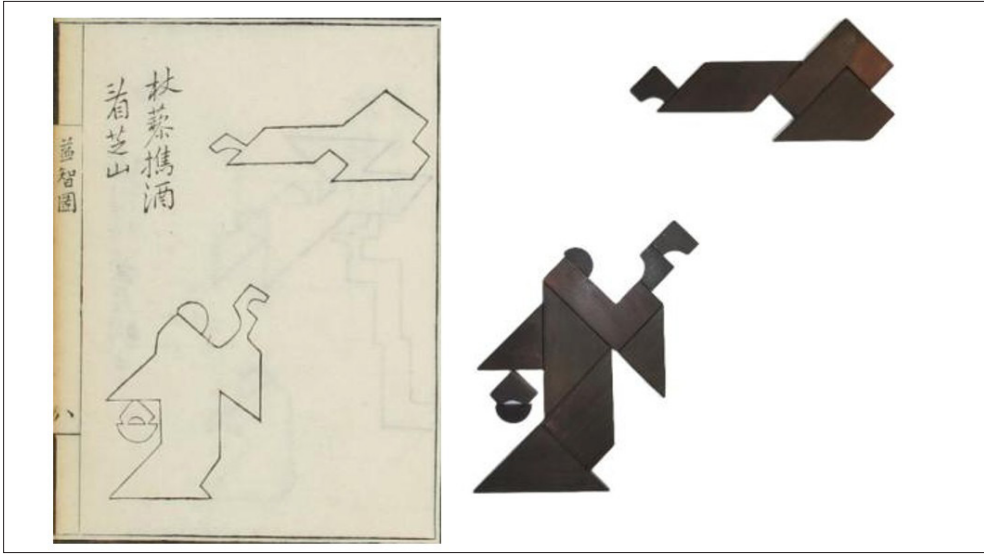
¹⁰⁴ *Kuiben duixiang siyan zazi* in Jin Chengyu 金程宇, *Hekeben Zhongguo guyishu congkan* 和刻本中国古逸书丛刊, Nanjing, Fenghuang shubanshe, 2012, Vol. 15.



Pic. 6. The Patterns of *He* (Lotus) and *Hehua* (Lotus Flower) in Four Chinese Literacy Primers. Reprinted from *Xinbian duixiang siyan*, cit., 1b; *Kuiben duixiang siyan zazi*, cit., p. 330 [top row, left to right]; Qian Yunji, *Qiqiao bafen tu*, cit., Vol. 6, juan 16, 5; Tong Xiegeng, *Yizhi xutu*, cit., 4a [bottom row, left to right].

ly, *Yizhitu*, *Yizhi xutu*, and *Yizhi zitu*, within the series, incorporate Chinese poetry and allusions as explanations for the illustrations, a feature that was previously overlooked in children's primers. Lines extracted from traditional Chinese literature are utilized to elucidate the illustrations. Secondly, the series of *yizhi* puzzle books presents abstract images as illustrations, departing from the conventional use of figurative illustrations. Taking the common topic of the "lotus flower" as an example (see Pic. 6), we can observe distinct artistic styles portrayed in four Chinese literacy primer books, the *Newly Compiled Illustrated Four-Character Glossary*, *Kuiben duixiang siyan zazi*, *Qiqiao bafen tu*, and *Yizhi xutu*.

The *Newly Compiled Illustrated Four-Character Glossary* and *Kuiben duixiang siyan zazi* depict the lotus flower in a lifelike manner, employing a realistic approach to illustration. The lotus blossoms vividly in the image, with a single lotus leaf serving as a complementary element. In contrast, *Qiqiao bafen tu* adopts a more abstract representation of a lotus flower, featuring a pattern that resembles the form of a lotus but which lacks realistic details.



Pic. 7. A Pattern Formed to Visualize «Zhangli xiejiu kan zhishan» in *Yizhitu*. The pattern on the left is reprinted from Tong Xiegeng, *Yizhitu*, cit., Vol. 1, 8a. The pattern on the right is assembled by the author of this article.

Moving on to Tong's book, the lotus flower is also presented in an abstract manner, but with a greater emphasis on highlighting the irregular edges of the petals. Additionally, this book incorporates a classic line of verse: «出淤泥而不染，濯清涟而不妖» which is attributed to Zhou Dunyi¹⁰⁵.

Tong's wife proposed that the series of *yizhi* puzzle books adhere to the principle of «poetry presents a portrayal of imagery and the imagery provides a poetic sensation» [*shizhong youhua, huazhong youshi* 诗中有画，画中有诗]¹⁰⁶. When the amount of annotated text increases and the number of pieces of Tong's puzzle is strictly limited to fifteen in total for illustrations, a question arises: how can the text and images be better integrated? In other words, how can a more effective combination of text and visuals be achieved for educational aims? One of the solutions Tong Xiegeng and his family developed was to prioritize key visual imagery, which is clearly exemplified in the samples of poetry and literary allusions of *Yizhitu*. For example, «zhangli xiejiu kan zhishan» 杖藜携酒看芝山 is a story in which one person carries a cane and a jug of wine and embarks on a solitary journey to explore the mountain. Therefore, the key words are person, cane, wine, and mountain, which could be shown by arranging the pieces of Tong's puzzle (see Pic. 7).

¹⁰⁵ Tong Xiegeng, *Yizhi xutu*, cit., 4a. For the source of this sentence, see Zhou Dunyi, *Zhou Dunyi ji* 周敦颐集, Beijing, Zhonghua shuju, 1990, p. 53.

¹⁰⁶ Zhu Meijun, «ba» in Tong Xiegeng, *Yizhitu*, cit., Vol. 1.

The key visual imagery of the poetry and literary allusions of *Yizhitu* can be summarized into seven categories: natural landscapes, figures, actions, objects, architecture, plants, and animals. Natural landscapes include the sun, the moon, water (including rivers, lakes, seas, and pools), and mountains. Figures include children, men, and women. Key visual imagery in the other categories is listed in Table 1 and Pic. 8.

By summarizing and analyzing key visual imagery, it can be concluded that poetry and allusions of *Yizhitu* predominantly focus on human characters, with a majority of the selected poems and allusions centered around male protagonists. While female characters and children are also featured as protagonists, they make up a smaller proportion¹⁰⁷. Natural landscape features such as

¹⁰⁷ On the significance of children in Chinese history, see, for example, Wang Deyi 王德毅, *Songdai de yanglao he ciyou* 宋代的养老与慈幼, «Guoli zhongyang tushuguan guankan 国立中央图书馆馆刊», n. 11, 1968, pp. 369-388; T.H.C. Lee, *The Discovery of Childhood: Children Education in Sung China (960–1279)*, in S. Paul (ed.), *Kultur: Begriff und Wort in China and Japan*, Berlin, Dietrich Reimer verlag, 1984, pp. 159-202; C. Furth, *Concepts of Pregnancy, Childbirth, and Infancy in Ch'ing Dynasty China*, «The Journal of Asian Studies», vol. 46, n. 1, 1987, pp. 7-35; A. Behnke Kinney (ed.), *Chinese Views of Childhood*, Honolulu, University of Hawai'i Press, 1995; Xiong Bingzhen, *Youyou: chuantong Zhongguo de qiangbao zhi dao* 幼幼: 传统中国的襁褓之道, Taipei, lianjing chuban shiye gongsi, 1995; Zhou Yuwen 周愚文, *Songdai ertong de shenghuo yu jiaoyu* 宋代儿童的生活与教育, Taipei, Shida shuyuan youxian gongsi, 1996; Jiang Feng 蒋风, Han Jin 韩进, *Zhongguo ertong wenxueshi* 中国儿童文学史, Hefei, Anhui jiaoyu chubanshe, 1998; Xiong Bingzhen 熊秉真, *Anyang: jinshi Zhongguo ertong de jibing yu jiankang* 安恙: 近世中国儿童的疾病与健康, Taipei, lianjing chuban shiye gongsi, 1999; T.H.C. Lee, *Education in Traditional China: A History*, Leiden, Brill, 2000; S.R. Fernsebner, *A People's Playthings: Toys, Childhood, and Chinese Identity, 1909–1933*, «Postcolonial Studies», vol. 6, n. 3, 2003, pp. 269-293; Anne Behnke Kinney, *Representation of Childhood and Youth in Early China*, Stanford, CA, Stanford University Press, 2004; Bai Limin, *Shaping the Ideal Child*, cit.; Keith Nathaniel Knapp, *Selfless Offspring: Filial Children and Social Order in Medieval China*, Honolulu, University of Hawai'i Press, 2005; Ping-chen Hsiung, *A Tender Voyage: Children and Childhood in Late Imperial China*, Stanford, CA, Stanford University Press, 2005; D.E. Mungello, *Drowning Girls in China: Female Infanticide since 1650*, Lanham, Md, Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2008; C. Kubler, *Imagining China's Children: Lower-Elementary Reading Primers and the Reconstruction of Chinese Childhood, 1945–1951*, «Cross-Currents: East Asian History and Culture Review», vol. 7, n. 1, 2018, pp. 153-196; M. Mih Tillman, *Raising China's Revolutionaries: Modernizing Childhood for Cosmopolitan Nationalists and Liberated Comrades, 1920s–1950s*, New York, Columbia University Press, 2018; Wang Zijin 王子今, *Qin Han ertong de shijie* 秦汉儿童的世界, Beijing, Zhonghua shuju, 2018; Cong Ellen Zhang, *Performing Filial Piety in Northern Song China: Family, State, and Native Place*, Honolulu, University of Hawai'i Press, 2020; Xiong Bingzhen, *Youyi yu youmeng: jinshi Zhongguo shehui de mianyan zhi dao* 幼医与幼蒙: 近世中国社会的绵延之道, Taipei, lianjing chuban shiye gongsi, 2018; Guilin, *Guangxi shifan daxue chubanshe*, 2021. On Chinese women's direct or indirect participation in the historical process, see, for example, D. Ko, *Teachers of the Inner Chambers: Women and Culture in Seventeenth-Century China*, Stanford, CA, Stanford University Press, 1994; S. Mann, *Precious Records: Women in China's Long Eighteenth Century*, Stanford, CA, Stanford University Press, 1997; G.S. Fong, *Herself an Author: Gender, Agency, and Writing in Late Imperial China*, Honolulu, University of Hawai'i Press, 2008; J. Judge, *The Precious Raft of History: The Past, the West, and the Woman Question in China*, Stanford, CA, Stanford University Press, 2008; Weijing Lu, *True to Her Word: The*

Tab. 1. Key Visual Imagery of Poetry Excerpts and Literary Allusions in *Yizhitu*

Category	Key visual imagery
Actions	扫 sweep, 扣 knock, 扶 support, 杖藜 lean on a walking stick, 携酒 carry wine, 逐水 following the water, 夜语 talk at night, 吹角 blow the horn, 送酒 deliver wine, 弹 play, 题壁 inscribe on a wall, 卧 lie down, 橹摇 row, 振衣 shake out clothes, 濯足 wash feet, 独钓 go fishing alone, 拾 pick up, 举 lift up, 折 fold, 织 weave, 采菱 pick water chestnuts, 晓妆 do one's morning makeup, 浣纱 wash clothes, 倚 lean on, 穿针 thread the needle, 添香 add incense, 题诗 compose a poem, 画纸 draw, 敲针 tap a needle, 囊萤 catch a firefly in a bag, 读书 read, 进履 present one's shoes, 醉眠 fall asleep drunk, 赏雨 appreciate the rain, 拜 bow, 炼石 refine stone, 奔 rush, 跨 cross, 投 throw, 当垆 sell wine, 舞 dance, 盗盒 steal the box, 教子 teach children, 举案 lift the tray
Objects	纸屏 paper screen, 床 bed, 船 boat, 扉 door, 书案 desk, 地炉 floor hearth, 茶鼎 tea set, 灯 lamp, 杯 cup, 蓑衣 straw raincoat, 桂棹 paddle, 琵琶 lute, 奚囊 poetry bag
Architecture	瑶台 platform, 寺 temple, 墙 wall, 楼 building/tower, 亭 pavilion, 栏 railing, 高阁 tall pavilion, 茅店 thatched inn, 桥 bridge, 璇宫 elaborately decorated palace, 天台 terrace, 茆屋 thatched house
Plants	红杏 red apricot, 柳 willow, 芭蕉 banana, 梧叶 sycamore tree leaves, 紫薇花 crape myrtle flower, 花 flower, 荷 lotus, 菊 chrysanthemum, 叶 leaf, 林 forest, 梅 plum blossom
Animals	蝴蝶 butterfly, 雀 sparrow, 蛙 frog, 鸥 gull, 羊 goat, 雁 wild-goose, 鸡 rooster, 马 horse, 蜻蜓 dragonfly, 鹤 crane, 虎 tiger, 龙 dragon, 牛 ox, 鲤 carp, 兔 rabbit, 凤 phoenix, 鹅 goose



Pic. 8. Key Visual Imagery of Poetry Excerpts and Literary Allusions in *Yizhitu*. Organized by the author of this article.

the sun, moon, and mountains, as well as man-made structures like buildings and walls, serve as backdrops for the characters' actions. The characters exhibit a wide range of behaviors, and everyday objects, plants, and animals are used as supplementary elements in their activities. This harmonious interplay between humanity and the natural world lies at the heart of traditional Chinese painting aesthetics¹⁰⁸.

As the series developed, from *Yizhitu* to *Yizhitu qianziwen*, the importance of imagery relative to text increases. The text of *Yizhitu* consists of traditional Chinese poetry, allusions, and classical passages. In *Yizhi xutu*, it solely comprises Chinese classical passages, with relatively longer word counts. In *Yizhi zitu*, the text also consists of Chinese classical sentences with a relatively large number of words. In contrast, *Yizhi yanjitu* adopts a minimalist approach with four-word titles. These concise titles capture the essence of the content, allowing readers to grasp the main themes at a glance. *Yizhitu qianziwen* is comprised entirely of images, devoid of any textual annotations. There is a gradual reduction in textual explanations throughout Tong's books, particularly from the first book, *Yizhitu*, to the final book, *Yizhitu qianziwen*. In the first few books, the side notes are abundant, sometimes even surpassing the number of patterns. However, in *Yizhitu qianziwen*, the example does not include textual explanations. This deliberate shift indicates Tong and his family's increased focus on the significance of pictures in the learning process.

This tendency of emphasizing images was quite prevalent in the late Qing Dynasty. Publications such as *Dianshizhai Pictorial* [*Dianshizhai huabao* 点石斋画报] and *Enlightenment Pictorial* [*Qimeng huabao* 启蒙画报] served as prime illustrations of this phenomenon¹⁰⁹. In the 19th century, with the popularization of public education in Europe and America, the reading population

Faithful Maiden Cult in Late Imperial China, Stanford, CA, Stanford University Press, 2008; Liu Yongcong, *Caide xianghui: Zhongguo nüxing de zhixue yu kezi* 才德相辉: 中国女性的治学与课子, Hong Kong, Sanlian shudian, 2015; Weijing Lu, *Arranged Companions: Marriage and Intimacy in Qing China*, Seattle, University of Washington Press, 2021.

¹⁰⁸ The discussion here about the relationship between humanity and the natural world in traditional Chinese painting was inspired by Mr. Tong Yili 童以立, who is the sixth-generation descendant of Tong Xiegeng. Thanks to Mr. Tong Yu's introduction, I gained privileged access to Mr. Tong Yili, who works on the development and spread of the yizhi puzzle nowadays. Mr. Tong Yili reminds me to pay attention to the philosophical foundation of traditional Chinese painting. For representative references on traditional Chinese painting, see Michael Sullivan, *Symbols of Eternity: The Art of Landscape Painting in China*, Stanford, CA, Stanford University Press, 1979; Wen Fong, *Beyond Representation: Chinese Painting and Calligraphy, 8th-14th Century*, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1992; J. Cahill, *The Lyric Journey: Poetic Painting in China and Japan*, Cambridge, MA, Harvard University Press, 1996; Wu Hung, *The Double Screen: Medium and Representation in Chinese Painting*, London: Reaktion, 1996; Wen Fong, *Between Two Cultures: Late-Nineteenth- and Twentieth-Century Chinese Paintings*, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2001.

¹⁰⁹ Chen Pingyuan 陈平原, *Zuotu youshi yu xixue dongjian: wan Qing huabao yanjiu* 左图右史与西学东渐: 晚清画报研究, Beijing, Shenghuo dushu xinzhi sanlian shudian, 2018.

experienced tremendous growth. At the same time, the emergence of technological advancements such as photography, printing, gas lamps, electric lights, steamships, and so on provided people with greater opportunities and improved conditions for reading. Changes in reading methods, reading materials, and reading habits intensified the viewers' demand for images corresponding to the text. With the maturation of printing technology, from the birth of photography in 1837 to the appearance of movies and projectors in 1895, the world gradually entered a new era of images¹¹⁰. Under the influence of the ideology of pragmatism, Chinese people became aware of the importance of technology. As a result, they initiated a series of movements aimed at improving China's level of technology and adopting Western technologies¹¹¹. This, in turn, led to a growing emphasis on images among the Chinese population. As Kang Youwei 康有为 (1858–1927) put it, «Nowadays, all trades and industries rely on images» [今工商百器皆籍于画]. «Without improvement in imagery» [画不改进], «there is nothing to be said about trades and industries» [工商无可言]. «This is why I, a humble person, hold a deep appreciation for imagery and engage in discussions about it» [此则鄙人藏画、论画之意]¹¹². It was precisely the need to enhance technology that prompted people to value images, ultimately propelling late Qing society into the «era of global images».

In pedagogy, the incorporation of images alongside text significantly enhances the quality of learning, especially for children, as pictures have a captivating effect on their attention. Considering children's limited literacy skills, an excessive number of complex characters can lead to disinterest and difficulty in sustaining focus during the learning process. The combining of pictures and text is a characteristic of children's books, but also encompass various formats such as books, magazines, and newspapers. As Chen Pingyuan said, «Compared to intricate or abstract texts, images are more intuitive, vivid, tangible, and accessible when it comes to conveying knowledge and expressing viewpoints»¹¹³. Within these “visual languages”, pictures, including illustrations, photography, icons and symbols, play an indispensable role¹¹⁴.

¹¹⁰ Liu Yang 刘杨, “Zuotu youshi” zai wan Qing: “shijie tuxiang de shidai” yu wan Qing de tuhui fuxing 左图右史”在晚清: “世界图像的时代”与晚清的图绘复兴, «Mei yu shidai», n. 10, 2015, pp. 53–55.

¹¹¹ These movements include the Hundred Days' Reform and the Self-Strengthening Movement. See I. Hsü, *The Rise of Modern China*; R.E. Karl, Peter Zarrow (edd.), *Rethinking the 1898 Reform Period: Political and Cultural Change in Late Qing China*, Boston, Harvard University Asia Center, 2002; L.S.K. Kwong, *A Mosaic of the Hundred Days: Personalities, Politics, and Ideas of 1898*, Cambridge, MA, Harvard University Press, 1984; M. Clabaugh Wright, *The Last Stand of Chinese Conservatism, The Tung-Chih Restoration, 1862–1874*, Stanford, CA, Stanford University Press, 1957.

¹¹² Kang Youwei, *Wanmu caotang cang Zhongguo huamu* 万木草堂藏中国画目, Taipei, Wenshizhe chubanshe, 1977, pp. 9–10.

¹¹³ Chen Pingyuan, *Zuotu youshi yu xixue dongjian*, cit., p. 57.

¹¹⁴ Li Quanhua 李全华, Li Li 李莉, and Zhu Liang 朱良, *Ertong duwu chatu yishu* 儿童读物

Firstly, pictures possess the ability to capture children's attention effectively. The juxtaposition of pictures and words allows for the amalgamation of abstract and figurative elements, which tends to be more captivating for children. For instance, the subjects in *Yizhi zitu* and *Yizhitu qianziwen* are abstract, while their patterns are figurative. When children explore these patterns, they engage in the process of learning by deciphering the strokes of each Chinese character. While traditional China did have literary primers with illustrations for children as discussed earlier, Tong Xiegeng's puzzle and books go a step further. This educational toy not only provides children with a visual understanding of the pictures but also empowers them to actively explore and demonstrate how the puzzle pieces can be combined through engaging in hands-on interaction.

Secondly, pictures serve the purpose of visually representing the textual content, aiding children with limited literacy skills in comprehending the conveyed information. The series of *yizhi* puzzle books often revolves around idioms, allusions, and poems, some of which may pose challenges for children's comprehension. However, the integration of the fifteen puzzle pieces helps children grasp the meaning by deepening their understanding of these idioms, allusions, and poems. Literacy education was important to children's education in traditional China. According to Wang Yun 王筠 (1784–1854), «during the period of childhood nurturing, prioritizing literacy is essential» [蒙养之时, 识字为先]¹¹⁵. Compared with the earliest literacy textbooks, *Shi Zhou pian* 史籀篇 and *Cang Jie pian* 仓颉篇¹¹⁶, Tong's books provide a full explanation of the texts with the help of his puzzle, which greatly contributes to enhancing children's literacy skills. Meanwhile, Tong's puzzle offers players an opportunity to enhance their understanding of geometry through diverse puzzles featuring various shapes that are both visible and tactile. According to Bai Limin's research, traditional Chinese mathematics did not have specialized terminology for the symbols used in contemporary mathematics, relying instead on Chinese characters to represent mathematical concepts¹¹⁷. Particularly, arithmetic concepts were intertwined with language instruction and at times intertwined with lessons on religion and ethics¹¹⁸. One notable advantage of Tong's puzzle lies in its integration of visual instruction with language education, effectively transforming abstract geometric forms into tangible realities.

Lastly, the combination of image and text has both aesthetic and intellectu-

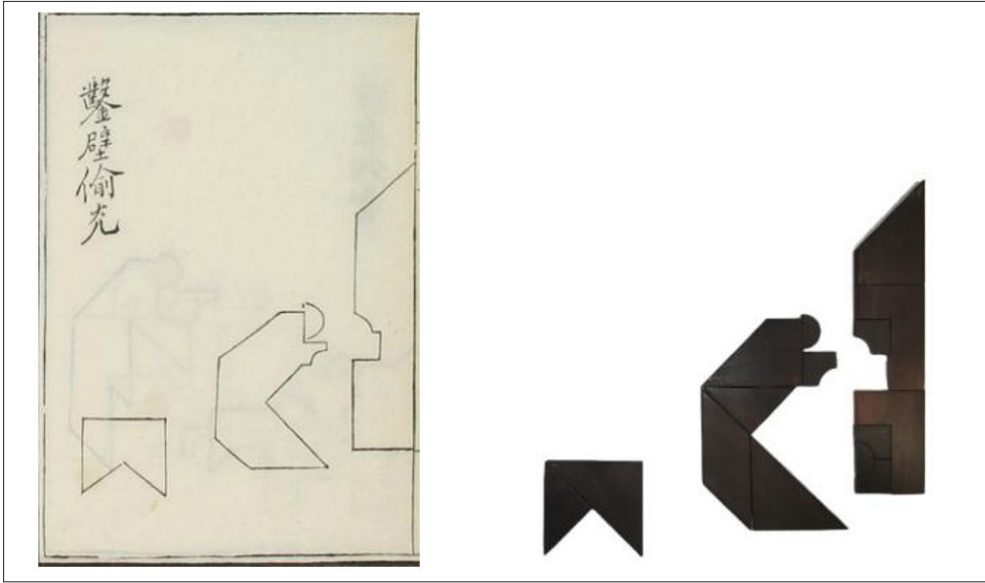
插图艺术, Hangzhou, Zhejiang daxue chubanshe, 2008, pp. 1-3.

¹¹⁵ Wang Yun, *Jiao tongzi fa* 教童子法, Beijing, Zhonghua shuju, 1985, p. 1.

¹¹⁶ Ban Gu, *Han Shu*, cit., *juan* 卷 30, “yiwenzhi” 艺文志 10, p. 1721. For an introduction to these literacy textbooks, see Needham, *Science and Civilisation in China*, cit., Vol. 6, pp. 194-200.

¹¹⁷ Mathematics includes geometry, arithmetic, algebra, and analysis. See *Mathematics*, <<https://doi.org/10.1093/OED/1186886445>> (last access: 26.11. 2024).

¹¹⁸ Bai Limin, *Shaping the Ideal Child*, cit., pp. 137-148.



Pic. 9. The Proverb *Zaobi touguang* in *Yizhitu*. The pattern on the left is reprinted from Tong Xiegeng, *Yizhitu*, cit., vol. 1, 26b. The pattern on the right is assembled by the author of this article.

al impacts on children. The pictures within the series of *yizhi* puzzle books are visually appealing, characterized by clarity and distinct features. For instance, in the pattern *zaobi touguang* (see Pic. 9), the protagonist is depicted as bent over, facing a wall, engrossed in reading a book. The missing piece of the wall signifies the transmission of light. The protagonist's distinctive features are outlined with just a few strokes, subtly cultivating children's aesthetic perception and stimulating their imaginative capabilities. Simultaneously, children can expand their vocabulary through the accompanying side notes, enhancing their literacy efficiency with the aid of pictures.

4. Legacy and Lessons: The Enduring Significance of an Edutainment Exemplar

4.1. Challenging the Conventional Bias against Games for Children

Games are initially regarded by traditional Chinese literati as a beneficial and educational experience. For instance, the *Record on the Subject of Education* [Xueji 学记] states that when «a student of talent and virtue pursues his studies» [君子之于学也], he should «withdraw in college from all besides»

[藏], and «devote to their cultivation» [修], or «occupy with them when retired from it» [息], and «enjoy himself» [游]¹¹⁹. This supports a learning approach that values leisure and entertainment. Similarly, the *Analects* poses the question, «Are there no checkers or chess players?» [不有博弈者乎], affirming that scholars who participate in these games are still considered worthy [*xian* 贤] individuals¹²⁰. Moreover, the *Analects* outlines four essential requirements for individuals: «Fixing the mind on the right way» [志于道]; «holding fast to it in the moral character» [据于德]; «Following it up in kindness to others» [依于仁]; «take the recreation in the polite arts» [游于艺]¹²¹, highlighting the value of engaging in artistic activities for personal growth and cultivation. The idea of «taking the recreation in the polite arts» not only promotes the integration of study and leisure but also contributes to the development of one's temperament.

However, the ancient scholars also emphasize the need for moderation when it comes to games. For example, Yan Zhitui 颜之推 (531–ca. 597) acknowledges in *Family Instructions for the Yen Clan* [*Yanshi jiaxun* 颜氏家训] that Go is «a refined game» [雅戏], but «it makes people self-indulgent and neglectful of other duties» [令人耽愤, 废丧实多], so «people should not play it often» [不可常也]¹²². After that, perceptions of games have changed over time, and people have come to view games as activities that merely waste time and distract from academic pursuits. One example is Han Yu 韩愈 (768–842), who explicitly states that «diligence leads to success, while idleness leads to failure» [业勤于勤, 荒于嬉]¹²³. Song Confucianism offers similar suggestions, viewing games as detrimental to educational development. For instance, Zhu Xi 朱熹 (1130–1200) annotates the hexagram *meng* 蒙 as follows: «Only by getting rid of external temptations can one be absolutely upright and pure» [惟捍其外诱, 全其真纯]¹²⁴. Wang Yinglin 王应麟 (1223–1296) simply includes the phrase «diligence has merit while play has no advantage» [勤有功, 戏无益] as a concluding phrase in the *Trimetrical Classic*¹²⁵.

Meanwhile, although the mainstream view on games in late imperial China is negative, there are individual scholars who recognize their value. For example, Wang Shouren 王守仁 (1472–1529) writes in the following in article «Xunmeng dayi shijiaodu Liu Bosong deng» [训蒙大意示教读刘伯颂等]:

In general, the nature of children is to enjoy play and be wary of strict

¹¹⁹ *Li Chi*, cit., Vol. 2, p. 85.

¹²⁰ *The Analects of Confucius*, cit., p. 851.

¹²¹ *The Analects of Confucius*, cit., p. 331.

¹²² Yan Zhitui, *Family Instructions for the Yen Clan: Yen-Shih Chia-Hsün*, Engl. transl. by Teng Ssu-yü, Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1968, p. 207.

¹²³ Han Yu, *Jinxue jie* 进学解 in *Songshu keben tangrenji congan* 宋蜀刻本唐人集丛刊, Shanghai, Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1994, Vol. 28, *juan* 卷 12, p. 308.

¹²⁴ Zhu Xi, *Zhouyi benyi* 周易本义, Beijing, Zhonghua shuju, 2009, p. 56.

¹²⁵ Wang Yinglin, *Sanzijing* 三字经, Hong Kong, Tiandi tushu youxian gongsi, 2003.

constraints, much like the initial sprouting of plants. If allowed to grow freely and unhindered, they will thrive. However, if subjected to disturbances and restrictions, their growth will be stunted. When it comes to educating children, it is crucial to let them follow their own interests and provide them with ample encouragement. By doing so, their inner joy will be nurtured, leading to continuous progress and improvement.

[大抵童子之情，乐嬉游而惮拘谨，如草木之始萌芽，舒畅之条达，摧扰之则衰。今教童子，必使其趋向鼓舞，中心喜悦，则其进自不能已。]¹²⁶

Overall, while the ancients believed that games possess a certain degree of educational value, benefiting physical and mental development, the purpose of traditional education amounted to the idea that «by excelling at learning, one can be an official» [学而优则仕], that is, education functioned to cultivate “gentlemen” and “sages,” so as to realize the social ideal of “regulating the family, governing the country and the world.” Achieving this ideal required diligent study and rigorous practice, while play was considered a mere waste of time and a hindrance to ambition.

This concept is not only supported by the above traditional Chinese classics but also reflected in literary works. For example, in *Dream of the Red Mansions*, the protagonist «is strongly criticized for playing outside every day, which gradually leads to laziness towards work» [日日在外游嬉，渐次疏懒了工课]¹²⁷. This means that pursuing an official career often necessitated sacrificing games as a prerequisite. In terms of the most effective paths to academic achievement and becoming an official, traditional idioms like «tying one’s hair on the house beam and jabbing one’s side with an awl» [头悬梁，锥刺股]¹²⁸ and «enduring the hardest hardships makes one extraordinary» [不受苦中苦，难为人上人]¹²⁹ encapsulate the strong emphasis on diligence; naturally, in this context, games were synonymous with wasting energy and neglecting one’s duties. With the advent of formal schooling, games became diametrically op-

¹²⁶ Wang Shouren, *Wang Yangming xiansheng chuanxilu* 王阳明先生传习录, Lixing yaolan faxingsuo, 1933, pp. 104–105.

¹²⁷ Cao Xueqin 曹雪芹 (1715–1763?) and Gao E 高鹗 (ca. 1738?–ca. 1815), *Honglou meng* 红楼梦, Shanghai, Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2003, Vol. 1, p. 147.

¹²⁸ The idiom comes from ancient stories about how assiduously people studied. Sun Jing 孙敬 (dates unknown) would incessantly read books from dawn to dusk alone. When he felt tired or fatigued, he would tie his hair to the beam of the house, so that the moment he began to nod off, his head would be jerked back and this would immediately rouse him, and he could continue reading. See Li Fang, *Taiping yulan*, vol. 2, *juan* 卷 363, “renshibu” 人事部 4, «toushang» 头上, 7 (p. 1674). During the Warring States Period, Su Qin 苏秦 (?–284 BCE) would use an awl to jab at his own thigh, whenever he felt sleepy to make sure he stayed awake and lucid enough to be able to continue reading. Later, people started to tell these stories in order to encourage young people to study hard. See Sima Qian, *Shiji*, cit., vol. 7, *juan* 卷 69, «liezhuan» 列传, 9, p. 2242.

¹²⁹ Feng Menglong, *Jingshi tongyan* 警世通言, Beijing, Huaxia chubanshe, 1994, *juan* 卷 24, p. 235.

posed to learning, leading to a prolonged separation and conflict between the two realms. This perception was deeply rooted in traditional China's understanding of knowledge and education, where acquiring knowledge was seen as inheriting and propagating the cultural achievements of one's predecessors. Diligent study is considered sufficient for this purpose, leaving no room for play, where time and energy can be wasted. Consequently, games were viewed as an unproductive behavior that hindered education. As Anne Behnke Kinney has said, there was «a dim view of play» in traditional China¹³⁰. Due to the enduring emphasis on painstaking study in traditional China and the time and energy commitment required by games, they inevitably became activities that were perceived as contrary to children's education.

Xiong Bingzhen presents similar arguments, stating that under the dominant objective of pursuing academic success and official positions through study, the upbringings of the sons of literati families in the Ming and Qing dynasties neglected the modern concept of balanced education, which includes the cultivation of aesthetics, physical fitness, and moral virtues alongside intellectual development. Even the traditional Confucian emphasis on the Six Arts (archery, charioteering, calligraphy, mathematics, music, and ritual), as well as the cultural pursuits of poetry, calligraphy, painting, and the game of Go, were often sidelined. The ideal boy they trained was a quiet and withdrawn “bookworm”, who lacked interest in play, had few friends, and rarely engaged in outdoor or physical activities¹³¹.

However, the *yizhi* puzzle revolutionized the traditional understanding of children's play and games in Chinese culture. Tong Xiegeng, a visionary individual with a deep appreciation for children and games, dedicated himself to exploring various language games and board games. Recognizing the educational potential of the *yizhi* puzzle, Tong seamlessly integrated it into children's learning experiences. Tong's motivation for creating the *yizhi* puzzle was driven by his desire to bring joy and amusement to both himself and others. His genuine enthusiasm for games and his family's shared love and interest in it fueled their efforts to design an array of captivating patterns in the *yizhi* puzzle book series. As a result of its innovative approach and educational value, Tong's puzzle quickly gained recognition as a highly recommended toy for children's entertainment. It not only provided endless hours of fun but also encouraged critical thinking, spatial reasoning, and creativity among young minds¹³².

¹³⁰ A. Behnke Kinney (ed.), *Chinese Views of Childhood*, cit., p. 12.

¹³¹ Xiong Bingzhen, *Tongnian yiwang*, cit., pp. 114-115.

¹³² Wang Lang 王郎, *Zenyang yangcheng ertong de kuaile 怎样养成儿童的娱乐*, «Mengjiang xinbao 蒙疆新», April 8, 1941, p. 3.

4.2. Promoting a Child-Centered Perspective

In traditional China, the concept of “rituals” held great significance as the ethical rules and standards of behavior upheld by Confucians. Unfortunately, this mindset led to a lack of proper understanding of children, who were often treated as miniature adults, especially in the Neo-Confucian understanding¹³³. They were burdened with an abundance of rules, disregarding their unique needs and perspectives. Likewise, in medieval Western society, there was a lack of awareness of the distinction between children and adults, or even young people¹³⁴. Regrettably, Chinese children were often dismissed and ignored, being seen as incomplete and ignorant. Even when giving praise, society favored mature children over innocent ones. Traditional beliefs dictated that childhood was merely a preparation for adulthood, and all aspects of a child’s life, including play, were seen as groundwork for their future roles. Consequently, children were dressed in adult clothes, held to adult standards, and subjected to indoctrination through the *Four Books* and *Five Classics*, as if these texts were a catalyst for maturity. This adult-centered approach in traditional Chinese culture resulted in the undervaluing of children as individuals, overlooking their distinctive qualities, physical and mental development, and intrinsic worth. Children were expected to hasten the end of their childhood and swiftly assimilate into the adult-dominated society. Their lives revolved around and were subordinate to adults, leaving little room for their own experiences and needs. Traditional Chinese society believed that a child already possessed an “adult” within them from the moment of birth. Consequently, all the rules and teachings were not solely intended to guide their childhood but also to instill the principles that would shape their entire lives. The focus was not on fulfilling the immediate needs of a three- or four-year-old but rather on nurturing the emergence of that latent “adult” within them, allowing it to gradually take form¹³⁵.

¹³³ Bai Limin, *Shaping the Ideal Child*, cit., 41.

¹³⁴ P. Ariès, *Centuries of Childhood: A Social History of Family Life*, Engl. transl. by R. Baldick, New York, Vintage Books, 1962, p. 128. However, it does not mean that there was not a concept of childhood in the Middle Ages; rather, the Middle Ages were rather more enlightened and progressive in their attitudes to childhood and treatment of children than later centuries. See S. Shahar, *Childhood in the Middle Ages*, London, Routledge, 1990. For further references on Western children, see L. DeMause, *The History of Childhood: The Untold Story of Child*, London, Bellew Publishers, 1974; L. Stone, *The Family, Sex and Marriage in England 1500–1800*, London, Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1977; L.A. Pollock, *Forgotten Children: Parent–Child Relations from 1500 to 1900*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1983; H. Cunningham, *Children and Childhood in Western Society since 1500*, London, Longman, 1995; J.A. Schultz, *The Knowledge of Childhood in the German Middle Ages: 1100–1350*, Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1995; C. Heywood, *A History of Childhood: Children and Childhood in the West from Medieval to Modern Times*, 2nd ed., Cambridge, Polity Press, 2018.

¹³⁵ Xiong Bingzhen, *Tongnian yiwang*, cit., 38.

The series of *yizhi* puzzle books not only identifies children as being among its intended audience, but also takes into account children's specific needs effectively. *Yizhitu qianziwen*, inspired by the *Thousand-Character Classic* that was designed specifically for children to learn characters, serves as an excellent example. The educational aims, content, and methods employed in Tong's puzzle series are highly beneficial for children's mental and physical development. As a result of its widespread popularity and development, the *yizhi* puzzle was officially recognized as a toy for students. It was also used as a prize for students in primary and secondary schools. For example, in 1915, with the approval of the Ministry of Education of the Nanjing National Government, the series of *yizhi* puzzle books issued by the Commercial Press was officially sanctioned for use in schools as prizes in recognition of educational achievement¹³⁶.

In terms of the significance and role of those prizes in elementary education, Wu Zhenwei 吴震威 argued that schools could motivate students to pursue knowledge and regulate their behavior by offering prizes¹³⁷. At that time, the prizes prepared for primary and secondary school students typically included books, pens and ink, postcards, and educational toys¹³⁸. For example, to reward students for their diligence, schools in Cangkou gave pencils as prizes¹³⁹. During Children's Day activities, Jiangxi Province awarded children's books, Froebel's gifts, and other prizes to schools¹⁴⁰. Hengyang Middle School in Hunan Province prepared ink cartridges as prizes for the outstanding students in the climbing competition and the words on the ink containers were different according to their ranking¹⁴¹.

Among these toys and prizes, the series of *yizhi* puzzle books gained immense popularity and was included in a list of «ideal children's books and educational games»¹⁴². Tong's puzzle significantly enriched the range of educational toys available at the time. Its widespread appeal led to the Commercial Press reprinting these books and even publishing the first volume on En-

¹³⁶ *Pi Tong Danian yizhitu liuce ji yizhi tuban yifu zhunzuowei xuexiao jiangpin yuanshu ji tuban cunbu beian* 批童大年益智图六册及益智图板一幅准作为学校奖品原书及图板存部备案, «Jiaoyu gongbao 教育公报», n. 10, 1915, p. 112.

¹³⁷ Wu Zhenwei, *Shuo xuexiao zhi jiangpin* 说学校之奖品, «Shaonian (Shanghai 1911) 少年 (上海1911)», n. 6, 1916, pp. 4–5.

¹³⁸ *Shangwu yinshuguan faxing xuexiao jiangpin* 商务印书馆发行学校奖品, «Shishi xinbao 时事新报», June 11, 1918, 1.

¹³⁹ *Minzhong qinxue, xuexiao faji jiangpin* 民众勤学, 学校发给奖品, «Cangkou minzhong 沧口民众», April 1, 1936, 1.

¹⁴⁰ *Lingzhi benjie ertongjie jinian dahui ge canjia biaoyan ji jianzi bisai yousheng xuexiao lingqu jiangpin* 令知本屆儿童节纪念大会各参加表演及毽子比赛优胜学校领取奖品, «Jiangxi jiaoyu xunkan 江西教育旬刊», vol. 5, n. 9, 1933, pp. 23–27.

¹⁴¹ *Jianxun: faji dengji denggao bisai jiangpin* 简讯: 发给登高比赛奖品, «Hunan shengli Hengyang zhongxue xiaowu huibao 湖南省立衡阳中学校务汇报», n. 17, 1936, pp. 1–2.

¹⁴² *Jiupan weidao zhi ertong duwu ji jiaoyu youxipin* 久盼未到之儿童读物及教育游戏品, «Huabei ribao 华北日报», May 6, 1929, 1.

glish-language subject matter titled *English Alphabets and Figures Constructed with the Puzzle Square*¹⁴³. When promoting the *yizhi* puzzle, the Commercial Press praised its adherence to educational principles, its alignment with children's preferences, and its attractive price and quality¹⁴⁴. These advantages contributed to its exceptional popularity in comparison to other toys in the market. Numerous authors of articles discussing toys, games, and children's education during the Republican period, agreed that, functioning as both a handicraft and a mathematical game, the *yizhi* puzzle offered a rich, engaging experience for children¹⁴⁵. Enthusiasts of the puzzle even explored its potential to create Chinese characters and phrases through innovative combinations. An example of this is the phrase «Never forget the May 30th Massacre» [勿忘五卅惨案], which showcased the puzzle's application in conveying significant political messages. This illustrates how toys can subtly influence and educate children¹⁴⁶.

The puzzle was even recommended to cultivate the creativity of Scouts. Liu Chengqing 刘澄清, who authored numerous books on scout education, emphasized that children possess inherent creativity, as they naturally engage

¹⁴³ The English title of this book was given by its author. Zhang Jusun 章鞠孙, *Yingwen yizhitu* 英文益智图, Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1933.

¹⁴⁴ *Zizhi ertong wanju* 自制儿童玩具, «Shishi xinbao», January 7, 1918, 1. It should be noted that a set of *Yizhitu*, *Yizhi xutu*, *Yizhi zitu*, *Yizhi yanjitu* published by the Commercial Press in Shanghai in 1924 was priced at 2 *yuan*. An *yizhi* puzzle set included with these books cost only 0.3 *yuan*. *Yizhitu qianziwen* published by the Commercial Press in Shanghai in 1923 was priced at 1.4 *yuan*. According to a survey of prices in Shanghai in 1920, the average labor price was 0.4 *yuan* per person per day. See *Shanghai shiyunian lai wujia zhi diaocha* 上海十余年来物价之调查, «Yinhang zhoubao 银行周报», vol. 4, n. 2, 1920, pp. 57-58. This means that an average person only needs to work for nine days to buy a complete set of books and an *Yizhitu* set for their child.

¹⁴⁵ Bao Qiong 宝琼, *Ertong yu wanju zhi guanxi* 儿童与玩具之关系, «Zhonghua funüjie 中华妇女界», vol. 1, n. 9, 1915, p. 39; Lu Shoujian 卢寿箴, *Yuer yiban* 育儿一斑, Shanghai, Zhonghua shuju, 1920, p. 118; Bao Yangzhi 鲍仰之, *Yizhitu butu* 益智图补图, «Funü zazhi (Shanghai)», vol. 7, n. 7, 1921, p. 107; Bao Yangzhi, *Yizhitu butu*, «Funü zazhi (Shanghai)», vol. 7, n. 11, 1921, p. 105; Bao Yangzhi, *Yizhitu butu (xu)* 益智图补图 (续), «Funü zazhi (Shanghai)», vol. 7, n. 12, 1921: 98; Li Jinhui 黎锦辉, *Xinzhu Guoyu jiaoxuefa* 新著国语教学法, Shanghai, Shangwu yinshuguan, 1925, p. 183; *Shanxi shengli disan shifan fushu xiaoxue jinkuang cuoyao* 山西省里第三师范附属小学近况撮要, «Zhonghua jiaoyujie 中华教育界», vol. 15, n. 8, 1925, p. 123; *Wanju he guohuo* 玩具和国货, «Zhonghua jiaoyujie», vol. 17, n. 10, 1929, p. 61; Song Dao 诵道, *Xiaogongyi: yizhiban* 小工艺: 益智板, «Wuxi tongbao 无锡童报», n. 65, 1931, p. 13; Zhang Xuelin 张雪林 and Su Zhaoxiang 苏兆骧, *Xiaopengyou youxi* 小朋友游戏, Shanghai, Beixin shuju, 1931, vol. 1, p. 23; He Mingzhai 何明斋, *Xiaoxue gongyong yishuke jiaoxuefa* 小学工用艺术科教学法, Shanghai, Shangwu yinshuguan, 1933, p. 63; *Mingri ertongjie, Xi'an kuoda qingzhu, yejing ertongnian shishihui choubei jiuxu, sheng minjiaoguan juban ertong xingfu zhanlan* 明日儿童节, 西安扩大庆祝, 业经儿童年实施会筹备就绪, 省民教馆举办儿童幸福展览, «Xijing ribao 西京日报», April 3, 1936, 4; Yu Ziyi 俞子夷, *Suanshu youxi: yizhi tuban* 算术游戏: 益智图板, «Zhengzhong ertong 正中儿童», n. 23, 1946, p. 15; Chen Bangxian 陈邦贤, *Xiuxi yu jieyu* 休息与节欲, Nanjing, Zhengzhong shuju, 1947, p. 34.

¹⁴⁶ Li Yuanqing 李元庆, *Yizhitu*, «Xuesheng wenyi congkan 学生文艺丛刊», vol. 4, n. 5, 1927, p. 1.

in activities like drawing houses or people using bricks, chalk, or sticks on the ground without any formal instruction. These expressions of creativity highlight the need to harness their unique characteristics and provide suitable training, enabling them to make significant contributions to the country in the future. Playing with the *yizhi* puzzle, Liu asserted, represented an excellent method for nurturing their creative abilities¹⁴⁷.

Furthermore, Tong's puzzle served as a valuable tool for educational assessments. Chen Xuanshan 陈选善, a famous educator in modern China, believed that educational assessments could be divided into two types: verbal and non-verbal. Verbal assessments, such as the Binet-Simon Intelligence Scale, heavily rely on verbal questions and answers, but are not suitable for children with visual and hearing impairments. Additionally, if the examiner and the child do not share a common dialect, it can impact the accuracy of the assessment. Consequently, most assessments for young children utilized visual materials, such as pictures. The *yizhi* puzzle perfectly fulfilled the requirements of this type of assessment. During the test, children were tasked with placing various wooden blocks in the correct positions, and their intelligence level was determined based on the time taken and the accuracy of their placement¹⁴⁸.

Tong's puzzle also held a significant role in family education, serving as a source of family entertainment. Parents and children could engage in solving the puzzle together, fostering happiness and promoting good health. For instance, a book discussing the educational psychology in the 1940s defended that this approach was effective in eliminating illness and enhancing overall well-being¹⁴⁹. According to one Republican era writer, when teaching children how to play with the puzzle, it was crucial to encourage them to discover new patterns independently and to develop a genuine interest in the game. One effective strategy for this was to limit the number of patterns shown to children each day, as this could prevent them from becoming bored and gradually encourage them to explore further¹⁵⁰. As children became more adept at solving the puzzle, they would naturally find themselves more engrossed and motivated to pursue new patterns and challenges. In 1946, Zhang Shengyi 章绳以 commented that toys, including the *yizhi* puzzle, satisfy children's innate desire to play, and parents should focus on guiding children to unleash this natural inclination rather than stifling it¹⁵¹. The widespread use of Tong's puzzle

¹⁴⁷ Liu Chengqing, *Youtongjun de liangyou* 幼童军的良友, Changsha, Shangwu yinshuguan, 1940, pp. 84–85.

¹⁴⁸ Chen Xuanshan 陈选善, *Jiaoyu ceyan jianghua* 教育测验讲话, Shanghai, Shijie shuju, 1947, p. 8; Id. *Jiaoyu xinlin* 教育心理, Shanghai, Shangwu yinshuguan, 1948, p. 59.

¹⁴⁹ Xu Songshi 徐松石, *Jiating jiaoyu yu ertong* 家庭教育与儿童, Shanghai, Shangwu yinshuguan, 1931, p. 102.

¹⁵⁰ Fan Quan 范铨 and Wang Jinglu 汪静庐 (comp.), *Jiating yule* 家庭娱乐, annot. Zhong Jinglan 仲靖澜, Shanghai, Puyi shuju, 1933, p. 8.

¹⁵¹ Zhang Shengyi 章绳以, *Jiashixue gailun* 家事学概论, Shanghai, Zhongguo wenhua fu-

zle in late Qing and Republican China confirms its contribution to the greater emphasis on a child-centered perspective on children in modern China.

Conclusion

By combining entertainment with education, Tong's puzzle not only challenged young learners but also instilled values of moral education, intellectual stimulation, and aesthetic appreciation. Intellectually, the puzzle served as an educational aid, enhancing children's understanding of various subjects. Its geometric nature also promoted spatial awareness and mathematical skills, providing a rich, multidimensional learning experience. The book series incorporated detailed explanations and classical references, fostering a deeper appreciation of Chinese literature and history. Morally, it incorporated stories and examples that highlighted virtues such as loyalty, integrity, perseverance, and respect for elders. These narratives, drawn from Chinese classics and historical anecdotes, aimed to instill ethical values in young minds. The inclusion of exemplary female figures further emphasized the importance of moral education for all members of society. Aesthetically, the puzzle encouraged players to explore and appreciate beauty in everyday objects and nature. The abstract yet detailed designs required keen observation and artistic creativity, allowing players to engage with art and culture in a meaningful way. The integration of traditional calligraphic styles and poetic imagery further enriched the aesthetic experience. Pedagogically, Tong's approach combined visual and textual elements, enhancing the learning process. The puzzles not only captured children's attention but also aided in their comprehension and retention of information. By gradually reducing textual explanations in favor of visual representation, Tong emphasized the importance of imagery in education, aligning with the broader societal shift toward visual learning in the late Qing Dynasty. By transforming Confucian teachings into geometric puzzles, he created a bridge between traditional Chinese learning and modern educational methods. This puzzle became both a vessel for ancient wisdom and a precursor to future educational trends, its design mirroring China's intellectual transformation during its transition from tradition to modernity.

As Colin Heywood says, toys and games were historically a means «to encourage the intellectual and physical development of the young», as well as to amuse them¹⁵². The concept of combining play with education, making learning enjoyable, is a common educational philosophy in contemporary times. However, this was not a prevalent idea during Tong Xiegeng's era. When

wushe, 1946, pp. 287–288.

¹⁵² Heywood, *A History of Childhood*, cit., p. 179.

Tong, nearing the age of fifty, invented the *yizhi* puzzle, it is uncertain whether he was driven by concerns for his country or if he envisioned it as a tool to empower the younger generation as the hope for the nation's future. Nonetheless, it is evident that Tong Xiegeng valued the importance of children and sought to contribute to their education and recreation. His efforts were not in vain, as evidenced by the widespread use of this toy in late Qing and Republican China. This popularity was also influenced by the May Fourth Movement, after which the recognition of children's roles and their significance to the nation was heightened. The movement's emphasis on cultural renewal and social progress created fertile ground for reimagining childhood as a formative period requiring purposeful nurturing – a stark departure from earlier views that often dismissed children's agency. This ideological shift likely amplified public receptiveness to educational tools like the *yizhi* puzzle, aligning its playful pedagogy with the era's burgeoning nationalist aspirations. Until now, Tong Xiegeng and his puzzle continue to motivate us to think about the intrinsic value and significance of children, recognizing them as an important social group in their own right.

Formal Education¹ and Latin in the Context of Secondary School Reform in the Period of the First Czechoslovak Republic

Annamária Adamčíková
Department of History
Catholic University in Ružomberok
(Slovakia)
annamaria.adamcikova732@edu.ku.sk

ABSTRACT: The study presents a little-known debate about Latin, which took place in the context of secondary school reform in the First Czechoslovak Republic. Many opponents of classical languages questioned the traditional importance of Latin in secondary education as the main representative and bearer of classical culture. It was through the teaching of Latin that the pupil's competences were to be shaped and developed, which could then be applied by the pupil in their everyday life. At the time, this was known as formal education. The subject of much discussion has therefore been whether the practically useless Latin has any superior importance in this respect at all, and whether this role cannot be taken over by other subjects that are more practically useful. Advocates of the classical languages have therefore attempted to champion Latin, justifying and defending this unique role of it in humanities education. The aim of this article is to try to reconstruct how Latin was perceived by different parties in terms of this importance. The paper is based on a critical study of period documents and the period press. It uses critical discourse analysis to achieve its aim. We found that answering the question of whether Latin had a special significance in the transmission of formal education was not easy. This is demonstrated by the outcome of the reform itself. There was no radical elimination of Latin, but the number of Latin lessons was reduced and it was only taught from grade 3 onwards. The focus of formal education was eventually shifted to the language of instruction. However, the reform still retained Latin as a compulsory subject, which was also to continue to impart formal education. The reform thus ended in a compromise.

¹ «Formal education» [Czech: formální vzdělání] was a contemporary term denoting the training through which a pupil's competencies were to be shaped and developed, which he or she could then apply in everyday life.

It highlights the ambiguous and period-specific search for an answer to the relationship between the practical and the humanistic content of education.

EET/TEE KEYWORDS: Formal education; Classical languages; Latin; Secondary school reform; XX Century.

Introduction

Even before the establishment of the First Czechoslovak Republic, we can observe a discussion about the reform of secondary schools. The object of criticism was both external and internal reform of the secondary school. In the second half of the 19th century, the classical grammar school became the object of sharp criticism. In particular, the classical grammar school was criticized for its humanistic and one-sided orientation and because it placed great emphasis on memorization, overburdened the pupils and often missed the relevance of the curriculum for everyday life. Although the monopoly of the Latin language was broken by the *Exner-Bonitz reform* of 1849², this reform still left Latin (but also Greek) with a relatively high number of lessons³. The real subjects⁴ remained in the background, although they were becoming increasingly important. Many called attention to this and demanded that the ratio of real and humanities subjects be equalized. At the same time, pedagogical thinking in this period was influenced by pragmatism and pedocentrism, and simultaneously pedagogical and psychological knowledge was growing. The response to this situation was reformist demands, asking to make room for real subjects, but also for modern languages that were applicable in practical life. A kind of balance between humanities and real education was sought – as evidenced by the gradual establishment of other types of grammar schools (real and reform real grammar schools). Advocates of both sides were faced with the difficult task of justifying their positions⁵.

² The result of this reform was the *Outline of the Organization of Austrian Gymnasiums and Reales* [*Nástin organizácie rakúskych gymnázií a reállok*], which was finally confirmed by the Emperor after some modifications only in 1954. It also determined the nature of Austrian secondary schools in the second half of the 19th century and the early 20th century.

³ Classical languages occupied more than 40% of the lessons.

⁴ Real subjects included mathematics and science.

⁵ M. Svatoš, *Exner-bonitzovy školské reformy a jejich důsledky pro gymnaziální školství v habsburské monarchii v 19. století*, in *Minulost současnost a budoucnost gymnazijního vzdělávání*, Semily, Státní okresní archiv, 2000, pp. 42-48; O. Kádner, *Vývoj a dnešní soustava školství*, Praha, Sfinx, 1929, Vol. I, pp. 232-280, and K. Vymětalová, *Více nebo méně latiny?*, «Historica olomuncensia», vol. 47, 2014, pp. 117-145; K. Řezníková, *Študenti a kantoři za starého Rakouska. České střední školy v letech 1867–1919*, Praha, Libri, 2007, pp. 16-31, pp. 55-58; J. Valenta, *Střední všeobecně vzdělávací*, in J. Cach, J. Valenta, *Výchova a vzdělání v českých dějinách III. 1. část 1848–1914*, Praha, Státní pedagogické nakladatelství, 1990, pp. 35-94; J. Valenta, *Vývoj středního všeobecně vzdělávacího školství*, in R. Vaňová, K. Rýdl, J.

After the establishment of the First Czechoslovak Republic, the local debate on the reform of the secondary school was therefore largely influenced by the pedagogical tradition, reform ideas from abroad, and was also determined by the new conditions of the newly established state⁶. Here, too, the question of the Latin language and its position within secondary education was a major source of debate within the reform, and it polarised the discourse itself. Many questioned the usefulness of Latin in everyday life, highlighting the underachievement of pupils, which did not correspond to the time spent. Gradually, Neo-Humanism lost its meaning and classical culture ceased to be seen as an essential component of the culture of the time. Increasingly in this period, real subjects and modern languages were gaining in importance, displacing «the useless Latin». The aim, content, method and general meaning of this language were therefore the subject of much debate, and it was also criticised for being too “grammaticalised”. Although the number of Latin lessons was constantly reduced, there was no radical restriction of Latin. Many have therefore sought to eliminate or restrict it altogether, which has led to a kind of controversy over the Latin language in secondary schools. The struggle over Latin was thus part of the broader issue of secondary schools reform and was therefore linked to a number of other issues. Two groups were pitted against each other: proponents and opponents of the classical languages, who presented their respective positions or solutions⁷.

Valenta, *Výchova a vzdělání v českých dějinách*, IV. díl – 1. svazek. *Problematika vzdělávacích institucí a školských reforem (obecné školství 1848–1939), (střední školství a učitelské vzdělání 1914–1939)*, Praha, Univerzita Karlova, 1992, pp. 189–192; D. Kasperová, T. Kasper, *Reforma školy v ČSR jako úsilí učitelstva o reformu společnosti a národa*, in T. Kasper, D. Kasperová, D. Panková, (edd.), „Národní“ školství za první Československé republiky, Praha, Academia, pp. 161–166; J. Valenta, *Problematika cíle a výuky latinského jazyka na gymnáziích*. Diploma Thesis. Katedra věd o antickém starověku, Filozofická fakulta Univerzity Karlovy, Praha, 1978, pp. 14–17; J. Čeněk, *Střední školství, jeho vývoj a jeho problémy*, Praha, B. Kočí, 1926, pp. 36–44, 52–55; *Důvodová zpráva*, in *Návrh zákona o reformě střední školy: elaborát pracovní komise při poradním sboru pro školskou reformu*, Praha, Státní nakladatelství, 1925, pp. 11–17; F. Drtina, *Ideály výchovy, soubor programových a historických statí z pedagogiky*, Praha, Jan Laichter, 1930, pp. 149–175; J. Šlegr, *Vládní anketa o reformě střední školy*, Praha, Časopis pokrokového studentstva, 1908, pp. [5]–48.

⁶ The Czech school reform in the elementary schools dealt with: D. Kasperová, T. Kasper, E. Šmelová, *Transfer as a basic characteristic of Czech school reform – the interwar Czechoslovak education reform movement and its resistance to «best practices» from abroad*, «History of Education & Children's Literature», vol. XIX, n. 2, 2024, pp. 161–181; M. Panková, T. Kasper, D. Kasperová (edd.), *Meziválečná školská reforma v Československu*, Praha, Academia, 2015.

⁷ Kádner, *Vývoj a dnešní soustava školství*, cit., pp. s. 239–240; O. Kádner, *Základy obecné pedagogiky*, Praha, Unie, 1925, Vol. II, pp. 651–662; Valenta, *Problematika cíle a výuky latinského jazyka na gymnáziích*, cit., pp. 27–70; Vymětalová, *Více nebo méně latiny?*, cit., pp. 117–145; Kasperová, Kasper, *Reforma školy v ČSR jako úsilí učitelstva o reformu společnosti a národa*, cit., pp. 161–166; *Důvodová zpráva*, in *Návrh zákona o reformě střední školy*, cit., pp. 20–22, 36–41; Valenta, *Vývoj středního všeobecně vzdělávacího školství*, in Vaňová, Rýdl, Valenta, *Výchova a vzdělání v českých dějinách*, IV. díl – 1. svazek., cit., pp. 188–294; J. Čeněk, *Organisace našeho středního školství*, «Věstník československého pedagogického ústavu J. A.

During the period of the First Czechoslovak Republic, many proposals appeared that attempted to address the question of the status of Latin. The authors were individuals, various experts, associations, as well as the Ministry of Education and National Enlightenment. However, finding answers was not easy, as evidenced by the outcome of the reform of the secondary school itself, which ended up as a sort of compromise between two opposing views. In this debate, the proponents of classical languages tried to justify the importance of Latin. They pointed to the various advantages that Latin brought with it in contrast to other living and modern languages or other subjects. At the same time, they were forced to argue that the study of Latin could also have practical benefits. Opponents, on the other hand, tried to point out the limits of classical languages, especially Latin. The arguments presented by the apologists of classical languages could be divided into two groups and concerned two goals of classical languages: their importance in terms of formal education (henceforth formal education) and in terms of their cultural significance. Latin was taught in several types of secondary schools, it was one of the general education subjects through which higher general education was attained, and in several faculties a matriculation in Latin was also a condition for admission⁸. All this added to its value.

1. Methodological approach and questions

This study focuses specifically on the question of formal education and Latin, an unexplored phenomenon. The controversy over the ratio of humanities and real subjects was based on theories of formal and material education⁹,

komenského», vol. 1, n. 2, 1923, pp. 35-38; *Výsledky ankety ministerstva školství a národní osvěty z roku 1919 o reformě střední školy*, Praha, Státní nakladatelství, 1922; A. Adamčíková, *Latinčina ako predmet diskusie v rámci reformy strednej školy v 1. ČSR. Význam klasického vzdelania*, «Historia scholastica», vol. 10, n. 2, 2024, pp. 227-261.

⁸ More on the debate on Latin, the reform of secondary schools or individual proposals can be found here, for example: *Návrhy na reformu střední školy*, Praha, Ústřední spolek čes. Profesor, 1919, pp. 5-[13]; M. Weingart, *Prohlášení české sekce*, «Věstník českých professorů – část pedagogická», vol. 26, n. 3, 1919, pp. 104-105; *Návrh na reformu střední školy*, «Věstník českých professorů», vol. 27, n. 1, 1920, pp. 1-3; J. Lameš, *Výsledky ankety Historického klubu*, «Věstník českých professorů», vol. 27, n. 2, pp. 79-84; O. Kádner, *Vývoj a dnešní soustava školství*, Praha, Sfinx, 1931, Vol. II, pp. 73-125, and B. Bydžovský, *Naše středoškolská reforma*, Praha, Profesorské nakladatelství a knihkupectví, 1937; Valenta, *Vývoj středního všeobecně vzdělávacího školství*, in Vaňová, Rýdl, Valenta, *Výchova a vzdělání v českých dějinách*, IV. díl – 1. svazek., Praha, Univerzita Karlova, 1992, pp. 188-294; Valenta, *Problematika cíle a výuky latinského jazyka na gymnáziích*, cit., pp. 85-171; Adamčíková, *Latinčina ako predmet diskusie v rámci reformy strednej školy v 1. ČSR. Význam klasického vzdelania*, cit., pp. 227-261.

⁹ The term «material education» was understood as knowledge or acquired substance of learning – the content of education.

which in turn determined the goals and objectives of secondary schools and the related content of education. Indeed, classical grammar schools were based on the idea of the formal educational value of classical languages¹⁰. By the term «formal education theory» we will understand the movement that was based on the belief that the main goal of education is: «to develop in a general way the pupil's abilities – memory, sensory, intellectual, emotional, volitional abilities»¹¹.

However, it was often also understood restrictively as the so-called intellectual education or training of mental capacities. At the same time, different authors used different terms¹², which caused terminological problems in the treatment of the topic. In this study, therefore, we will use the term formal education in its broad meaning. The acquired skills were subsequently supposed to help them in solving tasks in everyday life. This consequently implied that some subjects had a special formal educational value that was attributed to classical languages, especially Latin. Unlike other subjects, therefore, Latin gained a prominent place in the curriculum of grammar schools. However, this idea was questioned even before the establishment of the First Czechoslovak Republic and reappeared in connection with the question of the Latin language. The dispute therefore involved the question of which language should be the focus of formal education, or whether it must necessarily take place only in the context of classical language teaching. Thus, many have tried to answer whether or not formal education is possible on the language of instruction (mother tongue) or on modern living languages. At the same time, the existence of formal education as such was also questioned and the inter-relatedness and indivisibility of the two types of education was stressed. And meanwhile, others have tried to justify why Latin is the most appropriate, but also its prominent place and role in the context of this type of education.

The aim of the present paper is to try to reconstruct, through a critical discourse analysis, how Latin has been perceived by different parties in terms of formal education in secondary schools¹³. The paper will try to present the problem of formal education in secondary schools in relation to Latin. It will present what the advantages of Latin were presented by the proponents of classical languages and will equally try to bring closer the argumentative back-

¹⁰ Valenta, *Střední všeobecně vzdělávací*, in Cach, Valenta, *Výchova a vzdělání v českých dějinách III. 1. část 1848–1914*, cit., pp. 75–78.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 75.

¹² Logical training, rational training, thought training, mental skills training.

¹³ By the term secondary schools we will understand: classical, real, reform real grammar school and real school with Czechoslovak language of instruction. However, we will not deal with these secondary schools, as Latin was not taught at these schools and their graduates were not eligible to study at universities. On the other hand, we will touch on the real schools as well. Although Latin was not taught at them, they represented a kind of counterpart to the classical grammar school. In the same way, it was possible to take the school-leaving examination at the above-mentioned secondary schools.

ground of the opposition party. The study situates the phenomenon in the period of the First Czechoslovak Republic (1918–1938) and focuses geographically on the debate that took place in the territory of Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia¹⁴. It looks at the issue under study in the context of the reform of the secondary schools that was taking place at that time. The work is based on a critical study of contemporary documents and the contemporary press. So far, we do not find any work dealing with the topic defined in this way¹⁵. The key work is a study entitled *Latin as a subject of debate in the context of secondary school reform in the First Czechoslovak Republic*, while its author did not elaborate on the question of the formal educational significance of Latin and the related debate¹⁶.

2. *The question of formal education and the role of Latin*

Josef Valenta pointed out that the dispute over the ratio of humanities and real education had its theoretical background in the question of «formal and material education»¹⁷. The very notion of «formal education» appeared in the late 18th century among Kant's followers and the Neo-Humanists. Therefore, in connection with the aim of education, the so-called material and formal education was discussed in that period. «Material education» was understood as knowledge or the acquired substance of learning. The pupil was thus to acquire a great deal of knowledge necessary for practical life. If too much emphasis was placed on the content of education, this was so-called didactic materialism. At the same time, the contents themselves were regarded as intellectual power, without considering the way in which the knowledge was acquired¹⁸. Formal education was understood as:

¹⁴ Because in the territory of Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia the discussion about the secondary school reform was also centered. We have not included the territory of Slovakia because the Slovak education system had to solve its difficulties at first.

¹⁵ The question of formal education was touched upon by J. Valenta in one of his chapters. See Valenta, *Střední všeobecně vzdělávací*, in Cach, Valenta, *Výchova a vzdělání v českých dějinách III. 1. část 1848–1914*, cit., pp. 75–78.

¹⁶ Adamčíková, *Latinčina ako predmet diskusie v rámci reformy strednej školy v 1. ČSR. Význam klasického vzdelania*, cit., pp. 227–261.

¹⁷ Valenta, *Střední všeobecně vzdělávací*, in Cach, Valenta, *Výchova a vzdělání v českých dějinách III. 1. část 1848–1914*, cit., p. 75.

¹⁸ O. Kádner, *Základy obecné pedagogiky*, Praha, Unie, 1925, Vol. I, pp. 182–193, and Valenta, *Střední všeobecně vzdělávací*, in Cach, Valenta, *Výchova a vzdělání v českých dějinách III. 1. část 1848–1914*, cit., pp. 75–78.

The training of mental powers, general rational culture, mental dexterity or independence, or the possibility of applying acquired rational faculties in other branches of human activity¹⁹.

The acquisition of these skills was to have an effect in practical life, even if the knowledge was forgotten. It was the classical grammar schools that were built on the idea of formal education, with Latin playing a big role in this regard. If too much emphasis was given to this, it was a so-called didactic formalism which reduced the substance to a mere means to acquire the mental powers it favoured²⁰.

According to the idea of formal education, not all subjects mediated formal education to the same extent. As a consequence, some subjects and their curricular material acquired a certain superiority and consequently dominance in the curriculum because of their formal educational value²¹. According to this theory, only those subjects were important where the pupil worked independently and where the method was more important than the content itself. Hence, classical languages (especially Latin) and mathematics were considered the best mediators of formal education, where students could acquire it the most. The goal of mathematics was therefore not based on mastery of mathematical operations. But by practising them, the pupil was to acquire a skill which was to help him not only in mathematics but also in everyday life. In the same way, the essence of Latin was not based on its acquisition by the pupil but was to be a tool for the pupil to exercise at the same time his intellectual, aesthetic and willpower abilities. These were exercised, for example, by analysing sentences or by searching for the complex and subtle interdependencies of the individual members of a sentence, but also by pupils trying to grasp the meaning of Latin texts. Classical language classes thus forced pupils to think, to analyse the concepts that make up the content of words, to practise translating them into their mother tongue, which required complex comparisons in the search for the relevant expressions, while at the same time pupils had to be sensitive to the different shades of meaning of the terms in question, they had to be attentive to synonyms, etc.²². All of this could then be put to practical use in their lives. Classical grammar schools in particular became the centre

¹⁹ Kádner, *Základy obecné pedagogiky*, cit., p. 183.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 182-193; K. Velemínský, *Formální vzdělání*, «Věstník pedagogický», vol. 3, n. 4, 1925, pp. 120-124; O. Chlup, J. Uher, J. Kubálek (edd.), *Pedagogická encyklopedie*, Praha, Novina, 1940, Vol. III, pp. 173-174; Valenta, *Střední všeobecné vzdělávací*, in Cach, Valenta, *Výchova a vzdělání v českých dějinách III. 1. část 1848-1914*, cit., pp. 75-78; J. Hendrich, *Úvod do obecné pedagogiky*, Praha, Profesorské nakladatelství a kníhkupectví, 1935, pp. 74-79.

²¹ «The formal value of a substance was seen in the fact that certain abilities, which I acquire in the study of a certain substance, I can use in another case». See O. Chlup, J. Uher, J. Kubálek (edd.), *Pedagogická encyklopedie*, Praha, Novina, 1939, Vol. II, p. 487.

²² A similar view was also held by Hegel, according to whom one learns logic at the same time through grammatical education.

of formal education, where a special formal educational value was attached to classical languages. Pupils thus learned things that were not immediately perceptible to them, but on the other hand, through them they developed skills that would help them in everyday life²³.

When we think about the specific place of classical languages in grammar schools, tradition played a role, since they were based on Latin schools. In addition, the classical languages provided a certain aesthetic-educational dimension for the students through ancient literature, and the students were also introduced to ancient society in the same way. All this gave them added value in contrast to mathematics. The subjects that were considered the least formally educational were those in which the pupil only had to learn certain knowledge and did not require independent work – these were mainly the natural sciences. The neo-humanism on which Austrian education was built supported precisely the formal education theory. It also served as an argument for the study of classical languages, which were thus considered the best vehicle for formal education. In practice, the emphasis in grammar schools was on language teaching, with the consequence that attention to other types of teaching was absent. But pupils in grammar schools also had to acquire a lot of other knowledge. Material education therefore often led to encyclopaedism²⁴.

But more and more voices were raised that questioned the nature of formal education. Some dismissed the notion altogether, pointing out that it was impossible to separate formal and material education. The formal educational value of classical languages was also questioned. Many argued that modern languages could take over this role and that real subjects should also have their place. They thus pointed to the limits of formal education based only on the teaching of classical languages. According to them, a variety of material is essential for the development of all mental abilities, because the transfer of training²⁵ to other activities, disciplines or situations is limited by the degree of their relatedness or similarity²⁶.

²³ Velemínský, *Formální vzdělání*, «Věstník pedagogický», cit., pp. 120-124; Chlup, Uher, Kubálek (edd.), *Pedagogická encyklopedie*, cit., Vol. II, pp. 486-487; J. Uher, *Hlavní zásady didaktické*, Praha, B. Kočí, 1926, p. 51; Chlup, J. Uher, J. Kubálek (edd.), *Pedagogická encyklopedie*, Praha, Novina, 1938, Vol. I, pp. 564-569; Bydžovský, *Naše středoškolská reforma*, cit., p. 126; Hendrich, *Úvod do obecné pedagogiky*, cit., pp. 74-79; Valenta, *Střední všeobecné vzdělávací*, in Cach, Valenta, *Výchova a vzdělání v českých dějinách III. 1. část 1848-1914*, cit., p. 75-78; F. Novotný, *Latina a řečtina na střední škole: příspěvek k diskusi: přednáška, kterou konal ve Filosofické jednotě 4. a 11. února 1919*, Praha, B. Kočí, p. 4.

²⁴ Valenta, *Výchova a vzdělání v českých dějinách III. 1. část 1848-1914*, cit., pp. 75-78; Uher, *Hlavní zásady didaktické*, cit., pp. 51-53; Velemínský, *Formální vzdělání*, «Věstník pedagogický», cit., pp. 120-124, and Hendrich, *Úvod do obecné pedagogiky*, cit., pp. 74-79.

²⁵ The transfer of training was identified with the notion of the formal price of a content: «the latter, is seen in the fact that certain abilities, which I acquire when studying a certain content, I can use in another case». See Chlup, Uher, Kubálek (edd.), *Pedagogická encyklopedie*, cit., Vol. II, p. 487.

²⁶ O. Kádner, *Základy obecné pedagogiky*, Praha, Unie, 1925, Vol. II, pp. 187-188; Kramář,

The issue of formal education has resurfaced in the context of the reform of the Secondary Schools, in which the dispute over the status of Latin was addressed. Latin was taught at classical grammar schools, real grammar schools and real reform grammar schools and was an essential component of secondary education. The school-leaving examination in it was often a ticket to university studies. However, the question was raised whether Latin was necessary for the acquisition of higher general education, of which formal education was a major part²⁷. Traditionally, the proponents of classical languages presented those classical languages, especially Latin, were the most suitable for formal education, based on previous experience and tradition. Thus, they tried to emphasize the importance of Latin for the acquisition of a general education²⁸. Many of them also tried to justify their claims. On the contrary, the opponents questioned the traditional position of the classical philologists and relied on new knowledge, the needs of life and modern times. Formal education, based on classical languages, was, in their view, outdated and losing its relevance. They could no longer sustain themselves in an age when modern culture was developing, while the natural sciences and modern languages had also acquired an educational effect. Classical languages were therefore in decline and losing their unique position. They were to be replaced by the language of instruction and modern languages. Some opponents were of this view despite recognizing their formal educational value²⁹.

Already shortly after the formation of the First Czechoslovak Republic, various opinions emerged in relation to Latin in the context of secondary schools from the perspective of formal education. Already the *Union of Mathematicians and Physicists* [*Jednota matematiků a fyziků*], in their proposal for the reform of the secondary schools of 1919, based the formal education on the mother tongue in combination with the modern language, and did not

Úvahy o střední škole, Praha, Nákladem Časopisu pokrokového studentstva, 1902, pp. 12-18; Bydžovský, *Naše středoškolská reforma*, cit., pp. 125-127; Velemínský, *Formální vzdělání*, «Věstník pedagogický», cit., pp. 120-124; Hendrich, *Úvod do obecné pedagogiky*, cit., pp. 74-79; Chlup, Uher, Kubálek (edd.), *Pedagogická encyklopedie*, cit., Vol. II, p. 487.

²⁷ Uher, *Hlavní zásady didaktické*, cit., p. 52; *Pracovní komise při poradním sboru*, «Věstník československého pedagogického ústavu J. A. Komenského», vol. 1, n. 9-10, 1923, p. 160; *Anketa ministerstva školství a národní osvěty o školské reformě, konaná ve dnech 8. až 12. dubna 1929 v zasedací síni senátu Národního shromáždění v Praze*, Ministerstvo školství a nář. osvěty, 1929, p. 199, pp. 204-205; B. Bydžovský, J. Čeněk, *Odpověď k „Poznámkám“ klasických filologů*, Praha, Státní nakladatelství, 1925, p. 9; F. Novotný, *Střední škola bez klasických jazyků?*, Praha, L.K. Žižka, 1923, pp. 3-4.

²⁸ Both goals of Latin (formal and cultural meaning) were, according to the proponents of classical languages, generally educational.

²⁹ Velemínský, *Formální vzdělání*, «Věstník pedagogický», cit., p. 123; Velemínský, *Zásadní otázky reformy školské*, «Národní osvobození», vol. 2, n. 75, 17.3.1925, p. 6; *Výsledky ankety ministerstva školství a národní osvěty z roku 1919 o reformě střední školy*, cit., pp. 68-69; B. Trnka, *Může zůstat střední škola klasickou?*, «Národní listy», vol. 65, 11.5.7.1925, p. 11; *Anketa ministerstva školství a národní osvěty o školské reformě*, cit., pp. 224-226.

consider Latin as a general education subject³⁰. Similarly, at a meeting of the Secondary School Advisory Board in 1921, the issue was raised. The provincial school inspector Zdeněk Frant, who was present, was of the opinion that formal training could be mediated in the mother tongue and in the modern language³¹. Also, some of the questions asked in the ministerial inquiry, the results of which were published in 1922, sought an answer³². This is equally evidenced by the debate that erupted after the publication of *the Secondary School Bill* (1925)³³. In the *Explanatory Memorandum* accompanying the *Bill* (1925), one can read that the authors were opposed to the special formal educational value of Latin. In their view, it was a question of method and they saw no problem in allowing this original role of the classical languages to be taken over by a language of instruction, supplemented by modern languages. At the same time, they presented their view that all subjects participate in formal education. During the period of the First Czechoslovak Republic, there were voices for Latin to be transferred to the higher department of the secondary schools within the grammar schools branch. Latin would thus lose its general education character and become only an elective subject, preparing for specific fields of study. The real reform grammar schools, where Latin was already taught as part of Grades V–VIII, were put forward as a model here. However, the practice and results in these types of grammar schools did not correspond to expectations³⁴.

Opponents of the classical languages thus questioned the special formal educational value of Latin. They held that all other subjects also contributed to formal education and therefore wanted to shift the focus of the formal education to the language of instruction and modern languages, which were more useful for practical life. However, apologists for classical languages disagreed with similar claims. They considered classical languages, especially Latin, as the best means of formal education and tried to justify it as well.

³⁰ *Návrhy na reformu střední školy*, cit., pp. 5-10.

³¹ *Část informační*, «Věstník Ministerstva školství a národní osvěty», vol. 3, n. 13-16, 1921, pp. 101-110.

³² *Výsledky ankety ministerstva školství a národní osvěty z roku 1919 o reformě střední školy*, cit., p. 61, p. 69, pp. 74-75.

³³ *Návrh zákona o reformě střední školy: elaborát pracovní komise při poradním sboru pro školskou reformu*, Praha, Státní nakladatelství, 1925.

³⁴ Adamčíková, *Latinčina ako predmet diskusie v rámci reformy strednej školy v 1. ČSR. Význam klasického vzdelania*, «Historia scholastica», cit., pp. 227-261; *Důvodová zpráva*, in *Návrh zákona o reformě střední školy*, cit., p. 52; *K návrhu osnov*, «Střední škola», vol. 6, n. 5, 1926, pp. 219-223; Velemínský, *Formální vzdělání*, «Věstník pedagogický», cit., pp. 120-124; Bydžovský, *Naše středoškolská reforma*, cit., p. 135.

3. *The Latin language as the best means of formal education*

The opposite position was advocated by the *Union of Classical Philologists* [*Jednota klasických filologů*], calling for Latin to be taught from the 1st grade, thus giving Latin an important place in the acquisition of higher general education. On the question of the formal education, they held the traditional position. According to them, it was to be built mainly on Latin (but also on Greek). In addition, they also wrote a short justification of why they preferred Latin in the question of formal training compared to other subjects³⁵. Today it is possible to find only fragmentary information on this issue³⁶, on the other hand, it is certainly worth mentioning František Novotný³⁷, who wrote several papers attempting to justify the importance of Latin (but also Greek) as a general education subject, its role in conveying the formal education, but also its importance from the cultural point of view³⁸. In the following, we would like to try to present the argumentative backgrounds of the different, opposing sides.

One of the advantages that Latin had, according to its proponents, was its difference and distance from Czech. These formed the basis for the grammatical method used in the teaching of the classical languages, which was based on the analysis and translation of sentences. They spoke of the differentiation of Latin in terms of grammatical language level. In the first place, it should be said that Latin was distinguished, unlike modern living languages, by a richer morphology. The living languages were poorer and simpler in morphology and means of expression. Similarly, they perceived the superiority of Latin in terms of its syntax. The features of its composition, such as closedness and looser word order, therefore presented greater opportunities reasoning about syntactic ratios. When working with a translation, the pupil practised logical exercises by which the learner built up a «subconscious foundation of judgment»³⁹. No other language possessed them to such an extent. Latin had another advantage in its looser vocabulary. On the basis of the position of a word in a sentence, it was not possible to deduce anything about its function. It was the pupil's task to find this out by thinking. In many modern languages, for example, the falls of nouns formed by suffixes were absent because they

³⁵ *Návrhy na reformu střední školy*, cit., pp. 10-[13]; *Odpověď klasických filologů*, «Věstník českých profesorů», vol. 27, n. 2, 1920, pp. 75-79; *Výsledky ankety ministerstva školství a národní osvěty z roku 1919 o reformě střední školy*, cit., p. 69.

³⁶ See the individual links in the references.

³⁷ F. Novotný was a university professor of classical philology at Masaryk University in Brno.

³⁸ Novotný, *Latina a řečtina na střední škole: příspěvek k diskusi*, cit., and Novotný, *Střední škola bez klasických jazyků?*, cit., and *Anketa ministerstva školství a národní osvěty o školské reformě*, cit., pp. 199-206.

³⁹ Novotný, *Střední škola bez klasických jazyků?*, cit., p. 9.

had disappeared. It was quite different in Latin, which contained many declensions, conjugations, manners, tenses and falls. The pupil therefore had to think, work independently and pay attention to the various case suffixes, look for the subject and the adjective when translating into the classroom language. We can simply say that he was learning to recognize grammatical categories⁴⁰. The authors of the *Notes on the Bill* therefore gave as an example that it was easier for a beginner to translate with the help of a dictionary from the modern language than from Latin⁴¹. In addition, the proponents also pointed to the thinking reflected in modern languages, which made them closer to the Czech language. F. Novotný, according to whom even a lesser degree of knowledge of the language would be sufficient for a pupil to understand a text in modern languages, but this would not hold in the case of classical languages⁴². All this, according to them, disadvantaged modern languages and, on the contrary, favoured Latin, which, by its very nature, forced pupils to think much more and taught them independence. It should be noted at this point that there are hardly any references where the opponents of the classical languages oppose or attempt to justify the modern languages from this point of view. The authors of the *Explanatory Memorandum* (1925) did not think that classical languages were different from modern languages⁴³. But we can mention, for example, Bohumil Trnka⁴⁴. He pointed out in his paper that all languages (except related languages) have ways, albeit different, by which they explain sentence relations or grammatical categories. As an example, he pointed out that the 1st and 4th case of a noun in English differs in its position in a sentence. He identified this as analogous to the means by which a given relation is expressed in that language and that in Latin was expressed by the suffixes of the various declensions. At the same time, he considered the simple construction of the English language to be advantageous because it enabled the pupils to penetrate stylistically into the language. Pupils were consequently also to improve their style, which he understood as an expression of independent logical thinking⁴⁵. But what was pointed out was the remoteness of Latin, but also of Greek. In both cases they were dead languages. They considered the ancient culture and the means of expression of these languages as something too distant for the

⁴⁰ *Odpověď klasických filologů*, «Věstník českých profesorů», vol. 27, n. 2, 1920, pp. 75-79; *Část informační*, «Věstník Ministerstva školství a národní osvěty», cit., p. 109; Novotný, *Latina a řečtina na střední škole: příspěvek k diskusi*, cit., pp. 25-27; Novotný, *Střední škola bez klasických jazyků?*, cit., pp. 6-8; A. Kolár, *Jest možná nová metoda ve vyučování latině?*, «Střední škola», vol. 7, n. 3, 1926, pp. 106-107; *Anketa ministerstva školství a národní osvěty o školské reformě*, cit., p. 226; J. Novák, *Formální stránka návrhu na organisaci obč. a střední školy*, «Věstník československých profesorů», vol. 30, n. 19, 01.6.1923, pp. [329]-333.

⁴¹ *Poznámky k Návrhu zákona o střední škole*, [s.l.], [s.n.], 1925, p. 8.

⁴² Novotný, *Střední škola bez klasických jazyků?*, cit., p. 6.

⁴³ *Důvodová zpráva*, in *Návrh zákona o reformě střední školy*, cit., p. 52.

⁴⁴ B. Trnka was an associate professor of English philology at Charles University in Prague.

⁴⁵ Trnka, *Může zůstat střední škola klasickou?*, «Národní listy», cit., p. 11.

pupils and consequently they lost interest in it. The proponents, on the other hand, saw its remoteness as meaningful, which made some kind of emotional attachment to the language absent and the pupils had an objective relationship to it⁴⁶.

Certain ideas for the defence of Latin could have been stimulated by the fact that in the period of the First Czechoslovak Republic more attention was to be paid to the language of instruction (Czechoslovak). It was to be the centre of secondary education⁴⁷. Latin, however, had a higher time allocation as opposed to the language of instruction. This could probably have given the impression of its superiority or importance⁴⁸. In this context, therefore, we can understand some of the statements of the apologists of classical languages. In addition to justifying the number of lessons based on the need to achieve the stated objectives in relation to the difficulty of the languages in question, they pointed out that Latin lessons were in fact mother tongue lessons. The focus of the Latin lessons was on translation, as a result of which the pupils were constantly working with their mother tongue as well. Latin classes were also a place where pupils learned to express themselves not only correctly but also beautifully. And it also provided a foundation to facilitate the study of other languages, French being the main one⁴⁹.

Opponents of the classical languages suggested that Latin should not be one of the subjects necessary for a general education. Latin was to become an elective subject, which pupils would voluntarily choose within a single branch in the upper classes. The teaching of Latin was to begin from the fifth grade. One of the arguments was that pupils were more mature at that age and thus

⁴⁶ *Odpověď klasických filologů*, «Věstník českých profesorů», cit., pp. 75-79; *Část informační*, «Věstník Ministerstva školství a národní osvěty», cit., p. 109; Novotný, *Střední škola bez klasických jazyků?*, cit., p. 6, pp. 9-10; *Anketa ministerstva školství a národní osvěty o školské reformě*, cit., p. 204; Velemínský, *Formální vzdělání*, «Věstník pedagogický», cit., p. 123.

⁴⁷ *Výnos č. 25.552 6/1919*, «Věstník Ministerstva školství a národní osvěty», vol. 1, n. 1-17, 1921, p. 38; *Část informační*, «Věstník Ministerstva školství a národní osvěty», vol. 6, n. 4, 1924, p. 174, pp. 178-179; *Návrh učebních osnov*, Praha, Státní nakladatelství, 1933, p. 19, p. 219.

⁴⁸ For example, Latin was taught at the Czech classical grammar schools and real grammar schools, adding up the weekly number of hours for all 8th grades to 45 hours. On the contrary, the language of instruction (Czechoslovak) was similarly calculated at 29 hours. See *Výnos č. 25.552 6/1919*, «Věstník Ministerstva školství a národní osvěty», cit., pp. 38-41.

⁴⁹ Novotný, *Latina a řečtina na střední škole: příspěvek k diskusi*, cit., p. 29; Novotný, *Střední škola bez klasických jazyků?*, cit., p. 9; *Návrhy na reformu střední školy*, cit., p. 11; V. List, *Naše střední škola*, «Střední škola», vol. 3, n. 2, 1922, p. 61; *Část informační*, «Věstník Ministerstva školství a národní osvěty», cit., p. 109; *Anketa ministerstva školství a národní osvěty o školské reformě*, cit., p. 201, p. 203; V. Kubelka, *Příspěvek k reformě střední školy*, «Střední škola», vol. 2, n. 2, 1921, p. 70; *K návrhu osnov*, «Střední škola», cit., p. 221; *Výnos č. 25.552 6/1919*, «Věstník Ministerstva školství a národní osvěty», cit., pp. 38-41; J. Brant, *Z pedagogické praxe II*, «Střední škola», vol. 3, n. 4, 1923, p. 159; Čeněk, *K reformě střední školy*, Praha, Státní nakladatelství, p. 14.

the teaching should be more successful and therefore faster. At the same time anticipated an increased number of Latin lessons. The sub-commission set up for the language question within the working commission on school reform was of a similar mind. In its proposal, the Commission did not introduce Latin in the first four grades of the common core of the normal school. In addition to the above-mentioned ideas, it justified its claims, for example, by the practical need to master living languages in particular, while also putting the circumstances of the state into perspective. The formal education was based on a methodologically deepened teaching of the language of instruction, while it was to be partly supplemented by modern languages. Furthermore, according to the authors of *The Explanatory Memorandum* (1925), there was no formal education among pupils in the lower grades. In justifying this argument, the authors mentioned the results of modern experimental psychology (without citing specific research or sources), which claimed that it occurred only after puberty⁵⁰. Until then, language learning was based on mechanical memorization and on the imitation method. Furthermore, it is supposedly only possible in children who are philologically gifted⁵¹. Experiences at reform real grammar school and secondary school professors teaching Latin at reform real grammar schools shared their experiences through statements or papers. In them, they also refuted the opinion of the opponents⁵². At the same time, the proponents of classical languages considered the teaching of Latin within the early years to be an advantage, precisely because the pupils at that age used the pupils' mechanical memory. Consequently, «the training of higher judgment» could take place in the higher grades. In addition, pupils reportedly showed an interest in Latin at a young age. According to them, the interest for teaching the basics of Latin faded at the age of puberty. Similarly, they were of the opinion that if pupils started to learn basic Latin at this age, while at the same time being overloaded with a higher number of lessons, the achievement of formal education would not occur. Latin would lose its general educational function⁵³.

Advocates of classical languages also pointed to the importance of Latin

⁵⁰ *Důvodová zpráva*, in *Návrh zákona o reformě střední školy*, cit., p. 52.

⁵¹ Bydžovský, Čeněk, *Odpověď k „Poznámkám“ klasických filologů*, cit., pp. 1-[12]; *Důvodová zpráva*, in *Návrh zákona o reformě střední školy*, cit., p. 52; Adamčíková, *Latinčina ako predmet diskusie v rámci reformy strednej školy v 1. ČSR. Význam klasického vzdelania*, cit., pp. 227-261; *Návrhy na reformu střední školy*, cit., p. 7; *K návrhu osnov*, cit., p. 221; Bydžovský, *Naše středoškolská reforma*, cit., p. 89; B. Bydžovský, *Reforma, pracovní škola a latina*, «Tribuna», vol. 7, n. 54, 2-5.3.1925, p. [1]; *Část informační*, cit., pp. 172-177; *Pracovní komise při poradním sboru*, cit., pp. 156-161.

⁵² Adamčíková, *Latinčina ako predmet diskusie v rámci reformy strednej školy v 1. ČSR. Význam klasického vzdelania*, cit., pp. 227-261.

⁵³ *Anketa ministerstva školství a národní osvěty o školské reformě*, cit., pp. 202-205; *K návrhu osnov*, cit., p. 220; E. Čapek, *100 hlasů o střední škole*, Praha, Nové Čechy, 1930, p. XLVII; Adamčíková, *Latinčina ako predmet diskusie v rámci reformy strednej školy v 1. ČSR*.

(Greek) for the study of various scientific disciplines, as it was considered an international scientific language. Latin terminology played an important role here. Pupils were introduced to it as part of their studies at university across many disciplines, while secondary school was intended to prepare them for further studies⁵⁴. Opponents, on the other hand, presented possible solutions. For example, the *Union of Mathematicians and Physicists* felt that Latin terminology could be occasionally reinforced. But there was also a suggestion to enable the study of Latin, for those who had not learned the language, by introducing optional lessons in Latin terminology for the purpose of further study⁵⁵.

Indeed, we can see that apologists for classical languages have tried to put forward many and varied arguments, arising mainly from the nature of that language. These were intended to show that there are several reasons which make Latin, as opposed to other languages, the most appropriate medium of formal education.

4. *The question of the method and objectives of individual languages*

The biggest objections from the proponents of classical languages to modern languages in the matter of formal education concerned the issue of methods and goals. *The Explanatory Memorandum* stated that by deepening and changing the method, it would be possible to convey formal language education also through a language of instruction supplemented by a modern language. Comparisons, which had previously been made on classical languages with the language of instruction, were to become important. The focus of comparison was now to be applied mainly within the language itself and only supplemented by the modern language. This was also suggested, for example, by the 1925 proposal⁵⁶. F. Novotný questioned the comparison within the language. He thought that for a conscious knowledge of one's own language, comparison with a foreign language is necessary, arguing: «(...) the deeper

Význam klasického vzdělání, cit., pp. 227-261; J. Novák, *Jazykové vyučování na střední škole*, «Národní osvobození», vol. 2, n. 87, 5-29.3.1925, p. 5.

⁵⁴ *Anketa ministerstva školství a národní osvěty o školské reformě*, cit., p. 201; Novotný, *Střední škola bez klasických jazyků?*, cit., p. 6.

⁵⁵ *Důvodová zpráva*, in *Návrh zákona o reformě střední školy*, cit., p. 69.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 52; Bydžovský, Čeněk, *Odpověď k „Poznámkám“ klasických filologů*, cit., pp. 6-7; *Část informační*, «Věstník Ministerstva školství a národní osvěty», cit., p. 176; *Poznámky k Návrhu zákona o střední škole*, cit., pp. 7-10; Čeněk, *Základní směrnice návrhu reformy středoškolské*, «Střední škola», vol. 5, n. 3, 1925, p. 150; Čapek, *100 hlasů o střední škole*, cit., p. 42; J. Novák, *Pracovní škola*, «Tribuna», vol. 7, n. 52, 3.3.1925, p. [1].

and more thorough the knowledge is to be, the deeper and more thorough the comparison is needed»⁵⁷.

The impetus for such comparisons is, in his view, provided by translation. The latter is typical of the method used in the teaching of classical languages and not of modern languages⁵⁸. Jan Čeněk and Bohumil Bydžovský⁵⁹ disagreed, however. In support of their position, they recalled the words of Prof. František Drtina. The latter asked in this context which foreign language the Greeks were educated in, since no one doubted that they consciously knew their language⁶⁰.

Proponents of classical languages agreed that formal education is a question of method but also pointed out that it is questionable whether the method of modern languages and language teaching in secondary schools is appropriate for this, while at the same time pointing to their defined teaching objectives. Their aim was not the acquisition of the languages in question. They were intended to convey formal language education as well as contact with ancient culture. In the classical languages, the analytical (grammatical) method was used. Formal language education in the teaching of classical languages was based on this method. This was based on the analysis of sentences. However, the analysis of individual sentences occupied an important place in the context of translation from classical languages into the language of instruction, and vice versa. Some referred to translation as a «laboratory of language teaching». Translation activity led students to make comparisons and taught them to correlate concepts with words and words with concepts. In this way, students learned to recognize concepts, but it also created opportunities to bring back to words their meanings⁶¹. According to the classical languages, the classical languages, especially Latin, were best suited for this. Latin was compelled to do this by its very nature (by the properties of its syntax and morphology), but it was also designed for this purpose within the framework of secondary education and had a corresponding method for doing so. Similarly, many others considered classical languages to be the best means of formal education, a role they felt neither native nor modern languages could assume⁶².

Modern languages had a completely different goal and method. These had

⁵⁷ Novotný, *Latina a řečtina na střední škole: příspěvek k diskusi*, cit., p. 29.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

⁵⁹ J. Čeněk was a high school professor, director of a secondary school, and also a member of the advisory board at the Ministry of Education and Science. B. Bydžovský was a high school teacher and later a university professor of mathematics at the Faculty of Natural Sciences of Charles University.

⁶⁰ Bydžovský, Čeněk, *Odpověď k „Poznámkám“ klasických filologů*, cit., p. 6.

⁶¹ Novotný, *Střední škola bez klasických jazyků?*, cit., pp. 7-10; Novotný, *Latina a řečtina na střední škole: příspěvek k diskusi*, cit., pp. 16-24; *Poznámky k Návrhu zákona o střední škole*, cit., pp. 7-10; Novák, *Pracovní škola*, «*Tribuna*», cit., p. [1]; *Anketa ministerstva školství a národní osvěty o školské reformě*, cit., p. 217.

⁶² *Anketa ministerstva školství a národní osvěty o školské reformě*, cit., p. 20.

the aim of practical mastery of the language and at the same time the pupils were learning about other cultures. In their teaching, the mediating and direct method was preferred. The direct method was understood as a means by which the pupil was to learn a language by a process similar to that by which he learned his mother tongue. It was mainly a conversation in the language without being based on grammatical rules. The grammatical rules were derived by the pupil himself after he had learned to use them. In the mediating method, grammar is in the background – it is only an occasional aid. Translation in this method had a place, though a subordinate one. After all, it would mean that modern languages would be diverted from their original teaching aim⁶³. If Latin were to be replaced by a modern language in the context of formal training and comparison, it would mean, according to the advocates of classical languages, leaving the analytical method on the margins. F. Novotný did not radically reject the fact that modern languages could also participate in formal language training. However, he also pointed out that in their case sufficient time would not be created for sentence analysis, because this was prevented by the primary goal of modern languages: to have a practical command of the languages in question, but equally by their defined teaching methods. Thus, the question was whether it would be possible to achieve formal education in teaching modern languages. The grammatical method would be carried out where it is neither entirely necessary nor natural, while at the same time being subordinated to the methods of modern languages, with the consequence that formal education would also disappear. However, B did not agree with this. Bydžovský with J. Čeněk. They pointed out that even in the teaching of classical languages the analytical method was not constantly paid attention to, because the pupils would lose interest in such teaching, but that it had another aim besides formal education. They also pointed out that it is possible to translate in the teaching of modern languages as well⁶⁴. However, this was not mutually exclusive because the second goal of classical languages was also related to translation.

5. *Latin teaches independence and logical thinking*

Secondary schools were also criticized for too much passivity of pupils during the period. Latin classes in particular were perceived as a place where

⁶³ Kolár, *Jest možná nová metoda ve vyučování latině?*, cit., p. 105; Novotný, *Latina a řečtina na střední škole: příspěvek k diskusi*, cit., pp. 16-24.

⁶⁴ Novotný, *Střední škola bez klasických jazyků?*, cit., p. 9; *Poznámky k Návrhu zákona o střední škole*, cit., pp. 7-10; Bydžovský, J. Čeněk, *Odpověď k „Poznámkám“ klasických filologů*, cit., pp. 6-7; Čapek, *100 hlasů o střední škole*, cit., p. CVI.

pupils were overburdened with too much memorisation and were not active. The response to this situation in education was to emphasise the need to activate pupils within the teaching process and to turn away from purely reproductive and mechanical methods. The idea of the “active school” was increasingly coming to the fore, with its associated emphasis on working methods, teaching was to be based on the pupil’s interest. Its essence was that the pupil should arrive at knowledge through his own independent work, or by verifying or confirming it. The active school was related to pedocentrism, where the personality of the pupil was an important aspect of teaching. The pupil’s physical and mental development was to be taken into account and the pupil was to be the centre of the school’s work. The working methods were intended to involve pupils in the learning process and thus to arouse their interest in the subject. Pupils were also expected to perform better and their acquired knowledge was to be more lasting. Such methods were intended to lead pupils to independence. The teacher was only to give direction and pupils were to draw on their own experience, observation or knowledge. In the same way, these methods were supposed to individualise teaching. They provided opportunities for pupils to learn to work independently with school materials, which was believed to prepare them for university studies, and it also taught pupils to recognise the relevance of the curriculum in the context of everyday life. However, the question at the time was to what extent the curriculum of the secondary schools allowed the introduction of working methods⁶⁵. In this context, therefore, we can probably see another set of reasons put forward by the proponents of classical languages.

They tried to point out that in Latin classes pupils were encouraged to work independently. The grammatical method and the fact that pupils translated independently in class, not working with ready-made translations, played a big role here. F. Novotný also presented the Latin lessons, as well as the Greek lessons, as practical lessons in which the pupils were forced to work and practise constantly. He also claimed that such a working method was inexpensive, as no aids or special facilities such as laboratories were needed. Moreover, according to him, the results of Latin lessons left a lasting mark on education⁶⁶. Josef Pečený stated that every Latin teacher should strive not to employ the

⁶⁵ *Návrh učebních osnov*, cit., pp. 208-209; Bydžovský, *Naše středoškolská reforma*, cit., pp. 182-189, pp. 191-196; *Návrh zákona o reformě střední školy*, cit., pp. 37, 57; Bydžovský, *Reforma, pracovní škola a latina*, «Tribuna», vol. 7, n. 54, 5.3.1925, p. [1]; Chlup, Uher, Kubálek (edd.), *Pedagogická encyklopedie*, vol. I, cit., pp. 277-279; B. Bydžovský, *Do druhého desetiletí*, «Věstník pedagogický», vol. 6, n. 8, 1928, p. 283.

⁶⁶ Novotný, *Latina a řečtina na střední škole: příspěvek k diskusi*, cit., p. 30; *Anketa ministerstva školství a národní osvěty o školské reformě*, cit., p. 201; Novotný, *Střední škola bez klasických jazyků?*, cit., p. 10; *Poznámky k Návrhu zákona o střední škole*, cit., p. 9.

pupil's memory but his judgment when teaching grammar⁶⁷. Emil Čapek⁶⁸ in turn compared translating classical authors to an active school⁶⁹. This was an attempt to point out that the teaching of Latin offered an unpretentious activation of pupils to independent activity within the teaching process at an individual level, with the aim and method of the language naturally leading to this.

One advantage of Latin in particular was stressed in connection with the formal education: through it pupils were to learn logical reasoning. The proponents of classical languages saw a correlation between grammar and logic. What was important here was the relation of word to concept. In general, students were encouraged to think constantly, thus exercising them in thinking. This was also seen as one of the lasting results of Latin teaching, which pupils could later use in practical and everyday life. This was particularly related to the method on which the teaching of Latin was based. Translation and analysis of sentences, but also comparison, played a major role. It taught students to work with abstractions such as: subject, object, affirmative, negative, cause, purpose, condition. Through translating, the pupils carried out logical exercises, which constituted an important basis for the acquisition of judgement. In addition, pupils were learning categories of thought or logical categories⁷⁰. Vladimír List, a professor at the technical college, believed the ability to reason correctly could be acquired in two ways at school. One of them was represented by mathematics and geometry. The other way was Latin grammar, the aforementioned analysis of sentences played a large role, where pupils were taught the laws of thought⁷¹. The opinion that classical languages were a suitable means of training thinking and logic was shared by physicians, or rather the professorial staff of the Faculty of Medicine of Charles University was of the same opinion⁷².

6. Doubts about changing the focus of formal education

The new tendency to shift the focus of the formal education from Latin to the language of instruction in combination with the modern language raised

⁶⁷ J. Pečený, *Jest možná nová metoda ve vyučování latine?*, «Střední škola», vol. 7, n. 5, 1927, p. 227.

⁶⁸ E. Čapek was an educator, commenologist, writer, editor and publisher of the periodical *Nové Čechy* [New Bohemia].

⁶⁹ Čapek, *100 hlasů o střední škole*, cit., p. LXXXII.

⁷⁰ Novotný, *Střední škola bez klasických jazyků?*, cit.; *Anketa ministerstva školství a národní osvěty o školské reformě*, cit., p. 209; *Poznámky k Návrhu zákona o střední škole*, cit., p. 7; *Odpověď klasických filologů*, «Věstník českých professorů», cit., p. 75; Čapek, *100 hlasů o střední škole*, cit., p. 57.

⁷¹ List, *Naše střední škola*, «Střední škola», cit., p. 61.

⁷² *Anketa ministerstva školství a národní osvěty o školské reformě*, cit., p. 209.

many question marks. Some had doubts and pointed out the possible risks involved. This question was particularly raised by the 1925 bill. For example, in the newspaper «Národní listy» we find an article in which the author expresses some distrust about the planned changes from the aforementioned draft. Latin was no longer to fulfil the role of the formal education, but that of a language of instruction supplemented by a foreign modern language. He was also critical of the restriction of the Latin language to only the upper classes of the gymnasium branch. He reflects, however, on the differences between the students at real schools and grammar schools, who should have been equally gifted but who did not achieve the same results in their mother tongue despite having equally qualified teachers⁷³.

Another author pointed out the many shortcomings of the *Bill* (1925) and the *Explanatory Memorandum* (1925). Among other things, that they are rushing to reform without waiting for the results of the experimental schools from Karlín and Smichov⁷⁴. He also warned readers that such changes may have some consequences. In case the authors of the Law and the *Explanatory Memorandum* are wrong and the change in formal education does not bring the promised successes:

What if the mere assertion of the explanatory memorandum that the formal language training, which has hitherto been the task of Latin, can be taken over by a methodically deepened teaching of the language of instruction, is not confirmed? Will Latin be introduced again? And who will replace the formal language training that the explanatory memorandum itself considers desirable for the experimental generation?⁷⁵

Josef Novák⁷⁶ also thought similarly, recalling the absence of experience with this method, whereby, in his view, the Reform Commission took responsibility for the cultural level of the intelligentsia by offering untested means. J. Novák therefore recommended that the method should be tried out first, but that the original method should be retained for the time being⁷⁷. The same opinion was shared by Otakar Kádner⁷⁸, who also suggested that the planned changes should be tested first. He also mentioned the experimental schools of Karlín and Smichov, and we learn from him that these experiments were prematurely terminated. He stated that parents had some distrust in these schools and they had few students enrolled. In addition, they were often attended by

⁷³ KSG, *Nad svícem a pod ním*, «Národní listy», vol. 65, n. 75, 17.3.1925, p. [1].

⁷⁴ The reform proposal of the Union of Czechoslovak Mathematicians and Physicists with a non-Latin basis was to be tested at these schools.

⁷⁵ SH, *Reforma a restrikce*, «Lidové noviny», vol. 33, n. 86, 18.2.1925, p. [1].

⁷⁶ J. Novák was probably a high school professor of classical philology.

⁷⁷ Novák, *Klasické jazyky v reformním návrhu střední školy*, «Střední škola», vol. 5, n. 4, 1925, p. 216.

⁷⁸ O. Kádner was a professor of pedagogy, classical philologist. He was also the director of the Czechoslovak Institute of J.A. Komenský.

weak students who were apprehensive about Latin⁷⁹. It was therefore bold on the part of the Ministry of Education and National Enlightenment to make such a radical and untested change. However, this was not carried out in the end because the bill was not finally passed.

7. The argumentative premises of the opponents of classical languages

It is noticeable, then, that there have not been many references that have attempted to refute the arguments of classical language proponents from the formal education perspective. Although the opponents did not respond with counter-arguments, this does not mean that they did not also try to justify their position. However, the reasons they put forward were often not directly related to the formal education issue. They justified the removal of Latin from the portfolio of general education subjects in secondary schools primarily by the need to reform secondary schools. It was about considering the personality of the pupil, for example. Respect for the pupil's physical and mental development or talents. It was also pointed out at the time that many pupils did not have philological talents and which, in their opinion, could not be recognised at a young age. Therefore, they asked to delay the pupil's decision on the direction of study. They also pointed to the absence of the importance of Latin for practical life, whereas there were other "more useful" subjects for which space had to be made. But at the same time, based on pedagogical and psychological knowledge, it was necessary to reduce the number of lessons. They also argued for various examples from abroad, where the teaching of Latin was absent altogether, or also reduced to the upper grades. In this way, they wanted to show that Latin was not necessary to acquire a general education. The need to allow pupils to transfer between different types of schools was key, and so the question of a common core was also discussed. Here the obstacle was mainly Latin, which differentiated the different types of secondary schools. Retaining Latin, which had a relatively high lesson allocation, meant continuing to leave modern living languages in the background. These, unlike the classical languages, had some practical application⁸⁰. In this context, attention was also drawn to the conditions of the state, especially its geographical location or economic conditions. The First Czechoslovak Republic was a multinational state

⁷⁹ Kádner, *Vývoj a dnešní soustava školství*, cit., pp. 106-108.

⁸⁰ *Část informační*, cit.; *Anketa ministerstva školství a národní osvěty o školské reformě*, cit., pp. 246-248; Bydžovský, Čeněk, *Odpověď k „Poznámkám“ klasických filologů*, cit., pp. 9-[12]; Bydžovský, *Naše středoškolská reforma*, cit. pp. 85-89; *Důvodová zpráva*, in *Návrh zákona o reformě střední školy*, cit., p. 40, pp. 51-54; Kubelka, *Príspevek k reformě střední školy*, «Střední škola», cit., p. 70.

and the state language was not one of the world languages. Hence, according to the authors of the *Explanatory Memorandum* (1925), there was a need to know at least two world languages and the basics of one Slavic language⁸¹. All these circumstances were therefore subsequently reflected in the requirements for language education. This led to demands to remove compulsory Latin from secondary education. In addition, one can even find references to the fact that the proponents were accused of ignoring modern pedagogical knowledge or trends⁸². The opponents of classical languages also brought various arguments concerning the cultural aspect of classical languages. For example, they made suggestions that ancient culture should be taught in the mother tongue or tried to present it as too remote and thus incomprehensible to pupils. At the same time, they pointed out that little attention was paid to the connection between Latin and modern culture at the time⁸³.

In terms of the formal education issue, opponents have often merely pointed out that it is possible to shift the focus of formal education to the language of instruction in combination with the modern one. In this respect, they saw great advantage in replacing the impractical Latin with another subject that was also useful. They saw no problem in restricting it to pupils who chose their own course of study and reducing it to teaching it in the upper classes. They thought that pupils would nevertheless acquire a sufficient level of Latin for further studies. Their idea was based on the fact that with a change and deepening of method this was possible. However, at no point did they give specifics⁸⁴. Nor did the *Union of Mathematicians and Physicists* present any arguments in their proposal to justify their position of transferring the focus of the formal education to the language of instruction and modern languages⁸⁵. According to J. Čeněk, the apologists of classical languages were only trying not to make the teaching of classical languages very limited, when they themselves knew that their teaching was already on the decline. In his view, they were merely repeating a “superstition” about the formal educational value of Latin. They did not address the question of the practical application of Latin

⁸¹ *Důvodová zpráva, in Návrh zákona o reformě střední školy, cit., p. 40, pp. 51-54; Trnka, Může zůstat střední škola klasickou?, «Národní listy», vol. 65, 5.7.1925, p. 11; F. Benák, Socialism a boj kulturní, «Akademie», vol. 23, n. 11, 1919, pp. 403-404; Bydžovský, Čeněk, Odpověď k „Poznámkám“ klasických filologů, cit., pp. 6-[12].*

⁸² Velemínský, *Formální vzdělání*, «Věstník pedagogický», cit., p. 124; Velemínský, *Zásadní otázky reformy školské*, «Národní osvobození», cit., p. 6; Čeněk, *Střední školství*, «Naše doba», vol. 32, n. 7, 04.1925, p. 435; Čeněk, *Střední školství*, cit., p. 435; Benák, *Socialism a boj kulturní*, cit., pp. 403-404; Trnka, *Může zůstat střední škola klasickou?*, cit., p. 11.

⁸³ Čeněk, *Základní směrnice návrhu reformy středoškolské*, cit., p. 151; Benák, *Socialism a boj kulturní*, cit., pp. 403-404; Trnka, *Může zůstat střední škola klasickou?*, cit., p. 11; Velemínský, *Formální vzdělání*, cit., p. 123.

⁸⁴ Bydžovský, Čeněk, *Odpověď k „Poznámkám“ klasických filologů*, cit., pp. 6-[12]; Bydžovský, *Naše středoškolská reforma*, cit., pp. 85-89.

⁸⁵ *Návrhy na reformu střední školy*, cit., p. 7.

in modern secondary schools and did not think about the possibilities of new directions for the teaching of classical languages, considering the life and conditions of the state. Although they acknowledged the formal importance of Latin, they attributed this to its method and not to the nature of the language itself⁸⁶.

Explanatory Memorandum (1925), however, stated that only pupils with philological aptitude were able to understand the subtle relationships between thought and expression, according to the results of modern experimental psychology, and that this occurred only after puberty⁸⁷. However, they did not state what specific knowledge they were interested in or from what source. It was also often pointed out that formal training, based on the teaching of the Latin language, was held only by the power of tradition⁸⁸. The ministerial councillor Karel Velemínský is a certain exception. He referred mainly to various authors, each of whom in some way questioned the formal education or at least limited it. Mostly, however, he brought in new findings from the field of psychology. In particular, he mentioned the American psychologists Thorndike and Woodworth and one of their experiments. His results were subsequently applied by Thorndike to other areas of mental activity. At the same time, he took the position that the transfer of training, although possible, was limited because he assumed the existence of common elements in content (mathematics and physics) or procedure (experimental method – typical of the natural sciences)⁸⁹. Consequently, this was also supposed to limit the effects of formal education, appropriated mainly by classical languages, and thus shake their primacy in education. From this point of view, therefore, K. Velemínský considered the idea of formal education as obsolete. He therefore considered the possibility of replacing classical languages with modern ones. At the same time, he stressed that the medium of logical training was not only language teaching but also needed to be supplemented by mathematics and science subjects⁹⁰. B. Bydžovský, who also referred to new research results, mentioning also Thorndike. These, according to him, were supposed to deny the formal educational value of Latin, but he was not entirely precise. They only limited the formal meaning, which even he himself eventually admitted⁹¹.

It should also be mentioned that in the 1939 *Pedagogical Encyclopaedia*, under the entry *Transfer of Training* [přenos výcviku], one of his experiments

⁸⁶ Čeněk, *Střední školství*, cit., pp. 432-436; Čeněk, *Základní směrnice návrhu reformy středoškolské*, cit., p. 150.

⁸⁷ *Důvodová zpráva*, in *Návrh zákona o reformě střední školy*, cit., p. 52.

⁸⁸ Velemínský, *Zásadní otázky reformy školské*, cit., p. 6; Bydžovský, *Naše středoškolská reforma*, cit., p. 86; *Důvodová zpráva*, in *Návrh zákona o reformě střední školy*, cit., p. 52.

⁸⁹ See Hendrich, *Úvod do obecné pedagogiky*, cit., pp. 76-77.

⁹⁰ See closer: Velemínský, *Formální vzdělání*, cit., pp. 120-124; Chlup, Uher, Kubálek (edd.), *Pedagogická encyklopedie*, cit., Vol. II, p. 487.

⁹¹ *Anketa ministerstva školství a národní osvěty o školské reformě*, cit., p. 248.

is also mentioned. Although a different experiment was given as an example, it had identical results to the one mentioned above. He thus questioned the transfer of training altogether, with the result that it should not have been taken into account in the selection of the subject. Naturally, this was to undermine the privileged place of classical languages in secondary education, which was based on this formal educational value of theirs. It meant that by learning Latin, the pupil was acquiring knowledge of that language. These could be helpful at most in the study of a related language. He ruled out that the study of Latin would be useful in the study of the natural sciences. On the other hand, we read in the same place that English psychologists pointed out that Thorndike's attempts were directed only to the perceptual domain but failed to penetrate into the complex mental functions. Supposedly, other, higher and more complex functions are involved in the analysis of a Latin text⁹². Probably in this context, J. Novák that the advocacy of classical languages corresponds to experimental psychology⁹³.

It can therefore be seen that opponents of classical languages have not responded with counterarguments concerning formal education. Rather, they tried to justify their position by the need for reform and by pointing out the uselessness of Latin for practical life. At the same time, it was not clear at the time whether or not Latin thus had any formal educational value. The new approach to the formal education question did not have proven experience or any results to fall back on. Latin was therefore certainly favoured in this dispute by its long tradition and experience, since the classical grammar schools were founded on the idea of formal education, based on the teaching of Latin. Also contributing to this was the more systematic approach in the argumentation of the classical languages' advocates. The practical importance of Latin was generally only felt in cases where Latin was necessary for further studies or for the pursuit of certain professions. These were mainly the study of classical philology, history or philosophy, which was a relatively small circle of people. In the context of the constant emphasis on the need for education to be useful for life, the advocates of the classical languages sought to show, through the struggle over the formal educational value of Latin, that this was also where its practical importance lay. They thus attempted to broaden the narrow view of the practical significance of Latin by emphasizing its value for formal education, which was to be manifested in practical life.

⁹² Chlup, Uher, Kubálek (edd.), *Pedagogická encyklopedie*, cit., Vol. II, p. 487.

⁹³ J. Novák, *Etika a reforma střední školy*, «Střední škola», vol. 3, n. 4, 1923, p. 154.

Conclusion and discussion

The present paper has attempted to present a discourse analysis of Latin in terms of its importance in mediating formal education. It is an unexplored phenomenon that has not been treated by anyone so far. In the period in question, the value of Latin was generally acknowledged in that its lessons were a space where the pupil's skills were to be shaped and developed, which could then be applied by the pupil in everyday life. This also gave it a leading position in the secondary school curriculum, unlike other subjects. This thesis was questioned even before the establishment of First Czechoslovak Republic and reappeared after the establishment of the republic in the discussion on the reform of secondary schools. In that period, pedagogical and psychological knowledge grew, and many political and social changes took place, which increasingly called for modernisation, democratisation and reform of secondary schools. Education also had to consider the need to prepare graduates for the labour market, and national culture was becoming an important means of education. The pedagogical trends of the time also played a significant role. The need for the usefulness of education in schools was increasingly emphasised. All this in turn influenced the requirements for education itself, not least the question of Latin.

The new reform requirements wanted to make room for "more useful" subjects, such as modern languages or science subjects, which have grown in importance in recent years. But this has been hampered by the "unhelpfulness" of Latin, with the result that it has become a focal point of division and one of the most contentious issues in secondary school reform. It led to a kind of struggle over the Latin language, which was also a dispute over the ratio between the humanities and real education. The latter had its theoretical background, however, in the theory of formal and material (more practical) education. The advocates of classical languages therefore had to defend the place of Latin in secondary schools as a general education subject and equally to justify its usefulness for practical life. In this context, therefore, the proponents of classical languages sought to present Latin as the most appropriate means of formal education. They believed although students would forget the knowledge of Latin, nevertheless the subject was supposed to teach them certain skills which they were to make use of in everyday life. In so doing, they were expanding the previously narrow understanding of the practical importance of Latin. On the other hand, the opponents of the classical languages tried to introduce a new approach and shift the focus of the formal education from Latin to the language of instruction in combination with a modern (more useful) language. At the same time, they reminded that all subjects are important in the transmission of formal education and that it is not possible to separate material and formal education. They therefore demanded that the formal cost of a substance or subject should be disregarded in the selection process, which

was to lead to the abandonment of compulsory Latin. The more important criterion was to be the usefulness or application of the material or subject to practical life.

The Latin Apologists had a long tradition and experience of teaching Latin. On the other hand, Neo-Humanism and ancient culture were no longer seen as an essential element of the world of the time. They therefore had to defend Latin and its place in secondary education. We can see, therefore, that their argumentation is much more rigorous and systematic. In justifying Latin as the best medium, they proceeded from the natural nature of the language and pointed to its morphology and syntax. They also approached that one of the main tasks of Latin was aimed at conveying the formal education, and therefore the whole methodology of teaching Latin corresponded to this goal and was directed towards it. The grammatical method, used in Latin classes, led pupils to work independently and taught them to analyse and think, while all the time pupils were working with their mother tongue. From this point of view, therefore, they drew attention to an entirely different goal of modern languages: to have a practical command of the language. This was matched by the different methods that led to the achievement of that goal. As a consequence, it was questionable how the modern languages (and the language of instruction) were to replace Latin when the analytical method was not the key and dominant method in their teaching. At the same time, it should be mentioned that the critics of the classical languages wanted to make a change, but this was untested and there was no experience to fall back on.

In the end, however, the radical elimination of Latin was not enforced, but the number of Latin lessons was reduced and it was not taught until the third grade. Although the focus of the formal education was eventually shifted to the language of instruction, the *Dérer's reform* still retained Latin as a compulsory subject alongside it, which was also to continue to mediate the formal education. The Ministry of Education and National Enlightenment did not make the intended and bold change, and thus in a way compromised on the issue of formal education. At the same time, it thus indirectly acknowledged the importance of Latin in the acquisition of higher general education, and its value and the importance of ancient culture were equally acknowledged⁹⁴.

But all this shows us that finding the answer was not at all easy or straightforward. Moreover, the whole discussion makes us wonder to what extent it is possible for education to be merely practical. And more generally, what role and what place should humanity have in education, a question that is still relevant today.

⁹⁴ *Návrh učebních osnov*, cit., p. 19; Bydžovský, *Naše středoškolská reforma*, cit., pp. 140-141, p. 158.

I professori di Storia dell'arte nelle Accademie e Istituti di Belle Arti dell'Italia unita (1861-1943). Prima parte*

Roberto Sani
Department of Education,
Cultural Heritage and Tourism
University of Macerata (Italy)
roberto.sani@unimc.it

The Art History Professors in the Academies of Fine Arts Institutes of Unified Italy (1861-1943). Part One

ABSTRACT: The article presents the initial results of a broader research project conducted on archival and printed sources, aimed at exploring, through a prosopographical approach, the biography and work of the different generations of scholars who, from national unification to the Second World War, held the chairs of Aesthetics and Art History in the Fine Arts Academies of the peninsula. In particular, it delves into the profiles and fundamental orientations of the teaching of the first two generations of teachers of historical-artistic disciplines: the one appointed by provisional and dictatorial governments of central and southern Italy in the period 1860-1861 and then during the first post-unification decade, and the subsequent one, called to perform the same role in the 1870s and 1880s.

EET/TEE KEYWORDS: History of Education; School Teaching of History of Art; Academies and Institutes of Fine Arts; Italy; XIX-XX Centuries.

* Sono particolarmente riconoscente alla dott.ssa Claudia Pierangeli, bibliotecaria del Dipartimento di Scienze della Formazione, dei Beni Culturali e del Turismo dell'Università degli Studi di Macerata e alle dott.sse Cettina Lovascio, Manuela Cervigni e Michela Ficcadente, funzionarie dell'Ufficio Servizi Interbibliotecari ILL/DD del medesimo Ateneo per il prezioso e competente supporto fornito alle mie ricerche. Un ringraziamento particolare desidero anche rivolgere alla prof.ssa Maria Battistini, docente referente dell'Archivio dell'Accademia di Belle Arti di Bologna, e al dott. Daniele Mazzolai, responsabile dell'Archivio Storico dell'Accademia di Belle Arti di Firenze, i quali, con competenza e squisita cortesia, hanno reso possibile ed agevolato in tutti i modi le mie ricerche archivistiche.

«Additar la via battuta dai gran maestri, inculcando negli allievi le massime da quelli tramandate nel magistero della forma, e nei canoni primordiali della metodica; premunirli contro ogni falsa loro applicazione, e por loro da ultimo fra mano gli attrezzi e le materie che spontaneamente li conducano ad esprimere l'universale modello» (R. D'Azeglio, *Delle Accademie di Belle Arti*, in Id., *Studi storici e archeologici sulle arti del disegno*, Firenze, Le Monnier, 1861, Vol. I, pp. 513-514).

1. *Patrioti, letterati, eruditi e notabili locali: la prima generazione di professori di Estetica e storia dell'arte nelle Accademie di Belle Arti dell'Italia unita*

Se si passano in rassegna i profili biografici e l'operato della prima generazione di professori di *Estetica e storia dell'arte* nelle Accademie, Istituti e Scuole di Belle Arti della penisola, ossia di coloro che furono nominati titolari delle rispettive cattedre a partire dal 1860-61 e poi nel corso del primo decennio postunitario, il dato che salta agli occhi è quello relativo alla motivazione essenzialmente politica di talune nomine e, più in particolare, all'oggettiva carenza, in non pochi dei soggetti prescelti, di una formazione pregressa coerente con l'impegno scientifico richiesto e di specifiche competenze di carattere storico-artistico.

Le scelte operate a cavallo tra il 1860 e il '61 dai governi provvisori e dittatoriali dell'Italia centrale e meridionale nella fase culminante del processo di unificazione nazionale, e quelle compiute nel periodo immediatamente successivo dai vari titolari della Pubblica Istruzione, caddero infatti, in diversi casi, non su veri e propri specialisti o su studiosi che potevano vantare qualche titolo di merito nel settore, ma piuttosto su personalità ideologicamente affini alle nuove classi dirigenti o che rivestivano un certo peso politico e culturale nei rispettivi territori, senza troppo badare al merito e alle competenze.

Ex garibaldini e patrioti di provata fede resisi protagonisti delle vicende risorgimentali, letterati, poeti ed eruditi di orientamento liberale o notabili locali apertamente schieratisi con la "rivoluzione nazionale", o almeno non del tutto compromessi con l'antico regime, furono sovente tra coloro che riscosero i maggiori consensi, anche laddove non avevano mai coltivato gli studi storico-artistici o si erano interessati solo marginalmente di arte e di questioni di estetica¹.

¹ Un processo, quello sopra richiamato, destinato ad investire in questa fase non solamente le Accademie e gli Istituti di Belle Arti, ma l'istruzione pubblica nel suo complesso e le scuole ginnasiali e liceali in particolare, i cui insegnanti di letteratura, filosofia, latino e greco, storia, geografia ecc., in larga misura sprovvisti dei titoli di studio richiesti per l'esercizio di tale ufficio, «erano stati reclutati in fretta al momento della istituzione delle singole scuole [...] e pagando assai spesso lo scotto politico di compiacenze verso i patrioti, i reduci delle patrie battaglie, i preti disponibili al nuovo regime. [...] La loro cultura era assai poco omogenea nelle varie regioni

Accanto ad essi, più raramente, furono coinvolti alcuni studiosi che, al contrario, vantavano competenze specifiche in ambito storico-artistico e, caso ancora più singolare, un esiguo numero di docenti delle accademie che erano stati titolari del medesimo insegnamento sotto i governi preunitari, i quali, in assenza di reali alternative, furono confermati nel loro ufficio.

Sulla cattedra di *Estetica e storia dell'arte* dell'Accademia di Belle Arti di Bologna, sul finire del 1860, per volontà dell'allora ministro della Pubblica Istruzione Terenzio Mamiani², venne nominato Luigi Mercantini (Ripatransone, Ascoli Piceno, 1821-Palermo, 1872), patriota, letterato e poeta marchigiano, tra i più popolari cantori dell'epopea risorgimentale³, autore, fra gli altri, di componimenti celeberrimi quali *La spigolatrice di Sapri* e l'*Inno di Garibaldi*, estraneo agli ambienti artistici bolognesi e del tutto privo di specifiche competenze storico-artistiche, come testimonia la sua pur rilevante produzione letteraria, esclusivamente caratterizzata da poemetti e raccolte di liriche, opere in prosa, orazioni e discorsi commemorativi, nella quale non si trova traccia di scritti di carattere artistico e neppure di opere d'interesse storico⁴.

Legato da solida amicizia con Lorenzo Valerio, Nicolò Tommaseo e con lo stesso Mamiani, Mercantini fu da quest'ultimo chiamato, negli anni Quaranta, mentre esercitava l'ufficio di bibliotecario a Fossombrone, ad insegnare *Retorica* nella pubblica Scuola superiore di Arcevia, e poi, nel 1854, a ricoprire il più prestigioso incarico di docente di *Letteratura italiana* nel Collegio femminile delle Peschiere di Genova. Alla vigilia dell'unificazione nazionale, inoltre, con il sostegno del Valerio, assunse la direzione del «Corriere delle Marche», il quotidiano liberale fondato nel 1860.

Sempre per iniziativa del Mamiani, a partire dal 1862, alla già ricordata cattedra di *Estetica e storia dell'arte* ottenuta nell'Accademia di Belle Arti di Bologna, il patriota e poeta marchigiano avrebbe aggiunto anche quella di *Storia moderna* nella locale Università⁵.

Nel 1865, infine, Mercantini sarebbe stato nominato professore di *Letteratura italiana* presso l'Università di Palermo e avrebbe definitivamente lasciato

del paese, difficilmente riconducibile a un comune progetto educativo» (M. Raicich, *L'Inchiesta Scialoja e la crisi della politica scolastica della Destra*, in Id., *Storie di scuola da un'Italia lontana*, a cura e con una prefazione di Simonetta Soldani, Roma, Archivio Guido Izzi, 2005, p. 181). Su tale fenomeno si vedano, più in generale, le osservazioni formulate da E. Sestan, *Storiografia dell'Otto e Novecento*, a cura di G. Pinto, Firenze, Le Lettere, 1991, p. 6.

² Com'è noto, Terenzio Mamiani fu l'ultimo ministro della Pubblica Istruzione del regno di Sardegna nel III governo presieduto da Camillo Benso di Cavour, dal 21 gennaio 1860 al 23 marzo 1861.

³ F. Brancaloni, *Mercantini, Luigi*, in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, Roma, Istituto dell'Enciclopedia Italiana, 2009, Vol. 73, pp. 589-592 (con ulteriore bibliografia).

⁴ *Biografia di Luigi Mercantini scritta dal Professore Benedetto Monti*, Borgomanero, Tipografia Dir. Gernia, 1874, pp. 19-20.

⁵ Cfr. G.B. Furiozzi, *Luigi Mercantini politico*, «Bollettino della Deputazione di Storia Patria per l'Umbria», vol. LXXIII, n. 2, 1976, pp. 283-296.

i due incarichi d'insegnamento nel capoluogo emiliano⁶, per nulla rimpianto dalla scolaresca e dagli stessi vertici dell'Accademia di Belle Arti, al punto che l'allora segretario Cesare Masini, in un componimento satirico in versi dato alle stampe in quello stesso periodo e destinato a riscuotere un notevole successo negli ambienti artistici bolognesi, non aveva mancato di irridere il deludente magistero del «poeta Mercantini», ricordando lo scarso apprezzamento che le sue lezioni avevano riscosso tra i giovani allievi e non mancando di rilevare che, «quantunque di eloquenza affascinante e con poetic'anima da artista, di scolaresca ei pure fu mancante»⁷.

In sostituzione del Mercantini sulla cattedra dell'Accademia di Belle Arti di Bologna sarebbe stato chiamato, alla metà degli anni Sessanta, Luciano Scarabelli (Piacenza, 1806 – ivi, 1878), il quale avrebbe ricoperto tale incarico per un quinquennio, prima di essere rimosso dal suo ufficio, a seguito dell'accusa di aver truccato un concorso, da parte del direttore dell'Accademia Carlo Arienti⁸.

Letterato, filologo e uomo politico, Scarabelli era stato allievo di Pietro Giordani⁹ e, dopo avere svolto l'attività di maestro elementare, nell'ottobre del 1848 aveva ottenuto una cattedra di *Storia e geografia* presso il Collegio nazionale di Genova. Nominato in seguito segretario provvisorio della commissione per l'Accademia di Belle Arti di Milano, nel 1861 fu eletto deputato dell'VIII Legislatura del Regno d'Italia e, oltre a svolgere l'attività politica, poté impegnarsi con continuità nei suoi studi filologici e letterari¹⁰.

Esperto filologo e dantista, «tra i primi ad applicare un rigoroso metodo ecdotico alla *Divina Commedia*», in occasione del sesto centenario della nascita di Dante Alighieri predispose una pregevole edizione della *Divina Commedia* col commento di Jacopo della Lana. In seguito, tra il 1870 e il '73, avrebbe dato alle stampe l'edizione in tre volumi del cosiddetto «codice Lambertino», il codice del poema dantesco, risalente alla seconda metà del XIV secolo, che il pontefice Benedetto XIV aveva donato nel 1754 all'Istituto delle Scienze di Bologna¹¹.

⁶ Si veda al riguardo V. Spinazzola, *La poesia romantico-risorgimentale*, in E. Cecchi, N. Sapegno (edd.), *Storia della letteratura italiana*, Milano, Garzanti, 1990, Vol. VIII, pp. 84-85.

⁷ *Il Professore Luciano Scarabelli in Bologna. Sestine giocose di Cesare Masini*, Bologna, Regia Tipografia, 1867, p. 23.

⁸ E. Garavelli, *Scarabelli, Luciano*, in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, cit., 2018, Vol. 91, <[www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/luciano-scarabelli_\(Dizionario-Biografico\)/](http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/luciano-scarabelli_(Dizionario-Biografico)/)> (ultimo accesso: 10.10.2025), (con ulteriore bibliografia).

⁹ Cfr. C. Frati, *Luciano Scarabelli, Pietro Giordani e i «Paralipomeni di storia piemontese»*, «Archivio Storico Italiano», vol. LXXVII, n. 1, 1919, pp. 70-124.

¹⁰ Cfr. A. Vitellaro, *Luciano Scarabelli. L'avventura di un intellettuale laico dell'Ottocento*, Caltanissetta, Paruzzo, 2008, pp. 46-57.

¹¹ **Si veda al riguardo:** *Luciano Scarabelli (1806-1878) studioso di Dante*, in «Società Nissena di Storia Patria» (Caltanissetta), 14 novembre 2015, <<https://www.storiapatriacaltanissetta.it/notizie/145-luciano-scarabelli-1806-1878-studio-di-dante>> (ultimo accesso: 02.03.2026).

Trasferitosi alla fine del suo mandato parlamentare a Bologna, in virtù dell'interessamento del ministro della Pubblica Istruzione Giuseppe Natoli e dell'appoggio ricevuto da alcuni deputati locali, Scarabelli riuscì ad ottenere, nel 1865, la nomina a professore di *Storia applicata al bisogno dell'arte e critica artistica* nell'Accademia di Belle Arti del capoluogo emiliano. Insofferente all'insegnamento e poco incline per carattere alle critiche e all'aperto confronto con gli allievi, egli impostò il suo insegnamento su un registro pressoché esclusivamente letterario, nell'ambito del quale la riflessione teorica e quella storica sui fatti artistici ebbero una valenza episodica e del tutto marginale¹².

Di qui il crescente disagio e poi l'aperta contestazione, da parte degli allievi dell'Accademia bolognese, nei confronti del suo insegnamento, accusato di non corrispondere affatto al «vero pratico fabbisogno per gli artisti» e di «confondere a questi la mente con vaghe quanto sterili teorie». Accusa, quest'ultima, ripresa e rilanciata nel già ricordato poemetto satirico in versi *Il Professore Luciano Scarabelli in Bologna. Sestine giocose*, dato alle stampe nel 1867 dall'allora segretario dell'Accademia Cesare Masini, il quale scriveva:

A sentir lui [lo Scarabelli], avria rigenerate le arti belle con le sue lezioni; ma, non appena l'ebbe incominciate, avvenner scolaresche diserzioni in proporzioni tali che bel bello in iscuola restò sol col bidello. Precedettero tal dimostrazione altre, che serie si poteano fare, se non s'interponea la Direzione dei disertori gli animi a calmare irritati dai suoi atti violenti, ai quali ei li voleva obbedienti. Or la cagion della deserta scuola immaginate a chi l'attribuiva? Non mica alla mal pôrta sua parola d'artistico interesse affatto priva, senza quella eloquenza e poesia che colpiscono e cuore e fantasia. [...] Fatto sta che, del suo insegnamento creatosi egli stesso il Don Chisciotte, con impeto assalì i mulini a vento, a gambe all'aria andò con l'ossa rotte, provando della sua inutilità una volta di più la verità. [...] Le arti voglion fatti e non parole, né i giovani che a quelli sono intenti li vogliono lasciar per ascoltare ciò che in libri da sé ponno imparare¹³.

Alla schiera dei patrioti e «poeti della Patria» appartenevano certamente anche Emilio Lazzoni (Carrara, 1812 – ivi, 1900) e Francesco Manfredini (Modena, 1819 – ivi, 1863), nominati nel dicembre del 1859 titolari della cattedra di *Estetica e storia dell'arte* rispettivamente nell'Accademia di Belle Arti di Carrara e in quella di Modena.

Il primo, il Lazzoni, dopo avere intrapreso gli studi di diritto all'Università di Pisa, nel 1831, appresa la notizia dell'insurrezione delle Romagne e dell'Emilia, era rientrato a Carrara e oltre a svolgere un'intensa attività cospirativa, a partire dal 1833, si era indirizzato verso gli studi artistici, frequentando la

¹² Si vedano i diversi riferimenti all'insegnamento di *Storia dell'arte* tenuto dallo Scarabelli nell'Accademia di Belle Arti di Bologna contenuti in V. Anelli (ed.), *Erudito e polemista infaticato e infaticabile. Luciano Scarabelli tra studi umanistici e impegno civile. Atti del convegno di Piacenza, Palazzo Galli, 23-24 maggio 2008*, Piacenza, Tipografia Legatoria Commerciale, 2009.

¹³ *Il Professore Luciano Scarabelli in Bologna. Sestine giocose di Cesare Masini*, cit., pp. 21-23.

locale Accademia e applicandosi allo studio delle arti plastiche e del disegno di figura. Dopo l'insurrezione generale del marzo 1848 nei domini ducali era stato chiamato a far parte del governo provvisorio instaurato a Massa. Tra il 1849 e il '59, a seguito del ritorno di Francesco V d'Este al governo del Ducato di Modena e Reggio, assunse una posizione attendista e lavorò alacremente per rafforzare il fronte liberale moderato, dando vita fra l'altro a Carrara, nel 1858, ad una sezione della Società Nazionale Italiana, il sodalizio fondato l'anno prima a Torino da Daniele Manin e Giuseppe La Farina e sostenuto da Cavour, la quale contava ben 4.000 affiliati. Risale a questo periodo anche la stesura, da parte sua, del celebre proclama di sudditi dei domini estensi contro il governo ducale fatto pervenire a Cavour con oltre tremila firme, che poi Vittorio Emanuele II, con il famoso discorso del «grido di dolore» avrebbe richiamato il 10 gennaio 1859¹⁴. Dopo l'insurrezione dei territori estensi, l'11 agosto di quello stesso anno fu eletto nel collegio di Carrara membro dell'Assemblea costituente di Modena che di lì a poco, nell'agosto del 1859, avrebbe decretato la definitiva decadenza del governo ducale e l'annessione degli ex territori estensi al regno di Sardegna¹⁵.

Lasciatisi definitivamente alle spalle l'attività insurrezionale e la lotta politica, Emilio Lazzoni rifiutò la carica di sottoprefetto di Castelnuovo di Garfagnana offertagli da Luigi Carlo Farini¹⁶ e accolse invece la nomina, caldeggiata dallo stesso Dittatore delle Province provvisorie (ex Ducati di Modena e Parma ed ex Legazioni), a segretario e professore di *Estetica e storia dell'arte* nell'Accademia di Belle Arti di Carrara. In tale veste, negli anni seguenti, egli diede alle stampe una serie di discorsi celebrativi e di dissertazioni in occasione delle solennità accademiche, nonché taluni pregevoli studi di carattere storico-artistico, come quello sulle origini e la storia dell'Accademia di Belle Arti di Carrara e quello su Michelangelo e i suoi rapporti con Carrara¹⁷, i quali gli valsero la nomina ad accademico d'onore dell'Accademia di San Luca

¹⁴ Cfr. D. Canali, *Borghesie apuane dell'800. La provincia di Massa e Carrara nel primo ventennio postunitario: classi sociali, elezioni politiche e amministrazioni locali dal 1861 al 1880*, Carrara, Aldus, 1993, pp. 46-47.

¹⁵ R.M. Galleni Pellegrini, *Il conte Emilio Lazzoni, politico e letterato, uno dei primi membri della Deputazione di Storia Patria*, «Atti e Memorie della Deputazione di Storia Patria per le Antiche Province Modenesi», serie XI, vol. XXXV, 2013, pp. 175-192.

¹⁶ Lo stesso Farini, su istanza del ministro della Pubblica Istruzione Antonio Montanari, deliberò la nomina di Emilio Lazzoni quale membro della neocostituita Deputazione di Storia Patria per le Province Modenesi con il Decreto del 10 febbraio 1860 – *Istituzione di tre deputazioni col titolo di Deputazioni di Storia Patria, una delle quali avrà sede in Bologna, una in Modena, la terza in Parma*, in *Raccolta degli atti governativi pubblicati nelle Province delle Romagne e dell'Emilia dal 19 giugno 1859 al 18 marzo 1860*, Bologna, presso Lorenzo Recchioni Libraio-Editore, 1860, pp. 620-623.

¹⁷ Cfr. *Carrara e la sua Accademia di Belle arti. Riassunto storico scritto dal conte Emilio Lazzoni*, Massa-Carrara, Tipografia C. Frediani, 1867; e *Michelangelo Buonarroti e sue relazioni colla città di Carrara. Ricordi scritti dal Conte Emilio Lazzoni Professore e segretario della R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Carrara*, Carrara, Martini e Martinelli, 1875.

in Roma (1875)¹⁸ e di socio emerito della Deputazione di Storia Patria per le Antiche Province Modenesi (1888)¹⁹.

Di particolare rilevanza per cogliere l'impostazione e le linee di fondo dell'insegnamento storico-artistico impartito dal Lazzoni nell'Accademia di Belle Arti di Carrara è il discorso da lui pronunciato in occasione della lezione inaugurale del suo primo corso, il 5 dicembre 1859, nel quale erano presentati gli obiettivi e i contenuti del corso stesso²⁰.

La storia dei popoli – notava innanzi tutto lo studioso –, è anche la rivelazione del loro genio, del loro alto sentire. [...] Addentrandoci quindi noi nell'istoria, avremo a studiarla nei suoi più arcani risultamenti, nelle sue più splendide manifestazioni, nell'altezza di quei sommi principii che costituiscono l'Estetica dell'arte²¹.

Questo lungo e affascinante viaggio alla ricerca «di quei sommi principii, che sono la ragione e la vita dell'arte», avrebbe preso le mosse dall'arte classica, l'«arte pagana», la quale aveva trovato «nella tempra del popolo greco tutte le condizioni per svilupparsi e rendersi gigante». E ciò, egli aggiungeva, per una ragione precisa:

La Grecia diventò il tempio d'ogni sapere, si fece maestra d'ogni bell'arte, e soggiogata dalle armi, soggiogò col suo genio i suoi stessi superbi conquistatori. Roma pagò il contributo di sudditanza alla bella sua schiava, quando le si fece ancella sul cammino dell'arte. Il genio greco si trasfuse colla conquista nella forza e potenza romana, finché corrotto dal predominio materialistico, traviato dalla sensualità e mollezza dei costumi, venne a perdersi nello scetticismo, uccidendo colla gloria dell'arte, la gloria e la virtù di questo gran popolo²².

Particolare attenzione sarebbe stata dedicata, nell'ambito del corso, allo studio, attraverso l'esame delle opere e l'approfondimento delle diverse scuole e tendenze artistiche, «della differenza che distingue il genio pagano dal genio cristiano [...], onde si genera quella diversità di caratteri che contrassegnano l'arte pagana, e l'arte cristiana»:

Se la prima – precisava Lazzoni – tutta terrena parla unicamente ai sensi ed alla fantasia; la seconda attingendo le sue ispirazioni nel cielo, ragiona ai sensi, all'intelletto ed al cuore. Se la prima tutta umana, sembra voglia compensarsi colla vaghezza ed esteriore

¹⁸ Galleni Pellegrini, *Il conte Emilio Lazzoni, politico e letterato, uno dei primi membri della Deputazione di Storia Patria*, cit., p. 190.

¹⁹ *Nella Tornata VIII del 28 aprile 1888*, «Atti e Memorie delle RR. Deputazioni per le Province Modenesi e Parmensi», serie III, vol. V, 1888, p. XXXV.

²⁰ *Introduzione ai corsi di Storia ed Estetica testé ridonati da Dittatorio Decreto di S.E. il Dittatore Farini alla R. Accademia de Belle Arti di Carrara, discorso letto il 5 dicembre 1859 dal Professore Conte Emilio Lazzoni Deputato alla Costituente Modenese*, Sarzana, Tipografia Civica di A. Ponthenier, 1860.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 5.

²² *Ibid.*, pp. 9-10.

sua leggiadria, della bassa sua origine; la seconda superba di sua immortale derivazione, cerca colla bellezza la sublimità del concetto. Coll'arte pagana sorgono gli Apolli, e le Veneri; colla cristiana le opere di Raffaello, le Cene del Vinci. [...] L'arte cristiana presa per mano da Cimabue e da Giotto, condotta a divenire grande cogli Arnolfi ed i Brunelleschi, si fece divina sotto i pennelli di Raffaello e Buonarroti²³.

Ulteriore tappa della riflessione storico-artistica proposta ai giovani allievi dell'Accademia di Carrara dallo studioso era quella relativa all'apogeo e poi alla vera e propria crisi dell'«arte cristiana», culminata con il passaggio dal Rinascimento al Barocco e con il rapido tramonto, nella penisola, dell'ordine politico ispirato ai valori della libertà e del progresso civile e culturale:

Il fulgido decoro dell'arte si annubbiava col tramonto della libertà; il sentimento era perduto e la bellezza della virtù. E come in tutte l'epoche storiche, l'arte si era mostrata il riflesso delle idee predominanti, così anche in questo sconsolante periodo di sua vita guidata dal materialismo del senso, e sfrenatezza della fantasia, creando il barocchismo, aveva in sé ritratto il pensiero di questi tempi di aberrazione. E di fatto il barocchismo dell'arte, non era che il riflesso del barocchismo nei costumi, negli ordini politici, nelle idee dissennate, che cominciavano a manifestarsi, e che dovettero più tardi tuffare l'orgogliosa fronte nel sangue della rivoluzione francese²⁴.

L'ultima parte del corso, infine, si sarebbe incentrata sull'approfondimento delle correnti culturali ed artistiche contemporanee, ossia «di quelle diverse scuole, che oggi si dividono il campo dell'arte e della letteratura [...] del romanticismo e del classicismo nelle lettere, del purismo e naturalismo nelle belle arti»²⁵.

Nel complesso, l'insegnamento storico-artistico di Emilio Lazzoni nell'Accademia di Belle Arti di Carrara, pur condotto con scrupolo e costante impegno²⁶, non si distinse particolarmente per originalità e novità dell'impostazione. Al pari di altri docenti della sua generazione, tuttavia, egli ebbe il merito di lasciarsi definitivamente alle spalle l'estetica di carattere speculativo («Non è qui luogo a rassegna delle differenti opinioni dei filosofi intorno al bello») e di conferire alle sue lezioni un'impostazione rigorosamente storica, nell'ambito della quale le principali correnti ed espressioni dell'arte, i maggiori artisti e le loro opere erano collocati nel più generale contesto politico e culturale delle diverse epoche ed approfonditi attraverso il ricorso ad un ampio corredo di erudizione.

²³ *Ibid.*, pp. 13-14.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 15.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 17.

²⁶ *Commemorazione del Conte Prof. Emilio Lazzoni, Accademico di Onore della Reale Insigne Accademia di San Luca, Membro della Deputazione di Storia Patria. Parole dette dal Cav. Avv. Guglielmo Micheli, Carrara, Tip. Sanguineti e Figli, 1900, p. 16.*

Le angustie dell'ambiente in cui visse – ha sottolineato al riguardo uno dei biografi di Lazzoni – non gli diedero modo di ritemprare gradualmente il suo spirito nel flusso rigeneratore dei nuovi trovati della scienza e dei nuovi indirizzi delle belle lettere, ma nel tranquillo arcaismo dei suoi studi seppe comporsi un chiaro ed ordinato sistema di cognizioni. [...] Fu per questo che negli insegnamenti di estetica egli si assise tra i ruderi di vecchie formule scolastiche e non intravide i nuovi orizzonti. Diffuse nondimeno la costante e fondamentale verità che solo mercè una soda cultura della mente ed una forte ed elevata educazione del sentimento può spirare dal divin linguaggio dell'opera d'arte quella eloquenza morale, senza cui quest'opera riducesi ad un vano e caduco esercizio plastico²⁷.

Patriota e letterato al pari del Lazzoni, il modenese Francesco Manfredini era figlio del protomedico del Duca Francesco IV. Compiuti gli studi sotto la guida di precettori privati, dopo essere stato espulso dal Collegio della Compagnia di Gesù di Modena a seguito di una serie di atti di insubordinazione e perché poco amante della disciplina, frequentò a lungo l'ambiente della corte, maturando, come attesta il suo biografo, «un vivo sentimento anti-estense», il quale si consolidò allorché entrò in contatto con i circoli democratici e repubblicani modenesi. Divenuto ben presto un ammiratore delle idee mazziniane e stabiliti contatti con gli ambienti garibaldini, fu tra i protagonisti della cospirazione patriottica nei domini estensi e partecipò attivamente alle lotte e alle esperienze insurrezionali che segnarono il Ducato di Modena tra il 1848 e il '59²⁸.

Dopo l'annessione degli ex territori estensi al regno di Sardegna, il 22 novembre del 1859, su proposta del ministro della Pubblica Istruzione delle Province provvisorie Antonio Montanari, fu nominato, con decreto dittatoriale di Luigi Carlo Farini, segretario e professore di *Estetica e storia dell'arte* nell'Accademia di Belle Arti di Modena²⁹. Lo stesso Farini, alcuni mesi più tardi, chiamava Francesco Manfredini a far parte, con mansioni di segretario, della *Commissione per la conservazione dei lavori pregevoli di belle arti* per le Regie Province dell'Emilia³⁰.

Ancorché ispirati a criteri essenzialmente politici, tali incarichi tenevano certamente conto delle competenze in materia d'arte acquisite negli anni giovanili dal patriota e letterato modenese³¹; competenze che si sarebbero ulte-

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 17.

²⁸ Cfr. A. Morselli, *Francesco Manfredini patriotta, scrittore, educatore (1819-1863)*, Modena, Mucchi, 1963, pp. 36-59 e ss.

²⁹ Decreto 27 dicembre 1859, n. 205 – *Istituzione di cattedre nella Accademia di belle arti di Modena*, in *Fasti legislativi e parlamentari delle rivoluzioni italiane nel secolo XIX raccolte per cura dell'Avv. Emanuele Bollati. Volume Secondo 1859-1861. Parte Prima: Lombardia ed Emilia*, Milano, Stabilimento Giuseppe Civelli, 1865, pp. 593-594.

³⁰ Decreto 11 gennaio 1860, n. 54 – *Istituzione di una Commissione per la conservazione dei monumenti nazionali e lavori di belle arti, attribuzioni di essa e nomina de' suoi Membri*, in *Raccolta degli atti governativi pubblicati nelle Province delle Romagne e dell'Emilia dal 19 giugno 1859 al 18 marzo 1860*, cit., pp. 503-532.

³¹ Ancora diciottenne, il Manfredini aveva dato alle stampe una biografia di Giuseppe Can-

riormente accresciute ed affinate a seguito degli studi da lui condotti negli anni nei quali insegnò in Accademia. Basterebbe qui far riferimento, ad esempio, al documentato studio sulla *Pittura religiosa e storica nella prima Esposizione italiana*, edito nel 1861; e al corposo e ricco lavoro dato alle stampe l'anno seguente con il titolo: *Delle arti del disegno e degli artisti nella provincia di Modena dall'anno 1777 al 1862*³².

Divenuto dunque professore di *Estetica e storia dell'arte* e segretario dell'Accademia di Belle Arti di Modena, Manfredini si dedicò con particolare impegno al nuovo ufficio, sforzandosi di «intrattenere gli allievi sui più svariati argomenti relativi allo svolgimento della civiltà, dell'arte e del costume nel tempo, alla mitologia, alla religione e altro ancora»; e di assegnare loro, «come esercitazione pratica, temi di composizione figurativa da lui ideati, che gli allievi, udite le varie notizie e considerazioni dell'insegnante, trattavano poi liberamente con disegni a matita»³³.

Ad accrescere la stima e l'apprezzamento degli allievi e dei colleghi dell'Accademia nei riguardi dell'insegnamento storico-artistico impartito dallo studioso modenese, e a rendere Manfredini «degno della cattedra», contribuirono «non meno lo spirito che lo animava nel lavoro e la convinzione che egli aveva del suo valore educativo»³⁴. Come tutti i romantici, infatti, egli credeva in «un'arte strettamente legata all'ideale etico»; vedeva in essa, «se veramente libera e genuina, non solo una sorgente di bellezza ma anche un potente mezzo d'educazione per l'uomo e per la società»³⁵.

drini, un eccellente magistrato dei tempi di Ercole III (*Di Giuseppe Candrini modonese*, in *Notizie biografiche in continuazione della Biblioteca Modenese del cav. abate G. Tiraboschi*, Reggio Emilia, Torregiani, 1837, Vol. V, pp. 269-274). In seguito, tra il 1945 e il '46, egli pubblicò la pregevole memoria *Modena al tempo de' Bonacolsi. Scene storiche del secolo XIV*, Modena, A. Cappelli, 1846 e divenne uno dei più assidui e apprezzati collaboratori del periodico «L'Educatore storico», sul quale diede alle stampe diversi articoli di carattere letterario e soprattutto storico-artistico.

³² F. Manfredini, *Pittura religiosa e storica nella prima Esposizione italiana*, Modena, Toschi, 1861; Id., *Delle arti del disegno e degli artisti nella provincia di Modena dall'anno 1777 al 1862. Relazione di Francesco Manfredini fatta a richiesta del sottocomitato provinciale modenese per la esposizione di Londra*, Modena, Vincenzi, 1862.

³³ *Le Belle Arti a Modena. Osservazioni critiche di Adolfo Venturi*, Modena, Toschi, 1878, pp. 36-37. Ma si vedano anche i riferimenti contenuti in L. Rivi, *Adolfo Venturi e il dibattito sulle istituzioni e la ricerca artistica a Modena*, in *Gli anni modenese di Adolfo Venturi. Atti del Convegno (Modena, 25-26 maggio 1990)*, Modena, Francesco Cosimo Panini, 1994, pp. 65-78.

³⁴ Al riguardo, Ferdinando Ascoli, che sarebbe subentrato al Manfredini nel 1863 sulla cattedra modenese di *Estetica e storia dell'arte*, nella sua *Relazione sulla R. Accademia di Belle Arti in Modena fatta pubblica a richiesta della R. Commissione italiana per la Esposizione universale di Vienna del 1873*, (Modena, Tipografia Vincenzi, 1873), non mancava di sottolineare come «la scuola di Storia e di Estetica applicata alle arti» tenuta dal suo predecessore, oltre a farsi carico della «necessaria cultura intellettuale degli studenti di pittura e scultura» attraverso le ordinarie lezioni «di storia civile, di mitologia, di costumi e di massime fondamentali di estetica», si distinguesse anche per la cura con la quale si assicurava che questi stessi studenti si esercitassero «in bozzetti settimanali a matita su soggetti storici proposti ed illustrati dal Professore» (p. 13).

³⁵ Cfr. *Solenne distribuzione dei premi nella gran sala della Galleria Palatina il 28 febbraio*

La «coscienziosa fatica didattica» di Francesco Manfredini, com'è noto, non sarebbe durata a lungo: dopo poco più di un triennio, infatti, il 22 aprile del 1863, la morte lo avrebbe colto improvvisamente, quando egli non aveva ancora compiuto i 44 anni³⁶.

A subentrare al Manfredini nel ruolo di segretario e sulla cattedra di *Estetica e storia dell'arte* dell'Accademia di Belle Arti di Modena sarebbe stato Ferdinando Asioli (Correggio, Modena, 1822 – ivi, 1905), tra i più longevi titolari della disciplina, che avrebbe professato per ben 37 anni, dal 1863 al 1901. Patriota, musicista e letterato, egli era figlio d'arte e discendente di una famiglia di artisti: il padre, Giuseppe, era «un valentissimo incisore, distinto cultore di musica e suonator di cembalo», la madre, Enrichetta Rosaspina, era figlia di Francesco Rosaspina da Bologna, «celebrato Incisore e Disegnatore». Il fratello Luigi, che fin da giovanissimo aveva manifestato «singolare attitudine e naturale inclinazione al Disegno», tra il 1828 e il 1837 aveva compiuto gli studi nell'Accademia di Belle Arti di Modena e, dopo essersi perfezionato a Bologna e a Firenze, era rientrato a Modena ed era stato nominato professore di Disegno prima, dal 1848, e di Pittura in seguito, dal 1860, in quella stessa Accademia che lo aveva visto alunno alcuni decenni prima³⁷.

Con i due fratelli Luigi e Raffaele, l'Asioli prese parte ai moti del 1848 e poi alla seconda guerra d'Indipendenza (1859), militando tra le file dei garibaldini e divenendo uno dei più stretti collaboratori del Generale³⁸. Nel frattempo, portati a termine gli studi di Diritto e divenuto avvocato, egli poté dedicarsi completamente alla sua grande passione per la musica, componendo numerosi brani musicali di vario genere, tra i quali il dramma romantico *Lea* e l'opera *Maria de' Ricci*, i quali furono rappresentati il primo a Correggio e il secondo alla Scala di Milano, riscuotendo un certo successo³⁹.

Dopo la cacciata del Duca Francesco V da Modena, per decisione del governo provvisorio presieduto da Luigi Carlo Farini, suo estimatore ed amico,

1861. *Elenco degli alunni premiati preceduto dalle parole dette loro dal Segretario dell'Accademia Francesco Manfredini*, Modena, Tipografia Vincenzi, 1861, pp. 2-4.

³⁶ Morselli, *Francesco Manfredini patriotta, scrittore, educatore (1819-1863)*, cit., pp. 58-59.

³⁷ Cfr. G.C. Marchi Castellini, *Luigi Asioli: vita e lavori*, in Id., *Antonio Allegri detto Il Correggio, Vincenzo Vela, Luigi Asioli*, Correggio, Fratelli Palazzi Tipografi Editori, 1880, pp. 205-215; e A. Petrucci, *Asioli, Giuseppe*, in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, cit., 1962, Vol. 4, pp. 399-401.

³⁸ A. Barbieri, *A regola d'arte. Pittori, scultori, architetti, fotografi, scenografi, ceramisti, galleristi, critici e storici d'arte nel Modenese dell'Ottocento e del Novecento*, Modena, Mucchi, 2008, pp. 14-15.

³⁹ Si vedano al riguardo: *Lea, melodramma in tre atti di Giovanni Battista Fantuzzi da Correggio, messo in musica da Ferdinando Asioli*, da rappresentarsi nel teatro Comunale di Correggio l'aprile dell'anno 1856, Reggio, D'Avolio, 1856; e *Maria de' Ricci, melodramma in tre atti, da rappresentarsi all'I.R. Teatro alla Scala nella stagione di carnevale 1858-59, di Giovanni Battista Fantuzzi, musicato dal maestro Ferdinando Asioli*, Milano, Paolo Ripamonti Carpano, 1859.

fu eletto deputato all'Assemblea Costituente di Modena e, nel giugno del 1859, ebbe la nomina di podestà di Correggio, carica quest'ultima che egli avrebbe conservato anche all'indomani del compimento del processo unitario, essendo divenuto il primo sindaco democraticamente eletto del comune reggiano⁴⁰.

Nel 1862, concluso il suo mandato di primo cittadino a Correggio, si trasferì a Torino, in quella che allora era la capitale del regno, dove esercitò saltuariamente l'ufficio di insegnante di musica per i rampolli delle famiglie aristocratiche locali e dove, in particolare, fu accolto «nei più nobili convegni, e nei più eletti salotti» e poté stringere «rapporti cordiali e amicizie autorevoli» con membri del parlamento e del governo ed esponenti della cultura locale e nazionale⁴¹.

Fu probabilmente per la notorietà e i solidi legami che la sua famiglia intratteneva con gli ambienti culturali e artistici modenesi, oltre che per la stima personale e il sostegno politico acquisito nel corso del suo soggiorno torinese, che l'Asioli, rientrato nel 1863 a Modena, ottenne l'ufficio di segretario e fu nominato professore di *Estetica e storia dell'arte* nella locale Accademia di Belle Arti, della quale, un trentennio più tardi, nel 1893, a seguito della morte di Adeodato Malatesta (1891), assunse anche la presidenza e la direzione della Galleria Estense⁴². Nel 1896, infine, fu chiamato dal ministro della Pubblica Istruzione Guido Baccelli a far parte della commissione ministeriale per il riordinamento degli Istituti di Belle Arti della penisola⁴³.

Autore, in qualità di segretario dell'Accademia di Belle Arti di Modena, di discorsi celebrativi, relazioni e altri scritti d'arte di natura essenzialmente occasionale⁴⁴, invano si cercherebbe traccia, tra le pubblicazioni editate dall'Asioli, di veri e propri studi di carattere storico-artistico o, su un diverso piano, di

⁴⁰ Cfr. G. Canevazzi, *Un deputato all'Assemblea Costituente Modenese del 1859 (Ferdinando Asioli)*, Modena, G. Ferraguti, 1912.

⁴¹ Barbieri, *A regola d'arte. Pittori, scultori, architetti, fotografi, scenografi, ceramisti, galleristi, critici e storici d'arte nel Modenese dell'Ottocento e del Novecento*, cit., p. 14.

⁴² Cfr. *L'Accademia modenese di Belle Arti*, «Atti e Memorie della Deputazione di Storia Patria per le Antiche Provincie Modenesi», serie XI, vol. VIII, 1986, pp. 313-337.

⁴³ Sui lavori di tale commissione ministeriale si veda la documentazione conservata in Archivio Centrale dello Stato [in seguito: ACS], Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione [in seguito: MPI], Direzione Generale Antichità e Belle Arti, *Istituti di Belle Arti 1860-1896*, b. 19.

⁴⁴ Cfr. F. Asioli, *Relazione sul R. Museo Estense di antichità artistiche in Modena fatta a richiesta della R. commissione italiana per l'esposizione universale di Vienna del 1873*, Modena, Tip. Vincenzi, 1872; Id., *Relazione sulla R. Accademia di belle arti in Modena fatta a richiesta della R. Commissione italiana per la esposizione universale di Vienna del 1873*, Modena, Tip. Vincenzi, 1873; *Discorso sulla vita e sulle opere di Luigi Poletti, letto dal segretario Ferdinando Asioli*, Modena, Tip. Vincenzi, 1875; *Sull'esposizione d'arte antica aperta nella R. Accademia modenese di belle arti il 20 ottobre 1872 pel secondo centenario di Ludovico Antonio Muratori, discorso letto dal segretario Ferdinando Asioli*, Modena, Tip. Vincenzi, 1875; F. Asioli, *Per l'inaugurazione del monumento a Ciro Menotti*, Modena, Tip. Vincenzi, 1880; *Discorso pronunciato dal professore di lettere e di storia, Ferdinando Asioli, il giorno 2 gennaio 1884, in occasione della privata premiazione agli alunni di questo R. Istituto di belle arti, che più si distinsero negli anni scolastici 1881-82 e 1882-83*, Modena, Tip. Vincenzi, 1880; e F. Asioli, *Adeodato Malatesta: notizie biografiche e artistiche*, Modena, Toschi, 1905.

compendi e dispense ad uso didattico. Non a caso, nelle sue *Memorie autobiografiche* Adolfo Venturi, che aveva conosciuto e frequentato personalmente, a Modena, sia lui sia il fratello Luigi, sottolineava non senza una punta d'ironia com'egli, «musico valente», nella veste di «professore d'estetica all'Accademia» si fosse messo in luce pressoché esclusivamente per le sue qualità di «oratore forbito nelle annuali premiazioni degli alunni»⁴⁵.

Di ben altro tenore sarebbe stato l'insegnamento storico-artistico tenuto nell'Accademia di Belle Arti di Brera a Milano dal pittore, archeologo e storico dell'arte Antonio Caimi (Sondrio, 1811 – Milano, 1878)⁴⁶. Formatosi originariamente nell'Accademia Carrara di Bergamo sotto la guida di Giuseppe Diotti⁴⁷, Caimi si era trasferito in seguito all'Accademia di Brera a Milano e qui aveva studiato con Luigi Sabatelli⁴⁸, mettendosi in luce non solamente per le sue qualità artistiche⁴⁹, ma anche, e soprattutto, per i suoi interessi archeologici e storico-artistici e per la sua passione per gli studi eruditi⁵⁰.

All'indomani della cacciata degli austriaci e dell'annessione di Milano e della Lombardia al regno di Sardegna, il nuovo *Statuto* dell'Accademia di Brera, predisposto da una commissione della quale facevano parte, tra gli altri, Roberto e Massimo D'Azeglio, Francesco Hayez e Giulio Carcano, e varato con il D. Luog. 3 novembre 1860⁵¹, aveva istituito una nuova cattedra o «scuola» di *Storia dell'arte*, in luogo di quella di *Estetica* creata un secolo e mezzo prima, intorno al 1703⁵², da Giuseppe Bossi, che ne era stato anche il primo titolare⁵³.

⁴⁵ A. Venturi, *Memorie autobiografiche*, Milano, Hoepli, 1927, p. 31. Ma si vedano anche i riferimenti contenuti in L. Rivi, *Adolfo Venturi e il dibattito sulle istituzioni e la ricerca artistica a Modena*, in *Gli anni modenese di Adolfo Venturi. Atti del Convegno (Modena, 25-26 maggio 1990)*, Modena, Francesco Cosimo Panini, 1994, pp. 65-78.

⁴⁶ S. Papaldo, *Caimi, Antonio*, in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, cit., 1973, Vol. 16, pp. 345-346.

⁴⁷ Cfr. R. Mangili, *Giuseppe Diotti. Nell'Accademia tra Neoclassicismo e Romanticismo storico*, Milano, Mazzotta, 1991, pp. 79-82.

⁴⁸ Si veda P. Bargellini, *Luigi Sabatelli generoso maestro di vita e d'arte*, in Id., *Caffè Michelangiolo*, Firenze, Vallecchi, 1944, pp. 57-93.

⁴⁹ Cfr. V. Della Ferrera (ed.), *Antonio Caimi (1811-1878). L'arte del ritratto*, Bergamo, Bolis, 1996.

⁵⁰ Qualche rapido cenno al riguardo è contenuto in F. Valli, *Una volta Alessandro nella bottega di Apelle... Estetica e storia dell'arte a Brera nell'Ottocento*, «Ricerche di Storia dell'Arte», n. 128, 2019, pp. 8-12.

⁵¹ D. Luog. 3 novembre 1860, n. 4412 – *che approva gli Statuti e il Regolamento disciplinare della R. Accademia di Belle Arti in Milano*, in *Statuti e regolamento disciplinare della R. accademia di Belle arti in Milano approvati con R. Decreto 3 novembre 1860*, Milano, Pirola, 1860, titolo XV, p. 18.

⁵² *R. Accademia di Belle Arti*, in *Gli Istituti scientifici, letterati ed artistici di Milano. Memorie pubblicate per cura della Società Storica Lombarda in occasione del secondo Congresso Storico italiano*, Milano, Tipografia Pirola, 1880, p. 374.

⁵³ S. Samek Ludovici, *Bossi, Giuseppe*, in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, cit., 1971, Vol. 13, pp. 314-319.

Gli stessi membri della commissione avevano proposto lo studioso originario della Valtellina per la copertura dell'ufficio di segretario dell'Accademia e di titolare della neoistituita cattedra di *Storia dell'arte*. Caimi non deluse certamente le aspettative. Egli, infatti, esercitò il suo magistero storico-artistico per oltre un quindicennio, dal 1860 al 1877, dando alle stampe numerosi e importanti studi di carattere archeologico, epigrafico e storico-artistico, frutto di ricerche erudite incentrate in particolare sulla realtà lombarda, i quali, oltre a trovare accoglienza in talune solide monografie e sulle colonne dell'austero «Archivio Storico Lombardo», il bollettino ufficiale della *Società storica lombarda*⁵⁴, costituirono sovente l'oggetto dei corsi rivolti agli allievi dell'Accademia di Belle Arti di Brera⁵⁵.

Non a caso, con riferimento proprio a questa prima fase postunitaria e al magistero di Antonio Caimi nell'Accademia di Belle Arti di Brera, è stato giustamente sottolineato come, finalmente «affrancata dal binomio Letteratura/Eстетica», la *Storia dell'arte* abbia potuto intraprendere «la difficile conquista della sua identità istituzionale»⁵⁶.

Al principio del 1860, per espressa volontà del governo dittatoriale presieduto da Luigi Carlo Farini, sulla cattedra di *Estetica e storia dell'arte* dell'Accademia di Belle Arti di Parma era chiamato il letterato e critico d'arte Pietro Martini (Parma, 1818 – ivi, 1877), il quale avrebbe tenuto tale insegnamento, e contestualmente l'ufficio di segretario dell'Accademia, per oltre un quindicennio, fino al 1876. Già impiegato come funzionario negli archivi del governo ducale e poi, in qualità di segretario, nella R. Biblioteca di Parma, e nominato nel 1852 direttore della Tipografia reale di Parma, all'indomani dell'unificazione nazionale il Martini fu chiamato a far parte della R. deputazione di Storia Patria per le Province Parmensi.

In concomitanza con i suoi nuovi incarichi nell'Accademia di Belle Arti, egli si dedicò con particolare impegno agli studi storico-artistici, pur senza trascurare le sue antiche passioni per la letteratura, il teatro e la poesia⁵⁷.

⁵⁴ A puro titolo esemplificativo, si segnalano al riguardo: A. Caimi, *Delle arti del disegno e degli artisti nelle provincie di Lombardia dal 1777 al 1862*, Milano, Pirola, 1862; Id., *Cenno storico sul Museo patrio di archeologia in Milano*, Milano, coi tipi di Alessandro Lombardi, 1869 (1873); Id., *L'Accademia di belle arti in Milano, sua origine, suo incremento e suo stato attuale*, Milano, coi tipi di A. Lombardi, 1873; Id., *La Pinacoteca della R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Milano*, Milano, coi tipi di Alessandro Lombardi, 1873. Per quel che riguarda i contributi dati alle stampe sull'«Archivio Storico Lombardo», si vedano, in particolare, le annate 1874-1876.

⁵⁵ R. Sertoli Salis, *Antonio Caimi pittore valtellinese e lombardo (1811-1878)*, Sondrio, Banca Piccolo Credito Valtellinese, 1982, pp. 56-59.

⁵⁶ Valli, *Una volta Alessandro nella bottega di Apelle... Estetica e storia dell'arte a Brera nell'Ottocento*, cit., pp. 8-9.

⁵⁷ Si vedano, fra gli altri: *Le cronache modenese di Tomasino Lancilotto*, a cura di Pietro Martini, Modena, s.i.e., 1860; Angelo Pezzana, *Memoria intitolata all'Accademia Parmense di Belle Arti dal segretario Pietro Martini*, Parma, Tipografia Ferrari, 1862; *Commedie e farse inedite del cav. prof. Pietro Martini*, Modena, Tipografia dell'Immacolata Concezione, 1870; In

Al riguardo, meritano di essere segnalati, accanto a numerosi scritti minori e d'occasione⁵⁸, diversi suoi lavori di un certo pregio, come nel caso delle due documentate memorie dedicate rispettivamente a *La scuola parmense delle arti belle e gli artisti delle provincie di Parma e di Piacenza, dal 1777 all'oggi* (1862), poi riedita con il titolo *La R. Accademia Parmense di Belle Arti* (1873²), e a *La pubblica pinacoteca di Parma* (1872)⁵⁹; della *Guida di Parma per uso del forestiero* (1871)⁶⁰ e, in particolare, della pregevole raccolta di *Studi intorno al Correggio* (1865) e dell'originale e documentato lavoro su *L'arte dell'incisione in Parma* (1873)⁶¹.

Per quel che concerne l'insegnamento vero e proprio dell'*Estetica e storia dell'arte* tenuto dal Martini nell'Accademia di Belle Arti di Parma, al fine di lumeggiarne l'impostazione, i contenuti e le caratteristiche di fondo è opportuno far riferimento, innanzi tutto, ai *Discorsi di Pietro Martini agli studenti di Belle Arti dell'Accademia Parmense*, sorta di originale manuale, edito per la prima volta nel 1868, nel quale sono raccolti i testi, in precedenza circolati in forma manoscritta, delle lezioni tenute dal docente nell'ambito del suo corso; in secondo luogo, vale la pena di richiamare le illuminanti pagine dedicate a tale insegnamento nella già ricordata memoria su *La R. Accademia Parmense di Belle Arti* (1873).

Animato dall'intento prioritario di «coltivare e porgere alimento alle buone arti»⁶² e desideroso, al contempo, di evitare risolutamente le «oziosità arcadiche, le quali troppo a lungo tennero le Accademie e gli Accademici nel vuoto»⁶³,

morte di Alessandro Manzoni, di Pietro Martini, Parma, Tipografia Ferrari, 1873; *Prefazione alle poesie del conte Iacopo Sanvitale, di Pietro Martini*, Prato, Tipografia Giachetti, 1875; e la raccolta postuma: *Poesie di Pietro Martini, pubblicate per cura del figlio Felice*, Parma, L. Battei, 1882.

⁵⁸ Ci limitiamo qui a segnalare: *Del pittore Domenico Teotcopulo e di un suo dipinto, di Pietro Martini*, Torino, Botta, 1862; *Monumento a Gian Domenico Romagnosi in Piacenza scolpito da Cristoforo Marzaroli, di Pietro Martini*, Parma, Tip. Cavour, 1867; *I disegni di Francesco Scaramuzza illustrativi della Divina Commedia. Memoria di Pietro Martini*, Parma, Tipografia della Gazzetta di Parma, 1872.

⁵⁹ *La scuola parmense delle arti belle e gli artisti delle provincie di Parma e di Piacenza, dal 1777 all'oggi. Memoria dettata dal segretario della R. Accademia di Parma Pietro Martini nella occasione della esposizione universale di Londra, maggio 1862* (poi riedita con il seguente titolo: *La R. Accademia Parmense di Belle Arti. Memoria di Pietro Martini segretario di quell'Accademia*, Parma, G. Ferrari, 1873); e *La pubblica pinacoteca di Parma. Memoria di Pietro Martini segretario dell'Accademia di Belle Arti*, Parma, G. Ferrari, 1872.

⁶⁰ *Guida di Parma per uso del forestiero, compilata da Pietro Martini*, Parma, P. Grazioli, 1871.

⁶¹ *Studi intorno al Correggio di Pietro Martini*, Parma, Tipografia Carmignani, 1865 (2^a ediz.: Parma, Tipografia Grazioli, 1871); e *L'arte dell'incisione in Parma. Memoria di Pietro Martini*, Parma, G. Ferrari, 1873.

⁶² P. Martini, *La R. Accademia Parmense di Belle Arti. Memoria*, Parma, Tipografia G. Ferrari, 1873, p. 3.

⁶³ *Discorsi di Pietro Martini agli Studenti di Belle Arti dell'Accademia Parmense*, Parma, coi tipi di Pietro Grazioli, 1868, pp. 19-20.

Pietro Martini inaugurava le sue lezioni sottolineando la vera e propria centralità, nella formazione del futuro artista, della «sana erudizione letteraria» e degli studi di «estetica» e di «storia», gli uni e gli altri da lui giudicati indispensabili per la maturazione dell'artista:

Ora – sottolineava Martini –, stringendomi alle cose delle quali è indispensabile informare la mente, dirò: ognuno di voi cerchi possedere istruzione letteraria (se gli manchi, o sia tenue) quanta bisogna, [...] né lasci di erudirsi nella mitologia greca. [...] Io studierò pertanto d'eleggere temi di ragione estetica, i quali mi paiano meno disproporzionati alle mie forze, più convenienti alle vostre. Sarà quella parte di filosofia, teorica e pratica ad un tempo, che, a mio giudizio, meglio si addice alla educazione artistica. Non vi affaticherò con soverchie astrazioni, cercherò di farvi profittevolmente meditare, di assistervi, quanto mi sia dato, ad arricchire il patrimonio delle vostre idee⁶⁴.

E subito dopo aggiungeva:

Lo studio della storia, considerato filosoficamente, è per tutti di utilità suprema. È mestieri pertanto seguirla nel gran cammino che l'umanità va percorrendo dal principio de' secoli, nel sorgere o nel disperdersi, nell'aumentarsi o nel diminuire, nel disgiungersi o nel mescolarsi delle stirpi; nelle varie vicende delle nazioni e dei popoli; nelle impronte dell'epoche diverse. [...] Dagli studi storici scaturisce una fonte di erudizione a cui gli artisti devono attingere; alludo a quella che sguarda le foggie di vestimento, l'arme, gli utensili, le suppellettili domestiche, la forma e il gusto degli edifici; le quali nozioni essendo, nel più, di fatto, non importano difficili ragionamenti, non ispeculazioni metafisiche, e si confanno a qualunque età, a qualunque misura d'intelletto non scemo, a qualunque maniera di erudizione⁶⁵.

Come si evince dai *Discorsi*, il corso di *Estetica e storia dell'arte* di Martini si articolava in due distinti cicli di lezioni. il primo s'incentrava sull'approfondimento di talune categorie o concetti fondamentali dell'arte ed era condotto dal docente attraverso una cospicua serie di riferimenti ad artisti e ad opere d'arte dei vari secoli e a reminiscenze filosofiche e letterarie. Tra i concetti approfonditi figuravano quelli di «Bellezza» («l'idea del bello»), «Grazia», «Varietà», «Semplicità», «Armonia», «Nobiltà» e «Sublimità».

Nel prosieguo delle lezioni del primo ciclo, il docente si soffermava ad illustrare una serie di argomenti ritenuti di una qualche importanza e utilità per gli allievi, anche in questo caso facendo riferimento principalmente ad esempi e riferimenti tratti dalla storia dell'arte antica e moderna e dalla biografia e alle opere di pittori, scultori e architetti delle varie epoche storiche. I temi approfonditi, come rivelano i *Discorsi* del Martini, erano i seguenti: «Facilità e Fatica», «L'Idea e la Forma», «Poeta ed Artista», «Arte e Scienza», «L'Eccellenza e la Mediocrità nell'Arte», «Come siano da disporre i giovani al sentimento dell'Eccellenza», «Importanza morale dell'Arte, Arte e Moda», «L'Arte

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 13-14.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 9-10.

Classica e quella detta di Genere considerate negli argomenti contemporanei», «La scelta de' subietti considerata nell'invenzione», «Le Esposizioni d'industria e l'Arti belle», «Le Arti liberali e le Arti meccaniche»⁶⁶.

Il secondo ciclo di lezioni era incentrato sull'approfondimento delle «origini e dei diversi periodi storici della Accademia» e sull'«importanza ch'essa ebbe nel generale dell'Arte italiana»⁶⁷. Si trattava, in sostanza, di far conoscere ai giovani allievi le «glorie dell'Accademia», ossia i principali artisti (pittori, scultori, architetti, incisori ecc.) che avevano operato a Parma fin dal XVIII secolo, delineando con rapidi ma efficaci riferimenti alle loro opere principali i meriti e la perizia artistica di ciascuno e intervallando la narrazione con notizie sull'attività della «Scuola parmense di arti belle», sulla situazione politica del Ducato e sulle principali vicissitudini cittadine⁶⁸. Il tutto condotto con l'ausilio di fonti e testimonianze di prima mano, ossia «degli inestimabili tesori d'Arte» conservati nella «nostra Pinacoteca» e nei musei, chiese e monumenti della «città nostra» («la patria collezione artistica»), per mezzo dei quali, come raccomandava il docente di *Estetica e storia dell'arte* ai frequentatori delle sue lezioni, «avete agio di fare studi importantissimi»⁶⁹.

Nel complesso, un insegnamento dai tratti fortemente originali, quello impartito a Parma da Pietro Martini, la cui impostazione didattica presentava non pochi pregi e rifletteva il tentativo di rinnovare non solamente i contenuti impartiti e le problematiche di carattere estetico e storico-artistico da approfondire, ma anche l'approccio e il metodo di lavoro, come testimoniano lo studio della tradizione artistica cittadina in rapporto a quella nazionale e, soprattutto, l'utilizzo del patrimonio artistico locale quale strumento per il recupero della memoria e per la formazione dei giovani artisti.

Nel corso del primo decennio postunitario, sulla cattedra di *Estetica* dell'Accademia delle Belle Arti di Firenze si sarebbero avvicendati due studiosi di diversa provenienza e formazione: lo storico della letteratura e del teatro e critico d'arte siciliano Paolo Emiliani-Giudici (Mussomeli, Caltanissetta, 1812 – Tonbridge 1872), che sarebbe stato nominato nel novembre del 1859 e avrebbe tenuto l'insegnamento per poco più di un triennio, fino al 1863; e il celebre poeta, letterato e uomo politico Aleardo Aleardi (Verona, 1812 – ivi, 1878), il quale sarebbe subentrato a Emiliani-Giudici in quello stesso anno e avrebbe conservato tale ufficio per circa un decennio, fino al 1874.

Entrato giovanissimo tra i Padri Domenicani del convento di S. Zita a Palermo, Emiliani-Giudici vi concluse brillantemente gli studi e, a partire dall'anno scolastico 1838-39, fu chiamato a tenere l'insegnamento della Filosofia nello stesso convento. Matura in questo stesso periodo la sua vera e propria pas-

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 23-190.

⁶⁷ Martini, *La R. Accademia Parmense di Belle Arti. Memoria*, cit., pp. 28-29.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 3-37.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 9.

sione per la pittura e l'incisione, che egli coltiverà sotto la guida dei maestri Vincenzo Riolo e Salvatore Lo Forte⁷⁰.

Disinformato di lì a poco l'abito religioso, Emiliani-Giudici lasciò definitivamente Palermo per trasferirsi a Firenze, dove nel 1844 diede alle stampe una *Storia delle belle lettere in Italia*, ristampata un decennio più tardi, nel 1855, con il titolo *Storia della letteratura italiana*⁷¹. L'opera, frutto di lunghi anni di studio e di meditazione sulle vicende letterarie della penisola negli ultimi secoli, gli avrebbe conferito una certa notorietà negli ambienti culturali fiorentini. Si potrebbe aggiungere che, ad accrescere anche in ambito politico la stima e l'apprezzamento per il letterato siciliano, contribuì senza dubbio la sua convinta adesione ai moti insurrezionali che, nel gennaio del 1849, portarono alla caduta del governo e alla fuga da Firenze del Granduca Leopoldo II⁷².

Nel febbraio di quello stesso anno, per volontà del governo provvisorio della Toscana, Emiliani-Giudici fu chiamato a ricoprire la cattedra di *Eloquenza italiana* presso l'Università di Pisa, che dovette tuttavia abbandonare pochi mesi più tardi, nel maggio, a seguito della restaurazione del governo granducale in Toscana⁷³. Negli anni seguenti egli si dedicò prevalentemente ai suoi amati studi storici e letterari, dando alle stampe, fra l'altro, una *Storia politica dei municipj italiani* (Firenze 1851-1855, 2 voll.), più volte riedita, e una monumentale *Storia del teatro in Italia* (Torino 1860)⁷⁴.

Alla vigilia dell'annessione della Toscana al regno di Sardegna, con un decreto emanato il 2 novembre 1859 dal governo provvisorio istituito dopo il definitivo abbandono del Granducato da parte di Leopoldo II, Emiliani-Giudici fu chiamato, come si è già ricordato, a ricoprire la neoistituita cattedra di *Estetica* presso l'Accademia di Belle Arti di Firenze⁷⁵, della quale fu anche nominato segretario⁷⁶.

L'insegnamento di *Estetica*, come stabiliva il decreto istitutivo di nuove

⁷⁰ Cfr. E. Sclari, *Paolo Emiliani-Giudici: la vita e le opere. Con un'appendice di cento-sessanta lettere inedite e brevi note*, Palermo, Trimarchi, 1917, pp. 12-37.

⁷¹ P. Emiliani Giudici, *Storia delle belle lettere in Italia*, Firenze, Società Editrice Fiorentina, 1844; Id., *Storia della letteratura italiana*, Firenze, Le Monnier, 1855. Di quest'ultima versione si contano diverse riedizioni nella fase postunitaria.

⁷² Si veda al riguardo E. Sclari, *Paolo Emiliani-Giudici: la vita e le opere*, cit., pp. 78-111.

⁷³ Cfr. G. Santangelo, *Paolo Emiliani Giudici (1812-1872): nel centenario della nascita*, «Nuovi Quaderni del Meridione», vol. IX, n. 41, 1973, pp. 38-49.

⁷⁴ P. Emiliani Giudici, *Storia politica dei municipj italiani*, 2 voll., Firenze, Poligrafia Italiana, 1851-1855; e Id., *Storia del teatro in Italia*, Torino-Milano, Casa editrice italiana di M. Guigoni, 1860.

⁷⁵ Decreto 1° novembre 1859, n. 404 – *Nomina a professori nell'Accademia di Belle Arti di Ferdinando Ranaldi, già dispensato dal servizio per titolo politico*, Paolo Emiliani Giudici e Olivo Gabardi, in *Atti e documenti editi e inediti del Governo della Toscana dal 27 aprile in poi. Parte Seconda*, Firenze, Stamperia sopra le Logge del Grano, 1860, p. 332.

⁷⁶ Sul peculiare ruolo esercitato dal segretario nell'Accademia fiorentina del periodo postunitario si vedano i riferimenti contenuti in F. Petrucci, *Cronaca di una crisi: l'Accademia negli anni dell'unità d'Italia*, in C. Frulli, F. Petrucci (edd.), *L'Accademia delle Belle Arti di Firenze*

cattedre nell'Accademia varato il giorno prima (1° novembre 1859), era aperto alla frequenza anche di cultori delle arti esterni all'Accademia e avrebbe dovuto caratterizzarsi come uno strumento finalizzato «a erudire la mente ed a svegliare il genio» degli alunni, ovvero a farne degli «egregi artisti»⁷⁷. Nel regolamento interno dell'istituzione fiorentina introdotto in quello stesso periodo, erano altresì sinteticamente delineate la natura e le caratteristiche della nuova disciplina: «Il professore di Estetica – si affermava al riguardo – dà un corso di Storia dell'Arte e desume principj di estetica dallo esame delle opere dei grandi artisti»⁷⁸.

All'origine della decisione di attribuire a Emiliani-Giudici la cattedra di *Estetica* e di chiamarlo a ricoprire il delicato e impegnativo ufficio di segretario si poneva indubbiamente il grande lavoro da lui svolto fin dalla metà del 1859 in qualità di segretario della commissione incaricata dal governo provvisorio di riordinare l'Accademia di Belle Arti in vista dell'imminente annessione della Toscana al regno d'Italia⁷⁹. Tale commissione, presieduta da Gino Capponi, e della quale facevano parte anche Niccola Antinori, Emilio De Fabbris, Emilio Santerelli e Luigi Mussini, procedette, com'è noto, ad una vera e propria riforma dell'istituto, nell'ambito della quale allo studioso siciliano toccò il delicato e impegnativo compito di porre mano al riordinamento dell'organizzazione didattica e del piano di studi⁸⁰.

I recenti studi condotti da Cristina Frulli nell'archivio dell'Accademia fiorentina consentono di lumeggiare taluni fondamentali aspetti del magistero esercitato da Emiliani-Giudici nell'Accademia fiorentina, anche se, come sottolinea la studiosa, «la ricostruzione del suo insegnamento è al momento ipotetica, non restando documenti e scritti»⁸¹. Egli, comunque, sulla scia di altri

negli anni di Firenze capitale 1865-1870. Atti del convegno (Firenze 2015), Firenze, Edizioni dell'Assemblea, 2017, pp. 42-54.

⁷⁷ Decreto 2 novembre 1859, n. 410 – *Nuove cattedre nell'Accademia di Belle arti*, in *Atti e documenti editi e inediti del Governo della Toscana dal 27 aprile in poi. Parte Seconda*, cit., pp. 377-378.

⁷⁸ Si tratta del nuovo regolamento introdotto con il Decreto 6 gennaio 1860, n. 535 – *Riordinamento dell'Accademia di Belle Arti di Firenze*, in *Atti e documenti editi e inediti del Governo della Toscana dal 27 aprile in poi. Parte Seconda*, cit., p. 618. Se ne veda il testo in Archivio Storico dell'Accademia di Belle Arti di Firenze, fasc. 49 B, anno 1860, ins. 91, art. 43.

⁷⁹ Decreto 7 giugno 1859, n. 153 – *Istituzione di una Commissione per lo studio e la proposta di un riordinamento dell'Accademia di Belle Arti di Firenze*, in *Atti e documenti editi e inediti del Governo della Toscana dal 27 aprile in poi. Parte Seconda*, cit., pp. 81-82.

⁸⁰ Si veda al riguardo la lettera del presidente dell'Accademia di Belle Arti di Firenze Ferdinando Strozzi al ministro della Pubblica Istruzione Francesco De Sanctis, Firenze 21 ottobre 1861, in Archivio Storico dell'Accademia di Belle Arti di Firenze, fasc. 50 B, anno 1861, ins. 93.

⁸¹ Si vedano, in particolare, i due documentati contributi: C. Frulli, *Notizie su Paolo Emiliani Giudici, Camillo Jacopo Cavallucci e gli insegnamenti teorici nell'Accademia di Belle Arti di Firenze 1860-1890*, in C. Frulli, F. Petrucci (edd.), *L'Accademia delle Belle Arti di Firenze negli anni di Firenze capitale 1865-1870. Atti del convegno (Firenze 2015)*, cit., pp. 80-142; e Ead., *Gli insegnamenti storico-artistici di Paolo Emiliani Giudici e di Camillo Jacopo Cavallucci*

grandi studiosi e maestri della disciplina come Pietro Estense Selvatico, dovette dare un'impostazione più moderna e accattivante alle sue lezioni, abbandonando del tutto la matrice speculativa e metafisica tradizionale e privilegiando, al contrario, un approccio storico-artistico nutrito di confronti e riferimenti letterari e caratterizzato da una concezione dell'opera d'arte come espressione della cultura e della civiltà di un popolo. Un approccio quest'ultimo, come ha giustamente rilevato Frulli, caratteristico delle sue opere letterarie e che ritroviamo, ad esempio, nella già ricordata *Storia delle belle lettere in Italia* del 1844, nella quale l'autore dedica un notevole spazio alla storia delle belle arti nella penisola a partire dal Trecento e si sofferma «sulla pittura, da Cimabue Raffaello a Pietro da Cortona; paragona Tiziano all'Ariosto e, di contro alla fama di colorista, coglie il disegno severo delle sue opere»⁸².

Le lettere inviate in questo periodo da Emiliani-Giudici a familiari e colleghi confermano una volta di più l'efficacia e l'eccellente accoglienza suscitata dal suo magistero nell'Accademia fiorentina. Così, mentre da un lato, nel giugno del 1860, manifestava al fratello Giuseppe la propria soddisfazione per un insegnamento che riteneva «assai utile» e che non lo impegnava in modo eccessivo, essendo egli tenuto ad onorare l'impegno «di fare una sola lezione la settimana», il sabato mattina; dall'altro confessava all'amico Gregorio Ugdulella, professore di Letteratura greca nello Studio fiorentino, di essere «contentissimo nella Biblioteca» e di essersi «rimesso a studiare» per corrispondere in modo adeguato alle molteplici attese e alle elevate aspettative suscitate dal suo insegnamento tra gli studenti dell'Accademia: «Mi pare anzi di avere operato un miracolo introducendo i giovani artisti, nonostante il divieto degli'ignorantissimi vecchi, alle lezioni di Estetica, cattedra sui generis. Parmi di aver trovato il modo di far intendere loro le cose più astruse, e però mi ascoltano con un concentramento di spirito e una compiacenza, che è il maggior compenso ch'io possa aspettarmi»⁸³.

L'insegnamento di *Estetica* all'Accademia delle Belle Arti di Firenze da parte di Paolo Emiliani-Giudici, come si è già ricordato, era destinato a durare poco più di un triennio. Nel 1862, infatti, lo studioso sposava la gentildonna inglese Ann Alsanger e decideva di lasciare l'Italia e di stabilirsi in Inghilterra, a Silver Hill, pur mantenendo il suo domicilio legale a Firenze e continuando ad occuparsi delle vicende della penisola. Negli anni seguenti, anzi, e precisamente nel 1865, si presentò candidato alle elezioni politiche per la Camera dei deputati nel collegio di Serradifalco, in Sicilia, ma non venne eletto. Candida-

all'Accademia di Belle Arti di Firenze, «Ricerche di Storia dell'arte», n. 128, 2019, pp. 30-38 (la cit. riportata nel testo è a p. 31).

⁸² Frulli, *Gli insegnamenti storico-artistici di Paolo Emiliani Giudici e di Camillo Jacopo Cavallucci all'Accademia di Belle Arti di Firenze*, cit., p. 32.

⁸³ Entrambe le lettere sono riprodotte in appendice a Sclarici, *Paolo Emiliani-Giudici: la vita e le opere*, cit., rispettivamente alle pp. XLIV (n. 1) e CXLIII (n. 45).

tosì nuovamente nel marzo del 1867, riuscì finalmente ad ottenere la vittoria e ad entrare in Parlamento, dove sedette sui banchi della Sinistra. Morì in Inghilterra nel 1872⁸⁴.

A succedere nel dicembre del 1863 ad Emiliani-Giudici sulla cattedra di *Estetica* dell'Accademia fiorentina fu, come si è già ricordato, il patriota e poeta veronese Aleardo Aleardi (Verona, 1812 – ivi, 1878), il quale, dopo aver conseguito la laurea in Giurisprudenza a Padova, rientrato a Verona si era dedicato essenzialmente agli studi letterari e alla poesia. Tra i più attivi sostenitori della causa di Daniele Manin e dell'insurrezione di Venezia, nel 1848 era stato nominato incaricato d'affari del governo provvisorio veneto a Parigi. Nel 1852 era stato arrestato dagli austriaci e imprigionato a Mantova. Arrestato nuovamente nel 1859 e internato in Boemia, era rientrato in Italia alla fine della seconda guerra d'indipendenza e, alla vigilia dell'unificazione nazionale, si era stabilito a Brescia⁸⁵.

Eletto deputato nel 1862, dopo aver rifiutato, in quello stesso anno, l'offerta da parte del ministro Carlo Matteucci della cattedra di *Letteratura italiana* all'Accademia di Brera per «uno strano timore a parlare in pubblico e uno stanco sentimento di scoratezza, di sfiducia», Aleardi accolse, l'anno successivo, la proposta del nuovo titolare della Pubblica Istruzione Michele Amari di trasferirsi a Firenze per assumere l'incarico di professore di *Estetica* nell'Accademia di Belle Arti del capoluogo toscano⁸⁶.

Due anni più tardi, nel 1865, egli sarebbe stato nominato membro ordinario del Consiglio Superiore della Pubblica Istruzione, ufficio questo che lo avrebbe visto attivamente impegnato per circa un decennio, e infine, nel novembre del 1873, gli sarebbe giunta la nomina a senatore del regno per «i suoi meriti eminenti» e per i «servizi resi alla patria», la quale avrebbe suggellato l'impegno di un'intera esistenza divisa tra la tensione intellettuale e creativa in ambito letterario e artistico e la passione del patriota e del fedele servitore dello Stato⁸⁷.

A differenza di diversi altri professori di *Estetica e storia dell'arte* della prima generazione postunitaria, sull'insegnamento dei quali disponiamo sovente di scarse notizie e di una carente documentazione, delle lezioni di *Estetica* impartite nel capoluogo toscano dall'Aleardi per circa un decennio – preparate «con cura e non senza fatica», come ricorda uno dei suoi biografi⁸⁸ – possedia-

⁸⁴ Cfr. Paolo Emiliani giudici «un'anima lealmente italiana» nel secondo centenario della nascita. *Atti del convegno* (Mussomeli 2012), «Archivio Nissen. Rassegna di storia, lettere, arte e società», vol. VI, n. 10, 2012, pp. 5-201.

⁸⁵ Cfr. E. Caccia, Aleardi, Aleardo, in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, cit., 1960, Vol. 2, pp. 136-141.

⁸⁶ Cfr. C. Del Vivo, *Polemiche e successi di Aleardo Aleardi docente di Estetica*, in Frulli, Petrucci (edd.), *L'Accademia delle Belle Arti di Firenze negli anni di Firenze capitale 1865-1870. Atti del convegno* (Firenze 2015), cit., pp. 144-182.

⁸⁷ Si veda al riguardo F. Rosso, *La vita e i canti di Aleardo Aleardi*, Prato, Tipografia Editrice Succ. Vestri, 1896, pp. 47-69.

⁸⁸ Caccia, Aleardi, Aleardo, cit., p. 138.

mo buona parte dei manoscritti originali, assieme agli sparsi appunti redatti dallo studioso, alle schede di lettura delle opere consultate ai fini della preparazione dei corsi e ad altri materiali e note ad uso didattico.

Si tratta di una preziosa raccolta di documenti inediti, attualmente conservati presso la Biblioteca Civica di Verona⁸⁹, i quali sono stati fatti oggetto, alla metà degli anni Venti, di un organico e approfondito studio da parte dello storico dell'arte Aldo Foratti, concittadino dell'Alcorno, incaricato di *Storia dell'arte medievale e moderna* nell'Università di Pavia a partire dall'anno accademico 1921-1922 e divenuto in seguito, negli anni Trenta e Quaranta, insegnante di ruolo di *Storia e storia dell'arte* nel Liceo artistico di Firenze⁹⁰.

Proprio a tale studio riteniamo opportuno fare riferimento per lumeggiare l'impostazione, i contenuti e le caratteristiche di fondo del magistero esercitato dal patriota e poeta veronese⁹¹. Il quadro che esso fornisce non è tra i più brillanti, ma riflette adeguatamente, per certi versi, una modalità di declinare l'insegnamento storico-artistico nelle accademie da parte di quei docenti della prima generazione postunitaria cooptati in tale ruolo non in virtù dei propri studi e delle loro effettive competenze, ma per ragioni pressoché esclusivamente politiche. Sotto questo profilo, il caso Alcorno Alcorno è tutt'altro che unico e particolare: esso riflette, al contrario, una tendenza ed un costume che, come per altri casi già esaminati in precedenza – quelli del Mercantini e dello Scarsabelli a Bologna, ad esempio, o quello dell'Asioli a Modena, per citare i più eclatanti – erano destinati a connotare questa fase storica.

Dai manuali di estetica maggiormente in voga nella sua epoca e dalla più autorevole riflessione filosofica italiana ed europea sull'arte «il poeta veronese creato, di punto in bianco, professore nell'Accademia di Belle Arti di Firenze crede di non dover attingere molto»:

Le belle signore che accorrevano ad udirlo, e che applaudivano la melliflua declamazione, occupando le sedie, prima vuote di scolari e di pubblico, desideravano la melodia del periodo e non lo sforzo del raziocinio. L'Alcorno seppe e volle essere il precursore dell'odierno conferenziere; alla fama poetica e al suo patriottismo furono perdonate l'impreparazione filosofica e la scarsa sensibilità critica⁹².

Tra gli ultimi protagonisti della tendenza, ormai superata della lezione di estetica, che «ricercava il bello con criteri empirici e con un certo soggettivismo letterario», l'Alcorno

⁸⁹ La documentazione alla quale facciamo riferimento è conservata in Biblioteca Civica di Verona, Fondi manoscritti, Carteggi, *Alcorno Alcorno* (57 buste).

⁹⁰ Cfr. Foratti, Aldo, in *I professori dell'Università di Pavia (1859-1961)*, <<https://prosopografia.unipv.it/docenti/1335>> (ultimo accesso: 10.10.2025).

⁹¹ A. Foratti, *L'estetica e la critica d'arte di Alcorno Alcorno*, «Rivista Letteraria delle Tre Venezie», vol. I, n. 2, 1924, pp. 17-21.

⁹² *Ibid.*, pp. 16-17.

meno padrone [di altri] della lingua e molto meno felice nell'architettura varia del periodo e nella conoscenza degli accorgimenti oratorii, leggeva i suoi grandi fogli di carta a mano, vergati *currenti calamo*, con espressive civetterie e con superficiali mollezze, nelle righe monotone e raccogliitiche, che il vellutato dicitore flautava fra il consenso delle persone colte e gli applausi degli stranieri, contenti di sentire più che di capire il *melologo*⁹³.

Ma a rendere scarsamente utile ed efficace l'insegnamento teorico dell'Aleardi contribuì senz'altro la mediocre attenzione prestata nelle sue lezioni alla grande tradizione della filosofia dell'arte europea dell'epoca moderna:

L'Aleardi – scrive al riguardo Foratti – si propone di tralasciare i “riboboli herderiani, cantiani, hegeliani” per capire *perfettamente* l'estetica; ma qui viene spontanea la domanda, cui risponderà lo scarso sugo delle sconnesse *Lezioni*: s'è egli mai affacciato a' sistemi di que' pensatori, de' quali maltratta – con più spirito che senno – le supposte ridondanze? [...] Poveri *riboboli* aleardiani! Lo Herder riprovava i faciloni che osavano bandire canoni estetici; il Kant riconosceva la perfezione insensibile della bellezza, distinta dall'arte, che può tutto sul sentimento, ed è pari ad un prodotto naturale senza scopo e senza interesse; e lo Hegel definiva il bello l'apparire sensibile dell'idea, e l'arte un'emanazione dello spirito assoluto. Non sono queste “teorie nebbiose e vagabonde”, che si possano respingere senza chiedere “qualche viatico di principii” spesso incoerenti nell'espositore che divertiva la folla elegante⁹⁴.

Anche per quel che concerne le lezioni relative alla storia dell'arte antica e moderna, il magistero del poeta veronese non si distinse per rigore filologico, profondità e autorevolezza delle fonti utilizzate e coerenza interpretativa, facendo leva, al contrario, anche in questo caso, sulla dimensione declamatoria e sulle abilità retoriche, piuttosto che sul ricorso a quelli che erano i modelli storiografici in auge in quel periodo:

Il vasto campo della storia artistica – ha sottolineato in proposito Foratti – fu percorso dall'Aleardi, per lungo e per largo, in dieci anni accademici, le cui lezioni slegate cercano l'effetto, senza badare al contenuto, raccolto di qua e di là, da' soliti repertorii neoclassici. Per l'architettura non gli servì il modello di Amico Ricci, lodato a' suoi giorni e lodevole ancor oggi; per la scultura egli appiccica qualche trascurabile osservazioncella al Cicognara; e per la pittura, quantunque il suo grande comprovinciale G.B. Cavalcaselle adottasse già un metodo di studio che avvantaggiava risolutamente la critica, non si dilungò dal vecchio Lanzi e dal formalismo descrittivo delle opere; riuscì, dunque, stucchevole, e in parecchi argomenti. Un certo istinto pittoresco e la consuetudine con i pratici dell'arte gli consigliarono di esporre con più larghezza le vicende della pittura in Italia⁹⁵.

Nel novero dei patrioti e «poeti della Patria» che, all'indomani dell'unificazione nazionale, furono chiamati a tenere gli insegnamenti storico-artistici nelle Accademie della penisola si colloca anche l'ecclettica personalità del conte

⁹³ *Ibid.*, pp. 17-18.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 18.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 18-19. Ma si veda ora anche la lettura proposta da Del Vivo, *Polemiche e successi di Aleardo Aleardi docente di Estetica*, cit., pp. 144-182.

Pompeo Gherardi (Fano, 1832 – Urbino, 1877), storico, epigrafista, letterato e appassionato autore di componimenti poetici a tema patriottico, civile e artistico⁹⁶.

Considerato non a torto il «fondatore dell'Accademia stessa e restauratore del culto di Raffaello in Urbino»⁹⁷, il Gherardi era stato tra i principali promotori, all'indomani dell'annessione delle Marche al regno di Sardegna, dell'Istituto di Belle Arti di Urbino, istituito nel gennaio del 1861 con decreto del commissario generale straordinario delle Marche Lorenzo Valerio⁹⁸, suo amico personale ed estimatore⁹⁹, ed attivato a partire dall'a.a. 1863-64¹⁰⁰. Per i buoni uffici dello stesso Gherardi, nel gennaio del 1872 l'Istituto avrebbe assunto il titolo di «Regia Accademia di Belle Arti» e, l'anno seguente, sarebbe stato eretto a corpo morale¹⁰¹.

Chiamato, a partire dall'a.a. 1864-65, a ricoprire per oltre un decennio la cattedra di *Storia delle belle arti*, Gherardi avrebbe rivestito, tra il 1869 e il 1877, anche la presidenza dell'Accademia di Belle Arti di Urbino, impegnandosi in un'opera a vasto raggio tesa da un lato a rilanciare le belle arti e l'istruzione artistica e a fare di Urbino uno dei grandi poli culturali e artistici della regione, dall'altro a promuovere la conoscenza del «sommo Urbinate» e le ricerche e gli studi sull'arte rinascimentale¹⁰².

A questo scopo, all'instancabile attività esercitata in qualità di docente e, in seguito, anche di presidente dell'Accademia urbinata, Gherardi affiancò, a partire dall'aprile del 1869, quella di fondatore e primo direttore de «Il Raf-

⁹⁶ Si vedano al riguardo: *Poesie popolari del conte Pompeo Gherardi*, Ancona, Bastianelli, 1862; *I martiri d'Italia. Iscrizioni del conte Pompeo Gherardi*, Urbino, Rocchetti, 1865; *La storia d'Italia. Iscrizioni del conte Pompeo Gherardi*, Urbino, Tipografia del Metauro, 1869; *Dodici capolavori dell'arte italiana moderna. Sonetti*, Urbino, Rocchetti, 1873; *I grandi artisti d'Italia. Epigrafi*, Urbino, Rocchetti, 1874; *Guida di Urbino compilata da Pompeo Gherardi*, Urbino, Rocchetti, 1875.

⁹⁷ Cfr. E. Gherardi, *Della vita e degli scritti del Conte Cav. Pompeo Gherardi*, in *Guida di Urbino*, Urbino, Tipografia della Cappella, 1890, pp. IX-XXXII (la cit. riportata nel testo è a p. XVII).

⁹⁸ Decreto 6 gennaio 1861, n. 740 – *che fonda in Urbino un Istituto di Belle Arti per le Marche*, in *Raccolta ufficiale degli Atti del R. Commissario Generale Straordinario nelle Provincie delle Marche. Parte Terza dal n. 701 sino alla fine*, Ancona, presso Gustavo Sartorj Cherubini, 1860-61, pp. 52-56. Sull'istituzione dell'Accademia di Urbino si veda *Le Marche dal 15 settembre 1860 al 18 gennaio 1861. Relazione a Ministero dell'Interno del R. Commissario Generale Straordinario Lorenzo Valerio*, Milano, Editori del Politecnico, 1861, pp. 67-69.

⁹⁹ Cfr. Lorenzo Valerio, *Cenni biografici*, Urbino, Tipografia del Metauro, 1868, p. 6.

¹⁰⁰ Cfr. *Annuario della Istruzione pubblica del Regno d'Italia pel 1863-1864*, Brescia, Tipografia del Giornale La Sentinella Bresciana, 1864, p. 585.

¹⁰¹ R.D. 16 febbraio 1873, n. 1267 – *Erezione in Corpo Morale dell'Accademia Raffaello di Belle Lettere in Urbino*, in <<https://patrimonio.archivio.senato.it/inventario/archivio-centrale-debito-stato/raccolta-ufficiale-leggi-e-decreti>> (ultimo accesso: 20.05.2025)

¹⁰² Gherardi, *Della vita e degli scritti del Conte Cav. Pompeo Gherardi*, cit., pp. XVI-XXIX.

faello. Periodico che si occupa solamente di cose d'arte»¹⁰³, dalle colonne del quale si propose di diffondere la conoscenza del «divino Pittore urbinato» e di divulgare «gli studi d'arte» e «il culto del bello nelle contrade d'Italia».

Per quel che concerne, più in particolare, l'insegnamento storico-artistico da lui professato nell'Accademia delle Belle Arti di Urbino, d'indubbio interesse sono la prolusione al primo corso tenuto dal Gherardi nell'a.a. 1864-65, dalla quale si evincono l'impostazione tradizionale e il carattere essenzialmente erudito della «storia artistica» illustrata nel corso delle lezioni dallo studioso¹⁰⁴; e, in particolare, gli studi e le ricerche sulla figura e l'opera di Raffaello Sanzio, oggetto principale delle lezioni rivolte ai giovani allievi dell'Accademia urbinata, poi raccolti e dati alle stampe, un decennio più tardi, nel volume *Della vita e delle opere di Raffaello Sanzio da Urbino*¹⁰⁵.

Nel novembre del 1865, alla vigilia dell'annessione del Veneto al regno d'Italia (1866), il letterato ed erudito Antonio Dall'Acqua Giusti (Venezia, 1816 – *ivi*, 1896)¹⁰⁶ era chiamato a ricoprire la cattedra di *Storia dell'arte* nell'Accademia di Belle Arti di Venezia, istituita nei mesi precedenti dal governo austriaco¹⁰⁷. Essa, infatti, era stata introdotta con il nuovo *Statuto* approvato nello stesso 1865¹⁰⁸ in conformità con quanto deliberato, in quello stesso anno, per l'Accademia di Belle Arti di Vienna¹⁰⁹.

La cattedra di *Storia dell'arte* andava a sostituire quella di *Eстетica*, introdotta con lo *Statuto e Regolamento* del 1842 e profondamente rinnovata, nell'approccio e nei contenuti, da Pietro Selvatico, il quale, divenuto segretario dell'Accademia veneziana nel dicembre del 1849, ne aveva tenuto la titolarità fino al 1859. Questi, come ha efficacemente sottolineato Alexander Auf der Heyde, fin dalla primavera del 1848 aveva sottoposto all'allora ministro della Pubblica Istruzione del governo della Repubblica di San Marco, Niccolò

¹⁰³ A partire dal 1879 (anno XI), il periodico avrebbe mutato formato e periodicità e assunto come sottotitolo: «Rivista d'Arte ufficiale per gli Atti della Regia Accademia Raffaello».

¹⁰⁴ *Le arti in Italia. Discorso letto dal conte Pompeo Gherardi segretario e professore di storia nell'Istituto di Belle Arti delle Marche in Urbino l'11 gennaio 1864 giorno della solenne apertura*, Urbino, Rondini, 1864.

¹⁰⁵ *Della vita e delle opere di Raffaello Sanzio da Urbino*, Urbino, Rocchetti, 1874.

¹⁰⁶ Cfr. Dall'Acqua Giusti Antonio, in G. Garollo, *Dizionario biografico universale. Volume I. Aa (van der) – Haydn*, Milano, Hoepli, 1907, p. 522.

¹⁰⁷ Sulle origini dell'Accademia di Belle Arti di Venezia si vedano: A. Dall'Acqua Giusti, *L'Accademia di Belle Arti di Venezia. Relazione storica*, Venezia, Tip. del Commercio, 1873; e il più recente E. Bassi, *La R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Venezia*, Firenze, Le Monnier, 1941.

¹⁰⁸ *Riforma degli Statuti di questa I.R. accademia Veneta di Belle Arti... approvata da Sua Maestà I.R. Apostolica con Sovrana Risoluzione 10 gennaio 1865, comunicata dall'Eccelloso I.R. Ministero di Stato coll'ossequiato Dispaccio 23 detto mese, n. 425 e della I.R. Luogotenenza Lombardo-Veneta col riverito Decreto 10 febbraio 1865, n. 4336*, riedito in appendice a E. Bassi, *La R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Venezia*, cit., pp. 210-214.

¹⁰⁹ Cfr. C.A. Auf der Heyde, *Grammatica storica, storia della civiltà, educazione visiva: tre storie dell'arte nell'Accademia di Venezia nell'Ottocento*, «Ricerche di Storia dell'Arte», 2019, p. 24.

Tommaso, «un progetto di riforma dell'Accademia nel quale riprende[va] la proposta (già formulata nel 1842) di separare l'incarico di segretario dalla cattedra di Estetica, riservando alla figura del direttore di tenere, una volta a settimana lezioni di Estetica», nell'ambito delle quali si sarebbe dovuta svolgere «il più diffusamente possibile, una storia dell'arte specialmente italiana, comprovandola a mezzo dei monumenti che in appositi tipi disegnati od incisi, dovrebbero venir disposti nella sala durante la lezione».

La proposta di «abbandonare l'estetica speculativa a favore della sola storia dell'arte condotta su casi concreti e quindi svincolata dall'insegnamento di mitologia, simbolica ed allegoria», sarebbe stata rilanciata all'indomani della nomina di Pietro Selvatico a segretario (30 dicembre 1849) e poi anche a presidente dell'Accademia, a seguito della rinuncia del predecessore Francesco Galvagna (1851), e approvata dagli ambienti ministeriali austriaci, come testimoniano il riordinamento della scuola di *Estetica*¹¹⁰ e l'adozione quale manuale della disciplina della *Storia estetico-critica delle Arti del Disegno* (1852-1856) dello stesso Selvatico¹¹¹.

Dopo le dimissioni di quest'ultimo (1859), la commissione interna chiamata a dirigere l'Accademia di Belle Arti di Venezia, e rimasta in carica fino al 1866¹¹², aveva proposto di separare l'ufficio di segretario dell'istituzione da quello di titolare della «Iscuola di Estetica» e di mutare questa in «Iscuola di Storia dell'arte», decisione, quest'ultima, che, come s'è detto, era stata approvata dal governo austriaco e recepita nel nuovo *Statuto* varato proprio alla vigilia del passaggio dell'Accademia veneziana sotto il governo italiano¹¹³.

L'insegnamento di *Storia dell'arte* introdotto *ex novo* con lo *Statuto* del 1865 avrebbe dovuto caratterizzarsi per un'articolazione cronologica che dall'antichità si estendesse fino ai tempi presenti e riservare particolare attenzione ai «confronti e paralleli fra le varie persone, fra le varie scuole, e soprattutto fra le varie epoche, in modo che l'insegnamento non risulti una mera esposizione dei fatti, od un elenco dei nomi e di date, ma bensì una ragionata e filosofica esposizione di ciò che ebbe maggiore influenza sull'Arte e sugli artisti»¹¹⁴.

¹¹⁰ *Ibidem*, pp. 21-23. Ma si vedano anche i documentati contributi raccolti in C.A. Auf der Heyde, M. Visentin, F. Castellani (edd.), *Pietro selvatico e il rinnovamento delle arti nell'Italia dell'Ottocento. Atti del convegno di studi (Venezia, 22-23 ottobre 2013)*, Pisa, Edizioni della Normale, 2016.

¹¹¹ P. Selvatico, *Storia estetico-critica delle Arti del Disegno, ovvero l'Architettura, la Pittura, la Statuaria considerate nelle correlazioni fra loro e negli svolgimenti storici, estetici e tecnici. Lezioni dette nella I.R. Accademia di Belle Arti in Venezia*, Venezia, co' tipi di Pietro Naratovich, 1852-1856.

¹¹² Cfr. Bassi, *La Regia Accademia di Belle Arti di Venezia*, cit., pp. 93-95.

¹¹³ Dall'Acqua Giusti, *L'Accademia di Venezia. Relazione storica per l'Esposizione di Vienna del 1873*, cit., pp. 68-70.

¹¹⁴ *Riforma degli Statuti di questa I.R. accademia Veneta di Belle Arti... approvata da Sua Maestà I.R. Apostolica con Sovrana Risoluzione 10 gennaio 1865*, cit., p. 213.

Nel novembre del 1865, come si è già ricordato, Antonio Dall'Acqua Giusti era chiamato a ricoprire la cattedra di *Storia dell'arte* nell'Accademia delle Belle Arti di Venezia, ufficio, questo, che egli avrebbe conservato per quasi un trentennio, fino all'a.a. 1892-93. Nel momento in cui assumeva tale ufficio, lo studioso godeva già di una certa fama quale autore di testi letterari e per il teatro, nonché di opere erudite e di saggi di storia locale veneta¹¹⁵. Alla metà degli anni Cinquanta, ad esempio, aveva dato alle stampe un saggio, *La letteratura italiana nel corrente secolo* (1855)¹¹⁶, destinato ad incontrare discreti consensi negli ambienti culturali cittadini. Un certo successo aveva fatto registrare, alcuni anni più tardi, anche la raccolta di studi *La Repubblica di Venezia e la terraferma d'Italia. Frammenti storici e pensieri* (1864)¹¹⁷.

Significativa testimonianza dell'insegnamento storico-artistico professato da Dall'Acqua Giusti nell'Accademia veneziana sono le *prolusioni* relative ai primi due corsi da lui tenuti nella seconda metà degli anni Sessanta: la *Prima lezione di Storia dell'Arte detta il giorno 10 gennaio nell'I.R. Accademia Veneta di Belle Arti da Antonio Dall'Acqua Giusti Prof. di Storia dell'Arte* (1866); e la *Prima lezione di Storia dell'Arte per l'anno 1867-68 del Prof. Antonio Dall'Acqua Giusti* (1867)¹¹⁸, nelle quali lo studioso sottolineava con forza la vera e propria centralità del rapporto tra arte e civiltà:

Io credo, o giovani – egli affermava al riguardo –, all'avvenire dell'arte, perché credo all'avvenire della civiltà. Arte e civiltà non possono scompagnarsi. [...] L'arte risente le vicende della civiltà, ma non le risente di subito. Così nello scendere come nel salire. [...] Sia che seguiamo le tre divisioni consuete della storia, antica, mezzana, moderna, sia che consideriamo queste età come una sola grande epoca e sotto un solo punto di vista, le risultanze concorderanno con quelle che ci parve d'indurre dai tempi antistorici, e ne saranno la continuazione. Ognuno dà; ognuno riceve. Grecia è discepolo dell'oriente e dell'Egitto; Etruria e Grecia sono maestre di Roma; Roma di tutti. Roma trasmette indi all'oriente il suo stile basilicale, che si modifica, e poi comparisce in Europa con l'arco acuto: questo, spintosi a portentosi ardimenti nel settentrione, invade tutta l'Europa. In Italia peraltro sorge un altro stile che non si assomiglia ai precedenti, benché ne derivi. Quivi architettura, pittura, scultura preparano l'età artistica moderna. [...] Certo, se mai è dato all'uomo d'intravedere un qualche spiraglio di luce nel futuro, questa facoltà visiva gli viene dallo studio della storia. Il corso della civiltà è precursore infallibile di quello dell'arte¹¹⁹.

¹¹⁵ Più tardi raccolte in A. Dall'Acqua Giusti, *Alcuni scritti letterari e storici*, Venezia, Tipografia Antonelli, 1878, 5 voll.

¹¹⁶ *La letteratura italiana nel corrente secolo. Memoria di Antonio Dall'Acqua Giusti*, Venezia, s.e., 1855.

¹¹⁷ *La Repubblica di Venezia e la terraferma d'Italia. Frammenti storici e pensieri di Antonio Dall'Acqua Giusti*, Venezia 1864.

¹¹⁸ *Prima lezione di Storia dell'Arte detta il giorno 10 gennaio nell'I.R. Accademia Veneta di Belle Arti da Antonio Dall'Acqua Giusti Prof. di Storia dell'Arte*, Venezia, Tip. Antonelli Editrice, 1866; *Prima lezione di Storia dell'Arte per l'anno 1867-68 del Prof. Antonio Dall'Acqua Giusti*, Venezia, Tipografia del Commercio, 1867 [sul frontespizio porta la data 6 dicembre].

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 5 e 24-26.

Le documentate ricerche condotte su tale personalità di letterato ed erudito e sull'ambiente dell'Accademia di Belle Arti veneziana nel corso del XIX secolo dal già ricordato Alexander Auf der Heyde ci consentono di lumeggiare la personalità e l'operato di Dall'Acqua Giusti, nonché di cogliere le caratteristiche di fondo e la reale portata del suo magistero. «Leggendo la *Prima lezione di Storia dell'arte* che egli tiene davanti alla platea degli studenti nel gennaio 1866», ha sottolineato innanzi tutto lo studioso, «non si può non constatare un cambiamento di rotta» rispetto all'insegnamento storico-artistico professato precedentemente da Pietro Selvatico. E la ragione della sostanziale differenza tra i due risiede nel fatto che «Dall'Acqua non è uno storico dell'arte»: il tema di un'arte nazionale, da lui «affrontato nel testo giovanile su *La letteratura italiana del corrente secolo* (1855) con l'afflato tipico dell'idealismo romantico, rimane una preoccupazione costante che egli, a differenza di Selvatico, non trasformerà mai in militanza critica oppure “insegnamento esplicito”. Il suo giudizio critico rimane più cauto».

In altre parole, si manifesta nell'insegnamento di Dall'Acqua Giusti una sensibilità storica differente da quella del suo predecessore e la Storia dell'arte, pur strettamente connessa da Dall'Acqua Giusti alle vicende della civiltà, rimane essenzialmente «uno strumento di crescita culturale e morale per l'aspirante artista il quale, forte della consapevolezza storica del proprio agire, è in grado di comprendere e interpretare i bisogni del proprio tempo»¹²⁰.

Abbiamo lasciato per ultimo, in questa rapida rassegna della prima generazione di professori di *Estetica e storia dell'arte* nelle Accademie, Istituti e Scuole di Belle Arti dell'Italia postunitaria, il pittore, restauratore ed erudito Raffaele Bova (Napoli, 1831 – ivi, 1899), e ciò per un duplice ordine di ragioni: innanzi tutto perché – come nel caso di Antonio Dall'Acqua Giusti a Venezia – egli costituisce uno dei rarissimi casi di docenti delle accademie che erano stati titolari del medesimo insegnamento sotto i governi preunitari e che furono confermati, all'indomani dell'unificazione nazionale, nel loro ufficio; in secondo luogo, perché l'insegnamento storico-artistico da lui impartito nell'Istituto di Belle Arti di Napoli per oltre un trentennio, dal 1851 al 1883, segna una vera e propria svolta rispetto agli orientamenti e alle pratiche tradizionali, configurandosi a tutti gli effetti come uno dei più rigorosi e innovativi tra quelli offerti nello stesso periodo nelle accademie della penisola.

Per valutare appieno le origini e le caratteristiche di fondo di tale insegnamento è opportuno prendere le mosse dalle vicende che contrassegnarono l'Istituto di Belle Arti di Napoli all'indomani della decisione presa da Ferdinando II di Borbone, con il R.D. 2 maggio 1848, di costituire una commissione per la riforma del medesimo Istituto¹²¹. Tale commissione – della quale

¹²⁰ Auf der Heyde, *Grammatica storica, storia della civiltà, educazione visiva: tre storie dell'arte nell'Accademia di Venezia nell'Ottocento*, cit., pp. 24-25.

¹²¹ R.D. 2 maggio 1848, n. 133 – col quale viene istituita una Commissione straordinaria e

facevano parte letterati, filosofi e artisti del calibro di Francesco De Sanctis, Francesco Saverio Baldacchini, Luca Cagnazzi De Samuele, Scipione Volpicella, Camillo Minieri Riccio e Silvio Spaventa – era stata fortemente voluta dal ministro della Pubblica Istruzione del governo costituzionale presieduto da Carlo Troja, Paolo Emilio Imbriani¹²², il quale, molto critico nei riguardi della dirigenza dell'Istituto, da lui accusata di «inefficienza e favoritismi», considerava tra i più gravi difetti del vigente ordinamento dell'Istituto «la mancanza di Letteratura, Estetica e Storia dell'arte» tra gli insegnamenti impartiti, «con la conseguenza che i 'giovani ingegni [degli allievi] rimangono spesso privi affatto di ogni altra erudizione e cultura con gran detrimento delle loro facoltà intellettuali'»¹²³.

In realtà, come ha giustamente sottolineato Sandro Morachioli, la commissione Imbriani, «compromessa dal fallimento dei moti» e dalla svolta reazionaria impressa alla politica borbonica a partire dal 1849, non riuscì a portare a termine i suoi lavori e a dare corpo ad un'effettiva riforma dell'Istituto napoletano¹²⁴.

A rilanciare con forza la vera e propria centralità degli insegnamenti di carattere letterario, estetico e storico-artistico ai fini della formazione dei futuri artisti contribuì, in quello stesso periodo, il pittore Giuseppe Bonolis¹²⁵, fondatore di una delle più apprezzate scuole private di Belle arti del capoluogo campano, il quale, in un opuscolo dal titolo *D'un nuovo ordinamento intorno alle scuole di Belle Arti*, fatto pervenire alla Commissione per la riforma dell'Istituto di Belle Arti di Napoli nel 1848, si pronunciava nettamente a favore della creazione di un'apposita cattedra di *Estetica e storia dell'arte*, della quale poneva in luce gli indubbi vantaggi:

Ai nostri tempi – egli scriveva – non si può senza colpa gravissima trasandar lo studio degli antichi. [...] Non si lascino ingannare gli artisti dalle fole degli ignoranti che chiamano l'Estetica scienza vana e sottile. [...] L'Estetica giova ad arricchire la mente dell'ar-

temporanea per proporre riforme all'Istituto di belle arti, in *Collezione delle leggi, de' decreti e d'altri atti riguardante la Pubblica Istruzione promulgati nel già reame di Napoli dall'anno 1806 in poi. Volume II. Dal 1821 al 1848*, Napoli, Stamperia e Cartiere del Fibreno, 1862, pp. 445-446. Sui lavori della Commissione si veda *Della presente condizione del Real Istituto di belle arti. Rapporto fatto al Ministro della Istruzione pubblica dalla Commissione incaricata della riforma di esso Istituto e degli altri quattro stabilimenti di belle arti*, 22 ottobre 1848, in Archivio di Stato di Napoli, Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione 1848-1864, busta 485 II, fasc. 1.

¹²² Cfr. G. Brancaccio, *Imbriani, Paolo Emilio*, in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, cit., 2004, vol. 62, pp. 272-276.

¹²³ *Due rapporti al Re del Ministro dell'Istruzione Pubblica, decreto del 2 maggio 1848 e rescritto del 31 maggio 1848 pe' quali viene istituita una commissione per la riforma dell'Istituto di Belle Arti, del Pensionato di Belle Arti in Roma, della Scuola di Scenografia, della Scuola Elementare di disegno e del Laboratorio delle Pietre Dure*, Napoli, Nella Stamperia Reale, 1848, pp. 2-4.

¹²⁴ S. Morachioli, *I letterati in Accademia: storia e 'cultura dell'arte' nell'insegnamento dell'Accademia di Napoli (1802-1878)*, «Ricerche di Storia dell'Arte», n. 128, 2019, pp. 42-43.

¹²⁵ A.M. Carlevaris Luzietti, *Bonolis, Giuseppe*, in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, cit., 1971, vol. 12, pp. 296-297.

tista di ottimi precetti e delle notizie della Storia dell'arte, e segnatamente a fecondarne e snodarne l'ingegno¹²⁶.

E ancora:

Or che resta a fare domandiamo noi? [...] Con largo e profondo concetto concepire e abbracciar l'arte in tutti i tempi e in tutte le sue vicende; risuscitare negli animi il sentimento e l'idea della bellezza, senza di cui l'arte non può spiccare alto il volo, giovando di dell'Estetica; studiare attesamente, in che risegga la eccellenza della forma greca, e con precetti desunti da questo studio arricchir di novelli pregi l'arte nostra; studiar l'arte cristiana nella forma in tutte le sue vicende da' primi tempi a' moderni, e escogitar di quali precetti si giovassero i nostri padri nel colorire, nel disegno, nel comporre e consertare le figure, nell'effetto della luce; innamorar la mente de' giovani della vera bellezza, e fornirli di que' principi acconci e pratici, che fecondano il loro ingegno, educano l'animo all'eccellenza dell'arte¹²⁷.

Negli anni immediatamente seguenti, nell'Istituto di Belle Arti di Napoli si procedette ad un cauto e graduale rinnovamento dell'ordinamento didattico e della proposta formativa. Ai fini del nostro discorso è opportuno ricordare che, con il R.D. del 3 giugno 1851 Ferdinando II di Borbone nominava «il professore onorario con soldo D. Raffaele Bova come vice-segretario, con la futura al posto di segretario del Reale Istituto, addetto ad istruire gli alunni nella estetica delle arti, nella letteratura e nella storia artistica»¹²⁸. Tale incarico sarebbe stato confermato dallo stesso sovrano nel successivo R.D. del 22 luglio 1852, con il quale, «nel nominarsi il professore D. Raffaele Bova a segretario del Reale Istituto delle belle arti», mentre da un lato si dichiarava «abolito l'ufficio di vice-segretario», dall'altro si ribadiva che spettava allo stesso Bova oltre al compito d'impartire «le lezioni di storia, di mitologia, e della foggia di vestir le figure attribuite col precedente decreto organico al posto di segretario», anche quello di «ammaestrare gli allievi nella estetica e nella storia delle arti, non meno che nella letteratura»¹²⁹.

Il 22 febbraio 1852, «in una sala delle scuole di disegno destinata alle lezioni», di fronte ai suoi studenti e ad uno scelto uditorio composto «dal Direttore dell'Istituto, dal Presidente e Soci della R. Accademia di belle arti e dal Presidente generale della Società R. Borbonica [...] uniti a molte altre ragguardevoli

¹²⁶ *D'un nuovo ordinamento intorno alle scuole di Belle Arti. Discorso di Giuseppe Bonolis*, Napoli, Stabilimento Tipografico di Fr. Azzolino, 1849, pp. 7, 17-18 e 36.

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 43-47.

¹²⁸ R.D. 3 giugno 1851, n. 2206 – col quale il professore D. Raffaele Bova è nominato vice-segretario del reale Istituto di belle arti in Napoli, in *Collezione delle leggi e de' decreti reali del Regno delle Due Sicilie. Anno 1851. Semestre I. Da gennaio a tutto giugno*, Napoli, dalla Stamperia Reale, 1851, pp. 166-168.

¹²⁹ R.D. 22 luglio 1852, n. 3216 – col quale nel nominarsi il professore D. Raffaele Bova a segretario del reale Istituto di belle arti si abolisce l'ufficio di vice-segretario, in *Collezione delle leggi e de' decreti reali del Regno delle Due Sicilie. Anno 1852. Semestre II. Da luglio a dicembre*, Napoli, dalla Stamperia Reale, 1852, pp. 52-54.

persone», Raffaele Bova presentava la *Prolusione* al corso di *Istoria delle arti del disegno*¹³⁰ – questo era l'originario nome scelto per indicare la disciplina di cui egli era titolare¹³¹ –, inaugurando ufficialmente il suo magistero storico-artistico a Napoli.

In essa, dopo aver ricordato come fosse da ascrivere a precipuo merito della «Sovrana Munificenza» l'aver «aggiunto alle scuole di questo R. Istituto l'insegnamento di una novella facoltà, giovevole ai coltivatori di belle arti», le cui «mirabili finalità» erano «la conoscenza delle regole del bello» e l'indispensabile approfondimento «della storia delle arti dipendenti dal disegno», si soffermava ad illustrare impostazione, caratteristiche e contenuti del «novello insegnamento»:

Per ben estimare i pregi di questa istituzione – egli affermava – [...] giova ricordare che il fondamento dell'arte del disegno, a cui si congiungono tutte quelle insegnate in questo Istituto, consiste in una solida scienza, senza la quale è assai malagevole arrivare ad eccellenza in esse; perciocché non è da sperare poter produrre opera perfetta, ove il lavoro della mano non venga guidato dal lume della mente. Di che ne convincono la storia, le teoriche dei più chiari maestri, e la giornaliera esperienza; le quali ci mostrano che solo professata in siffatto modo l'arte si leva alto a dignità ed onore, e diviene capace a mettere in esercizio e sublimare le facoltà dell'anima, ad ornare la mente di utili verità, ed a nutrire il cuore di pure ed elette affezioni. Laonde [...] è importante esaminare gli elementi che le dettero vita e nutrimento nel suo progresso, non che conoscere le cagioni che la fecero talora cadere, e talora levare ad alto splendore: è utilissimo, infine considerare i prodigi del genio e del valore di quei sommi artisti, che nobilitarono l'uomo, ne perfezionarono il gusto, lo elevarono al di sopra dei bassi piaceri, e con la presenza del bello diedero alle sue facoltà un nobile avviamento. Le quali cose tutte costituiscono per l'appunto il subbietto dell'insegnamento, che ora a pro vostro, giovani ornatissimi, s'inaugura¹³².

Più in particolare, l'insegnamento di *Istoria delle arti del disegno* si sarebbe caratterizzato per il suo approccio rigorosamente storico, nella convinzione che solo il confronto con i principali e più rinomati artisti del passato e la conoscenza dei metodi e delle tecniche artistiche che ne avevano decretato la fortuna avrebbe realmente giovato ai giovani che s'incamminavano «sulla via delle arti belle»:

¹³⁰ *Prolusione delle Lezioni d'Istoria delle arti del disegno per Raffaele Bova, socio corrispondente della R. Accademia, professore e vice-segretario dell'Istituto R. di belle arti, Napoli, da' Tipi di Saverio Giordano, 1852.*

¹³¹ Istituita nel 1851, per deliberazione di Ferdinando II di Borbone, come cattedra di *Istoria delle arti del disegno*, la cattedra napoletana di Raffaele Bova sarebbe stata ridenominata, all'indomani dell'Unità, *Letteratura artistica* (cfr. *Annuario della Istruzione pubblica per l'anno scolastico 1861-62*, cit., p. 453); in seguito, a partire dall'a.a. 1873-1874, avrebbe assunto la titolazione di *Critica e storia d'arte* (cfr. *Annuario della Istruzione pubblica del Regno d'Italia pel 1873-74*, cit., p. 461).

¹³² *Prolusione delle Lezioni d'Istoria delle arti del disegno per Raffaele Bova*, cit., pp. 5-7.

Le lezioni, che verrò esponendovi – affermava ancora Bova –, verseranno innanzi a tutto sulla storia dell'arte. Questa, che è la parte più vasta, amena e giovevole della letteratura dell'arte, vuol esser riguardata come la più bella scuola per l'artista. Essa ci ammaestra di tutto ciò che all'arte dà vita ed incremento; e ci mostra le cagioni per cui talora travolge e decade. Da essa abbiamo le notizie dei più chiari artisti che nei vari rami dell'arte si renderanno illustri. In essa si apprendono i metodi usati dalle diverse scuole; e si conoscono gli stili che a ciascuna di esse appartengono. Si ha in ultimo, per la storia, la esposizione delle opere più ragguardevoli prodotte dall'arte in ogni età e da ogni nazione. Da questo studio raccoglierete ricca copia di ammaestramenti. Vedrete qual sia stato il cammino offerto agli uomini dalla stessa natura nell'inventare e far procedere l'arte, e nel formarsi un tipo di perfezione, a cui deve tendere chiunque intende a professarle. Vedrete per quanti studi salirono ad eccellenza i sommi artisti; e sul loro esempio sosterrrete con coraggio i travagli e le cure inevitabili per procacciarvi quella fama e quella gloria ch'essi si guadagnarono.

E ancora:

Conoscerete per quali vie i solenni maestri salirono all'ammirazione e benevolenza delle nazioni; e Voi sulle loro orme, raggiungendo la virtù e la vera ed incorrotta bellezza, acquisterete ugual valore e stima appo l'universale. Conoscerete i principi e le massime state cagione di quei risultamenti che nelle loro opere si ammirano; e stabilirete meglio i pratici procedimenti del vostro operare, acciocché con maggior sicurezza vi sia dato raggiungere il vero bello. Vedrete queste loro opere come schierate innanzi agli occhi vostri; ed apprenderete a studiarne i pregi, a paragonarle fra loro, a conoscerne le attinenze, ovvero le differenze che offrono; e quindi le saprete lodare con fondamento, studiare con giudizio, ed imitare con discernimento. Insomma, per una scelta ed ordinata disposizione di fatti e d'idee, sarete ammaestrati dalla esperienza dei secoli passati, e scoprirete vie non calcate, per le quali l'ingegno vostro slanciandosi, saprà procedere con bella originalità nel sentiero della perfezione¹³³.

Quanto al metodo che avrebbe utilizzato nelle sue lezioni, Bova mostrava di avere le idee chiare riguardo alle peculiari esigenze formative dei giovani aspiranti artisti dell'Istituto napoletano e alla necessità di voltare pagina sia rispetto alle tradizionali e ormai desuete forme e modalità che avevano assunto, in passato, gli insegnamenti di *Estetica* nella penisola, sia con riferimento ai più aggiornati, ma non meno parziali e riduttivi approcci di carattere erudito o ispirati da istanze di natura archeologica:

Nello esporvi intanto la storia dell'arte – concludeva Bova –, mi terrò lontano da erudite disquisizioni e da archeologiche controversie, onde sono sparse le opere di questo argomento: ma ridurrò in compendio tutto ciò che ho raccolto, e che ho spartito in tre sezioni. Nella prima vi mostrerò l'origine e le vicende dell'arte presso i diversi popoli. Nella seconda vi esporrò le vite degli artisti più ragguardevoli, i metodi da essi adoperati, ed i canoni professati dalle loro scuole. Nella terza ed ultima parte esaminerete le opere d'arte più considerevoli, e dal bello ch'esse offrono, apprenderete le regole estetiche più necessarie all'artista, sceverate da metafisica acutezza¹³⁴.

¹³³ *Ibid.*, pp. 22-23.

¹³⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 24-25.

E a tale approccio lo studioso napoletano si sarebbe mantenuto fedele fino alla fine del regno delle Due Sicilie e all'annessione di Napoli e del Meridione al nuovo Stato unitario. A questo riguardo, se si esaminano i contenuti dei corsi da lui tenuti in epoca borbonica, così come emergono dai verbali degli esami di *Storia dell'arte e mitologia*, il quadro che se ne ricava è quello di una sostanziale coerenza e continuità con le indicazioni e i proponimenti formulati nella *Prolusione* del 26 febbraio 1852¹³⁵.

Il nuovo *Statuto organico* dell'Istituto di Belle Arti di Napoli approvato con il D. Luog. 30 aprile 1861, n. 166, il quale procedeva al riordinamento del medesimo Istituto e alla sua collocazione tra le istituzioni di alta formazione artistica del neonato regno d'Italia, stabiliva tra le cattedre o «scuole» interne quella di *Letteratura artistica*, la quale, intrattenendo «gli alunni sulla Storia Critica e su' principii generali dell'arte. Le costumanze, le fogge dell'età e de' popoli diversi», avrebbe dovuto mirare a «fecondare la mente dei giovani artisti, ad innalzarla al concetto dell'arte, alle intime sue ragioni, al vero suo fine, il quale è storia ad un tempo e missione di civiltà»¹³⁶.

Sia pure con una titolazione differente rispetto a quella adottata in epoca borbonica, l'insegnamento storico-artistico – ora appellato *Letteratura artistica*¹³⁷ – era riproposto nel nuovo ordinamento dell'Istituto e definito, dal punto di vista dei contenuti e delle finalità, in modo non difforme rispetto a quello impartito fin dal 1852.

Nonostante il parere contrario dell'allora ministro della Pubblica Istruzione Francesco De Sanctis, che nel 1861 avrebbe voluto assegnare la cattedra di *Letteratura artistica* al neo direttore dell'Istituto di Belle Arti di Napoli, il letterato ed ex funzionario ministeriale borbonico Cesare Dalbono, da lui stesso posto al vertice dell'istituzione nel medesimo anno¹³⁸, Raffaele Bova fu riconfermato a pieno titolo nel suo ruolo docente. Egli, inoltre, in esecuzione del nuovo *Statuto organico* introdotto nell'aprile del 1861, che stabiliva la separazione delle funzioni, era sollevato dal gravoso ufficio di segretario e poteva quindi dedicarsi completamente agli studi e all'insegnamento.

Dal punto di vista dell'impostazione e dei contenuti, il magistero eserci-

¹³⁵ Tali verbali sono stati resi noti e utilizzati meritoriamente per la prima volta da Sandro Morachioli nel già citato lavoro *I letterati in Accademia: storia e 'cultura dell'arte' nell'insegnamento dell'Accademia di Napoli (1802-1878)*, del quale condividiamo però solo parzialmente l'interpretazione del ruolo esercitato da Raffaele Bova nell'Istituto napoletano.

¹³⁶ D. Luog. 30 aprile 1861, n. 166 – *Riforma dell'Istituto di Belle Arti in Napoli*, in *Atti governativi per le Provincie Napoletane raccolti dall'avv. Giuseppe D'Ettore*, 1861, 1° gennaio a 30 giugno, Napoli, Stamperia del Fibreno, 1862, pp. 489-498.

¹³⁷ Su tale titolazione, dal sapore antico e dal significato solo in parte riferibile ad un moderno insegnamento di carattere storico-artistico, si veda il classico lavoro di J. Schlosser Magnino, *La letteratura artistica*, Firenze, La Nuova Italia, 1977, pp. 604-606.

¹³⁸ Si veda al riguardo la lettera del ministro della Pubblica Istruzione Francesco De Sanctis al direttore dell'Istituto di Belle Arti di Napoli Cesare Dalbono datata 19 settembre 1861 (in Archivio Storico dell'Accademia di Belle Arti di Napoli, *Professori*, f. *Cesare Dalbono*).

tato nella stagione postunitaria dal Bova si pose, come si è già ricordato, in sostanziale continuità con quello della fase precedente. Lo testimoniano, fra l'altro tre *Prolusioni alle Lezioni di Letteratura Artistica* date alle stampe dallo studioso tra il 1867 e il 1869¹³⁹, nelle quali, oltre a ribadire nelle loro linee essenziali le caratteristiche dei corsi, i periodi storici affrontati e gli argomenti che sarebbero stati oggetto di approfondimento nel corso delle lezioni, Bova richiamava con forza le finalità del suo magistero, non mancando di sottolineare come la «scuola di Letteratura artistica» mirasse principalmente:

Ad ammaestrarvi in tutto ciò che serve a comprendere la storia delle arti dipendenti dal disegno; che stabilita, com'è al presente, [...] costituisce essa sola la più vasta, la più amena e la più giovevole parte dell'artistica coltura; onde va meritatamente riguardata da tutti gl'Istituti ed Accademie di arti, come la più convenevole scuola per l'artista. [...] Da essa abbiamo le notizie de' più chiari artisti, che nei varii rami dell'arte si rendettero illustri. In essa si apprendono i metodi usati dalle diverse scuole e si conoscono gli stili, che a ciascuna appartengono. Si ha, in ultimo, per essa, la esposizione delle opere più ragguardevoli prodotte dall'arte in ogni età e da ogni nazione. Da questo studio pertanto qual ricca copia di ammaestramenti non raccoglie il giovane studioso? Egli vede qual sia stato il cammino offerto agli uomini dalla stessa natura nell'inventare e far progredire le arti, e nel formarsi un tipo di perfezione, a cui deve tendere chiunque intende a professarle. [...] Ma a giovare di tutto ciò è d'uopo che lo studioso sia fornito di non ordinarie notizie sulla storia generale, e sappia de' popoli e dell'età diverse i costumi, le usanze e quelle istituzioni, che influiscono notabilmente sulle condizioni e sulle vicende delle belle arti¹⁴⁰.

Largamente partecipate dagli studenti¹⁴¹, le lezioni di *Letteratura artistica* tenute a Napoli da Raffaele Bova incontrarono un crescente successo, tanto da essere a più riprese lodate nelle relazioni presentate dal segretario Napoleone Altamura in occasione delle tornate accademiche annuali dell'Istituto¹⁴². E trova spiegazione, forse, proprio alla luce di tali apprezzabili risultati il fatto che, con il *Regolamento per le scuole di disegno elementare nell'Istituto di Belle Arti di Napoli*, approvato con il R.D. 1° agosto 1869, n. 5215, l'insegnamento di *Letteratura artistica* veniva esteso a «tutte le classi»¹⁴³. Ne dava

¹³⁹ *Prolusione alle lezioni di Letteratura artistica per l'anno 1867 letta dal professore Raffaele Bova nel R. Istituto di belle arti di Napoli*, Napoli, Tip. G. Nobile, 1867; *Prolusione alle lezioni di Letteratura artistica per l'anno 1868 letta dal professore Raffaele Bova nel R. Istituto di belle arti di Napoli*, Napoli, Tip. G. Nobile, 1868; e *Prolusione alle lezioni di Letteratura artistica per l'anno 1869 letta dal professore Raffaele Bova nel R. Istituto di belle arti di Napoli*, Napoli, Tip. G. Nobile, 1869.

¹⁴⁰ *Prolusione alle Lezioni di Letteratura Artistica per l'anno 1869 letta dal professore Raffaele Bova nel R. Istituto di Belle Arti in Napoli*, cit., pp. 8-10.

¹⁴¹ Cfr. *Regio Istituto di Belle Arti in Napoli. Concorsi e premiazioni dell'anno scolastico 1865-1866*, Napoli, Stabilimento Tipografico G. Nobile, 1866, pp. 14-15.

¹⁴² *Relazione del Segretario Napoleone Altamura*, in *Atti del R. Istituto di Belle Arti di Napoli. Anno 1870-71*, Napoli, Stabilimento Tipografico G. Nobile, 1871, pp. 4-6.

¹⁴³ Cfr. Morachioli, *I letterati in Accademia: storia e 'cultura dell'arte' nell'insegnamento dell'Accademia di Napoli (1802-1878)*, cit., p. 45. Ma si veda anche *Relazione sulle origini e*

notizia agli studenti lo stesso Bova nella già ricordata *Prolusione alle Lezioni di Letteratura Artistica per l'anno 1869*, laddove sottolineava:

E che [tale insegnamento] sia di sommo giovamento a chiunque si dedica alle belle arti il possesso di quelle conoscenze, che valgono ad ingrandire il suo ingegno, e renderlo capace di concepire con giustezza ed operare con sicurtà di metodo, niuno al certo vorrà fra voi menomamente dubitare. Ché ove fosse d'uopo vederlo chiaramente, basterà considerare quanta parte tiene l'intelletto e l'attività mentale dell'artista nelle sue produzioni. [...] Ma è certo per la storia, che quelle arti che hanno a scopo la bellezza, non si levano a perfezionamento, se non quando vengono professate da uomini culti e capaci d'indirizzarle al vero ufficio loro. [...] Per siffatte considerazioni d'indole, di progresso e di dignità dell'arte, nelle quali tutte cose predomina l'ingegno e la coltura dell'artista, il Consiglio de' Professori stimò che questa coltura, o Giovani, non fosse da voi trascurata. [...] È per questo che il Consiglio de' Professori ha decisamente voluto che tutti voi, o Giovani studiosi, foste tenuti a frequentare con assiduità la scuola di lettere applicate alle arti, e senza mostrare aver voi tratto profitto da essa, vi fosse impedito passare alle scuole superiori. Ed il R. Governo, nel convertire in legge il voto de' Professori, è concorso al medesimo fine¹⁴⁴.

Di lì a qualche anno, forte del consenso suscitato non solamente tra gli allievi che frequentavano i suoi corsi, ma anche in seno alla dirigenza dell'Istituto – sempre più convinta, come notava il segretario Altamura, che «la letteratura e particolarmente la storia dell'arte concorre[va] potentemente a formar l'artista»¹⁴⁵ –, Bova riusciva finalmente a fare adottare, per la sua cattedra, la già ricordata titolazione di *Critica e storia d'arte*, da lui ritenuta più coerente con le tematiche affrontate nei suoi corsi rispetto a quella tradizionale di *Letteratura artistica*¹⁴⁶.

Lo stesso programma dei suoi corsi registrava, a partire dalla fine degli anni Sessanta, un crescente ampliamento dei temi trattati e taluni importanti aggiornamenti, non ultimo, come ha ricordato ancora Morachioli, quello relativo all'introduzione, a partire dal 1878, dello studio delle «vicende della pittura italiana» più recente¹⁴⁷.

riforme diverse del R. Istituto di Belle Arti di Napoli, Napoli, Tipografia Italiana, 1872, pp. 11-12.

¹⁴⁴ *Prolusione alle Lezioni di Letteratura Artistica per l'anno 1869 letta dal professore Raffaele Bova nel R. Istituto di Belle Arti in Napoli*, cit., pp. 5-6 e 8.

¹⁴⁵ *Relazione del Segretario Napoleone Altamura*, in *Atti del R. Istituto di Belle Arti di Napoli. Anno 1870-71*, cit., pp. 7-8.

¹⁴⁶ Si veda *supra*, alla nota n. 131. In realtà, nel 1878, per ragioni che non siamo riusciti a chiarire, la cattedra tenuta da Bova mutava nuovamente titolazione. Cfr. D.M. 25 novembre 1878 – Bova Raffaele, già professore di critica e storia dell'arte, è nominato professore di letteratura e storia dell'arte, in BUMPI, vol. V, n. 1, gennaio 1879, p. 127.

¹⁴⁷ Morachioli, *I letterati in Accademia: storia e 'cultura dell'arte' nell'insegnamento dell'Accademia di Napoli (1802-1878)*, cit., p. 46.

2. Gli anni Settanta e Ottanta del secolo XIX: una nuova generazione di docenti di Storia dell'arte in un'epoca di transizione

La generazione di studiosi chiamati a ricoprire le cattedre di *Estetica e Storia dell'arte* nelle Accademie di Belle Arti della penisola tra i primi anni Settanta del secolo XIX e la fine del decennio successivo presenta caratteristiche e profili culturali solo in parte affini a quella precedente. Se anche in questa nuova fase, infatti, tra i titolari della disciplina è dato di ritrovare un discreto numero di letterati, poeti ed eruditi dalla formazione eclettica e dagli interessi molteplici, non sempre adeguatamente forniti di una specifica preparazione sul versante storico-artistico e di un'effettiva passione per l'insegnamento professato, non mancano tuttavia le figure di studiosi provvisti di solide competenze in materia, capaci con i loro studi e il loro magistero di far compiere un vero e proprio salto di qualità alla *Storia dell'arte* professata nelle Accademie e di prefigurare già in sommo grado quella figura altamente specialistica dello storico dell'arte con elevata qualificazione che si affermerà nella penisola soprattutto a partire dagli anni Novanta, in concomitanza con l'avvio dei primi corsi universitari di *Storia dell'arte* e con il delinearsi di percorsi formativi altamente specializzati e di una specifica tradizione di studi e di ricerca nel settore. Si tratta in genere di studiosi formati all'interno delle stesse Accademie di Belle Arti o che, comunque, hanno potuto affinare le loro conoscenze e competenze attraverso il contatto con artisti e con specialisti del ramo.

Alla schiera dei letterati, poeti e intellettuali eclettici appartiene indubbiamente Enrico Panzacchi (Orzano dell'Emilia, 1840 – Bologna, 1904), il quale nel 1872 era chiamato a ricoprire la cattedra di *Storia e critica d'arte* all'Accademia di Belle Arti di Bologna che avrebbe tenuto fino al 1895, allorché assunse la carica di direttore-presidente di tale istituzione e, contemporaneamente, fu nominato professore ordinario di *Estetica e storia dell'arte moderna* all'Università di Bologna. Dal 1891 al 1896, inoltre egli tenne anche l'incarico di direttore della Pinacoteca cittadina¹⁴⁸.

Laureatosi nel 1865 in Lettere all'Università di Pisa, ove ebbe come maestri Pasquale Villari e Alessandro D'Ancona, Panzacchi intraprese la carriera d'insegnante. nel 1866 fu nominato professore di *Storia* al Liceo Azuni di Sassari, l'anno successivo passò a insegnare *Filosofia* al Liceo Salvator Rosa di Potenza, per essere poi trasferito con lo stesso incarico pochi mesi più tardi al Liceo Galvani di Bologna¹⁴⁹.

Ottenuto nel 1872, come si è già ricordato, l'incarico di professore nell'Ac-

¹⁴⁸ A. Mercì, *Panzacchi, Enrico*, in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, cit., 2014, Vol. 81, in <[www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/enrico-panzacchi_\(Dizionario-Biografico\)/>](http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/enrico-panzacchi_(Dizionario-Biografico)/>) (ultimo accesso: 10.10.2025).

¹⁴⁹ Cfr. E. Lamma, *Enrico Panzacchi: 16 dicembre 1840-5 ottobre 1904. Ricordi e memorie*, Bologna, Zanichelli, 1905, pp. 42-65.

cademia di Belle Arti della sua città, egli «non sempre poté dedicarsi con la necessaria diligenza» all'insegnamento. Dal 1868, infatti, fu eletto più volte consigliere comunale a Bologna, e tra il 1868 e il 1872 tenne l'incarico di assessore all'Istruzione.

Eletto per la prima volta deputato nelle elezioni del 1882, con la costituzione del governo Saracco (1900-1901) fu nominato sottosegretario all'Istruzione¹⁵⁰. Tra i provvedimenti da lui stabiliti nell'ambito di tale ufficio merita di essere ricordata la circolare ministeriale con la quale, nel novembre del 1900, introdusse l'insegnamento della *Storia dell'arte* facoltativo e a titolo sperimentale nei Licei, affidandone la titolarità ai professori di *Lettere* e di *Storia*¹⁵¹.

La sua vasta produzione letteraria, ricca di opere in prosa e poesia, comprende un'ampia sezione di saggistica attinente alla letteratura, alla critica musicale e a quella artistica (si veda al riguardo la raccolta di scritti: *Nel campo dell'arte. Assaggi di critica*, Bologna 1897¹⁵²), della quale sono stati giustamente posti in luce i «toni amabilmente divulgativi»¹⁵³ e l'«elegante eclettismo»¹⁵⁴. Sul versante propriamente artistico, accanto all'ambigua e ironica etichetta di «buongustaio d'arte» attribuitagli da Benedetto Croce, merita di essere richiamato il giudizio formulato da Aldo Foratti sull'insegnamento impartito dal Panzacchi nell'Accademia di Belle Arti di Bologna, secondo il quale lo studioso emiliano, lungi dall'essere portatore, in campo estetico e storico-artistico, di una propria originale lettura e interpretazione, è stato, di fatto, l'ultimo rappresentante, in Italia, della «tendenza, ormai superata della lezione di estetica, che ricercava il bello con criteri empirici e con un certo soggettivismo letterario»¹⁵⁵.

Sulla stessa linea del Panzacchi si poneva Alberto Ròndani (Parma, 1846 – *ivi*, 1911), anch'egli letterato, poeta e intellettuale eclettico, chiamato a ricoprire la cattedra di *Letteratura e storia applicata alle belle arti* nell'Accademia di Parma dal 1877 al 1911. Ammesso giovanissimo tra gli allievi dell'Accademia di Belle Arti della sua città, mentre contemporaneamente frequentava le scuole classiche, conseguita la licenza liceale si iscrisse alla Facoltà di Lettere

¹⁵⁰ Cfr. R. Sani, *La Storia dell'Arte come disciplina scolastica. Dal primo Novecento al secondo dopoguerra*, Macerata, eum, 2022, pp. 16-17; e S.A. Meyer, *Cenerentola a scuola. Il dibattito sull'insegnamento della storia dell'arte nei licei (1900-1943)*, Macerata, eum, 2023, pp. 17-23 e 25-29.

¹⁵¹ C.M. 20 novembre 1900, n. 86 – *Insegnamento della storia delle belle arti*, «Bollettino Ufficiale del Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione», vol. II, n. 47, 22 novembre 1900, pp. 1981-1982.

¹⁵² E. Panzacchi, *Nel campo dell'arte. Assaggi di critica*, Bologna, Zanichelli, 1897.

¹⁵³ Cfr. B. Croce, *Enrico Panzacchi*, «La Critica», vol. IV, n. 1, 1906, pp. 7-12.

¹⁵⁴ Cfr. E. Sormani, *Eclettismo borghese e disponibilità di Enrico Panzacchi*, in *La letteratura italiana. Storia e testi VIII/2*, Roma-Bari, Laterza, 1975, pp. 556-562 (il giudizio riportato nel testo è a p. 557).

¹⁵⁵ A. Foratti, *L'estetica e la critica d'arte di Aleardo Aleardi*, «Rivista Letteraria delle Tre Venezie», vol. I, n. 2, 1924, p. 17.

dell'Università di Parma (1865), che sei mesi più tardi abbandonò per entrare nella Reale Accademia militare di Torino, in seguito abbandonata anch'essa di lì a poco per riprendere e completare gli studi letterari¹⁵⁶.

Laureatosi in Lettere all'Università di Padova nel 1869, nei mesi seguenti il Ròndani intraprese una vivace attività pubblicistica, dando alle stampe articoli di carattere letterario e cronache e recensioni su mostre d'arte. Divenuto nel settembre del 1871 insegnante di *Lettere* presso l'Istituto tecnico di Parma, avviò in questa stessa fase un'intensa collaborazione con talune prestigiose riviste di cultura e critica d'arte, come nel caso della fiorentina «La Nuova Antologia» e del periodico francese «L'Art»¹⁵⁷.

A partire dal 1877, come si è già ricordato, pur continuando ad insegnare nel locale Istituto tecnico, ottenne l'incarico di professore nell'Accademia di Belle Arti cittadina¹⁵⁸ e s'impegnò anche politicamente in difesa di tale istituzione, a più riprese minacciata di soppressione¹⁵⁹. Nei primi anni Ottanta gli venne offerta la cattedra di *Eloquenza* nella Regia Università di Parma, che egli rifiutò, preferendo dedicarsi alla poesia¹⁶⁰ e agli scritti di letteratura, estetica e critica letteraria¹⁶¹.

Anche Corrado Corradino (Torino, 1852 – ivi, 1923) e Andrea Frediani (Carrara, 1861 – ivi, 1920), chiamati, rispettivamente, il primo sulla cattedra di *Letteratura e storia applicata alle belle arti* nell'Accademia Albertina di Belle Arti di Torino dal 1888 al 1923, e il secondo su quella di *Storia, geografia, mitologia e storia dell'arte* nell'Accademia di Belle Arti di Carrara dal 1890 al 1920, possono essere ascritti a pieno titolo nel novero dei letterati, poeti e cultori di storia approdati all'insegnamento storico-artistico in accademia per ragioni meramente occasionali, il cui magistero era destinato a non lasciare una traccia significativa e duratura.

Poeta, critico letterario, storico e dirigente sportivo, il torinese Corrado Corradino aveva compiuto gli studi dapprima nel Collegio vescovile di Mondovì e poi nel Collegio Nazionale del capoluogo piemontese. Conclusi gli studi

¹⁵⁶ J. Bocchialini, *Alberto Rondani e il suo tempo*, Parma, Battei, 1922.

¹⁵⁷ Cfr. Ròndani Alberto, in E. Bonora (ed.), *Dizionario della letteratura italiana*, 2 voll., Milano, Rizzoli, 1977, Vol. II, pp. 606-614.

¹⁵⁸ Si veda il R.D. 30 dicembre 1877 – con il quale Ròndani Alberto è nominato professore di *Letteratura e storia applicata alle belle arti e bibliotecario nell'Istituto di Belle Arti di Parma*, «Bollettino Ufficiale del Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione», vol. IV, n. 2, febbraio 1878, p. 224.

¹⁵⁹ Si veda A. Boselli, *Commemorazione di Alberto Ròndani. Con appendice bibliografica dei suoi scritti*, Parma, Deputazione di Storia Patria, 1913, pp. 27-32.

¹⁶⁰ A. Ròndani, *Versi*, Parma, Tipografia G. Ferrari, 1871; Id., *Affetti e meditazioni: sonetti*, Parma, Tipografia di G. Ferrari e figli, 1875; Id., *Voci dell'Anima: nuovi sonetti*, Parma, L. Battei, 1883.

¹⁶¹ *Scritti d'Arte di Alberto Ròndani*, Parma, Tipografia di Pietro Grazioli, 1874; A. Rondani, *Saggi di critiche d'arte*, Firenze, Tipografia Editrice della Gazzetta d'Italia, 1880; Id., *La filosofia positiva e la critica dell'arte*, Parma, L. Battei, 1888; Id., *Per gli Istituti di Belle Arti*, Roma, Officina Poligrafica, 1907.

liceali, si era iscritto alla Facoltà di Medicina dell'Università di Torino, trasferendosi in seguito in quella di Lettere, nella quale nel novembre del 1876 aveva conseguito la laurea¹⁶². L'anno precedente, intanto, aveva cominciato a pubblicare i suoi componimenti poetici sulla rivista politico-letteraria cremonese «Il Preludio», diretta da Arcangelo Ghisleri¹⁶³. Nel 1878 vedeva la luce a Torino, per i tipi dell'editore Casanova, la raccolta di poesie *Primi Versi*, destinata a riscuotere un discreto successo¹⁶⁴.

A partire dalla fine degli anni Settanta, ottenuta la libera docenza in letteratura italiana e chiamato a ricoprire la cattedra di *Lingua e letteratura italiana* al Politecnico di Zurigo, Corradino si dedicò con particolare impegno alla critica letteraria¹⁶⁵ e alla manualistica storica di carattere scolastico¹⁶⁶. Successivamente, rientrato a Torino, passò ad insegnare prima materie letterarie al Liceo Gioberti e poi, dal 1888 come si è già accennato, *Letteratura e storia applicata alle belle arti* nell'Accademia Albertina di Belle Arti¹⁶⁷.

Quest'ultimo incarico d'insegnamento, che pure lo impegnerà per oltre un trentennio fino alla morte, rivestirà per lui un significato del tutto marginale, al punto che di esso non si fa neppure memoria nella maggior parte dei profili biografici dedicati allo studioso. Di gran lunga più rilevante, in realtà, fu l'attività svolta da Corradino in qualità di socio e dirigente sportivo del Foot-Ball Club Juventus, la squadra di calcio torinese fondata nel 1897, per la quale egli comporrà nel 1915 il primo inno ufficiale¹⁶⁸.

Alunno dell'Accademia di Belle Arti di Carrara, e poi professore di *Lettere e Storia* nella R. Scuola tecnica della stessa città, Andrea Frediani, come si è già ricordato, fu nominato al principio degli anni Novanta segretario della stessa Accademia e titolare, al suo interno, dell'insegnamento storico-artisti-

¹⁶² M. Vigilante, *Corrado, Corradino*, in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, cit., 1983, Vol. 29, pp. 410-412.

¹⁶³ Cfr. D. Lanza, *Corrado Corradino*, Torino, Tipografia Fedetto, 1937, pp. 23-24.

¹⁶⁴ Cfr. C. Corradino, *Primi versi*, Torino, F. Casanova, 1878. Sull'opera poetica del Corradino si veda A.M. Regis, *Un poeta modernista: Corrado Corradino*, Roma, Tipografia dell'Unione editrice, 1910.

¹⁶⁵ Cfr. C. Corradino, *Poeti contemporanei: Prati, Aleardi, Carducci, Praga, Giacosa*, Torino, F. Casanova, 1879; Id., *Il secentismo e l'Adone del cavaliere Marino. Considerazioni critiche*, Torino, F. Casanova, 1880; Id., *I canti dei goliardi o studenti vaganti nel Medioevo. Versione poetica e studio storico*, Torino, Roux, 1892; Id., *Dell'arte dello scrivere*, 2 voll., Torino, F. Casanova, 1897-1898.

¹⁶⁶ Si vedano, ad esempio, C. Corradino, *Storia d'Italia dei tempi moderni (1495-1870)*, Torino, F. Casanova, 1881; Id., *Storia d'Italia del Medio evo (476-1492)*, Torino, F. Casanova, 1885; Id., *La storia d'Italia per via di racconti e biografie, per le scuole secondarie conforme ai programmi governativi*, 4 voll., Torino, F. Casanova, 1899-1901.

¹⁶⁷ Corradino Corrado, in *Letterati e giornalisti italiani contemporanei. Dizionario bibliografico*, Seconda edizione rifatta e ampliata, Napoli, T. Rovito Editore, 1922, p. 112; e il più recente M. Tomiato, *Corrado Corradino*, in P. Dragone, *Pittori dell'Ottocento in Piemonte, 1895-1920*, Torino, Unicredit, 2004, p. 325.

¹⁶⁸ Vigilante, *Corrado, Corradino*, cit., pp. 411-412.

co¹⁶⁹. In realtà, eccezion fatta per alcuni discorsi commemorativi, tenuti in qualità di segretario in occasione delle periodiche adunanze dell'istituzione carrarese, non risulta che il Frediani abbia mai trattato nelle sue ricerche e nei suoi studi temi e questioni attinenti alla storia artistica¹⁷⁰. Appassionato cultore di letteratura e di storia patria, egli diede alle stampe, nel 1889, un'ampia raccolta di *Studi di storia politica e letteraria*¹⁷¹, la quale gli assicurò una certa notorietà in ambito locale¹⁷².

Del tutto differenti, rispetto a quelli sin qui richiamati, risultano essere la personalità e l'operato di Vincenzo Pitini Piraino (Palermo, 1853 – *ivi*, 1925), professore di *Letteratura e storia dell'arte* nell'Istituto di Belle Arti di Palermo per oltre un trentennio, dal 1888 al 1921¹⁷³. Letterato, erudito e, al contempo, appassionato cultore di estetica, la produzione artistica di Pitini Piraino ci restituisce, come ha efficacemente sottolineato Marafon Pecoraro, «una figura eclettica, autore, non a caso, di scritti sia di Letteratura italiana sia di Storia dell'arte»¹⁷⁴.

Dopo essersi lasciato alle spalle una serie di giovanili studi eruditi, infatti, egli s'impegnava in raffinate ricerche di storia letteraria, poi confluite nelle monografie su *Vittorio Alfieri e la civiltà latina* (1875), *Ugo Foscolo e le sue lezioni di eloquenza* (1877), *Vincenzo Monti. Studio critico* (1880), *La lirica italiana nel secolo XV* (1886) e in altri importanti lavori¹⁷⁵, per approdare infine, in età matura, agli studi sull'estetica e sulla critica artistica – in particolare *L'Umanesimo nell'arte italiana del secolo XV* (1896) e *Il classicismo nell'arte italiana al principio del secolo XIX* (1898)¹⁷⁶ –, nei quali egli si rivela uno

¹⁶⁹ Cfr. *Annuario ufficiale del Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione 1892*, Roma, Stabilimento di E. Sinimberghi, 1892, p. 266.

¹⁷⁰ Cfr. A. Scarzella, A. Bizzarri, *La R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Apuania Carrara*, Firenze, Le Monnier, 1941, pp. 44-45.

¹⁷¹ A. Frediani, *Studi di storia politica e letteraria*, Carrara, Tipografia Sanguinetti, 1889.

¹⁷² Si veda al riguardo la brillante recensione al saggio *Studi di storia politica e letteraria* del Frediani apparsa sulle colonne della popolare «Rivista Illustrata Settimanale», vol. XIV, n. 36, 1889, p. 6.

¹⁷³ F. Meli, *La Regia Accademia di Belle Arti di Palermo*, Firenze, Le Monnier, 1941, p. 132.

¹⁷⁴ M. Marafon Pecoraro, *L'insegnamento della Storia dell'arte nell'Accademia di Belle Arti di Palermo dalla sua fondazione al secondo conflitto mondiale (1886-1941)*, «Ricerche di Storia dell'Arte», n. 128, 2019, p. 50.

¹⁷⁵ V. Pitini Piraino, *Vittorio Alfieri e la civiltà latina*, Palermo, Tipografia Barcellona, 1875; Id., *Ugo Foscolo e le sue lezioni di eloquenza. Studio critico*, Palermo, Tipografia Barcellona, 1877; Id., *Vincenzo Monti. Studio critico*, Roma, Tipografia del Progresso, 1880; Id., *La lirica italiana nel secolo XV*, Palermo, Tipografia F.lli Vena, 1886.

¹⁷⁶ V. Pitini Piraino, *L'Umanesimo nell'arte italiana del secolo XV*, Palermo, Tipografia F.lli Vena, 1896; e Id., *Il classicismo nell'arte italiana al principio del secolo XIX*, Palermo, Tipografia F.lli Vena, 1898.

«strenuo difensore dell'estetica neoclassica, nonostante che questa corrente artistica fosse ormai in procinto di tramontare definitivamente»¹⁷⁷.

Con la sua cultura eclettica, che però si rivela tutt'altro che estranea o indifferente alle questioni di estetica e alle problematiche artistiche, lo studioso e docente palermitano sembra rappresentare una sorta di *trait d'union* tra la realtà dei letterati, poeti ed eruditi "prestati" all'insegnamento della *Storia dell'arte* nelle Accademie dell'Italia unita e i veri e propri cultori e specialisti dei saperi storico-artistici che proprio in questa fase, come si dirà in seguito, si avviano in numero significativo a conquistare le cattedre della disciplina.

A conferma di un tale stato di cose, vale la pena di soffermarsi sullo stesso magistero esercitato da Pitini Piraino nell'Istituto di Belle Arti di Palermo, quale risulta dalla prolusione al corso di *Letteratura e storia dell'arte* da lui tenuto nell'anno accademico 1886-1887, dal titolo *Della dignità dell'arte nova d'Italia*¹⁷⁸. In essa lo studioso, lungi dal dare spazio alla vera e propria rievocazione storica, si soffermava pressoché esclusivamente ad illustrare le diverse teorie e concezioni estetiche e le finalità dell'arte, riproponendo, nella sostanza, un approccio alla disciplina di stampo essenzialmente filosofico e dal carattere decisamente tradizionale:

Più volte – egli affermava rivolgendosi ai suoi alunni – avete sentito parlare dei fini dell'arte: c'è chi li ha considerati in rapporto alla morale: c'è chi li ha elevato sino ad un concetto educativo della umanità. Più volte avete sentito a parlare di varie scuole: idealista, realista, verista, e che so io, e vi si sono dette teorie e leggi. Sono forme oziose del razionamento. L'arte è morale, è educativa, è bella per sua natura. Proporre un fine vale lo stesso che non concepirla come un'assoluta necessità del nostro spirito; le teorie e le leggi sono sorte solo a negare la più cosciente libertà dell'uomo. S'è pensata una umanità pericolante nei vizi, e nulla potendo la scienza pel rigorismo del linguaggio e delle formule, ci s'è rivolti all'arte con i suoi vezzi, con le sue grazie per questa salvezza del mondo: a quest'egro fanciullo, che è l'uomo, aspergiamo di soavi licori gli orli del vaso in cui stanno i succhi amari della medicina¹⁷⁹.

Tra i docenti della seconda generazione provvisti di solide competenze in ambito storico-artistico e capaci, con i loro studi e il loro magistero, di far compiere un vero e proprio salto di qualità alla *Storia dell'arte* professata nelle Accademie occorre innanzi tutto annoverare Camillo Jacopo Cavallucci (S. Leolino in Val d'Ambra, Firenze, 1827 – Firenze, 1906), il quale succedette nel 1874 ad Aleardo Aleardi sulla cattedra di *Estetica*, ora ridenominata di

¹⁷⁷ Marafon Pecoraro, *L'insegnamento della Storia dell'arte nell'Accademia di Belle Arti di Palermo dalla sua fondazione al secondo conflitto mondiale (1886-1941)*, cit., p. 51.

¹⁷⁸ V. Pitini Piraino, *Della dignità dell'arte nova d'Italia. Prolusione al Corso di letteratura e storia dell'arte*, Palermo, Tip. Fratelli Vena, 1886.

¹⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 14.

*Letteratura e storia applicata alle belle arti*¹⁸⁰, dell'Accademia di Firenze, della quale avrebbe conservato la titolarità fino al 1906¹⁸¹.

Storico, filologo ed erudito, Cavallucci manifestò fin da giovanissimo un'autentica passione per lo studio dell'arte, in particolare per quella toscana del Rinascimento, alla quale dedicò ampie ricerche e studi eruditi. Basterebbe qui far cenno, fra gli altri, ai saggi *La Madonna di Vallombrosa di Raffaello da Urbino* (1870), *S. Maria del Fiore. Storia documentata dall'origine fino ai nostri giorni* (1881), *Les Della Robbia. Leur vie et leur oeuvre d'après des documents inédits* (1884) e *Vita ed opere di Donatello* (1886).

E che gli studi e le ricerche dello storico dell'arte toscano si distinguessero, anche agli occhi dei contemporanei, per il rigore filologico ed il vero e proprio respiro internazionale, risulta attestato da più parti. Significativo, al riguardo, è il giudizio formulato da uno specialista del calibro di Peleo Bacci, ispettore alle Gallerie fiorentine (1907) e poi reggente della Soprintendenza ai monumenti di Pisa (1910), dal 1923 al 1941 soprintendente ai monumenti, gallerie e scavi archeologici a Siena, secondo il quale «L'aggiornamento sugli studi specialistici internazionali andava in lui di pari passo con le ricerche d'archivio che forniva ai più importanti storici dell'arte»¹⁸².

Collaboratore del quotidiano «La Nazione» di Firenze con lo pseudonimo *Pier d'Ambra*, a partire dalla metà degli anni Cinquanta Cavallucci diresse il «Bulettno delle arti del disegno», fondato nel dicembre del 1853 nel capoluogo toscano da Giovanni Boschi¹⁸³.

Legato fin dai primi anni Sessanta al Cavalcaselle da un solido rapporto di amicizia e di collaborazione scientifica, lo studioso toscano esercitò un ruolo di primo piano nelle vicende postunitarie dell'Accademia di Belle Arti di Firenze, dapprima in qualità di ispettore delle Scuole e poi, come si è già ricordato, nelle vesti di docente di discipline storico-artistiche. A lui si debbono, in particolare, due contributi particolarmente significativi ai fini dell'approfondimento della storia dell'istituzione fiorentina. Intendiamo riferirci alle *Notizie storiche intorno alla R. Accademia delle arti del disegno in Firenze* (1873), e

¹⁸⁰ Cfr. *Annuario della Istruzione pubblica del Regno d'Italia per 1874-75*, Roma, Regia Tipografia, 1875, p. 458.

¹⁸¹ Sull'operato di Cavallucci quale docente di Storia dell'arte nell'Accademia di Belle Arti di Firenze si vedano ora i pregevoli contributi di C. Frulli, *Notizie su Paolo Emiliani Giudici, Camillo Jacopo Cavallucci e gli insegnamenti teorici nell'Accademia di Belle Arti di Firenze 1860-1890*, in *L'Accademia di Belle Arti di Firenze negli anni di Firenze capitale. Atti del convegno* (Firenze 2015), cit., pp. 81-143; e Ead., *Gli insegnamenti storico-artistici di Paolo Emiliani Giudici e di Camillo Jacopo Cavallucci all'Accademia di Belle Arti di Firenze*, cit., pp. 30-38.

¹⁸² P. Bacci, C.J. Cavallucci, «Atti del Collegio degli Accademici della Accademia di Belle Arti di Firenze», 1906, p. 7.

¹⁸³ Fondato nel 1853 a Firenze da Giovanni Boschi, il settimanale «Bulettno delle arti del disegno», a partire dal 1855 mutò parzialmente il titolo, divenendo, sotto la direzione di Atto Vannucci, la «Rivista di Firenze e Bulettno delle arti del disegno. Pubblicazione mensile di scienze, Lettere ed Arti», la quale continuò ad uscire fino al 1859.

alla *Notizia storica intorno alle gallerie di quadri antichi e moderni della R. Accademia delle arti del disegno in Firenze* (1873)¹⁸⁴.

Per quel che concerne l'insegnamento di *Letteratura e storia applicata alle belle arti* da lui impartito in Accademia, Cristina Frulli ha giustamente ricordato che «non si hanno documenti su come egli preparasse le lezioni, né su come svolgesse la didattica». La stessa studiosa, tuttavia, ha riportato la suggestiva testimonianza di un alunno entrato nell'Accademia di Belle Arti di Firenze nel 1874, Alfredo Melani, secondo il quale il «rigore di studioso corrispondeva anche al piano della didattica»¹⁸⁵.

In effetti, se si guarda ai due importanti manuali redatti dallo studioso toscano, ovvero il *Manuale di storia della scultura*, dato alle stampe nel 1884, e il *Manuale di storia dell'arte italiana* (1895-1898) in 4 voll., pubblicato tra il 1895 e il '98, e poi nuovamente riedito tra il 1905 e il 1907, emergono spunti di notevole interesse non soltanto per quel che concerne il metodo e i contenuti proposti da Cavallucci in ambito didattico, ma anche in ordine agli autori e agli indirizzi di fondo della storiografia artistica italiana ed europea dalla quale lo studioso toscano traeva principalmente ispirazione.

Nel caso del *Manuale di storia della Scultura*, incentrato sull'evoluzione di tale disciplina dall'epoca degli egizi fino all'età contemporanea, esso comprendeva, come precisava lo stesso autore nell'*introduzione*, «parte delle cose esposte nei Corsi delle lezioni da me date» in Accademia ed era rivolto agli «studenti negli Istituti di Belle Arti e nei Licei», nonché a tutti coloro che la scultura «amano di conoscerla e di saperne quanto occorre per parlare con nozioni esatte e convincimenti propri».

L'opera traeva ispirazione diretta dal celebre *Manuale della storia dell'arte* di Franz Theodor Kugler, ampliato da Burkhardt, nell'edizione italiana del 1852, sebbene Cavallucci fosse consapevole dei limiti del suo compendio rispetto al testo del Kugler, in quanto caratterizzato da un «procedimento [...] monco», perché del tutto carente «[del]le attinenze fra scultura e pittura e [del]le deduzioni per via di comparazione»¹⁸⁶.

Proprio allo scopo di fornire attraverso la sua opera un quadro organico e completo dell'evoluzione delle arti nelle varie epoche storiche, lo studioso toscano diede in seguito alle stampe il più complesso e articolato *Manuale di storia dell'arte italiana* in quattro volumi, il quale, diviso per periodi (arte antica, arte medioevale, risorgimento in Italia e arte moderna) e con sezioni destinate a fornire puntuali riferimenti all'arte europea, era destinato a costituire

¹⁸⁴ C.J. Cavallucci, *Notizie storiche intorno alla R. Accademia delle arti del disegno in Firenze*, Firenze, Tipografia del Vocabolario, 1873; e Id., *Notizia storica intorno alle gallerie di quadri antichi e moderni della R. Accademia delle arti del disegno in Firenze*, Firenze, Tipografia del Vocabolario, 1873.

¹⁸⁵ Frulli, *Gli insegnamenti storico-artistici di Paolo Emiliani Giudici e di Camillo Jacopo Cavallucci all'Accademia di Belle Arti di Firenze*, cit., p. 38.

¹⁸⁶ C.J. Cavallucci, *Manuale di Storia della Scultura*, Torino, Loescher, 1884, pp. V-VI.

un ampio affresco della vita artistica dai tempi antichi fino alla contemporaneità, i cui rimandi bibliografici, come ha efficacemente sottolineato ancora Frulli, erano «gli scritti di Vasari, il *Cicerone* (1855) di Burkhardt, i volumi di Cavalcaselle e di Crowe, gli studi di Müntz, la *Storia estetico-critica delle arti del disegno* (1852) di Selvatico, *Il Rinascimento in Italia* (1879) di John Addington Symonds e i contributi di Charles Perkins sulla scultura toscana»¹⁸⁷.

Lo straordinario impegno e la qualità dei risultati raggiunti da Camillo Jacopo Cavallucci tanto sul piano della ricerca storico-artistica, quanto su quello dell'insegnamento della disciplina nell'Accademia di Belle Arti di Firenze sono molto probabilmente all'origine del positivo giudizio formulato nei suoi riguardi da Adolfo Venturi, secondo il quale lo storico dell'arte toscano operò con estremo rigore, rifuggendo da declamazioni e da vane pose retoriche, preferendo impegnarsi per la crescita e il rinnovamento della ricerca e della didattica del settore: egli, sottolineava lo studioso modenese, «studiò, lavorò, preparò la rigenerazione degli studi di storia artistica»¹⁸⁸.

Compiuti entrambi gli studi in un'Accademia di Belle Arti – il primo in quella di Brera e il secondo a Venezia – e provvisti anch'essi, al pari di Cavallucci, di solide competenze sul versante storico-artistico, Giuseppe Mongeri (Milano, 1812 – ivi, 1888) e Luigi Archinti (Milano, 1825 – ivi, 1902) sarebbero subentrati ad Antonio Caimi sulla cattedra di *Storia dell'Arte* della stessa istituzione milanese, il primo dal 1879 al 1888, e il secondo dal 1888 al 1901.

Pittore e appassionato cultore di memorie artistiche locali, tra il 1855 e il '59 Mongeri aveva ricoperto l'incarico di presidente facente funzioni, segretario e professore di *Estetica* nell'Accademia delle Belle Arti di Brera, nonché quelle di conservatore della locale Pinacoteca e di componente della commissione austriaca per i monumenti (1856)¹⁸⁹.

Collaboratore attivo di periodici culturali prestigiosi, quali la «Rivista Europea», «Il Crepuscolo», la «Nuova Antologia», «La Perseveranza» e l'«Archivio Storico Lombardo», lo studioso diede alle stampe, in questi anni, una serie di saggi e articoli di notevole spessore critico sui monumenti milanesi e lombardi e attorno alla pittura italiana dei secoli passati, i quali contribuirono ad accrescere la sua notorietà e la sua autorevolezza di specialista in campo storico-artistico in ambito locale e nazionale¹⁹⁰.

¹⁸⁷ Frulli, *Gli insegnamenti storico-artistici di Paolo Emiliani Giudici e di Camillo Jacopo Cavallucci all'Accademia di Belle Arti di Firenze*, cit., p. 34.

¹⁸⁸ I. Folli, *In memoria del prof. C.J. Cavallucci*, «La Nazione», 3 maggio 1913.

¹⁸⁹ Sulla biografia e l'operato di Giuseppe Mongeri si vedano i documentati lavori di F. Valli, *Storia dell'arte in Accademia, prima della riforma*, in G. Pozzi, G. Bindi (edd.), *L'accademia oltre l'accademia. Atti del convegno Formazione, conservazione e comunicazione dell'arte. Firenze, Accademia di Belle Arti, 14-16 marzo 2007*, Firenze, Regione Toscana – Accademia di Belle Arti, 2009, pp. 176-180; Ead., *Una volta Alessandro nella bottega di Apelle... Estetica e storia dell'arte a Brera nell'Ottocento*, «Ricerche di Storia dell'Arte», n. 128, 2019, pp. 5-20.

¹⁹⁰ Cfr. A. Squizzato, *Note per Giuseppe Mongeri scrittore d'arte: la collaborazione all'Ar-*

All'indomani dell'unificazione nazionale fu nominato commissario per l'Esposizione Universale di Londra (1862) e membro delle commissioni parlamentari di belle arti e dei musei (1862). In quest'ultima veste, Mongeri collaborò con Giovanni Morelli alla messa a punto di una serie di progetti e di proposte di legge per il riordinamento delle pinacoteche e dei musei nazionali. Ma l'amicizia e la collaborazione scientifica con Giovanni Morelli sarebbe andata ben al di là delle vicende parlamentari e dell'impegno in ambito legislativo, permeando l'intera personalità e lo stesso profilo di storico dell'arte del Mongeri¹⁹¹. Nello stesso periodo, lo studioso fu chiamato a far parte della consulta archeologica di Milano (dal 1863 al 1882) e della commissione conservatrice dei monumenti d'arte e d'antichità per la provincia di Milano (dal 1877 al 1881).

Divenuto nel 1874 socio della Società Storica Lombarda e l'anno seguente membro dell'Istituto Lombardo di Scienze Lettere ed Arti, Mongeri partecipò attivamente ai vivaci dibattiti registratisi in questi anni sulle trasformazioni urbanistiche di Milano e prese posizione su taluni grandi interventi architettonici realizzati nel capoluogo lombardo, come nel caso della vecchia Stazione Centrale, della sistemazione di Piazza Duomo e della Galleria, del Cimitero Monumentale¹⁹².

Risale al 1879, come si è già ricordato, la sua nomina a professore titolare di *Storia dell'arte* nell'Accademia delle Belle Arti di Brera¹⁹³. In tale veste Mongeri, oltre a continuare gli studi già intrapresi in precedenza sui monumenti milanesi e lombardi e sull'antica pittura italiana, dedicò una sempre maggiore attenzione alle istituzioni museali¹⁹⁴.

Notevole fu anche il suo impegno sul versante dell'affinamento delle metodologie d'indagine in ambito storico-artistico e del rinnovamento della didattica della disciplina professata in Accademia. Persuaso della necessità di lasciarsi definitivamente alle spalle l'approccio tradizionale e, al contempo, di

chivio Storico Lombardo (1874-1888), in R. Alessandro, C. Rosanna (edd.), *Le riviste d'arte in Italia tra Otto e Novecento. Percorsi di ricerca*, Milano, Vita & Pensiero, 2007, pp. 218-240.

¹⁹¹ Si vedano, al riguardo, i numerosi riferimenti all'importanza di tale collaborazione contenuti nei contributi accolti in G. Agosti, M.E. Manca, M. Panzeri (edd.), *Giovanni Morelli e la cultura dei conoscitori. Atti del Convegno internazionale (Bergamo, 4-7 giugno 1987)*, 3 voll., Bergamo, P. Lubrina, 1993.

¹⁹² Cfr. E. Visconti Venosta, *Giuseppe Mongeri: necrologio*, «Archivio Storico Lombardo», vol. XV, 1888, pp. 201-213.

¹⁹³ In realtà il decreto di nomina porta la data del 18 gennaio 1880. Cfr. D.M. 18 gennaio 1880 – *Mongeri Giuseppe è nominato, per un biennio, professore di Storia dell'arte nell'Accademia di Belle Arti di Milano*, in BUMPI, vol. VI, n. 1, gennaio 1880, p. 56.

¹⁹⁴ Si vedano ad esempio: G. Mongeri, *La Pinacoteca di Brera e il suo nuovo orientamento*, «Bollettino della Consulta archeologica del Museo storico artistico di Milano», vol. IV, 1877, pp. 3-11; Id., *Il nuovo museo artistico municipale*, «Archivio Storico Lombardo», vol. V, 1878, pp. 517-535; Id., *Museo Patrio d'Archeologia*, in *Gli istituti scientifici, letterari ed artistici di Milano. Memorie pubblicate per cura della Società Storica Lombarda in occasione del secondo Congresso storico italiano, 2 di settembre 1880*, Milano, Tipografia G. Pirola, 1880, pp. 685-695.

respingere ogni forma di diletterismo e d'improvvisazione nel campo della storia dell'arte, lo studioso s'impegnò nella messa a punto di quello che, a suo avviso, avrebbe dovuto costituire un vero e proprio metodo scientifico da utilizzare nell'indagine storico-artistica, ossia uno studio condotto sulle fonti archivistiche che, unito a una lettura formale e visiva dell'opera d'arte, oltrepassasse la ristretta prospettiva erudita per fornire una valutazione più scrupolosa e autentica dell'opera d'arte stessa e della sua storia.

Un metodo, quest'ultimo, che avrebbe trovato una significativa applicazione nel manuale di storia dell'arte dato alle stampe da Mongeri nel 1884, per i tipi dell'editore milanese Hoepli, con il titolo *Il libro dell'arte*¹⁹⁵, al quale farà seguito, nel 1887, un secondo manuale dedicato a *Gli stili architettonici*, questa volta pubblicato dal Vallardi e destinato agli studenti dei nuovi corsi di arti applicate¹⁹⁶.

Il libro dell'arte, diviso in cinque parti, corrispondenti alle diverse età della storia («l'antichità, il medioevo, il rinascimento in Italia, il rinascimento oltr'Alpi, l'età contemporanea»), si proponeva di approfondire «tutte le diverse espressioni manifestate dell'arte, da' suoi più rozzi principii fino ai nostri giorni», ed era arricchito da ben «duecentocinquanta tavole portanti oltre duemila disegni». Suddiviso in due distinte parti o sezioni – «la prima consistente in un testo breve, ma succoso, la seconda nel ricco corredo di tavole, che hanno il grande pregio di porgere l'immagine sensibile di quanto è genericamente accennato nel testo» –, il manuale costituiva a tutti gli effetti un'applicazione del metodo messo a punto dallo studioso milanese, secondo il quale «a farsi un concetto chiaro di quanto concerne l'argomento proposto vale di più la semplice immagine grafica dell'oggetto, che non le più compite descrizioni in parole».

Si potrebbe aggiungere che il testo, senza perdere il suo carattere di compendio di carattere divulgativo scritto con linguaggio piano e fruibile anche da parte di un pubblico di non specialisti, si faceva apprezzare per la ricchezza dei riferimenti bibliografici e il rigore della ricostruzione proposta.

Pur destinato principalmente ai giovani allievi dell'Accademia di Brera, peraltro, *Il libro dell'arte* avrebbe trovato lettori anche al di fuori della cerchia degli artisti e del mondo accademico, tra i semplici appassionati d'arte e negli ambienti della borghesia colta: «Un'opera siffatta – si affermava, ad esempio, in una recensione apparsa anonima sul periodico «Arte e Storia» nel gennaio del 1884 – si raccomanda da sé in ogni famiglia che aspiri a mettersi al pari con quanto concerne la cultura generale secondo le esigenze dei tempi moderni»¹⁹⁷.

¹⁹⁵ G. Mongeri, *Il libro dell'arte*, Milano, Hoepli, 1884.

¹⁹⁶ Id., *Gli stili architettonici*, Milano, Vallardi, 1887.

¹⁹⁷ Si veda al riguardo l'anonima ma efficace recensione dell'opera data alle stampe su una delle più prestigiose riviste del settore: *Il libro dell'arte, diviso in cinque periodi storici, con 250 tavole portanti oltre due mila disegni ordinati e spiegati da Giuseppe Mongeri, Professore*

Del fecondo e innovativo magistero esercitato da Mongeri tra le mura dell'Accademia di Belle Arti di Brera si ritrova una significativa testimonianza nel discorso pronunciato nel gennaio del 1888 da Giulio Carotti, che sarebbe poi divenuto a sua volta professore di *Storia dell'Arte* a Milano a partire dal 1902, in occasione della morte dello studioso milanese. Nel delineare i grandi meriti di quello che egli definiva «il Nestore dei critici d'arte lombardi», Carotti sottolineava come Mongeri avesse «contribuito a diffondere una critica e una storia dell'arte del tutto moderne, fondate su un procedimento positivo e filologico», e come egli fosse stato il vero e proprio iniziatore, nel capoluogo lombardo, di uno «studio razionale, essenzialmente scientifico» della storia dell'arte¹⁹⁸.

Anche la riflessione storiografica successiva avrebbe ribadito a più riprese gli indubbi meriti del magistero storico-artistico di Mongeri. Nella sua documentata storia dell'Accademia di Belle Arti di Milano, ad esempio, Eva Tea sottolineava come lo studioso, «entrato in Brera come segretario e professore di Estetica nel 1854, fu uno dei più insigni studiosi d'arte lombarda; alla quale diede contributi utili ancor oggi per copia di erudizione e sagacità d'indagine»¹⁹⁹.

Pittore anch'egli, al pari del Mongeri, nonché letterato e critico d'arte, Luigi Archinti, come si è già ricordato, aveva compiuti gli studi nell'Accademia di Belle Arti di Venezia tra il 1842 e il '48 ed era stato uno dei precettori dei figli del governatore austriaco di Venezia. Fervente patriota, all'indomani della costituzione della Repubblica di S. Marco non aveva esitato ad arruolarsi come volontario e a partecipare alla battaglia di Sorio nell'aprile del 1848 presso Montebello e Vicenza.

La sua dedizione alla causa risorgimentale lo avrebbe spinto a combattere ancora, nonostante gli avversi esiti di questa prima fase della lotta per l'indipendenza:

Quando il 22 agosto 1849 la repubblica cade e Venezia ritorna sotto il dominio asburgico, Archinti si trasferisce a Parigi dove studia per un breve periodo con il pittore Thomas Couture. Approfitta di quel periodo per viaggiare e visita anche la Svizzera, il Belgio e l'Olanda. Successivamente, nel 1850 decide di recarsi per un anno a Torino presso l'Accademia Albertina. Nel 1859, con l'inizio della seconda guerra d'Indipendenza decide di arruolarsi presso il Battaglione Bersaglieri Volontari di Vignola. Parteciperà anche alla

all'Accademia di Belle Arti in Milano ecc. ecc. Milano, Ulrico Hoepli, libraio-editore, 1884, «Arte e Storia», vol. III, n. 2, 13 gennaio 1884, pp. 13-14.

¹⁹⁸ G. Carotti, *Discorso pronunciato in occasione della solenne distribuzione dei premi per l'Anno scolastico 1886-1887*, in *Atti della R. Accademia di Belle Arti in Milano. Anno MDCCCLXXXVII*, Milano, Tipografia P. Faverio, 1888, p. 6; e *Relazione del Segretario Carotti dott. Giulio*, in *Atti della R. Accademia di Belle Arti in Milano. Anno MDCCCLXXXVIII*, Milano, Tipografia P. Faverio, 1889, pp. 56-58.

¹⁹⁹ E. Tea, *L'Accademia di Belle Arti a Brera – Milano*, Firenze, Le Monnier, 1941, p. 105.

terza guerra d'indipendenza, e sarà in occasione della battaglia di Custoza (1866) che gli sarà riconosciuta la medaglia d'argento al valor militare²⁰⁰.

Solamente nel 1871 Archinti darà le dimissioni dall'esercito e riprenderà la sua attività di pittore, avviando altresì una serie di collaborazioni con «Il Corriere della Sera», «L'Illustrazione italiana», la «Rassegna italiana», la «Rivista europea» e l'«Arte italiana decorativa e industriale» in qualità di critico d'arte. Divenuto in seguito membro del consiglio accademico dell'Accademia di Belle Arti di Milano, nel 1888, come si è già ricordato, previo superamento di apposito concorso, lo studioso fu chiamato a succedere al Mongeri sulla cattedra di *Storia dell'Arte* della stessa Accademia, incarico che avrebbe conservato fino al 1901. Contemporaneamente, egli divenne anche membro della commissione per la conservazione dei monumenti in Lombardia²⁰¹.

Nel 1878, intanto, con lo pseudonimo di «Luigi Chitarni» aveva dato alle stampe per l'editore milanese Treves un testo, *L'arte attraverso i secoli*, corredato da oltre cinquecento incisioni²⁰², il quale sarebbe divenuto il manuale di riferimento per gli allievi dell'Accademia che frequentavano il suo corso. In esso, lo studioso sviluppava una nuova teoria storica applicata alle arti, da considerarsi «non più sotto il concetto ontologico del *bello*, ma sotto quello del *sentimento umano della storia*, manifestato per mezzo dell'arte, concetto che permette all'Archinti di comprendere nella storia artistica tutte le manifestazioni artistiche, anche quelle dell'arte brutta»²⁰³.

Destinato a circolare anche al di fuori dell'Accademia e dei circoli degli studiosi e degli specialisti, il testo, nuovamente riedito nel 1891, incontrò una discreta fortuna anche come opera di divulgazione artistica per la borghesia colta milanese, al punto da essere recensito dalle principali riviste di attualità e di costume dell'epoca. Sulle pagine de «L'Illustrazione Italiana», ad esempio, nell'autunno del 1878 veniva sottolineato come, nonostante esso costituisse a tutti gli effetti «un trattato di estetica, di filosofia dell'arte, scritto con ingegno, con dottrina, con garbo», la sua lettura avrebbe appassionato anche il semplice lettore fornito di buona cultura e interessato ad approfondire l'evoluzione dell'arte e i «fenomeni sociali ai quali, attraverso i secoli, si è accompagnata»: «Il magnifico tomo vi presenta ben cinquecento incisioni. Potete, senza affati-

²⁰⁰ A.M. Comanducci, *Dizionario illustrato dei pittori, disegnatori e incisori italiani moderni e contemporanei*, a cura di L. Pelandì e L. Servolini, Milano 1962, p. 69.

²⁰¹ Cfr. Archinti (Luigi), in A. De Gubernatis (dir.), *Dizionario biografico degli scrittori contemporanei ornato di oltre 300 ritratti*, Firenze, coi tipi dei Successori di Le Monnier, 1879, p. 50.

²⁰² L. Chitarni [pseud. di L. Archinti], *L'arte attraverso ai secoli, con 552 incisioni e 68 tavole staccate dal testo*, Milano, Treves, 1878.

²⁰³ Archinti (Luigi), cit., p. 50.

carvi, ma anzi con gran diletto, passare in rassegna tutte le meraviglie dell'arte di ogni epoca, d'ogni paese»²⁰⁴.

Forse proprio la buona accoglienza suscitata anche tra i non specialisti da *L'arte attraverso ai secoli* avrebbe spinto Archinti, qualche anno più tardi, a dare alle stampe, sempre per i tipi dell'editore milanese Treves, l'opera di carattere divulgativo *Le meraviglie delle arti* (1881-82)²⁰⁵.

Nel 1895, infine, l'Archinti pubblicava con l'editore milanese Vallardi un nuovo manuale destinato precipuamente agli allievi dei corsi di arti applicate, dal titolo *Degli stili nell'architettura*²⁰⁶, il quale rappresentava la prima parte di un trittico di testi di stampo manualistico su «L'Architettura nella storia e nella pratica» che annoverava tra gli autori, oltre all'Archinti, anche Francesco Malaguzzi Valeri e Alfredo Melani.

Nella *Prefazione* al primo dei tre tomi che costituivano il testo, quello dedicato all'«Antichità Pagana», lo studioso sottolineava come in tale opera si proponesse di applicare alla storia dell'arte e dell'architettura lo stesso metodo «introdotto da Darwin nella storia naturale», ossia «risalire dalle variazioni anche leggieri di individui in date condizioni d'ambiente, alla cognizione delle leggi e delle forze che determinano la variazioni di specie, le quali per l'arte sono variazioni degli stili». E ciò in quanto solo il «metodo darwiniano [...], già applicato da insigni scienziati ad altri rami dello scibile», costituiva a suo avviso «l'unico metodo scientifico per la storia dell'arte», quello che più di ogni altro poteva lumeggiare le tappe e le caratteristiche della sua evoluzione nel corso del tempo:

Appena gettati alle ortiche gli arcaici postulati della vecchia estetica – concludeva Archinti – per affidarmi esclusivamente alla polare di Darwin, ne provai l'efficacia, trovando la massima evidenza dei nessi di transizione da un periodo storico all'altro, da uno all'altro stile nelle serie secolari delle successive evoluzioni. Una evidenza pari a quella dei nessi, delle sovrapposizioni, degli strati geologici e delle successioni delle specie vegetali e animali della storia naturale. Come in questa, massime per le modificazioni delle età più remote, si presentano delle soluzioni di continuità anche nella catena delle modificazioni degli stili nell'arte, causate dalla scomparsa di esemplari degli stili più transitorii, ma, come avviene per la storia naturale, tali lacune non distruggono l'evidenza di quel processo evolutivo continuo, che è uno dei più ammirabili portati dalla scienza moderna, dovuti al genio di Darwin²⁰⁷.

Come sottolineava Eva Tea nella sua già ricordata storia dell'Accademia di Belle Arti di Milano, Luigi Archinti, «consacratosi agli studi storico-artistici»

²⁰⁴ *L'Arte attraverso i secoli* di L. Chirtani, «L'Illustrazione Italiana», vol. V, n. 43, 27 ottobre 1878, pp. 266.

²⁰⁵ L. Archinti, *Le meraviglie delle arti descritte da Andrea Lefèvre e Luigi Viardot, con numerose note ed aggiunte*, 2 voll., Milano, Treves, 1881-82.

²⁰⁶ L. Archinti, *Degli stili nell'architettura*, 3 voll., Milano, Vallardi, 1895.

²⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, Vol. I, pp. V-VI.

dopo aver combattuto a lungo nelle guerre risorgimentali, «portò nell'insegnamento una competenza approfondita dalla cognizione diretta dei monumenti, sebbene meno erudita di quella del Mongeri»²⁰⁸.

A conclusione di questa nostra rassegna, è il caso di soffermarci sulla figura e l'opera di Basilio Magni (Velletri, 1831 – Roma, 1925), certamente la personalità più emblematica e autorevole della generazione di studiosi chiamati ad insegnare la *Storia dell'arte* nelle Accademie di Belle Arti della penisola nel corso degli anni Settanta e Ottanta del secolo XIX.

Giurista, letterato e storico dell'arte, dopo aver compiuto, tra il 1839 e il 1848, gli studi nel seminario diocesano della natia Velletri ed avere poi ottenuto, nel 1854, la laurea in Giurisprudenza all'Università di Roma, esercitò per circa un quindicennio la professione di avvocato, pur senza mai tralasciare gli amati studi di letteratura e d'arte. Nella capitale frequentò la bottega del pittore romagnolo Giovanni Battista Bassi e la scuola di *Eloquenza latina e italiana* diretta da Francesco Massi.

Risale a questo stesso periodo la scelta del Magni di applicarsi in modo sistematico agli studi storico-artistici sotto la guida di Gaetano Milanese, celebre per la sua edizione delle *Vite* del Vasari (1865), e per la pubblicazione delle *Lettere* di Michelangelo (1875)²⁰⁹. I suoi primi lavori di carattere storico-artistico, dati alle stampe a partire dai primi anni Settanta su giornali e riviste (in particolare quelli apparsi sulle colonne de «Il Buonarroti. Scritti sopra le Arti e le Lettere», il periodico fondato da B. Gasparoni e continuato poi da E. Narducci che dagli anni Sessanta animava il panorama storico-artistico romano), sarebbero poi stati raccolti e pubblicati nel volume *Prose d'arte*, apparso nel 1875 e nuovamente riedito nel 1906²¹⁰.

A partire dal 1870, abbandonata la professione forense, lo studioso si dedicò completamente agli studi letterari e artistici. Autore di varie prose e di diverse tragedie²¹¹, a cavallo tra gli anni Settanta e Ottanta pubblicò anche due raccolte poetiche, *I vignaiuoli. Idilli* (1878) e *Versi* (1882), destinate ad incon-

²⁰⁸ Tea, *L'Accademia di Belle Arti a Brera – Milano*, cit., p. 105.

²⁰⁹ Carlo Milanese (Siena, 1816 – *ivi*, 1867), letterato, storico, paleografo e archivista. Nel marzo 1848 fu nominato Ispettore nelle scuole dell'Accademia di Belle Arti di Firenze, incarico che tenne per poco meno di un decennio. Editore delle lettere di Michelangelo Buonarroti, in collaborazione, fra gli altri, con Jacopo Cavallucci, curò la ristampa del trattato di pittura di Cennino Cennini (*Il Libro dell'Arte, o Trattato della Pittura di Cennino Cennini*, Firenze 1850); assieme ad altri, inoltre, tra il 1846 e il 1857, curò l'edizione in 14 volumi delle *Vite* del Vasari per i tipi dell'editore fiorentino Le Monnier. Su di lui: G. Fazzini, *Milanese, Carlo*, in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, cit., 2010, Vol. 74, pp. 418-420.

²¹⁰ B. Magni, *Prose d'arte*, Roma, Tipografia Barbèra, 1875 (2ª ed., Torino, F.lli Bocca, 1906).

²¹¹ Si vedano, ad esempio, B. Magni, *Imelda Lambertazzi. Tragedia*, Roma, G. Aureli, 1865; Id., *Romolo. Tragedia*, Roma, Coi tipi di Mario Armanni, 1890; Id., *Debora e Giae. Tragedia*, Roma, E. Mantegazza, 1891; Id., *Boezio. Tragedia*, Roma, E. Mantegazza, 1892; Id., *Tragedie e poesie*, Torino, F.lli Bocca, 1909.

trare una certa fortuna²¹². Dopo essere divenuto, nei primi anni Settanta, insegnante di *Lettere* presso la Scuola tecnica del Liceo Ennio Quirino Visconti²¹³, e poi presso la Scuola normale femminile, nel 1873, a seguito del superamento del relativo concorso, Magni era chiamato a ricoprire la cattedra di nuova istituzione di *Storia dell'Arte* nell'Accademia di Belle Arti della Capitale, della quale avrebbe conservato la titolarità per quasi quarant'anni, fino al luglio del 1912²¹⁴.

A partire dall'anno accademico 1882-83, e per ben 14 anni, ossia fino al 1896-97, inoltre, egli sarà incaricato di tenere la «Lettura scientifica di *Storia dell'arte*», nella Facoltà di Lettere della Sapienza di Roma, ossia una sorta di corso integrativo e non obbligatorio, rivolto anche ai non iscritti ai corsi regolari della Facoltà, il quale prevedeva una lezione pubblica di un'ora a settimana²¹⁵.

Il 10 novembre 1884, due anni dopo l'avvio delle sue lezioni nell'Ateneo romano²¹⁶, Magni presentava domanda alla Facoltà di Lettere per ottenere la libera docenza, ossia «l'abilitazione all'insegnamento libero, con effetti legali, della Storia dell'Arte presso questa università». Tra i titoli presentati dallo studioso veliterno c'erano indubbiamente la già ricordata raccolta *Prose d'arte* e qualche altro contributo apparso successivamente su riviste: un po' poco, forse, per convincere la commissione nominata dalla Facoltà – della quale facevano parte il titolare della cattedra di *Antichità greche e romane* Ettore De

²¹² B. Magni, *Sonetti*, Imola, Tipografia Galeati e figlio, 1871; Id., *I vignaiuoli. Idilli*, Roma, Tipografia del Senato, 1878 (4ª ed., Roma, F. Failli, 1905); Id., *Versi*, Roma, A. Paolini, 1882.

²¹³ Cfr. M. Nocca, *Fare gli Italiani. Ettore Novelli e Basilio Magni. Biblioteche e storia dell'arte a Roma nel processo nazionale unitario dopo il 1870*, in L. Ciocca (ed.), *Storie d'archivio. Contributi recati alla storia di Velletri*, Roma, Gruppo Editoriale Tab, 2023, pp. 213-226.

²¹⁴ Cfr. R.D. 5 agosto 1912 – con il quale, dal 1º agosto 1912, Magni comm. Basilio, professore di *Storia dell'arte* nell'Istituto di Belle Arti di Roma, è collocato a riposo, per avanzata età ed anzianità di servizio, in BUMPI, vol. XL/I, n. 7, 13 febbraio 1913, p. 657.

²¹⁵ L'Annuario della Regia Università di Roma «La Sapienza». Per l'anno scolastico 1885-1886, Roma, Tipografia F.lli Pallotta, 1886, informa che, oltre ai 27 corsi d'insegnamento ufficiali erogati ogni anno dalla Facoltà di Filosofia e Lettere dell'Ateneo, erano previste anche quattro «Lecture Scientifiche», impartite per un'ora, una volta alla settimana, e relative alle seguenti discipline integrative: Lingua francese, inglese, russa e Storia dell'arte.

²¹⁶ Nella *Notizia biografica dell'Autore*, ispirata dallo stesso Magni e firmata *Gli Editori*, premessa alla sua *Storia dell'arte italiana dalle origini al secolo XX* edita nel 1900, lo studioso avrebbe così motivato la scelta di portare l'insegnamento della *Storia dell'arte*, fino a quel momento confinato nelle sole Accademie di Belle Arti, anche tra le mura della Sapienza: «Mal soffrendogli l'animo che nella R. Università di Roma si spiegasse soltanto la storia dell'Arte antica dal professore di Archeologia in ciò che a questa avesse attinenza, ebbe il felice concetto nel 1882 che fosse ampiamente dichiarata anche l'arte medioevale e moderna insino ad oggi; ed egli medesimo ivi la svolse con eloquente parola per lo spazio di quattordici anni: cosicché se questa nuova cattedra venne poi ufficialmente istituita, a lui ne spetta il merito, per averla egli primo fondata di fatto» (Gli Editori, *Notizia biografica dell'Autore*, in B. Magni, *Storia dell'arte italiana dalle origini al secolo XX. Nuova edizione riveduta e accresciuta dall'Autore*, 3 voll., Roma, Officina Poligrafica Romana, 1905, Vol. I, pp. V-VI).

Ruggiero, quello di *Storia moderna* Carlo Belviglieri e quello di *Letteratura italiana* Fabio Nannarelli – dell'assoluta legittimità della richiesta e dell'indiscussa qualità scientifica del candidato, alla luce, peraltro, delle diffuse diffidenze nutrite dalle schiere di letterati, classicisti, storici e membri di altri importanti ambiti scientifici dell'università italiana nei riguardi della storia dell'arte considerata come disciplina scientifica a sé, con un proprio e autonomo statuto epistemologico²¹⁷.

Non a caso, la commissione istituita dalla Facoltà di Lettere non ritenne di poter accordare la libera docenza allo studioso, pur manifestando un generico apprezzamento per l'insegnamento da questi impartito nelle aule della Sapienza: «La Facoltà – si legge nella relazione finale – è lieta dell'insegnamento che fa il Prof. Magni, con tanto successo, ma non crede che egli posseda i titoli scientifici sufficienti, perché se ne possa proporre il pareggio»²¹⁸.

Basilio Magni non ripresenterà più domande di libera docenza, neppure dopo la pubblicazione della sua monumentale *Storia dell'arte italiana dalle origini al secolo XX* (1900) in più volumi, sulla quale torneremo fra poco. Egli conserverà, tuttavia, l'incarico della «Lettura scientifica» di *Storia dell'arte*, il quale sarà abolito, come si è già ricordato, solo nel 1897.

Sul finire degli anni Ottanta, comunque, l'esperienza di Basilio Magni all'Università di Roma s'intreccerà con quella di Adolfo Venturi. Nel novembre del 1888 quest'ultimo, già da un decennio divenuto ispettore della Galleria Estense di Modena e ora incaricato della catalogazione degli oggetti d'arte dello Stato, presentava a sua volta domanda per ottenere la libera docenza in *Storia dell'arte* alla Sapienza. Della commissione insediata dalla Facoltà di Lettere allo scopo di valutare tale richiesta facevano parte l'archeologo Rodolfo Lanciani e i già ricordati Ettore De Ruggiero (poi sostituito dal latinista Onorato Occioni) e Fabio Nannarelli. In questo caso, com'è noto, a differenza di quanto era accaduto con Basilio Magni, la commissione si espresse unanimemente in modo favorevole nei riguardi del candidato, accordando nel maggio del 1889 al Venturi la libera docenza²¹⁹.

Da questo momento, e fino al 1897 come vedremo, Magni e Venturi co-abiteranno tra le mura dell'Ateneo capitolino occupandosi sostanzialmente dell'insegnamento della stessa disciplina, ma, per quello che ne sappiamo, sen-

²¹⁷ Si vedano, in particolare, i riferimenti al tema contenuti nella prima parte dell'ampio e documentato lavoro di G. Agosti, *La nascita della storia dell'arte in Italia. Adolfo Venturi dal museo all'università (1880-1940)*, Venezia, Marsilio, 1996. Alcuni spunti di grande interesse su tale questione si ritrovano anche in S.A. Meyer, *Cenerentola a scuola. Il dibattito sull'insegnamento della storia dell'arte nei licei (1900-1943)*, Macerata, eum, 2023.

²¹⁸ Cfr. *Verbalì 1882-1889*, 13 giugno 1885. Merita di essere sottolineato che Adolfo Venturi e Basilio Magni lavorarono negli stessi ambienti universitari per più di sette anni, fino al 1897, ma non risulta traccia di contatti e di rapporti di collaborazione scientifica e culturale tra i due.

²¹⁹ Cfr. Agosti, *La nascita della storia dell'arte in Italia. Adolfo Venturi dal museo all'università (1880-1940)*, cit., pp. 131 e ss.

za avere contatti diretti e senza sviluppare nessuna forma di collaborazione. A partire dall'anno accademico 1890-1891, infatti, mentre Basilio Magni continuava a svolgere regolarmente nelle aule della Sapienza la sua «Lettura scientifica» di *Storia dell'arte*, Adolfo Venturi vi teneva il suo primo corso libero, il quale, due anni più tardi, sarebbe stato trasformato, per volontà della Facoltà, in un incarico vero e proprio di *Storia dell'arte medievale e moderna*. Una forzata convivenza destinata a durare, come si è già accennato, fino al 1897, allorché con l'elevazione da parte della Facoltà di Lettere dell'insegnamento di *Storia dell'arte medievale e moderna* del Venturi a «corso ufficiale»²²⁰, la «Lettura scientifica» di *Storia dell'arte* di Basilio Magni sarebbe stata cancellata e il suo titolare costretto a lasciare definitivamente l'Università di Roma.

In realtà, nel momento in cui era costretto a lasciarsi alle spalle l'insegnamento universitario, Basilio Magni stava portando a termine la sua impresa culturale e scientifica di maggiore rilevanza in ambito storico-artistico. Tra il 1890 e il '98, infatti, ormai ultrasessantenne (era nato nel 1831), egli avrebbe attraversato tutta l'Italia, compiendo ben sei viaggi in treno e visitando centinaia di località d'arte, operando sulla scia delle grandi imprese di inventariazione e catalogazione dei beni artistici della penisola compiute all'indomani dell'unificazione nazionale da Giovanni Morelli e da Giovanni Battista Cavalcaselle e dei viaggi di studio realizzati in seguito da Adolfo Venturi per portare a compimento la sua monumentale *Storia dell'arte italiana* (1901-1940, 11 voll.).

L'intento dello studioso velitero era quello di «conoscere direttamente i musei più importanti della penisola, che dagli anni Ottanta vedono una prima riorganizzazione per la neonata amministrazione delle Belle Arti dello Stato unitario, ma anche verificare direttamente sul territorio la presenza delle opere d'arte raccontate dal Vasari»²²¹: come si evince dalle note a matita raccolte nei suoi sei quaderni di viaggio, o vergate a margine delle guide a stampa dei musei e delle località visitate²²².

Tali viaggi di studio e l'enorme mole di appunti, informazioni e dati da essi ricavati avrebbero costituito la base documentaria della sua monumentale *Storia dell'Arte Italiana dalle origini al secolo XX*, pubblicata per la prima volta a Roma nel 1900 per i tipi dell'Officina Poligrafica Romana, e poi più volte riedita fino al 1922²²³; nonché degli altri importanti lavori dati alle stampe dal

²²⁰ Si veda il D.M. 8 ottobre 1896 – *che nomina Venturi Adolfo per l'anno scolastico 1896-97, dal 16 ottobre 1896, incaricato di Storia dell'arte medioevale e moderna nell'Università di Roma, con la retribuzione di L. 1250*, «Bollettino Ufficiale del Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione», vol. XXIII/II, n. 43-44, 22-29 ottobre 1896, pp. 1617-1618.

²²¹ Nocca, *Fare gli Italiani. Ettore Novelli e Basilio Magni. Biblioteche e storia dell'arte a Roma nel processo nazionale unitario dopo il 1870*, cit., pp. 212-213.

²²² Si vedano al riguardo *I quaderni di viaggio* manoscritti del Magni, conservati nella Biblioteca «Antonio Sarti», Accademia di San Luca, *Miscellanea Magni*, 26.

²²³ B. Magni, *Storia dell'arte italiana dalle origini al secolo XX*, 3 voll., Roma, Offici-

Magni successivamente, come nel caso del saggio *Della pittura di paese in Italia* (1906)²²⁴ e della raccolta di testi dal titolo *Prose letterarie, morali e civili* (1912)²²⁵,

Condotta nel solco della lezione del suo maestro Gaetano Milanesi, e dunque incentrata sui «legami delle opere con la letteratura, con le vicende biografiche degli artisti narrate dalle fonti», la *Storia dell'Arte Italiana dalle origini al secolo XX* del Magni, che vedeva la luce in singolare concomitanza con l'uscita dei primi volumi di quella del Venturi²²⁶, era destinata a costituire, com'è stato giustamente rilevato, «il contributo più importante a quel tema di 'fare gli Italiani' attraverso la divulgazione scientifica, in questo caso con l'allestimento di un panorama completo ed esauriente di tutta l'arte italiana, e che ha origine dalle prime manifestazioni di una civiltà figurativa che, a buon diritto, possiamo considerare progenitrice della nostra: la civiltà etrusca»²²⁷.

Nel ripercorrerne la genesi e nel delineare l'impostazione e le caratteristiche di fondo della sua *Storia dell'Arte Italiana dalle origini al secolo XX*, l'autore sottolineava nel *Proemio* dell'opera come essa costituisse, innanzi tutto, il frutto di vaste ricerche condotte sul campo:

A tener desto in Italia il vivo senso del bello – scriveva Magni –, imprendiamo ad ordinare appunto in un corpo solo ben organato e connesso e a dare, per così dire, tutta d'un pezzo la storia dell'architettura, scultura e pittura italiana dalle prime origini a tutto il secolo decimonono, il cui materiale con accurate e amorose indagini abbiamo in più anni apparecchiato. Convinti poi che le opere d'arte bisogna osservarle, abbiamo visitato l'Italia per lungo e per traverso nell'ultimo decennio del secolo, senza perdonare né a spese, né a fatiche, né a disagi, notando quanto v'ha di pregevole ne' monumenti, nelle chiese, ne' palazzi, ne' musei e nelle pinacoteche²²⁸.

Dopo avere altresì ricordato come, pur incentrando naturalmente l'attenzione sulla produzione artistica della penisola, l'opera non avrebbe mancato di richiamare «ne' luoghi opportuni» i «più eccellenti pittori delle scuole europee, specialmente della olandese, fiamminga, tedesca, francese e spagnuola, derivate o ringiovanite dalla grande scuola italiana»²²⁹, l'autore si soffermava

na Poligrafica Romana, 1900-1902; Id., *Storia dell'arte italiana dalle origini al secolo XX. Nuova edizione riveduta e accresciuta dall'Autore*, 3 voll., Roma, Officina Poligrafica Romana, 1905; Id., *Storia dell'arte italiana dalle origini al secolo XX. 3ª edizione riveduta e accresciuta dall'Autore*, 4 voll., Roma, P. Maglione e C. Strini successori Loescher, 1922-1924.

²²⁴ B. Magni, *Della pittura di paese in Italia*, «Nuova Antologia», serie V, vol. CXXII, 1906, pp. 240-268.

²²⁵ Id., *Prose letterarie, morali e civili. Con autobiografia*, Torino, F.lli Bocca, 1912.

²²⁶ Cfr. Agosti, *La nascita della storia dell'arte in Italia. Adolfo Venturi dal museo all'università (1880-1940)*, cit., pp. 155-157.

²²⁷ Nocca, *Fare gli Italiani. Ettore Novelli e Basilio Magni. Biblioteche e storia dell'arte a Roma nel processo nazionale unitario dopo il 1870*, cit., pp. 219-220.

²²⁸ Magni, *Storia dell'arte italiana dalle origini al secolo XX. Nuova edizione riveduta e accresciuta dall'Autore*, cit., Vol. I, *Proemio*, p. VIII.

²²⁹ Tra i quali «il Rembrandt, il Rubens, il Van Dyck, l'Holbein, il Dürero, il Poussin, il

a delineare il peculiare approccio che aveva inteso conferire alla sua ricostruzione, la quale si poneva in totale controtendenza con le storie artistiche apparse in quello stesso periodo (e qui era evidente il chiaro riferimento polemico all'opera di Adolfo Venturi) ed ispirate, a suo avviso, ad una superficiale concezione erudita di chiara matrice positivistica, del tutto estrinseca all'esperienza artistica:

Alla parte estetica miriamo innanzi tutto – sottolineava Magni –, che si riferisce all'assoluta bellezza; non dilungandoci in certe minute disquisizioni, anche archeologiche, le quali con tutto l'esame e gli argomenti della critica e con tutte le ragioni della storia, lasciano sempre qualche oscurità e dubbio; onde torna a vuoto di ciò disputare. [...] Il che facciamo, persuasi ancora che poco o nulla se ne avvantaggia l'Arte considerata nella sua intrinseca bellezza; ed è piuttosto un andazzo di coloro che fan la storia dei quadri e degli artisti, anziché dell'Arte, e vogliono esser tenuti critici, eruditi, storiografi. Infinita è la turba di costoro anche nel campo delle lettere: poiché non si richiede ingegno, e riesce facile a tutti frugando nelle biblioteche, rovistando negli archivi inesplorati, e spogliando registri, inventari, necrologi, cronache, annali ed effemeridi a forza di pazienza e di fatica, accozzar notizie e spargervi sopra un po' di gelata e minuziosa analisi alla tedesca, ed acquistare così una cotal rinomanza; mentre non appare ne' loro scritti né comprensione sintetica italiana, né sapore di lingua, né un soffio di vita, né una favilla di sentimento.

E ancora:

Oltreché è da considerare che le continue ricerche di cotesti moderni studi analitici recheranno un ampio contributo alla maggior precisione nella parte estrinseca della storia dell'arte, ma nulla aggiungono o detraggono alla intrinseca natura di essa arte, né rinnovano la sua faccia, vale a dire la sua sintesi; e quindi la storia ne rimane qual era. [...] Tali indagini adunque sì in voga oggiogiorno riguardano gli artisti e le loro opere non l'arte; e per questo non è da rifare tutta la sua storia, non avendosi a confondere la disgregata erudizione di cose artistiche con la storia dell'arte²³⁰.

Allo scopo di meglio precisare il suo punto di vista, nel seguito del *Proemio* posto in apertura della sua *Storia dell'Arte Italiana dalle origini al secolo XX*, l'autore ribadiva:

La critica e la storia dell'arte non si fa con la semplice erudizione e co' documenti d'archivio: questi in genere potranno servire a provare l'autenticità d'un dipinto e d'una scultura, o a chiarire un punto biografico, ma senza penetrare nel magistero dell'arte, non si può essa degnamente ponderare, stimare e conoscere; e perciò una arida storia solo ben documentata quanto ai fatti, potrà soddisfare la curiosità degli eruditi, ma non può esser feconda d'ispirazioni, né appagare l'intelligenza degli artisti, né ridestare in essi la scintilla dell'ingegno e le energie individuali per rendersi utile nella pratica dell'arte²³¹.

Lesueur, il Velasquez, il Murillo, ed altri che risplendettero sovraneamente in alcun magistero dell'arte, apprezzarono assai la maniera italiana e i nostri artefici» (*ibid.*, p. VII).

²³⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. VIII-XI e XIII-XIV.

²³¹ *Ibid.*, p. XVIII.

In diretta contrapposizione con la «nuova e fallace scienza dell'arte» d'impronta erudita, dunque, Magni sottolineava come la sua opera fosse stata concepita:

Obiettivamente e senza preconcetti con larghi criteri e massime molto liberali, ispirata dal pensiero moderno e da sana dottrina estetica, la quale vergine delle dottrine e del trascendentalismo alemanno, si attiene ai più solidi principi della scuola italiana. Abbiamo insomma avuto in mira non l'erudizione e la bibliografia di cose artistiche, né la nuova e fallace scienza dell'arte a fine d'imparare a giudicare le opere, immigrata a noi dalla Germania, ma sì l'arte medesima considerata in tutta la sua intrinseca virtù che rampolla dall'immaginazione e dal sentimento, e appunto per esser tale non è scienza, e quindi non può esaminarsi col rigore scientifico; metodo tedesco che vuol ridurre ed elevar tutto a dignità di scienza, e che non si confà col movimento e indirizzo intellettuale italiano²³².

In sostanziale continuità con l'impostazione sopra delineata si poneva anche la scelta di non seguire «l'usanza d'oggi» e di non corredare la *Storia dell'Arte Italiana dalle origini al secolo XX* di tavole e illustrazioni:

Non abbiamo creduto – concludeva Magni – di arricchire di tavole riprodotte co' vari metodi derivati dalla fotografia la nostra istoria secondo l'usanza d'oggi, per cagione che ne sarebbe occorso un numero infinito a dar conto di ciascun artefice (e di tutti bisognava darlo per vedere le diverse maniere), da interrompere di continuo e soffocare il testo co' volumi; il che ci parrebbe un Album di fotografie illustrate, anziché un ragionare serrato delle Arti», evitando in tal modo di «allettare il gusto delicato e nauseante del secolo», come scriveva da Napoli il 20 di gennaio 1726 Giambattista Vico al P. Vitri a Roma²³³.

Ci siamo a lungo soffermati sul *Proemio* della *Storia dell'Arte Italiana dalle origini al secolo XX* in quanto tale scritto documenta la netta e radicale opposizione di Basilio Magni nei riguardi della nuova concezione della *Storia dell'arte* che animava Adolfo Venturi e del tentativo avviato da quest'ultimo, proprio a partire dalla fine del secolo XIX, di conferire uno statuto scientifico alla disciplina attraverso il ricorso alla fotografia.

Relativamente a quest'ultimo aspetto, ribattendo nella nuova edizione delle sue *Prose d'arte* edita nel 1906 alle critiche ricevute dagli allievi di Venturi riguardo alla scelta di pubblicare un'opera monumentale come la sua *Storia dell'Arte Italiana dalle origini al secolo XX* senza l'ausilio di alcun corredo fotografico, Magni si limitava a rilevare, sprezzante, che «le 2236 pagine di puro testo, uscite dalla mia mente» non erano «impinguate con una infinità d'illustrazioni, che ciascuno può acquistare a suo piacimento dal fotografo», non mancando altresì di sottolineare ironicamente che, al contrario, «la 'grande' storia dell'arte del 'gran maestro', ossia quella intrapresa nel 1901 da Adolfo

²³² *Ibid.*, p. XXI.

²³³ *Ibid.*, pp. XXI-XX.

Venturi, sebbene fosse circoscritta «alla sola arte medievale (arte cristiana delle origini), [...] nel 1905 non e[ra] ancora giunta a Giotto»²³⁴.

In realtà, la *Storia dell'arte italiana* (1901-1940) del Venturi, ispirata ai nuovi indirizzi della storiografia artistica di lingua tedesca (Karl Schnaase, Franz Kugler, Anton Springer ecc.) era destinata ad affermarsi e ad imporre un nuovo paradigma e un vero e proprio cambio di passo alla disciplina, privilegiando un metodo nel quale «all'apprezzamento estetico si doveva strettamente accompagnare il criterio storico, anch'esso fondato sempre non su dati esteriori, ma sull'essenza dell'arte»²³⁵.

L'esistenza di una radicale e insuperabile contrapposizione tra la «tradizionale» concezione della storia dell'arte di Magni e quella più recentemente fatta propria e propugnata da Venturi sarebbe stata lucidamente sottolineata dall'autorevole rivista capitolina della Compagnia di Gesù «La Civiltà Cattolica», la quale, recensendo la seconda edizione del 1905 della *Storia dell'Arte Italiana dalle origini al secolo XX* del primo, si mostrava estremamente sorpresa nel riscontrare «quanta diversità di criteri nel comporre opere sul medesimo argomento o di argomenti affini!» rivelassero la lettura e il confronto tra le opere dei due studiosi:

Il Venturi – esordiva l'anonimo recensore della Compagnia di Gesù –, nei tre volumi finora pubblicati, della sua *Storia dell'arte italiana*, ha fatto stordire con la copia delle figure, tanto che il testo non può tenere con loro il passo e si perde a distanza sconfinata. Il prof. Basilio Magni invece ha condensato in tre volumi una moltitudine di notizie, di giudizi, di descrizioni personali, senza interrompere mai le sue fitte pagine pure d'un abbozzo di pitture, di statue o di monumenti. Una storia dell'arte senza figure, lo dirò francamente, è un *x*, che non s'intende così alla prima. [...] Il Magni ha per sé il successo della prima edizione, che senza figure anch'essa fu tuttavia spacciata in brevissimo tempo, e giustificò la stampa di questa nuova, ampliata, arricchita, e condotta dalle origini dell'arte italiana fino alle soglie del secolo XX.

La questione delle immagini, tuttavia, rinviava ad una ben più profonda diversità d'intenti e di metodo da parte dei due storici dell'arte:

Il programma ch'egli [Magni] s'è proposto non consiste nel fare la storia dei quadri né degli artisti, accumulando dati storici o biografici, o dilungandosi in minute ricerche d'attribuzioni, o simile erudizione. Il Magni intese invece di porre in luce soprattutto la nota qualitativa di ciascun artista, i caratteri personali di lui e quelli della scuola cui appartiene, di scrivere così la storia dell'arte studiata direttamente nell'opere degli artisti: *ex visceribus causae*.

²³⁴ B. Magni, *Del come si estima una storia dell'arte italiana*, in Id., *Prose d'arte*, cit., pp. 360-364.

²³⁵ Cfr. S. Valeri, *Adolfo Venturi all'Università di Roma. Regesti e annotazioni sui primi anni di vita della scuola venturiana (1890-1931)*, in G. Agosti (ed.), *Incontri venturiani. Atti del Convegno (Pisa, 22 gennaio – 11 giugno 1991)*, Pisa, Scuola Normale Superiore, 1995, pp. 103-106.

E questo giustificava indubbiamente, a detta del recensore, «le severe parole ch'egli [Magni] pronuncia sul valore degli studii critici, storici, analitici, sull'erudizione archeologica relativa all'opere tramandate a noi dall'età precedente»²³⁶. Pur non condividendo fino in fondo un tale drastico giudizio («L'egregio professore ci consentirà che interpretiamo con qualche indulgenza le [sue] severe parole»), e anzi guardando con una certa simpatia all'approccio erudito e al nuovo *modus operandi* che sembrava ispirare l'indagine storico-artistica del Venturi, «La Civiltà Cattolica» finiva tuttavia per dare il proprio convinto assenso al metodo fatto proprio dal Magni:

Mi guarderei bene però – concludeva il recensore della rivista romana – dal contestare al Magni l'utilità del criterio estetico da lui prescelto e seguito nel suo corso storico al R. Istituto di belle arti in Roma; minute ed erudite disquisizioni sarebbero gravi e inopportune a giovani pittori e scultori. Né i suoi tre poderosi volumi saranno inutili agli eruditi: che anzi la ricchezza straordinaria di notizie, di nomi d'artisti, antichi e moderni, pittori massimamente e dell'opere loro, sparse da un capo all'altro d'Italia, visitate in molti viaggi dall'A., esaminate di presenza e descritte, registrate poi in indici ordinati e copiosi, formano di quest'opera coscienziosa uno de' più ampî repertorii da consultare.

E ancora:

L'osservazione personale, i giudizi proprii, fondati, indipendenti, il buon gusto educato al lungo studio de' classici e per la consuetudine divenuto loro familiare, costituiscono il merito specifico proprio al dotto e serio lavoro del Magni e gli assicurano un posto onorato nella letteratura artistica contemporanea. Ne rendono la lettura più gradevole, il maschio e forbito linguaggio dello scrittore, la nitidezza della stampa e la degna eleganza dell'edizione²³⁷.

In realtà, come sappiamo, la nuova concezione della storia dell'arte propugnata da Adolfo Venturi era destinata a prevalere irrevocabilmente sugli approcci e sulle impostazioni metodologiche di carattere tradizionale, ivi compreso quello vigorosamente sostenuto tra le mura dell'Accademia di Belle Arti di Roma da Basilio Magni. A conferma di tale esito, basterà ricordare che, non solo il riconoscimento ufficiale dell'insegnamento di *Storia dell'arte medievale e moderna* tenuto da Adolfo Venturi alla *Sapienza* di Roma avrebbe comportato per Basilio Magni il forzato abbandono, nel 1897, dell'Università, ma anche che sulla cattedra di *Storia dell'arte* dell'Accademia di Belle Arti della capitale, della quale era titolare quest'ultimo in Accademia, all'indomani della sua giubilazione, nel 1913, sarebbe subentrato Pietro D'Achiardi (Pisa, 1879 – Roma, 1940), uno dei primi e più brillanti allievi di Adolfo Venturi, il quale

²³⁶ *Rassegna Artistica*. 3. *Recensione a B. Magni, Storia dell'arte italiana*, «La Civiltà Cattolica», vol. II, fasc. 1316, 1905, pp. 221-222 (la recensione prende in esame, naturalmente, la seconda edizione dell'opera, apparsa nel 1905).

²³⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 223-224.

avrebbe tenuto tale incarico per circa 25 anni, fino alla vigilia della seconda guerra mondiale²³⁸.

E tuttavia, il ruolo di primo piano svolto per circa un quarantennio da Basilio Magni nell'Accademia di Belle Arti di Roma e l'indubbia importanza esercitata della sua *Storia dell'Arte Italiana dalle origini al secolo XX* sulla formazione degli aspiranti artisti dell'istituzione capitolina erano destinati a rimanere vivissimi, per lunga pezza, nella memoria dei posteri:

Basilio Magni [...] – ricordava ad esempio Fausto Vagnetti nel suo saggio su *La Regia Accademia di Belle Arti in Roma* – offrì agli studiosi la sua voluminosa storia dell'arte: una miniera inesauribile di notizie preziose per tutti, frutto di indagini accurate fatte negli archivi, nelle collezioni pubbliche e private, nei monumenti, e di osservazione e analisi compiute dinanzi alle opere durante lunghi viaggi che fece per oltre un ventennio in Italia e fuori. Di quest'opera si sentiva il bisogno, e la sua divulgazione fu di grande utilità. Alcune considerazioni critiche, sparse con opportunità qua e là nei tre volumi e rispecchianti un sapere non comune, contribuirono, per quanto fu possibile, a tenere alto il concetto dell'arte in patria.

E a conferma dell'importanza rivestita dal peculiare approccio allo studio della storia dell'arte fatto proprio dal Magni:

Non si dimentichi che questo uomo di lettere coltivò amorosamente anche la pittura di paesaggio, educatovi dal Bassi, alla quale dette i suoi entusiasmi quale complemento agli studi storici e letterari. Ciò gli servì a dire talvolta, con esperta cognizione, cose proprie dell'artista che spesso sono estranee al solo critico²³⁹.

²³⁸ Si veda M.G. Branchetti Buonocore, *D'Achiardi, Pietro*, in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, cit., 1985, Vol. 31, pp. 575-578.

²³⁹ F. Vagnetti, *La Regia Accademia di Belle Arti in Roma*, Roma, Le Monnier, 1943, pp. 98-99.

Las Conferencias Pedagógicas, una alternativa decimonónica para la formación permanente del magisterio español

Teresa González Pérez
Department of History and
Philosophy of Science,
Education and Language
University of La Laguna
Tenerife (Spain)
teregonz@ull.edu.es

Pedagogical Conferences, a nineteenth-century alternative for the continuing education of Spanish teachers

ABSTRACT: The Pedagogical Conferences were the first systematic model for the continuing education of Spanish teachers. They were regulated in 1887 and their organization belonged to the Teacher Training Schools, extending their involvement beyond academic activity. Learning during professional development was an attempt at pedagogical renewal. They sought the participation of educational stakeholders to promote educational progress by contributing with ideas and energizing school activities. These alternative meetings reflected the dire situation of the teaching profession and the precariousness of education, although they had uneven development across the different provinces of Spain. This paper analyzes the beginnings of continuing education for teachers and its updating in the 19th century through the Pedagogical Conferences, with a special emphasis on the Canary Islands, with the aim of understanding their impact and influence on the island's teaching profession.

EET/TEE KEYWORDS: Pedagogical renewal; Teaching; Pedagogical conferences; Continuing education; Primary education.

Introducción

La historia de la renovación pedagógica española, alberga un legado de iniciativas que conforman una crónica que discurre paralela al momento histórico, político y social. A finales del siglo XIX la actitud de permanente de crítica, por la mejora e innovación de la escuela, generó un rico legado de iniciativas que se alejaban total o parcialmente del modelo escolar tradicional, constituyendo un modelo escolar alternativo. Un número considerable de experiencias se imponían como cuestión socio-pedagógica urgente. Desde las escuelas normales se lideraban algunas iniciativas como el caso de las conferencias pedagógicas.

Con la aprobación de Ley de Instrucción Pública de 1857 se reguló la formación inicial del magisterio, se sentaron las bases pedagógicas y metodológicas para su formación. La creación de las Escuelas Normales representó la puesta en marcha de una política pensada en la formación de profesionales que, establecidos en todo el país, pudieran formar a las futuras generaciones. La formación inicial no abarcaba toda la preparación necesaria, y a ello añadir el acceso a la titulación a través de la modalidad de enseñanza libre, razón por la que hubo tentativas por regular la formación permanente. Los diferentes gobiernos, unos más que otros, mostraron interés y preocupación por la preparación didáctica. Las propuestas para la renovación pedagógica han sido una constante a través de la historia del magisterio. Desde las propias instituciones educativas se han promovido iniciativas y, desde los propios docentes, se ha impulsado con más o menos acierto. El campo educativo junto a sus actores, portadores de un discurso modernizador, con una impronta normalista, desde la óptica del positivismo en la que la educación, se constituyó en un instrumento de progreso. Promocionar la educación para extender la alfabetización contaba con dos instituciones impulsoras, las escuelas normales y las escuelas públicas.

El panorama educativo no era muy favorable. En las últimas décadas del siglo XIX la escuela española experimentaba un considerable retardo pedagógico en comparación con otros países europeos. El profesorado se hallaba poco retribuido, debido a la desconsideración social y laboral. Añadido a las prácticas pedagógicas con tono autoritario y memorístico, con escasez de escuelas para cubrir la totalidad de población en edad escolar, la ausencia de democracia educativa, etc. Las ideas de modernidad pedagógica y cambio sobre los métodos, contenidos, los avances en el concepto de la infancia y la relación con la naturaleza que venían recorriendo España durante la centuria, unido a diferentes sensibilidades políticas y/o religiosas, lograron cristalizar en la aparición de diferentes experiencias innovadoras. Las innovaciones educativas eran reflejo de las inquietudes de los docentes por las ideas reformistas.

El establecimiento, por Decreto Ley de 6 de mayo de 1882, del Museo de Instrucción Pública en 1882, más conocido como Museo Pedagógico Nacional

a partir de 1894, cumplía con la acción educativa, organizando publicaciones y conferencias sobre la enseñanza. Como centro activo de formación y de investigación educativa, con introducción de nuevas metodologías, influyó en la renovación pedagógica española¹. De tal manera que contribuyó a la redefinición del modelo magisterial y a la atención de la educación, poniendo el acento en las problemáticas y deficiencias del magisterio y de la escuela primaria, incluso considerando las desigualdades entre las escuelas del área urbana y las escuelas de las zonas rurales.

El 18 de julio de 1887 se publicaron las directrices contenidas en una Real Orden por las que se debían regir las Conferencias Pedagógicas. Establecer un debate pedagógico con formas académicas enriquecería a los docentes, permitía la puesta en común de la problemáticas vivenciadas y buscar soluciones a diversas cuestiones educativas². En este contexto, las reuniones pedagógicas eran el foro adecuado para la renovación, actualización y perfeccionamiento docente en los últimos lustros de la centuria, con el propósito de superar la precaria preparación que recibían en las Escuelas Normales. Participaron profesores de Escuelas Normales, maestros y maestras, en menor medida, pero sus voces fueron un reclamo para mejorar la instrucción pública. Con temas heterogéneos, los disertantes, abordaban diferentes cuestiones. Los temas de exposición eran tan importantes como las propias manifestaciones, en las que quedaba reflejado el nivel cultural y el dominio de la temática.

La realidad de la escuela española, en este período, se agravaba en el caso del archipiélago canario. En un ámbito geográfico con escasa urbanización, una zona mayoritariamente rural con dispersión de la población, incidía en los índices de matrícula y de asistencia escolar siendo inferiores con respecto a la población escolarizable, hecho acentuado en la población escolar del sexo femenino. Las tasas de escolarización eran de las más bajas del estado español. Una escolaridad fragmentada e incompleta por la insuficiente red escolar y por el trabajo infantil. Además, los niños y niñas acudían a escuelas de peor calidad pedagógica que el conjunto de los niños españoles que habitaban en territorio peninsular. El analfabetismo, en concreto de la población femenina, era también especialmente más grave. A todo ello debemos unir el irregular funcionamiento de las Juntas Locales de Instrucción Pública. Otra de las características era la reducida vitalidad de las acciones formativas del magisterio activo, en contraste con los dictados legislativos, la precariedad y discontinui-

¹ J. Mateo de Castro, *El museo: un espacio educativo para la Igualdad social. El caso pionero del Museo Pedagógico Nacional en España (1882-1941)*, «El Futuro del Pasado: revista electrónica de historia», n. 8, 2017, pp. 83-120; E. Otero Urtaza, *El maestro, la escuela y el material de enseñanza y otros escritos*, Madrid, Ministerio de Educación y Ciencia & Biblioteca Nueva, 2007, p. 134.

² A. Ávila Fernández, J. Holgado Barroso, *Las conferencias pedagógicas un instrumento para la formación permanente del magisterio español (Siglos XIX y XX)*, «Revista Historia de la Educación Latinoamericana», n. 6, 2004, pp. 23-38.

dad en las experiencias impulsadas por la Administración en contraste, junto al abandono de las cuestiones didácticas y metodológicas. La legislación y las recomendaciones oficiales, resultaban por lo general desacertadas, dada la problemática educativa e deficiencias formativas en el territorio insular. Las propuestas y medidas adoptadas, al estar planteadas desde una óptica centralista, desconocían la realidad y las peculiaridades educativas isleñas. En la cualificación profesional, en Canarias no hubo comportamiento semejante al del resto de los colectivos de profesores de otras provincias españolas. Se celebraron Conferencias Pedagógicas pero no con regularidad, una Asamblea pedagógica y una exposición pedagógica. También junto a estas iniciativas de formación permanente, hubo publicaciones de libros pedagógicos y de prensa profesional.

El objetivo de la presente investigación es estudiar diacrónicamente la renovación pedagógica desarrollada en España en el siglo XIX. Pretendemos estudiar la primera tentativa de la formación permanente del magisterio a través de las Conferencias Pedagógicas y su concreción en Canarias. Así mismo, nos detendremos en la participación de las maestras en los Congresos Pedagógicos, destacando su interés por la renovación pedagógica y la educación de las mujeres.

En la metodología aplicamos el método de análisis histórico educativo con perspectiva de género, que entraña el estudio de género como categoría crítica. Partimos de la concepción del género como uno de los elementos vertebradores de las relaciones sociales en el contexto de la época. En la etapa histórica analizada, la ideología imperante hizo que la diferencia derivase en desigualdad, en cada una de las estructuras, como un proceso lleno de obstáculos. La metodología seleccionada para este estudio ha sido cualitativa a partir de una revisión original sistemática de la literatura siguiendo el protocolo PRISMA (*Preferred Reporting Items for Systematic reviews and Meta-Analyses*) que pronostica la captación de toda la información recomendada y la replicación del proceso. Para ello se ha realizado una selección de información de fuentes bibliográficas, es decir, de publicaciones existentes sobre las Conferencias Pedagógicas para otras zonas estudiadas de la geografía española, con una revisión de las principales investigaciones y aportes relevantes sobre el tema. Teniendo como eje las Conferencias Pedagógicas en Canarias se han empleado fuentes primarias (documentos de archivo) y hemerográficas (leyes y reales decretos de educación, prensa educativa). Para el análisis y estudio crítico consultamos las fuentes primarias procedentes del fondo de magisterio de La Laguna, conservadas en el Archivo de la Universidad de La Laguna (AULL) y el fondo de magisterio de las Palmas conservadas en la Biblioteca de la Universidad de Las Palmas de Gran Canaria (ULPGC). En ambos casos, la documentación se halla inventariada, en proceso de catalogación, y no está digitalizada. Hecho que ha obligado a realizar una consulta manual en los respectivos fondos. Entre los documentos consultamos libros de actas de las reuniones del claustro y

actas de las Conferencias, así como prensa educativa y boletines oficiales de la provincia de Canarias.

En las páginas siguientes pretendemos hacer una modesta aportación al conocimiento de la formación permanente del magisterio insular en las décadas finales del siglo XIX. Se hace especial referencia a la celebración de conferencias y a la dinámica desarrollada, así como su proyección en el colectivo docente. La estructura del texto gira en torno a tres núcleos principales: Tentativas de renovación, las Conferencias Pedagógicas en Canarias así como las maestras en los Congresos Pedagógicos, finalizando con las conclusiones.

1. *Tentativas de renovación. Las conferencias pedagógicas*

En el siglo XIX se crearon unas instituciones nuevas, las Escuelas Normales, que preparaban al magisterio. Estas instituciones innovadoras se desarrollaron modestamente en un contexto provinciano. Ni la cualificación de los profesores, ni las características sociales de su alumnado les permitían ser unos centros académicamente exigentes para dotar a los maestros de la preparación científica, pedagógica o técnica que precisaban³. La normativa dispuso que se organizaran actividades formativas para el magisterio en ejercicio, con el objeto de que los maestros se reunieran para debatir y estudiar los problemas de la enseñanza. Se trataba de un aprendizaje regulado, que pretendía ilustrar a maestros y maestras en su oficio de enseñar. El antecedente lo encontramos en el Reglamento de 23 de noviembre de 1878 que, en el artículo 19, establecía la celebración de conferencias pedagógicas una vez al mes⁴. Los maestros auxiliares, los maestros regentes y el profesor de Pedagogía especial se reunirían con carácter mensual para dar cuenta de los resultados de la enseñanza y de las posibles mejoras. Según el pedagogo Pedro de Alcántara este modelo formativo tenía amplias repercusiones para la formación permanente de los maestros y maestras.

Las conferencias pueden contribuir a dar cohesión al cuerpo docente primario, a apretar los lazos hoy bastante flojos en el de nuestro país, que deben unir a todos los miembros, mediante el trato frecuente que establecen entre los profesores de una comarca y entre los de varias de éstas, que fomentan insensiblemente el espíritu de cuerpo, y, poco a poco, logran que la confraternidad entre los maestros no sea una palabra vana, cuando no una paradoja desesperante, sino un hecho real que en todas partes palpita, se refleje en todos

³ M.R. Berrueto Albéniz, *Las Conferencias Pedagógicas de Navarra, 1887-1901. La difícil puesta en marcha de la formación permanente de maestros*, «Huarte de San Juan. Geografía e Historia», n. 18, 2011, pp. 415-439.

⁴ V. Fernández Ascarza, *Diccionario de legislación de primera enseñanza*, Madrid, El Magisterio español, 1924, p. 16. Vid. Artículo 19 del Reglamento.

los semblantes y se manifieste en todas las acciones que se manifiesten en el magisterio, lo que por muchos conceptos es de suma necesidad: que a nadie se oculta que gran parte de los males que aquejan al profesorado de primera enseñanza, proviene del olvido en que en éste tiene la máxima de que la unión es la fuerza. Las Conferencias pedagógicas, bien organizadas y dirigidas, son, indudablemente, un medio fecundo y excelente de conseguir la unión entre los Maestros⁵.

Atendiendo a la precaria preparación que recibían los maestros y maestras se planteó la necesidad de complementar la formación. Así se debatió en algunos foros, como los Congresos Pedagógicos, por parte de los sectores profesionales conocedores de la realidad educativa, de la precariedad de la escuela pública y de sus maestros, así como del abandono de las Escuelas Normales por parte de la administración pública. Durante el Congreso Pedagógico de 1882 se reclama la organización de las Conferencias, y en sus conclusiones se señalaba la conveniencia de organizarlas por provincias, y en combinación con las vacaciones de verano. Inmediatamente, y sin marco legal, se ponen en marcha en algunas zonas como Madrid, Zaragoza y Galicia⁶. Sin embargo, hasta 1887, no se determinó que las vacaciones del magisterio era el periodo apropiado para su formación cultural y pedagógica. En ese año se fijaron las fechas del 18 de julio al 31 de agosto como periodo de las vacaciones de los maestros y maestras, y se estableció la celebración de las Conferencias Pedagógicas en las capitales de provincia, organizadas por la Escuela Normal⁷. Casi diez años después de aprobar el Reglamento de 23 de noviembre de 1878, se organizaron las Conferencias Pedagógicas, en el periodo de vacaciones para el magisterio, con el objeto de analizar las diferentes situaciones que se planteaban en la educación. Estas reuniones, creadas por la Ley de 16 de julio de 1887, artículo 1º, reguladora de las vacaciones de verano, tenían como objetivo promover la cultura general y profesional de los maestros y maestras. En cuanto a la reglamentación que regulaba el funcionamiento no se publicó hasta 1888.

La Real Orden de 6 de julio de 1888 reguló las conferencias, aprobó el Reglamento, y mantuvo las fechas de vacaciones entre el 18 de julio y el 31 de agosto⁸. Se celebrarían entre los diez primeros días de vacaciones o en los diez últimos días de vacaciones, según la fecha que fijara cada provincia. Las Conferencias Pedagógicas fueron un instrumento importante para la formación

⁵ P. de Alcántara García, *Teoría y práctica de la educación y la enseñanza*, Madrid, Gras y Compañía Editorial, 1879, tomo II, p. 191.

⁶ A. Costa Rico, *Instituciones para la formación de los maestros gallegos en los finales del siglo XIX*, «Historia de la Educación», n. 2, 2010, pp. 189-198.

⁷ Real Orden dictando reglas para la ejecución de la ley de vacaciones y celebración de conferencias pedagógicas en 1887. *Colección Legislativa de Primera Enseñanza*, Madrid, Imp. y Fundición de Manuel Tello, 1889, pp. 137-138; Real Orden designado la época de vacaciones en las escuelas y aprobando el Reglamento para las conferencias pedagógicas. *Colección Legislativa de Primera Enseñanza*, Madrid, Imp. y Fundición de Manuel Tello, 1889, pp. 163-167.

⁸ Fernández Ascarza, *Diccionario de legislación*, cit., p. 234.

permanente del magisterio español. Constituyen el primer intento sistemático de aprendizaje continuo, de perfeccionamiento, ampliación y especialización de conocimientos, destinado a cubrir áreas temáticas de interés aprovechando las vacaciones estivales⁹. A través de estas conferencias, se abordaban temas eminentemente pedagógicos y de práctica educativa, permitiendo reflexionar y tomar decisiones respecto al futuro de la enseñanza y de los profesionales del magisterio¹⁰. A las Conferencias debían concurrir la directora y profesoras de escuelas normales femeninas donde las hubiera. Tenían carácter público, presididas por el director de la Escuela Normal de Maestros y como vicepresidenta la directora de la Escuela Normal de Maestras. Estaban perfectamente organizadas y planificadas, se dedicaba una parte del tiempo a la disertación y la otra a debate. Normalmente en dos tiempos, dedicaban media hora para presentar el tema y a continuación un turno de intervenciones. La convocatoria debía publicarse en el correspondiente boletín oficial de la provincia con la suficiente antelación.

Al abrigo de la legislación se organizaron en las Escuelas Normales las Conferencias Pedagógicas, que pretendían mejorar la formación de las maestras y maestros, eran organizadas por los directores de las escuelas normales de acuerdo con los claustros. Estas conferencias abordaban temas pedagógicos y prácticas educativas. Las Conferencias Pedagógicas constituían una propuesta para mejorar la situación escolar, con intencionalidad de mejorar la educación, desafiando el abandono en el que estaba inmersa. De acuerdo con el Reglamento para la celebración de las Conferencias Pedagógicas (1888) tenían carácter oficial, eran públicas y con asistencia voluntaria para el magisterio. Los temas a tratar se planteaban desde la Escuela Normal de Maestros, la dirección de estas instituciones era organizadoras de las conferencias, aunque también los maestros y maestras podían hacer propuestas. Las cuestiones a abordar versarían sobre aspectos referentes al programa de primera enseñanza, métodos de enseñanza, procedimientos de enseñanza aplicables a la escuela o sobre la educación en general. Las Conferencias Pedagógicas en el siglo XIX abordaban una variedad de temas relacionados con la educación y la formación de los maestros. Algunos de los temas comunes propuestos incluyeron:

- Métodos de Enseñanza: Se discutían diferentes enfoques pedagógicos, estrategias de enseñanza y métodos para mejorar la eficacia en el aula.
- Currículo y Contenidos: Los conferenciantes exploraban los contenidos curriculares, la selección de materias y la relevancia de los temas para la formación de los estudiantes.
- Psicología Educativa: Se trataban aspectos relacionados con el desarrollo cognitivo, la motivación, la atención y la disciplina en el contexto escolar.
- Formación del Profesorado: Las conferencias se centraban en la capacita-

⁹ Berrueto Albéniz, *Las Conferencias Pedagógicas*, cit., p. 416.

¹⁰ Fernández Ascarza, *Diccionario de legislación*, cit., artículo 1.

ción y actualización de los maestros, incluyendo temas como la formación continua, la ética profesional y la actualización de conocimientos.

- Educación Moral y Cívica: Se debatía sobre la formación en valores, la ciudadanía y la responsabilidad social de los educadores y sus alumnos.
- Higiene y Salud Escolar: Dada la importancia de la salud en el entorno educativo, se trataban temas como la higiene, la nutrición y la prevención de enfermedades.
- Organización Escolar: Se analizaban aspectos administrativos, la gestión de las escuelas y la relación entre docentes, alumnos y padres.

Estos temas reflejaban las preocupaciones y desafíos de la época, sin embargo, contribuyeron al desarrollo de la pedagogía en España durante el siglo XIX. Si bien, tuvieron gran relevancia hasta el primer tercio del siglo XX, los problemas internos de organización y las malas condiciones del magisterio condicionaron su decadencia y desaparición. Sin embargo, su legado siguió siendo importante para comprender la evolución de la educación en España. Estas Conferencias fueron de gran interés y se llevaron a cabo hasta el primer tercio del siglo XX, durante casi medio siglo. Estas reuniones reflejaron el mal estado en que se encontraba el magisterio de enseñanza primaria en España, por lo que su realización fue necesaria como instrumento para la dinamización pedagógica y revitalización de la enseñanza¹¹. No obstante, pese a la proposición de alternativas educativas, tuvieron una vida limitada. Los problemas internos de organización, las malas condiciones del magisterio y la escasa relevancia social durante los últimos años posibilitaron su desaparición¹². Pese a todo fueron el primer modelo sistemático para la actualización del magisterio que se organizaron en España. Aunque tuvieron un desarrollo desigual en las diferentes provincias, en unas alcanzaron mayor repercusión que en otras, sobre todo, en aquellas que estaban en áreas más ricas cultural y económicamente.

La dinámica organizativa la desarrollaban los centros masculinos y los femeninos quedaban en segundo plano. Es cierto que las Conferencias Pedagógicas no se centraban en la instrucción y educación de las mujeres, sin embargo, contribuyeron al debate sobre la educación femenina. En el siglo XIX, la educación de las mujeres en España experimentó cambios significativos y se abrieron oportunidades para su formación. En la primera mitad del siglo XIX

¹¹ P. Davila Balsera, *La honrada medianía. Génesis y formación del magisterio español*, Barcelona, PPU, 1994, pp. 157-158.

¹² A. Avila Fernández y J. Holgado Barroso, *Las conferencias pedagógicas un instrumento para la formación permanente del magisterio español (Siglos XIX y XX)*, «Revista Historia de la Educación Latinoamericana», n. 6, 2004, pp. 23-38; A. Avila Fernández, *Las conferencias pedagógicas en Sevilla a finales del siglo XIX estudio sobre su contribución en la formación del magisterio primario*, «Cuestiones pedagógicas: Revista de ciencias de la educación», n. 12, 1996, pp. 309-320; L. Batanaz Palomares, *Contenido doctrinal de los congresos pedagógicos del siglo XIX*, «Revista española de pedagogía», n. 10, 1978, pp. 111-116.

se enfrentaron a muchas restricciones, como el acceso limitado a la educación formal, fundamentalmente religiosa y moral, una instrucción centrada en habilidades básicas y tareas domésticas. Los avances a partir de la Ley Moyano (1857) se reflejaron en la segunda mitad del siglo XIX, con el establecimiento de la escolaridad obligatoria y la formación de maestras.

2. *Las Conferencias Pedagógicas en Canarias*

Las Conferencias Pedagógicas se pueden considerar como uno de los antecedentes de las Escuelas de Verano o Cursos de Verano. De acuerdo con la normativa, se celebran en cada provincia conferencias y reuniones encaminadas a favorecer la cultura general y profesional de maestros y maestras¹³. Se trataba de un ciclo de conferencias, de carácter oficial, eran públicas y de carácter voluntario para los maestros, organizadas por la Escuela Normal de Maestros en colaboración con la Inspección, que debía desarrollarse preferentemente en las sedes de la Escuela Normal de Maestros en La Laguna (Tenerife) o en Las Palmas de Gran Canaria¹⁴. Se debe puntualizar que en el siglo XIX no había una Escuela Normal de Maestras. Desde sus inicios el periódico de enseñanza «El Auxiliar» daba cuenta de las Conferencias Pedagógicas celebradas en otras provincias, así como su realización en Canarias. Disponemos de escasa información sobre las Conferencias Pedagógicas, a pesar de encontrar publicadas las convocatorias en el Boletín Oficial de la provincia de Canarias, incluso anuncios en prensa. Al no localizar todas las actas correspondientes en las Escuelas Normales de La Laguna y de Las Palmas, todo hace indicar que no se llegaron a realizar de forma regular por la falta de maestros y maestras inscritos. Con toda probabilidad se programaron Conferencias Pedagógicas, pero no siempre llegaron a celebrarse por la escasa o nula participación. Contaron con la participación de maestros y maestras de las islas, sin embargo, no se trataba de una nómina amplia. Con irregularidad y con intermitencias en las posibles respuestas a las convocatorias, apenas tenemos constancia de su celebración. No obstante, destacamos la participación decisiva, tanto en la programación como en las conferencias, de profesionales directamente vinculados al ejercicio de la docencia en las Escuelas Normales, en la escuela pública o la inspección educativa. En un contexto en el que el control de la enseñanza primaria estaba encomendado a las Juntas Locales de Instrucción Pública, en realidad, eran meros instrumentos manejados por los alcaldes. Las Juntas Locales carecían de autoridad moral y de competencia para controlar y dirigir la

¹³ «El Auxiliar», Santa Cruz de Tenerife, 6 de agosto de 1887.

¹⁴ AULL, Fondo de Magisterio, *Libro de Actas del Claustro*; AULPGC, Fondo de Magisterio, *Libro de Actas del Claustro*.

enseñanza. Los intereses de la enseñanza y la persona del maestro quedaron, la mayor parte de las veces, en total incuria, porque los alcaldes llevaron a cabo una política educativa sometida totalmente a conveniencias personales y a los intereses caciquiles.

El dudoso éxito de las Conferencias Pedagógicas se debía a que tenían carácter voluntario, además no se pagaba a los maestros los gastos de traslado y la estancia¹⁵. Las dificultades de comunicaciones por la complicada orografía insular con su deficitaria red viaria, la fragmentación del territorio que solo permitía los desplazamientos por vía marítima y la navegación de cabotaje. En términos generales, podemos referir a la pobreza educativa y económica, añadidos los costes de alojamiento, disuadían el interés por las Conferencias Pedagógicas. No había subvenciones para concurrir a estas actividades a pesar de que la Ley de 1887 recomendaba ofrecer gratificaciones para los asistentes. Uno de los motivos de la inasistencia fue la carencia de recursos económicos, por el costo de los desplazamientos y lo mal retribuidos que se encontraban los maestros y maestras¹⁶. La infraeconomía insular tampoco era satisfactoria, unida a los deficientes salarios del personal docente. De manera que la concurrencia fue baja, con mayor participación de maestros que de maestras. La Ley de 16 de julio de 1887, reguladora de las vacaciones del magisterio, fijaba que en el periodo de vacaciones se organizaran conferencias pedagógicas para maestros y maestras para mejorar la educación y la cultura. A la vez la normativa fijaba los criterios generales que se debían aplicar y aconsejaba dar gratificaciones para estimular la participación, pero el dinero no llegó. Las maestras y maestros con más protagonismo en la planificación, le sustraen unos días de sus vacaciones reglamentarias. Ellas y ellos eran conocedores del escenario educativo y de los temas de discusión.

En Canarias se realizaron Conferencias Pedagógicas, de manera similar a otras provincias con limitada respuesta, donde intervinieron docentes de ambos sexos. En realidad, la presencia de las mujeres en el foro, como oradoras, fue bastante escasa. Solo tenemos referencia de la intervención de la maestra Francisca Torrens en la Escuela Normal de La Laguna y de Felisa Pérez Rodríguez en la Escuela Normal de Las Palmas. En el conjunto de las actividades propuestas por los propios docentes, se estudiaron básicamente los temas y cuestiones ligadas a las preocupaciones didácticas más inmediatas y también vitales del magisterio. Las nuevas metodologías innovadoras para transformar la escuela, las aportaban desde la propia experiencia, con actividades efectivas y sencillas de implantar, rompían las rutinas tradicionales.

La instrucción primaria en las islas se encontraba en un estado lamentable.

¹⁵ «El Auxiliar», Santa Cruz de Tenerife, 16 de agosto de 1887 y 26 de agosto de 1889.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 26 de julio de 1887. Las Conferencias pedagógicas que establece el art. 2º de la ley de 16 de Julio de 1887.

El Inspector provincial de enseñanza, tras su visita a diferentes escuelas del archipiélago, así lo comunicaba a la Junta Provincial de Educación:

que ha podido apreciar el estado poco satisfactorio en que se halla la enseñanza, debido a la tristísima situación en que se hallan los maestros por falta de recursos para atender a sus mayores necesidades¹⁷.

Además de las quejas de las autoridades educativas, también la prensa educativa denunciaba desde sus páginas la precaria situación económica de los maestros sujetos a los caprichos de los caciques locales:

Profesores de instrucción primaria conocemos que han desempeñado tres o más años consecutivos sin haber podido cobrar ni un solo céntimo por el sueldo en que todo ese tiempo han devengado; y otros nos aseguran que no está muy lejano el día en que se decidan a cerrar sus escuelas¹⁸.

La prensa general, igualmente, reprodujo las calamidades que sufría el magisterio. Un hecho que era de sobra conocido por la sociedad de aquel entonces. El periódico «El motín» publicó en 1889 en las noticias o comentarios de actualidad que la maestra de la escuela de niñas de La Laguna pensaba cerrar su escuela «en vista que le deben ocho mil reales y no tiene esperanza de cobrar un céntimo. Aquel maestro canario que cerró sus aulas para dedicarse a pescar va teniendo imitadores, de ambos sexos»¹⁹. Ni mucho menos era una situación específica de la provincia de Canarias, más bien una generalidad en el territorio nacional. En la prensa de la época se refiere a las «maestras y maestros hambrientos», porque no se les pagaban sus salarios. La imagen de los maestros, totalmente desacreditada, por la irregular formación recibida y mal retribuidos era una generalidad en la época²⁰.

La información evidencia las deficiencias educativas de Canarias, las inadecuadas infraestructuras de las escuelas, las precariedades del magisterio, por las escasas retribuciones de los maestros. La desigualdad de acceso a la educación en función del número de habitantes de la localidad y el control ejercido en la provisión de puestos docentes por los poderes locales²¹. La escuela solo atendía a la mitad de la población escolarizable, con tasas notablemente inferiores para el segmento femenino. Las escuelas eran en su gran mayoría

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 25 de mayo de 1888.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 6 de julio de 1888.

¹⁹ «El Motín», Madrid 11 de julio de 1889.

²⁰ R. Macías Picavea, *El problema nacional, hechos, causas, remedios*, Madrid, 1899. Macías Picavea manifestaba, a finales del siglo, que el maestro era: «un ser horriblemente formado; mejor dicho, deformado. En las Escuelas Normales nada se les enseña, pero en cambio desquician la natural inteligencia, el buen sentido y el sano juicio de las cosas... Maestros ignorantes, cuasi mendigos, desprovistos de todo prestigio e influencia social, desconsiderados por la plebe y maltratados por los caciques».

²¹ «El Auxiliar», Santa Cruz de Tenerife, 10 de diciembre de 1889.

incompletas, había un importante contingente de alumnado no escolarizado, en un territorio de complicada orografía y comunicaciones deficientes. En la práctica no se lograba la gratuidad de la enseñanza elemental, con un currículo rudimentario de cartilla y catecismo, y sin poder corregir el índice de iletrados²². En muchos pueblos no existían o no funcionaban escuelas, a veces debido a la falta de maestros y maestras, especialmente en las zonas rurales alejadas. Esa red escolar deficitaria seguía nutriendo el analfabetismo, con unos de los índices más elevados del estado español. Las niñas ostentaban las mayores cifras de absentismo escolar y la población femenina ofrecía mayores cifras de analfabetismo que la masculina.

En España, durante buena parte del siglo XIX, igual que sucedió en otros países, los distintos gobiernos procuraron invertir los dineros públicos en la creación de establecimientos primarios, secundarios y universitarios para varones, posponiendo la apertura de instituciones destinadas para ellas. La instrucción de las niñas siempre fue motivo de distintos planteamientos. A la vez, las mujeres de los sectores medios y urbanos en general recibieron los beneficios de la educación pública mucho antes que las que habitaban en los ámbitos rurales. El panorama se agravaba en Canarias por el abandono secular de la metrópoli, por las deficiencias en las infraestructuras, de personal docente e inversión. Según la información recogida en la estadística de Instrucción Primaria de 1855, en las islas había 86 escuelas públicas para niños y 33 escuelas públicas para niñas²³. También funcionaban escuelas privadas: 7 escuelas para niños y 14 escuelas privadas para niñas²⁴. Esa diferencia a favor de la escolaridad privada femenina se explica por la carencia de escuelas públicas y la consideración de la importancia de la instrucción privada para las niñas. Cinco años más tarde, el censo de 1860 contabilizó 64 escuelas públicas de niños y 38 escuelas públicas de niñas²⁵. Se observa, respecto a los datos manejados, que hubo un receso en el número de escuelas de niños y un incremento de las escuelas de niñas. La matrícula escolar masculina era de 4.606 niños y 2.702 niñas. A tenor de los datos manejados había dos islas dónde no existían escuelas públicas para niñas: la isla de Fuerteventura y la isla de La Gomera. Estas dos islas carecían de escuelas para niñas y la iniciativa privada cubría parte de las deficiencias escolares, pues la mayoría de las niñas de los sectores populares permanecía al margen de la escolaridad. Se trataba de dos islas de señorío, en la época estaban marcadas por la división trascendental que hubo entre islas de realengo (Tenerife, Gran Canaria y La Palma) que dependían de la Co-

²² A. Escolano, *Tres jalones en la modernización educativa de España*, en A. Escolano, R. Fernández (edd.), *Los caminos hacia la modernización educativa de España y Portugal (1800-1975)*, Zamora, Fundación Rey Alfonso Enríques, 1997, p. 19.

²³ «Gaceta de Madrid», Madrid, 15 de enero de 1855.

²⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁵ P. Olive, *Diccionario estadístico administrativo de las Islas Canarias*, Barcelona, Tipografía J. Jépus, 1865.

rona española y las islas de señorío (La Gomera, El Hierro, Lanzarote y Fuerteventura) bajo dominio señorial, administradas por el señor de corte feudal. En el archipiélago no existía una enseñanza organizada y con funcionamiento regular, estaba sujeta a los intereses del mandatario de turno. El analfabetismo ha sido una lacra social y, a la vez, una característica estructural y secular de la región canaria. La clase dominante impedía que las clases populares tuvieran acceso a la educación para ejercer un mayor control²⁶. Siguiendo la información ofrecida por el censo de 1860 respecto al nivel de instrucción de la población insular, del total de la población 237.036 habitantes, segregando las cifras por sexos se correspondía con 107.337 hombres y 129.699 mujeres, de los cuales leían y escribían 23.431 personas. Es decir, 14.710 hombres y 9.261 mujeres se consideraban alfabetizados, al poseer conocimientos de lectura y escritura²⁷.

A finales del siglo había 94 maestros y 33 maestras, la mayoría ejercían sin título. El 59,5% de maestros y el 69,6% de maestras no tenían el título profesional. Observamos, a través de los datos ofrecidos por las estadísticas, que ejercían muchas maestras sin título y carentes de formación académica²⁸. Los sectores populares de las áreas rurales y barrios populares de las zonas urbanas estaban muy alejados de la educación y apenas recibían una rudimentaria instrucción. De tal forma que la infraescolaridad disparaba los saldos de analfabetismo. Los problemas de escolarización, dotación de escuelas y maestros afectaron sobremanera a la población insular durante toda la centuria decimonónica²⁹. Según se recogía en las discusiones de los congresos pedagógicos, la instrucción pública estaba sometida a un lamentable estado de abandono. Los edificios escolares no reunían condiciones pedagógicas y el número de puestos escolares era enormemente deficiente y se registraron elevados índices de niños por escuela. Solo una tercera parte de la población en edad escolar se hallaba escolarizada. Los programas escolares eran muy limitados a unos pocos contenidos instructivos: religión, lectura, escritura y el cálculo además de labores para las niñas.

²⁶ J.F. Martín Ruiz, *Dinámica y estructura de la población de las Canarias orientales (siglos XIX y XX)*, Las Palmas de Gran Canaria, Mancomunidad de Cabildos de las Palmas, Cabildo Insular de Gran Canaria, 1985.

²⁷ Olive, *Diccionario estadístico administrativo de las Islas Canarias*, cit.

²⁸ T. González Pérez, *Aprendizas de maestras. Primeras maestras tituladas en Canarias*, «History of Education & Children's Literature», vol. XIX, n. 2, 2024, pp. 61-83.

²⁹ T. González Pérez, *Alfabetismo y escolarización en Canarias*, «Tebeto: Anuario del Archivo Histórico Insular de Fuerteventura», n. 9, 1996, p. 326.

2.1. Conferencias Pedagógicas en la Escuela Normal de Maestros de La Laguna

Durante doce años, entre 1888 y 1899, se convocaron y celebraron estas actividades de renovación pedagógica en La Laguna, aunque con escasa respuesta por parte del magisterio. Unos encuentros pedagógicos con pobres resultados en el plano de la educación dada la limitada proyección entre los docentes.

En 1888, en el salón de actos de la Escuela Normal de Maestros de La Laguna (Tenerife) se inauguraron Conferencias Pedagógicas³⁰, que se celebraron los días 1, 2 y 3 de septiembre. A dichas Conferencias asistieron maestros y maestras, presididas por el Director de la Escuela Normal Manuel Pérez Rodríguez, el Secretario Ramón Arocha y Gabriel Suárez Profesor auxiliar de Prácticas de Enseñanza junto al Inspector de Enseñanza Primaria de la provincia de Canarias, Rodrigo de la Puerta y Vila. Tenemos constancia de la presencia de:

- Juan de la Puerta Canseco maestro de la escuela pública superior de niños de Santa Cruz de Tenerife.
- Antonio Martín Mirabal, maestro de la escuela pública de Adultos de Santa Cruz de Tenerife.
- Diego García de la Vega, maestro nacional de la escuela pública elemental de niños de la Orotava.
- Dolores Sánchez Peña, maestra de la escuela pública de niñas de La Laguna.
- Teresa Nóbrega González, maestra de la escuela pública de niñas de La Laguna.

En la primera sesión intervino el Inspector de Enseñanza Primaria de la provincia de Canarias, Rodrigo de la Puerta y Vila, quien destacó la importancia de las Conferencias, a la vez que hizo una crítica sobre las precariedades de las escuelas y las penurias económicas de los maestros por el desinterés de las autoridades públicas³¹. Los retrasos en el abono de los salarios, los nefastos comentarios de los adversarios de la instrucción, dado que algunos representantes de los poderes locales injuriaban a los maestros y criticaban su trabajo, las infraestructuras ruinosas y la carencia de material didáctico entorpecían la labor magisterial³².

El principal orador de las Conferencias fue Juan de la Puerta Canseco, maestro de la escuela pública superior de niños de Santa Cruz de Tenerife. Una persona muy comprometida con la educación insular, el cual había elaborado materiales didácticos para la infancia, se decantó por la metodología de la enseñanza. En el conjunto de las actividades formativas, fomentadas por los

³⁰ AULL, Fondo de Magisterio, Caja 316, Doc. 3.

³¹ «El Auxiliar», Santa Cruz de Tenerife 26 de septiembre de 1889.

³² *Ibid.*

propios profesores, se estudiaron básicamente los temas relacionados con las preocupaciones didácticas más inmediatas.

En el Boletín Oficial de la Provincia de Canarias de 19 de abril de 1889 se publicó una nueva convocatoria de Conferencias³³. A través de dicha convocatoria se brindaba la oportunidad, a los maestros y maestras, de proponer temas para disertar sobre alguna cuestión de interés para la enseñanza. En esta segunda convocatoria de dichas Conferencias, la maestra de la escuela elemental pública de niñas de Güimar (sur de Tenerife), Francisca Torrens Pérez, solicitó el 26 de abril de 1889 al Director de la Escuela Normal y a la Comisión organizadora intervenir y tomar parte en la discusión de los temas. La comisión aceptó la propuesta y en el programa de las conferencias se incluyó el tema *Necesidad de educar e instruir a la mujer: papel que le corresponde en el ministerio de la educación*³⁴. El tema fue presentado el 21 de julio de 1889, Francisca Torrens Pérez rompió el silencio y alzó la voz a favor de la educación de las mujeres. Por primera vez participaba una mujer como ponente en dichas conferencias³⁵. Su inquietud y preocupación por el acceso a la educación de las mujeres isleñas se concretó en su participación en las conferencias pedagógicas, aprovechando el espacio académico para afirmar el derecho a la educación. Reivindicó la educación de las mujeres como preparación básica para poder desempeñar las mismas funciones que los hombres³⁶. Algunos asistentes proclamaron la importancia de la educación de las mujeres, por su repercusión en su papel como madre y educadora de los hijos. La educación de las niñas equivalía a establecer una escuela «en el interior de la familia»³⁷. Sin embargo, se planteó una discusión contraria a la educación igualitaria. No se concebía en la mentalidad de la época, tan dominada por el androcentrismo.

Francisca Torrens puso énfasis en esta cuestión:

para que a todas partes llevara la mujer su bienhechor influjo y para que se cumpliesen mejor las leyes morales, asegurándole la independencia de un trabajo honrado... no sólo la dirección de escuelas de párvulos, sino también la de las escuelas mixtas y elementales de niñas y las Normales de Maestras, si se quiere que la escuela no sea otra cosa que la continuación del hogar³⁸.

En la siguiente edición de las conferencias pedagógicas celebradas en 1890, también en la Escuela Normal lagunera, la citada maestra, ocupó de nuevo la tribuna de oradores y se significó como conferenciante defensora de la igual-

³³ «Boletín Oficial de la Provincia de Canarias» (BOPC), Santa Cruz de Tenerife, 19 de abril de 1889.

³⁴ AULL, Fondo de Magisterio, Caja 316, Doc. 3.

³⁵ «El Auxiliar», Santa Cruz de Tenerife, 6 de agosto de 1889.

³⁶ AULL, Fondo de Magisterio, Caja 316, Doc. 3.

³⁷ «El Auxiliar», Santa Cruz de Tenerife, 6 de agosto de 1889.

³⁸ *Ibid.*

dad. El 29 de agosto de 1890 planteo la defensa del derecho a la educación y al trabajo, en igualdad con los hombres, manifestó lo siguiente:

Para que la educación de la mujer sea íntegra ¿cuáles son los géneros de su actividad que debe tener el educador? Y no alcanzando la educación a todos ¿podrá tomar la mujer cumplidamente sus deberes, atender a sus obligaciones y apreciar en lo que valen sus propios derechos?³⁹.

La labor de esta pionera también demuestra la importancia de la educación en la lucha por los derechos de las mujeres, un tema que sigue siendo relevante en la actualidad. Con sus intervenciones, Francisca Torrens Pérez abrió un espacio al debate, demostrando el interés del tema, no sin encontrar opositores que mantenían principios educativos basados en la diferencia, sustentados en la visión hogareña de las mujeres. Las respuestas adversas fueron fiel reflejo de la mentalidad del momento, cegadas por la sociedad tradicional. No obstante, cabe puntualizar que el auditorio lo componían maestros y maestras, y que los maestros replicaron al derecho a la educación de las mujeres. Entonces si ésta era la actitud del magisterio masculino ¿que se podría esperar de la respuesta social ante el fenómeno educativo?

A pesar de las mejoras introducidas por la Ley Moyano, las deficiencias eran tan notables, que se produjo un intenso debate acerca de la educación de las mujeres. El análisis de género con una mirada crítica, histórica y socio-cultural, revela la desigualdad en los discursos y en las prácticas formativas que regulaban la formación entre mujeres y hombres, que activaron los dispositivos de la exclusión y subordinación de las mujeres. Un imaginario con mecanismos de exclusión de las mujeres, con reproducción de estereotipos de género (programas de estudio, contenidos, materiales didácticos) y marcadas asimetrías de género.

2.2. Conferencias Pedagógicas en la Escuela Normal de Maestros de Las Palmas de Gran Canaria

Las primeras Conferencias se celebraron en la Escuela Normal de Maestros de Las Palmas de Gran Canaria el 5, 6 y 7 de septiembre de 1888⁴⁰. Bajo la presidencia del director Tomás Rodríguez de la Sierra, el claustro de profesores y un grupo de maestros de las escuelas públicas de la ciudad y otros procedentes de los pueblos de la isla de Gran Canaria, se inauguraron las conferencias pedagógicas. Para esa edición se planificaron tres conferencias. Como conferenciantes participaron los profesores de la Escuela Normal de Maestros de

³⁹ AULL, Fondo de Magisterio, Caja 316, Doc. 2.

⁴⁰ «El Auxiliar», Santa Cruz de Tenerife, septiembre de 1888, pp. 276-279.

Las Palmas, Juan Hidalgo Romero y Tomás Rodríguez de la Sierra, que a la vez era el director, y el maestro propietario de la escuela pública de niños de San Bernardo, Francisco Cabrera Rodríguez. El profesor Juan Hidalgo Romero disertó sobre *Conocimientos que debe comprender un buen sistema de educación nacional clasificándolos según su importancia relativa y determinando las reglas que conviene someter su enseñanza en la niñez*. La segunda conferencia titulada *Principios en que se funda la disciplina escolástica y medios para establecerla y conservarla. Parte de la disciplina que depende del Maestro y que asegura la buena compostura de los niños, el orden y silencio durante los diferentes ejercicios* la pronunció Francisco Cabrera Rodríguez, profesor de Sordomudos y Ciegos. Según recoge el periódico El Auxiliar, «un excelente discurso, nutrido de doctrina pedagógica, cautivando la atención del auditorio» fue muy aplaudido y felicitado por los profesores de la Normal⁴¹. La tercera conferencia estuvo a cargo del Director de la Escuela Normal de maestros, Tomás Rodríguez de la Sierra, que trató el tema *Perfectibilidad del hombre, de la cual ha resultado y resulta la sorprendente extensión de los conocimientos humanos. ¿Viene la educación a realizar ese grandioso fin?* Con esta disertación conectó con el público asistente de tal manera que fue muy elogiado por esta intervención. Los docentes que concurrieron a estas conferencias celebraban la importancia de las mismas, reconociéndolas como *único medio para dignificar al Magisterio*⁴².

En 1889 convocaron otra edición de las Conferencias para los días 22, 23 y 24 de agosto, el claustro propuso tres temas que giraban en torno a la religión católica: 1) *La doctrina católica*. 2) *El sentimiento de sus manifestaciones*. 3) *La necesidad de la religión en la enseñanza*⁴³. Se celebraron en el salón de actos de la Escuela Normal con la participación de profesores de magisterio y maestros, contó con la asistencia de maestros y maestras. La religión católica se mostraba como un centro de interés en la educación y estaba presente en el currículo académico, razón por la que fue una cuestión relevante en aquel contexto.

En 1891, organizaron una nueva edición de las Conferencias Pedagógicas y se fijaron para los días 27, 28 y 29 de agosto, en periodo vacacional como era habitual. El claustro de la Escuela Normal propuso temas de debate y convocó a maestros y maestras⁴⁴. También se plantearon tres conferencias, entre ellas, una dedicada a la educación de la mujer, titulada *Bases en que debe fundarse la educación de la mujer para que pueda cumplir debidamente la doble misión de esposa y madre*. Este tema se mostraba controvertido en el orden de la época, en un escenario en el que los propios docentes defendían el mo-

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 277.

⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 279.

⁴³ BOPC. Santa Cruz de Tenerife, 19 de abril de 1889.

⁴⁴ «El Auxiliar», Santa Cruz de Tenerife, 23 de abril de 1891, p. 85.

delo educativo sexista, amparado en los ideales del patriarcado. Las otras dos conferencias versaron: 1ª *Origen de la escritura y materias que para ellas han empleado. Método y procedimientos más adecuados para la enseñanza de esta asignatura e importancia de la misma* y la 3ª conferencia *Fundamentos en que debe apoyarse la enseñanza de la aritmética, teniendo en consideración lo legislado sobre sistema métrico decimal. Cómo debe considerarse en las escuelas el estudio del sistema antiguo de medidas, pesas y monedas*.

Cada año se publicaba la convocatoria correspondiente en el Boletín Oficial de la Provincia de Canarias y la prensa se hacía eco. La respuesta del magisterio fue desigual, hubo escasa participación de maestras y maestros de la periferia, de la misma manera que sucedía en el caso de la Normal de La Laguna. No participaban docentes de zonas alejadas ni de otras islas dados los problemas de transporte y alojamiento y el elevado costo junto a los raquíuticos salarios, tal como hemos indicado.

En la última década del siglo se estimó la escasa incidencia de las Conferencias Pedagógicas en el sector docente, desde sus comienzos se evidenció su limitada respuesta, y no solo en el territorio insular sino también a nivel nacional, a pesar de las carencias formativas y la necesidad de actualización. Dada la poca participación, desde las esferas oficiales se aplicaron reformas para dinamizarlas. En 1893 y 1894 se crearon las Asambleas de Maestros, que sustituirían a las Conferencias donde éstas no se celebraran. En cumplimiento de la legislación oficial sobre celebración de Asambleas y Exposiciones Escolares emanada de la Dirección General de Instrucción Pública⁴⁵. Como antecedentes, tenemos referencia de que se habían celebrado Asambleas Pedagógicas en otras provincias y lugares. En las provincias de Castellón, Valencia, Alicante, Murcia, Albacete y Teruel, por ejemplo. La Asamblea pedagógica regional de Valencia tuvo lugar entre los días 28 al 31 de julio de 1886, siendo considerada «la reunión más importante de este género desde la celebración del Congreso pedagógico de Madrid en 1882»⁴⁶.

En 1895, el director de la Escuela Normal de Las Palmas de Gran Canaria, planteó que en la próxima edición, se diera a las Conferencias Pedagógicas el carácter de Asamblea Pedagógica y Exposición escolar. Argumentó que el magisterio isleño no pudo concurrir a la Asamblea Pedagógica y Exposición escolar regional celebrada en Sevilla, de cuyo distrito universitario se dependía administrativamente. Proponía que se realizaran en el mes de abril de 1896, coincidiendo con el aniversario de la conquista y colonización de esa isla de Gran Canaria y en cuyo programa de festejos debían figurar estas actividades. Enmarcar la Asamblea Pedagógica y la Exposición escolar, en la agenda oficial

⁴⁵ Real Orden de 6 de noviembre de 1893 y Real Orden de 8 de marzo de 1894.

⁴⁶ F. Canes Garrido, *Aportación al estudio de la primera enseñanza pública en la ciudad de Valencia: innovaciones educativas en el siglo XIX*, «I Coloquio de historia de la educación», Alcalá de Henares, 1982, pp. 126-127.

de celebración, era una forma de realzar y dar difusión al programa de esta actividad académica. El presidente de la Junta Organizadora de la Asamblea Pedagógica y de la Exposición Escolar Regional era el propio director de la Escuela Normal de Maestros. Se encargó de la coordinación, de los preparativos y gestiones burocráticas de este evento. Se trataba de una exposición de carácter regional, en la que participaron maestros y maestras de diferentes escuelas de las islas. Ciertamente que la mayor participación fue de Gran Canaria, seguida de Tenerife y La Palma. La motivación, el buen hacer y el compromiso educativo quedaron de relieve subrayando las acciones del magisterio. A sabiendas de los costos de los desplazamientos insulares, y para facilitar la participación, el transporte marítimo de los materiales que se aportaran era gratuito, y los asistentes interinsulares pagarían la mitad del costo del billete. Los profesores y maestros delegados debían contestar, previamente a su asistencia, a un Cuestionario sobre dichas cuestiones, emitiendo los Inspectores distintos relatorías en tal Asamblea sobre la base de los datos anteriores. Las actas, conclusiones y resultados deberían ser remitidos con posterioridad a la Dirección General.

Con el carácter de Asamblea Pedagógica se celebraron las Conferencias Pedagógicas en el salón de actos de la Escuela Normal de Maestros, los días 30 de abril, 1 y 2 de mayo de 1896 a las 12:00 horas. Se impartieron tres conferencias, de una hora de duración cada una y posteriormente había un debate. Cada persona asistente podía pedir la palabra para participar y disponía de diez minutos para su intervención⁴⁷. La primera conferencia la presentaba Manuel Oliva Pérez que disertó sobre *Importancia de Educación Física referida al cuerpo y su incidencia moral e intelectual*. La segunda, a cargo de Carmelo Zumbado, se tituló ¿Conviene introducir en todas las escuelas la enseñanza del Dibujo? Y la tercera conferencia *La conveniencia del método activo, su conocimiento y aplicación práctica* la pronunció una maestra, que en aquel contexto no dejaba de ser algo excepcional, a la tribuna se subió Felisa Pérez Rodríguez. Se trataba de una maestra natural del pueblo de Guía (Gran Canaria) que se había titulado en 1885 como maestra de grado elemental, y en 1888 como maestra de grado superior en la Escuela Normal de Maestros de La Laguna (Tenerife) por el régimen de enseñanza libre.

La inauguración de la Exposición Escolar Regional se realizó en el salón de actos de la Escuela de Magisterio, con la presencia de autoridades académicas y municipales así como la asistencia de numeroso público, con la actuación de la banda de música y el coro de niños. Mientras la clausura tuvo lugar en el salón del Ayuntamiento de Las Palmas, presidida por el Obispo y diferentes autoridades, contó con la actuación del coro de niñas. Esta celebración indicaba la atención y difusión que se les brindó a estas actividades académicas formativas.

⁴⁷ «Diario de Las Palmas», Las Palmas de Gran Canaria, 28 de abril de 1896; «El Auxiliar», Santa Cruz de Tenerife, 20 de mayo de 1896, pp. 105-107.

La Exposición Escolar Regional estuvo abierta al público durante los tres días, mientras la banda de música tocaba en el patio. Las sesiones de la Asamblea Pedagógica solo eran para los profesionales del magisterio y no eran públicas. Cualquier miembro de la Asamblea tras las conferencias podía intervenir y participar en la discusión durante diez minutos. La Inspección general de enseñanza había recomendado la sencillez en las conferencias, con estilo conciso y razonamientos breves con expresión suficiente, evitando la retórica para facilitar mayor comprensión del auditorio. La Inspección ejercía control sobre los docentes incluso en las actividades complementarias y extracurriculares. Las iniciativas de perfeccionamiento emanadas, desde los propios maestros, no siempre pudieron aplicarse dadas las precariedades de las escuelas y de los docentes, carentes de materiales y recursos.

En la Exposición deberían constar documentos legislativos y administrativos, informes sobre el estado de la enseñanza, estadísticas, proyectos de organización, datos sobre las instalaciones escolares, material de enseñanza, libros, trabajos didácticos y organizativos de la vida de la escuela. De tal manera que la Exposición Escolar constaba de varias partes:

1. Documentos legislativos y administrativos: datos históricos, estadísticas, matrículas, relación de asistencias o ausencias, informes sobre las escuelas, etc.
2. Edificios escolares: infraestructuras, mobiliario, condiciones higiénicas (ventilación, iluminación), material visual (fotografías, láminas), modelos, etc.
3. Material de enseñanza: libros de textos, libros de lectura, cartillas, láminas, colecciones, mapas, globo terráqueo, etc.
4. Trabajos educativos: trabajos de los maestros y maestras (actividades realizadas por los maestros en las escuelas, materiales didácticos elaborados, programas, lecciones, memorias, etc.) y trabajos de los niños y niñas (ejercicios de lengua y matemáticas, muestras de escritura, diversos trabajos de labores y trabajos manuales).

La trascendencia de la Exposición estribó en la importancia de transmitir al mundo las vivencias educativas y culturales de la educación. La exhibición de diversos objetos originales de interés permitía conocer el patrimonio educativo y el clima escolar en el que se desarrollaba. La exposición de trabajos de niños y niñas, de cuadernos escolares, dibujos así como de trabajos manuales y de labores, aportó evidencias de la inmensa tarea desplegada por maestros y maestras, así como del bien hacer de la infancia. Una exposición temporal cargada de contenido conectando con la realidad escolar, ofreciendo información del patrimonio material e inmaterial, de la vida académica, profesional y el trabajo educativo. Los materiales de la exposición reproducían escenas escolares y evocaban diferentes momentos de la vida cotidiana en la escuela. La Exposición fue una oportunidad para conocer las maneras de enseñar y organizar la docencia, incluso a modo de intercambio de saberes entre los docentes. Real-

mente constituía una visita por el mundo educativo, en el que se conjugaban los actores y actrices, niños y niñas, como auténticos protagonistas del proceso educativo. La participación de maestros y maestras era esencial. La Exposición bien organizada y estructurada con diferentes materiales, objetos y útiles de variada índole resultó valorada y reconocida en aquel entorno. Así se concedieron premios a los expositores, tales como medallas de oro, plata o bronce, por el mobiliario escolar, por el material de enseñanza, por libros didácticos, por los mapas⁴⁸. La prensa educativa y la prensa general informaban puntualmente de este acontecimiento. Las exposiciones temporales de la cultura escolar como espacio para conocer y reconstruir el patrimonio histórico-educativo, pretendían ser el punto de encuentro para que se conocieran los medios y las condiciones de la enseñanza-aprendizaje⁴⁹.

La celebración en la Escuela Normal de Maestros de Las Palmas de la Asamblea Pedagógica y Exposición escolar significó un avance importante en el reconocimiento de las innovaciones en la educación⁵⁰. Tanto la prensa pedagógica como la prensa local se hicieron eco de la organización⁵¹ y actividad desplegada⁵². Los periódicos daban información puntual sobre los preparativos y progresos previos a la inauguración, que tuvo lugar el día 29 de abril de 1896⁵³. El periódico educativo «El Auxiliar» también publicó el programa de los actos de la Asamblea Pedagógica y relató los aspectos más destacados de la Exposición Escolar Regional de Las Palmas⁵⁴.

3. *El protagonismo de las maestras en los Congresos Pedagógicos*

Los congresos pedagógicos del siglo XIX, fueron protagonizados por profesores y maestros comprometidos con la política educativa de enseñanza primaria. Los congresos pedagógicos celebrados en las últimas décadas del siglo (1882, 1888 y 1892) resultaran claves para la educación de las mujeres, fueron sensibles a su problemática. En ellos se puso de relieve el interés por la educación femenina, aunque sin cuestionar su rol social. Además, contaron con la participación de mujeres, en especial de figuras señeras de la cultura y de la educación como las escritoras y las maestras, que se significaron en la defensa de la educación femenina. En las sesiones las mujeres mostraron su disconfor-

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 20 de mayo de 1896, pp. 106-107.

⁴⁹ M^a J. Llinares Ciscar. *Exposiciones sobre la cultura escolar como espacio para el conocimiento del patrimonio histórico educativo*, «Cabás», n. 19, 2018, p. 91.

⁵⁰ «El Auxiliar», Santa Cruz de Tenerife, 10 de marzo de 1896, pp. 49-50.

⁵¹ «Diario de Las Palmas», Las Palmas de Gran Canaria, 28 de febrero de 1896.

⁵² «El Auxiliar», Santa Cruz de Tenerife, 4 y 5 de marzo de 1896.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 28 de abril de 1896.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 20 de mayo de 1896, pp. 105-107.

midad ante los prejuicios de los hombres, que consideraban que su acceso a la instrucción repercutiría de forma desfavorable en su función social. En este sentido hubo un radical enfrentamiento con determinados sectores políticos y culturales, que defendían el alejamiento de las mujeres de la cultura. Argumentaban los posibles perjuicios y complicaciones para la convivencia familiar si las mujeres accedían a la educación y desarrollaban actividad laboral remunerada. En contrapartida, otra parte del auditorio de los congresos pedagógicos fue muy sensible a la educación de la mujer.

En 1882 el Congreso Nacional Pedagógico celebrado en Madrid abordó la educación en España. Hubo algunas ponencias que versaron sobre el tema de las mujeres. La maestra de Madrid, Encarnación Martínez Marina, reclamó una educación idéntica al hombre con los mismos derechos profesionales⁵⁵. No obstante, la mayoría de los presentes se opuso a la educación superior femenina, así como a que ocuparan puestos docentes en las escuelas normales. Sin embargo, se aprobó la propuesta de que las mujeres se encargasen de las escuelas de párvulos⁵⁶. En este Congreso, el conocido pedagogo decimonónico Mariano Carderera, expuso su particular opinión alegando que no era nocivo que la mujer se instruya «lo que no debe ofrecer duda es que no debe fomentarse, ni menos excitarse en ella, las aspiraciones a salir de su esfera»⁵⁷. En el mismo ámbito, unos días después, Antonio Pérez de la Mata, Director del Instituto de Soria, insistió en que «solo las mujeres varoniles, y aún las que por vocación o cálculo, se sustraen de aquellos tan sagrados cuanto penosos deberes pueden aspirar a una mayor cultura»⁵⁸. No dejan de sorprender estas argumentaciones entre profesionales de la enseñanza, y en el escenario de un congreso pedagógico, donde se presumía que participaba la gente más culta, progresista y avanzada, los profesionales de la educación que tenían otra visión de la cultura alejada de la mentalidad común del pueblo. En los debates se plantearon diversas cuestiones que afectaban al trabajo de las maestras, consideraban que no tenían asignado el mismo papel en las escuelas de niñas que los maestros en las escuelas de niños⁵⁹.

Más tarde, las maestras reclamaban que inspección de las escuelas de niñas estuviera a cargo de mujeres. Así lo manifestó Walda Lucenqui, procedente de la Escuela Normal de Badajoz, en el Congreso Nacional Pedagógico celebrado

⁵⁵ Cfr. L. Batanaz Palomares, *La educación española en la crisis de fin de siglo: Los Congresos pedagógicos del siglo XIX*, Córdoba, Diputación Provincial de Córdoba, 1982, p. 171.

⁵⁶ L. Sánchez, J.L. Hernández, *Auxilio Social y la educación de los pobres. Del franquismo a la Democracia*, «Foro de Educación», n. 10, 2008, p. 231.

⁵⁷ Cfr. Batanaz Palomares, *La educación española en la crisis del fin de siglo: Los Congresos pedagógicos*, cit., p. 60.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 169.

⁵⁹ M^a T. López del Castillo, *Defensoras de la educación de la mujer. Las primeras inspectoras escolares de Madrid (1861-1926)*, Madrid, Consejería de Educación de la Comunidad de Madrid, 2003, pp. 54-58.

en Barcelona en 1888: «La Inspección de primera enseñanza de las escuelas de niñas debería, en lo posible, estar á cargo de profesoras»⁶⁰. Además, las maestras y profesoras de magisterios replicaron ante las presiones de maestros y profesores por seguir controlando la educación de las mujeres. La profesora de Madrid, Encarnación Martínez, opinaba que la presencia de profesores en las escuelas normales femeninas resultaba «denigrante para la mujer, que, por honra suya, debe sacudir esta tutela bastarda»⁶¹. También abundaba en esta cuestión, Vicenta Janer, que propuso «que la enseñanza á la mujer sea dada por la misma mujer. Se demostraría entonces que el hombre ha sabido educarla é instruir»⁶². Los propios miembros de la ILE expresaron su sentir, defendiendo la docencia de las profesoras⁶³. También se defendía que las mujeres pudieran impartir enseñanza en las escuelas normales mixtas⁶⁴. Las aportaciones de las mujeres⁶⁵ a la formación de maestras se ampliaron y se recogieron en la normativa. A las maestras se les permitió promocionar, desempeñar como directoras y profesoras de las escuelas normales⁶⁶. De manera que lograron sus reivindicaciones superando las restricciones y discriminaciones a las que estaban sometidas en los comienzos de la centuria. Fueron capaces de vencer los recelos y suspicacias de sus coetáneos. Así se amplió la plantilla de las profesoras de magisterio, se incrementó la entidad numérica de profesoras, ganando un espacio académico de trascendencia para la formación de las nuevas generaciones de maestras y como sector profesional para las mujeres. La trayectoria profesional de unas mujeres que con su tenacidad lograron conquistar su espacio profesional y abrieron nuevos horizontes para las maestras del siglo XX, a pesar de la resistencia de los maestros que defendían un modelo patriarcal⁶⁷. Un hecho que derivó en la centuria siguiente en la igualdad salarial.

En los Congresos pedagógicos posteriores, el Congreso Pedagógico Hispano-Portugués-Americano celebrado en 1892, se mostraron favorables a que la inspección de las escuelas de niñas, las realizaran las maestras⁶⁸. Este Congre-

⁶⁰ Congreso Nacional Pedagógico. *Actas del Congreso Nacional Pedagógico de 1888*, Barcelona, Casa provincial de Caridad, 1889, p. 115.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p. 228.

⁶² *Ibid.*, p. 192.

⁶³ M. Bartolomé Cossío, *Número y sueldo de los profesores de las Escuelas Normales*, «Boletín de la Institución Libre de Enseñanza», n. 332, 1890, p. 356.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 257-260.

⁶⁵ M^a C. Colmenar Orzáes, *Contribución de la Escuela Normal Central de Maestras a la Educación femenina en el siglo XIX (1858-1887)*, «Historia de la Educación», n. 2, 1983, pp. 105-112; M^a C. Colmenar Orzáes, *Proyección social de la Escuela Normal Central de Maestras de Madrid durante la Restauración española*, «Historia de la Educación», n. 8, 1989, pp. 161-274.

⁶⁶ Dávila, *La honrada medianía*, cit., pp. 83-103.

⁶⁷ E. Cortada Andreu, *El acceso de las maestras al magisterio público en el siglo XIX: ¿concesión o logro profesional?*, «Historia social», n. 38, 2000, pp. 35-56.

⁶⁸ R. M^a Capel, *La apertura del horizonte cultural femenino: Fernando de Castro y los Congresos Pedagógicos del Siglo XIX, Mujer y Sociedad en España (1700-1975)*, Madrid, Mi-

so trató el tema de la educación primaria, secundaria y superior, y dedicó una parte al debate a la educación de la mujer⁶⁹. La quinta sección del Congreso versó sobre la mujer, bajo el título *Concepto y límites de la educación de la mujer y de la aptitud profesional de ésta*. En este congreso participaron mujeres relevantes, entre ellas, Emilia Pardo Bazán o Concepción Arenal, que al no poder asistir, envió al Congreso un texto para defender la educación femenina⁷⁰. Las discusiones se orientaron a la educación mixta y al derecho de las mujeres a desempeñar diferentes profesiones. En las sesiones hubo detractores de la educación femenina, personas que no la consideraban apta para el saber y con argumentos pseudocientíficos la denigraban, como el expresado por el doctor en Medicina Fernando Calatraveño⁷¹. En síntesis, el primer Congreso Pedagógico fue celebrado en 1882 con la participación de mujeres. Diez años más tarde, en el congreso pedagógico de 1892, destacó la participación de las mujeres, la mayoría maestras, mujeres instruidas y profesionales que debatieron y defendieron la educación de las mujeres. Algunas formaron parte del comité organizador, otras leyeron memorias y una buena parte intervino en los debates. Lo más significativo de los congresos pedagógicos fueron las propuestas sobre la educación de las mujeres. Se debatió favorablemente sobre su capacidad para recibir educación así como para el desempeño de ciertas profesiones.

En este tipo de encuentros científicos no hubo participación de maestros y maestras procedentes de Canarias, o al menos no tenemos constancia de ello, después de consultar la información disponible sobre estos Congresos Pedagógicos. No hubo participación de docentes procedentes de Canarias en los congresos pedagógicos de finales del siglo XX. Había maestras comprometidas con la educación y que se significaron en su quehacer magisterial, sin embargo, no era fácil desplazarse desde el archipiélago a la España peninsular para participar en los congresos pedagógicos. El contexto de la época no favorecía el desplazamiento y participación de las mujeres.

nisterio de Cultura, 1982, p. 143; C. Flecha, *Lo que piensan las mujeres acerca de su educación*, «Historia de la Educación», n. 26, 2007, pp. 395-435.

⁶⁹ P. Alcántara García, *Crónica del Congreso Pedagógico hispano-portugués-americano. Votación de conclusiones*, «La Escuela Moderna», n. 21, 1892, pp. 464-470.

⁷⁰ C. Arenal, *La emancipación de la mujer en España*, Gijón, Editorial Júcar, 1974, p. 67.

⁷¹ F. Calatraveño, *Actas del Congreso Pedagógico Hispano Portugués Americano 1892* (p. 163), en L. Batanaz Palomares, *La educación española en la crisis de fin de siglo*, Córdoba, Excma. Diputación Provincial de Córdoba, 1982, p. 16.

Conclusiones

El abordamiento histórico de la formación del magisterio en España pone en evidencia las precariedades del sector. En la formación permanente destaca la pobreza de iniciativas y la precariedad en el tiempo de los esfuerzos realizados. Las continuas reformas a las que se sometía la formación inicial del magisterio junto a las conferencias pedagógicas constituyen una prueba de la deficiente preparación del colectivo. Para entender la cualificación profesional ha sido preciso poner de manifiesto las circunstancias de la estructura social, de una sociedad tradicional con altos índices de ruralización y escasa urbanización, resaltando los datos más relevantes de la escuela primaria de aquellos momentos.

En Canarias la tenacidad de los directores de las Escuelas de Magisterio, con espíritu renovador, permitió cumplir con la normativa y celebrar las Conferencias Pedagógicas, si bien, no resultaron exitosas. Los intentos de formación permanente quedaron en proyecto dado que los docentes querían soluciones a sus problemáticas y las conferencias tuvieron más un desarrollo teórico que práctico. A esta circunstancia se sumó la falta de apoyo económico, pues resultaban muy complicados los desplazamientos insulares e interinsulares, porque los viajes terrestres o marítimos eran dificultosos, dada la deficiente red de comunicaciones y a ello añadir los costos de los propios traslados y alojamientos. Unos costos que no podían sufragar con los escasos recursos salariales del magisterio, que gravaban sobremanera los bolsillos de las precarias economías del cuerpo docente, máxime cuando las maestras cobraban un salario de rango inferior. De manera que no fue fácil lograr la asistencia y participación de maestras y maestros. La puesta en práctica de proyectos renovadores no estuvo acompañada de la suficiente partida presupuestaria, los insuficientes recursos financieros mermaron su desarrollo. La capacitación docente era una necesidad formativa que no contó con los recursos suficientes que garantizaran su éxito. Además de los problemas indicados, carecían de propuestas incentivadoras que atrajeran al magisterio.

No obstante, se celebraron Conferencias Pedagógicas, una Asamblea y una Exposición pedagógica, que suponían un cambio significativo para mejorar el proceso de enseñanza-aprendizaje, sin embargo, tuvieron poco eco en el magisterio insular dada las dificultades de comunicaciones por la accidentada orografía junto a las circunstancias específicas del colectivo docente. Las maestras y maestros debían poseer una buena formación para poder aplicar los cambios necesarios que favorecieran la innovación educativa. Era un reto para la enseñanza tradicional que estaba siendo relegada a un segundo plano en aras de un mayor protagonismo a nuevos métodos. Igualmente, hubo iniciativas de formación, con edición de libros pedagógicos y de prensa profesional. La prensa educativa, el periódico «El Auxiliar», actuó de vocero, informando sobre la realidad educativa insular. A la vez destacó como medio de denuncia al tiempo que anunciaba estas actividades.

La irregularidad en su funcionamiento no ha sido razón para no reconocer su dimensión y alcance. La trayectoria irregular en la celebración de las Conferencias Pedagógicas fue la nota predominante en la centuria decimonónica en Canarias, sin embargo, no hubo continuidad de las Conferencias Pedagógicas a comienzos del siglo XX como sucedió en otras provincias. No tenemos constancia documental de que a inicios del siglo XX se celebraran dichas Conferencias. La Asamblea Pedagógica y la Exposición escolar constituyeron un ejemplo del impulso de los organizadores a las innovaciones metodológicas, además de dar a conocer el patrimonio educativo, divulgando sus prácticas a través de diferentes objetos que ilustraban las distintas temáticas.

La presión del espacio geográfico junto a los escasos recursos económicos mermó el éxito de estas innovaciones pedagógicas, modelo alternativo frente a la educación tradicional.

La importancia de las instituciones educativas para la alfabetización y el desarrollo cultural de las mujeres no se potenció debido a las deficiencias en el sistema educativo, hecho que reflejó altos índices de ignorancia femenina. Los maestros y maestras se enfrentaban, cada día en sus respectivas escuelas, a una problemática específica, con una idiosincrasia propia, y no siempre estaban preparados para resolver las situaciones sobrevenidas. Ese intento de formación permanente, aún a costa de las vacaciones estivales, constituía una medida pedagógica o instrucción para atender la escolaridad e introducir innovaciones didácticas. Se trataba de un modelo educativo que se proponía modificar la práctica educativa e innovar en la escuela, renovando los esquemas pedagógicos tradicionales. Aunque no se consolidó la formación permanente creó conciencia y generó actitudes favorables a la renovación pedagógica. Las maestras y maestros han sido, a través de los tiempos, portadores del saber: produciendo, transmitiendo y transformando conocimientos. Eran personas eruditas que llegaron a las áreas rurales y/o urbanas, muchas de ellas alejadas y marginadas, de la geografía española.

The development of education and pedagogical thought in Russia in the era of Empress Catherine II (the second half of the XVIII century)

Vladimir Borissovich Pomelov
Department of Pedagogy
Vyatka State University
Kirov (Russian Federation)
vladimirpomelov@mail.ru

ABSTRACT: The article characterizes the most important features of the development of education in Russia during the reign of Empress Catherine II in the second half of the XVIII century (1762-1796). The work of progressive figures of education F.I. Yankovich de Mirievo and I.I. Betskoy on the creation of an education system in Russia, the opening of major and small public schools and the Smolny Institute of Noble Maidens is shown. The description of the content of the work of these educational institutions is given. Attention is paid to showing how the education system was implemented in the Russian province (on the example of the Vyatka province). The views of prominent teachers and thinkers of the time N.I. Novikov, G.S. Skovoroda, A.N. Radishchev are revealed.

EET/TEE KEYWORDS: Empress Catherine II; Smolny Institute of Noble Maidens; N.I. Novikov; G.S. Skovoroda; A.N. Radishchev; XVIII Century.

1. Russian Empress Catherine II and French educators

Empress Catherine II of Russia (1729-1796) (born Sophie Auguste Friederike von Anhalt-Zerbst-Dornburg) reigned in 1762-1796, a much longer period than any other ruler in the history of Russia. During her reign, Russia's territory increased significantly, a large number of industrial enterprises were built, and Russia's influence in European affairs increased considerably. At the same time, she went down in history as probably the most wasteful ruler: the national debt that she left behind was covered finally only in 1891, i.e. almost a century after her death!

In the second half of the XVIII century, the cruel exploitation of serfs by landlords was brought to extreme limits. The class struggle between peasants and landlords intensified, and a formidable peasant war under the leadership of the Cossack Emelian Ivanovich Pugachev broke out (1773-1775). The young Empress understood clearly the need to develop education in the country. After the death of the great reformer of Russia, Emperor Peter I (years of life – 1672-1725, years of reign – 1682-1725) all the following Russian Emperors and Empresses (Catherine I, Peter II, Anna I, Elizabeth I, Peter III) practically didn't pay any attention to the development of education in Russia. The lag in this issue from the leading European countries was becoming more and more obvious and threatened the very existence of the Russian Empire. It was clear for everybody that few, separate, unrelated and devoid of continuity educational institutions, small and primitive at that, weren't able to serve as a reliable basis for ensuring progress in the socio-economic, military and cultural spheres of the Russian society. These were usually parish schools, not gymnasiums.

Catherine II began her reign with a promise to improve state laws and regulations of various estates¹. She corresponded with French famous educators (Voltaire, Diderot), whom she hypocritically invited to participate in the development and implementation of public educational projects on the territory of the Russian Empire. Catherine II suggested Denis Diderot (1713-1784) to publish the *Encyclopedia of Sciences, Arts, and Crafts* in Russia because its publication in France faced significant difficulties. The Empress's gesture concealed not only an intention to strengthen her reputation, but also a desire to satisfy the interest of the Russian educated society in this publication. Diderot refused, but as an option that suited both sides, he suggested some extracts from the Encyclopedia. As a result, 25 fragments of it were published in Russia in the last quarter of the XVIII century.

In 1773, Diderot visited Russia at the invitation of Catherine II. He lived in St. Petersburg from October 1773 to March 1774, and was elected a foreign honorary member of the Academy of Sciences of Russia. At the request of the Russian Empress, he drew up the so-called *University Plan for Russia*, that would mean the establishment of the solid educational system in the country. Diderot didn't have to think about it for long. The plan he proposed to the Russian Empress was an exact copy of the French educational system that has been in existence for a long time. According to the Diderot's plan, the whole territory of Russia had to be divided into several University districts. The University in each district was supposed to play the role of the governing center for all other educational institutions. This plan was completely inapplicable in Russia at the time, where almost the entire population was concentrated in the western, European part of the Empire, while there were almost no schools in

¹ N.A. Konstantinov, E.N. Medynsky, M.F. Shabaeva, *Istoriya pedagogiki* [History of pedagogy], Moscow, Prosveshchenie Publ., 1982, p. 162 (in Russian).

the Asian part of it, let alone any more or less significant educational institutions. In its main features, the implementation of this plan has begun under Alexander I in the first quarter of the 19th century, when the ministry of public education and four new Universities (Vilna, Dorpat, Kharkov and Kazan) were opened at once, in addition to the previously existing in Moscow and St. Petersburg. It was fully completed only in the 20th century. In Catherine's Russia, conditions haven't yet matured for the implementation of the Diderot's plan².

Another great French educator, Voltaire (1694-1778), was Catherine II's favorite author. The Empress even referred to herself as his "disciple". For his part, Voltaire, from the very beginning of Catherine II's political activity, expressed respect for her. After the palace coup of 1762 in Russia, the educator actively used compliments. He named Catherine II *Semiramis*. Voltaire and Catherine II have corresponded for 15 years. In his letters, he drew the Empress's attention to the education of ordinary citizens of Russia.

However, occasional communications with prominent educators couldn't replace constant work in the field of the development of education. The economic development of Russia, the growth of cities and the increase in its size of the state apparatus, as well as the increasingly obvious need to spread literacy among the unprivileged, primarily urban, population, prompted Empress Catherine II to pay close attention to the problems of public education. She understood that an educational system should be designed to meet the educational needs of as many citizens as possible, with an exception, of course, of those whom the authorities referred to as the «vile class», i.e. the serf peasantry. For some time, Catherine II hesitated about choosing the specific plan of education development in the country...

2. *Creation of major and small public schools in cities and county towns*

The rise of the Russia's economic development, the growth of cities and an increase in the urban population forced the government to start opening schools for the underprivileged urban population. In 1782, the commission for the establishment of public schools in Russia was founded in St. Petersburg. It was a governmental bureaucratic body, which didn't include the most prominent figures of Russian culture and education of the time. In this sense, the exception was the most active member of this commission Fyodor Ivanovich Yankovich de Mirievo (1741-1814), the Serb by nationality, who had been invited by the Russian Empress from Austria-Hungary at the recommendation of the Austrian Emperor. Yankovich was a great didact, a faithful follower of

² V.B. Pomelov, *100 velikih pedagogov [100 great teachers]*, Moscow, Veche Publ., 2018, p. 67 (in Russian).

J.A. Komensky and his ideas. Earlier, Yankovich had created an educational system for the Austro-Hungarian Empire, and in Russia the system established by the Empress Catherine II took this model as an example³. In 1786 the commission prepared a *Charter for public schools in the Russian Empire*, according to which it was supposed to open four-grade major public schools (hereinafter – MPS) with a five-year term of study in provincial cities, and small public schools (hereinafter – SPS) with a two-year term of study in county towns. After graduating from SPS, a student could go to study in the senior classes of MPS, because their curricula were aligned.

The following subjects were included in the curriculum of the MPS: reading, writing, counting, a short catechism, sacred history, penmanship, drawing, arithmetic, history (universal and Russian), geography, grammar, geometry, mechanics, physics, natural history and architecture. The subjects of the first two classes were studied at SPS. Libraries and classrooms were opened at the MPS; visual aids on natural history, physics and mathematics were supposed to be here.

The scholars of the Academy of Sciences and Moscow University have created textbooks for all subjects included in the curriculum of public schools. Serious didactic treatises *Rules for students in public schools* and *Guidance to teachers of public schools* were written. The latter gave instructions on all issues of the educational work at school. Classroom-based organization instead of an individual learning system was advisable. The following methods were recommended: collective reading, cumulative instruction, tables, image in initial letters, questioning and tests.

Some words about each of these innovations. «Collective reading»: in the classroom a teacher, or a student called by him, should stand up and read loudly an educational book that all other students repeat after him in chorus. «Cumulative instruction», i.e., the teacher's explanation of difficult parts of a textbook. «Tables», i.e. drawing up plans, abstracts, and taking notes of the textbook's text. «Image in initial letters», i.e. an image on a blackboard or in a notebook of definitions in initial letters of words. It was a mnemonic device that made it easier to remember new notions. «Questioning», i.e., interviewing of students. A teacher was recommended, by interviewing students, to find out if they understood his previous explanations. «Tests» had to be conducted twice a year in public schools: in the middle of the school year, – private tests of students in the presence of teachers of other classes, and at the end of the school year, – public tests in the presence of a large number of invited persons and guests from the nobility, merchants, clergy and city officials. The public tests were conducted in a solemn atmosphere: teachers had to give welcoming speeches in which the importance of science and public education was promot-

³ *Ibid.*, p. 200.

ed. The students recited poetry. Guests had the right to ask students questions in accordance with the test program. *Guidance* was considered an official didactic tutorial, and teachers were instructed to follow all recommendations of the manual strictly, without deviating from it even in the slightest. *Guidance* assumed that a teacher shouldn't so much appeal to the memory of students, but mostly to their mind, i.e. to seek understanding, and not just memorization. However, the then methods were designed mainly for memorizing texts of textbooks.

As a textbook on moral education, *Book on the Positions of Man and Citizen* was used, which explained to children their duties towards God, the king (or the queen), the family and other people in the spirit of autocratic serfdom ideology.

The material support and management of the MPS and SPS were entrusted to orders of public charity, which were headed by officials of the province, and not by the pedagogical administration⁴. These secular, provincial, general educational institutions, – the first in the history of Russia, – were supposed to open with special solemnity. The first school day was announced on September 22, Catherine II's namesake day, as it was indicated in the highest the decree received by governors of provinces. This day, famous in the history of Russia, got a special glory as a day of the beginning of universal public enlightenment⁵.

In the first year, it was supposed to start the educational process at the MPS in twenty-five provincial cities. It was also planned to open, – and this plan was fully implemented, – a significant number of SPS. By the end of the XVIII century, 315 small and major schools with a total number of students of about 20,000 people had opened in Russia; 790 teachers worked in them⁶. For such a huge country as Russia, the quantity of schools and students was, of course, extremely insufficient. But, nevertheless, the beginning of the public educational system in Russia was laid.

⁴ V.B. Pomelov, *Soderzhanie i metody raboty v Vyatskom glavnom narodnom uchilishche* [The content and methods of work at the Vyatka major people school], «Primary school», n. 7, 2011, p. 11 (in Russian).

⁵ V.B. Pomelov, *Glavnye i malye narodnye uchilishcha Vyatskoj gubernii, (k 225-letiyu sozdaniya sistemy svetskogo obrazovaniya v Rossii)*, «Vestnik Vyatskogo gosudarstvennogo humanitarnogo universiteta», seriya «Pedagogika i psihologiya» [The major and small public schools of the Vyatka province (to the 225th anniversary of the creation of the secular education system in Russia)], «Bulletin of the Vyatka State University for the Humanities», The series «Pedagogy and Psychology», vol. 2, n. 3, 2011, p. 73 (in Russian).

⁶ Konstantinov, Medynsky, Shabaeva, *Istoriya pedagogiki*, cit., pp. 164-165 (in Russian).

3. *How was the task of establishing the major and small public schools solved in the province (at the example of the Vyatka province)?*

The highest decree on establishing schools was signed on August 12, and soon the Kazan Governor-General, Prince Platon Stepanovich Meshchersky received it, along with other governors⁸. The decree gave notice of the decision of the commission of public schools, approved by the Empress, to establish the major and small public schools in Russia, and expressed the requirement to prepare everything necessary for the establishing of a single major public school and several small ones in county towns of the Vyatka province⁹. It was also necessary to find funds for the maintenance of these schools from the revenues of the city and the order of public charity, but without burdening the treasury and without impoverishment for other useful institutions¹⁰.

On August 25, the Vyatka vice-governor Fyodor Fyodorovich Zheltukhin received from the Governor-General P.S. Meshchersky a copy of the imperial decree and an order from him to establish the MPS in Vyatka and the SPS in the town of Slobodskoy¹¹. Soon, funds for the purchase of books and visual aids in the amount of 425 rubles arrived to Vyatka¹².

Soon the teachers assigned to work at the Vyatka MPS also arrived. The chairman of the main commission of public schools, the Count Pyotr Vasilyevich Zavodovsky (1739-1812), later (in 1802-1812) the first Minister of Public Education of the Russian Empire, entrusted the Kazan Governor-General with a special care to patronage the newborn schools.

Some words about each of the first Vyatka teachers of the first state secular school. Efim Viglinsky, the son of a priest, a native of the village of Viglina in the Vesjegonsky district of the Tver province. He had been educated at the Alexander Nevsky Seminary. Grigory Tikhomirov, the son of a deacon, originated from the village of Khoroshevo in the Moscow district of the Moscow province. Ivan Myshkin turned out to be the only native of the Vyatka prov-

⁷ The Vyatka province was part of the Kazan gubernia at the time. Its largest city was Vyatka. Today, it's the Kirov region [Kirovskaya oblast] and the city of Kirov, which is located 1.000 km northeast of Moscow.

⁸ V.B. Pomelov, *Istoriya obrazovaniya v Vyatskom krae v XIV-XVIII vv* [The history of education in the Vyatka region in the XIV-XVIII centuries], Kirov, VyatGGU Publ., 2011, p. 76 (in Russian).

⁹ A.A. Spizin, *Istoriya Vyatskogo glavnogo narodnogo uchilishcha (1786–1891)*, in *Pamyatnaya knizhka i Kalendar' Vyatskoj gubernii na 1891 g.* [The history of the Vyatka Major People School (1786-1891), in *A Commemorative book and Calendar of the Vyatka province for 1891*], Vyatka, 1890, pp. 1-79 (in Russian).

¹⁰ *Stoletie Vyatskoj gubernii. 1780–1880, Sbornik materialov k istorii Vyatskogo kraja* [The centenary of the Vyatka province. 1780-1880, in: *Collection of materials on the history of the Vyatka region*], 2 vols., Vyatka, 1880, Vol. 1, p. 236 (in Russian).

¹¹ Pomelov, *Istoriya obrazovaniya v Vyatskom krae v XIV-XVIII vv.*, cit., p. 76.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 78.

ince among the first group of teachers. The son of the deacon of the village of Kyrmyzh, Vyatka district. He received his education at the Vyatka Theological Seminary. Timofey Titovich Rapinov came from a family of a priest. He graduated from the Kazan Theological Seminary. Later, in 1811 he headed the first Vyatka men's gymnasium. All these four teachers were as well graduates of the St. Petersburg Main National School that was opened in 1782. It was at that time the only educational institution in Russia that trained specialists destined for teaching positions. The head of this first *alma mater* of Russian teachers was F.I. Yankovich de Mirievo. In fact, it was a first Russian teacher's seminary.

Moreover, these first four teachers who came to Vyatka were the students of the first graduate class, which numbered no more than two dozen people. The fifth part of the class was sent specifically to Vyatka. Thus, all four of them, – Viglinsky, Tikhomirov, Myshkin and Rapinov, – had the best pedagogical education of the time, and besides in different specialties. It's highly likely that at that time, no other provincial school in Russia had such qualified teachers as the school in Vyatka. On November 20, 1786, collegiate assessor Ivan Stefanovich was appointed the first director of the first secular school in the Vyatka land at the recommendation of the governor. Stefanovich was of a Polish nobility. In his youth he graduated from the Kiev Theological Academy. Simultaneously the first SPS, as it had been planned, was opened in the ancient town of Slobodskoy of the Vyatka province.

The educational work in the newly created schools was carried out on the basis of the principles and methods that had been developed by F.I. Yankovich de Mirievo together with the Russian scientists who took an active part in the work of the St. Petersburg Main National School.

4. I.I. Betskoy's pedagogical activity

Ivan Ivanovich Betskoy (1704-1795) spent many years in France, among his friends were French educators. He's got acquainted with European educational institutions. In 1763, on his initiative, an "Educational House" with a maternity hospital was opened in Moscow, later, – the similar institution in St. Petersburg, and then in provincial cities. I.I. Betskoy changed the setting of educational work in cadet corps and gymnasiums, increased the time of study in them, opened new educational institutions for different social groups, except serfs, namely, the School at the Academy of Arts, the Commercial School for Noble Youth (for boys), the Smolny Institute of Noble Maidens in St. Petersburg with special departments for girls from the nobility and from the bourgeoisie, etc.

I.I. Betskoy, like all the enlighteners of the XVIII century, highly valued

the role of education in public life. He was convinced, that the root of all evil and good is education or its absence. He presented to Catherine II a report on the general reorganization of education in Russia. The report was published in 1764 under the title *General Institution for the Education of both genders of youth*, and received the force of a law. It spoke about the need to educate in Russia a «new breed of people» by organizing closed educational institutions in which children should stay from 5-6 years old to 18 years old. All this time, they should be isolated from the surrounding life in order to avoid the corrupting influence of society of the time. Betskoy hoped, that educated in such a way nobles should be able, to treat peasants more humanely and govern the state fairly.

I.I. Betskoy considered the main means of moral education to be the suggestion of the “fear of God”, the isolation of children from the inappropriate environment, and demonstration of positive examples of behavior that girls had to see during their schooling. He proposed to support children’s tendency to hard work in closed educational institutions, to instill a habit of avoiding idleness, to educate girls so that they had to be courteous, compassionate to poverty and misfortune. He attached great importance to physical education, and considered clean air the main means of it, as well as entertainment with innocent amusements and games. As for mental education, he pointed out that the learning process should be pleasant for children; it had to be conducted without coercion, and should be based on children’s inclinations. He recommended teaching young people «more from looking and hearing than from mindless memorization». He warned that excessive coaching of children to study could lead to blunting children’s abilities. Therefore, he categorically insisted on the prohibition of physical punishments. Betskoy loved to quote his own words from the *General Plan of the Moscow Educational House*: «Once and for all to introduce the law and strictly assert, – never and for nothing to beat children»¹³.

His idea of educating a «new breed of people» concerned not only the nobility, but also the commoners [Russian: *raznochintsy*]¹⁴, or the «third rank of people», who should be engaged in industry, trade and craft. He also hoped that these “new people” would pass their valuable views and habits to their children, who, in turn, would pass them to future generations, and so people’s morals and actions should gradually change for the better, and therefore society would be improved. He proposed to carry out significant social transformations, but, at the same time, with the obligatory preservation of the serfdom

¹³ Konstantinov, Medynsky, Shabaeva, *Istoriya pedagogiki*, cit., p. 164.

¹⁴ A commoner [Russian: *raznochinets*] was a person who didn’t belong to any of the established estates, i.e. not attributed to the nobility, nor to the merchants, nor to the burghers, nor to the guild artisans, nor to the peasantry, and who didn’t have personal nobility or spiritual dignity.

system. A supporter of women's education, Betskoy recognized the important role of women in the upbringing of children, especially at an early age, and spoke about the need to create respectful attitude for women in society as mothers and educators. He played a major role in the establishing the first women's educational institution, – the Institute of Noble Maidens [Smolny Institute].

However, in Betskoy's views, the stamp of class and noble limitations clearly appeared. It manifested itself in his demand to "root" the "fear of God" into the hearts of children, in the illusory belief that it would be possible to improve the serfdom system through education, finally, in an effort to isolate children from the surrounding reality and to organize a class educational system which could be available only for privileged classes of the society. As for serfs they were deprived of an opportunity to study at all.

5. *The Smolny Institute of Noble Maidens*

An important achievement of I.I. Betskoy was the establishing of the first closed women's educational institution in Russia. It was opened in St. Petersburg in accordance with a decree signed by Catherine II on April 24 (May 5), 1764. Catherine II, an enthusiastic admirer of the progressive ideas of Michel Montaigne, John Locke and Francois Fenelon, didn't at all seek to establish an educational institution like the Saint-Cyr Institute in Versailles. After all, the French institute wasn't given higher tasks than the training of ladies-in-waiting for the royal retinue, and, therefore, all training was mainly limited to teaching elegant manners. The Russian Empress set a much higher goal for the educational institution she founded. As stated in the decree, it was created in order to give to the state educated women, good mothers, useful family members and worthy members of the society.

As we have said, Betskoy hoped to create a «new breed of people», for example, fair nobles and humane merchants, in order to mitigate class contradictions by means of education. He considered the strict isolation of children from the harmful influence of a society, full of vices and prejudices, to be a prerequisite for the formation of such «a breed». He created a number of closed educational institutions, among which the Smolny Institute occupied a special place. Initially, the school was called *The Imperial Educational Society of Noble Maidens*, and it was located in the premises of the Voskresensky Novodevichy Convent (architect F.B. Rastrelli), located in the vicinity of the capital, near the village of Smolnaya, where the Smolny Yard was located in Peter's time. Hence the more common name – The Smolny Institute of Noble Maidens.

According to the charter, children had to enter an institution no older than

6 years of age and stay in it for 12 years¹⁵. A receipt was taken from parents stating that they wouldn't demand their daughters back under any pretext before the expiration of this period of time. The Empress hoped by opening the Institute to contribute to strengthening morale in the Russian society. The Senate was ordered to send the charter of the institution to all provinces and cities, so that each noble could, if he wished, entrust his daughters in their infancy to the Smolny Institute.

Anna Sergeevna Dolgorukaya was appointed the first head of the Institute of Noble Maidens. However, a few months later she was replaced by Sophia Ivanovna de Lafont, a graduate of Saint-Cyr, who led the Institute for 33 years. Further management of the Institute was carried out by Elizaveta Alexandrovna Palmenbach (1797-1802), Julia Fedorovna Adlerberg (1802-1839), Maria Pavlovna Leontieva (1839-1875), Olga Alexandrovna Tomilova (1875-1886), Maria Petrovna Novosiltseva (1886-1895), Elena Alexandrovna Lieven (1895-1915), Vera Vasilyevna Golitsyna (1915-1919).

To enter the Smolny Institute, it was necessary for girls to pass exams in French and Russian, as well as to pass an interview on knowledge of tenets of the Orthodox faith. Every year, 200 daughters of hereditary nobles, with a rank not lower than colonel or actual state councilor, were admitted to the Institute at the state expense. However, few of the nobility were willing to condemn their daughters to a "no-go" 12 years of study, after which a difficult question arose of marrying «an overly educated» girl. That's why the main composition of students were, although well-born, but relatively poor girls. Among the students of the Smolny Institute were the daughters of famous people as well, for example, the daughter of the great Russian military leader, Generalissimo A.V. Suvorov.

In addition to government places for pupils, some girls were supported by scholarships contributed by the imperial family. I.I. Betskoy taught ten girls of each class at his own expense. He put a special fund for this purpose in the bank. The great nobles (Orlovs, Golitsyns, Demidovs, Saltykovs, etc.) made annual contributions to the scholarship. The Smolny girls who studied at the expense of a private person wore a ribbon around their neck, the color of which was chosen by their benefactors. So, the scholarship holders of Catherine II's spouse Paul I had blue ones, the Demidov's had orange ones, Betskoy's proteges tied green ones, and Saltykov's scholarship holders had crimson ones. Relatives paid for those who couldn't receive any scholarship. At the beginning of the XX century, it was about 400 rubles a year.

The 12-year study period was divided into 4 classes. Each class lasted for three years. The training program included teaching of a wide range of sub-

¹⁵ I.I. Betskoy, *Ustav vospitaniya dvuhsot blagorodnyh devic* [The charter of education of two hundred noble maidens], in *Anthology of pedagogical thought of Russia XVIII century*, Moscow, Pedagogika Publ., 1985, pp. 16-163 (in Russian).

jects. In the junior class, Russian and two foreign languages, arithmetic, drawing, dancing, music and needlework were studied. In the 2nd class geography and history were added to these subjects. In the 3rd class reading of moral and historical books, as well as elements of architecture and heraldic studies were introduced. In the 4th class the law, rules of good upbringing, good moral and courtesy were provided. An important place during education was occupied by religion, secular manners and various types of home economics. The students of the Institute wore uniforms of a certain color: 1st grade – coffee, 2nd – dark blue, 3rd – blue, 4th – white. The coffee color symbolized proximity to the earth and was more practical, especially for younger children. Lighter colors symbolized neatness of girls. The first three ages were given white aprons, the girls of the oldest 4th grade were given green ones.

The appearance of students was strictly regulated. A specific hairstyle was developed for each class, and all girls were required to have namely this hairstyle. But they simply didn't have an opportunity to somehow show their individuality in the matter of hairstyles, since they were all served at school by single master, who was given the strictest instructions. That's why all of them had one and the same hairstyle defined for a particular age. The younger girls were often cut short, and the older ones were forced to pin their hair strictly.

In 1765, the Institute, originally established as a closed privileged educational institution for daughters of the nobility, opened a department for petty-bourgeois girls of non-noble estates, except for the serf peasantry. They received basic general education training; special attention was paid to sewing and home economics. Teachers at the Institute, who were under the beneficial influence of humane ideas of French enlighteners, sought to give girls a universal education, sought to shape them comprehensively. At the same time, in 1783, the commission for the establishment of public schools in Russia ascertained the poor knowledge of the Russian language by pupils and it gave instructions to increase several hours for its study, as well as to conduct all subjects in Russian.

After the death of Empress Catherine II (1796), Emperor Paul I instructed the management of charitable, medical institutions and women's educational institutions to his wife, Empress Maria Feodorovna. In 1854 the Department of Institutions of Empress Maria opened; it existed until October 1917. Over time curricula were changed, the "coffee" class was canceled, and girls began to be accepted from 8-9 years old for only nine years. The Empress Maria Feodorovna believed that the education of middle-class girls should be limited to the preparation of kind mothers and kind housewives, for which six years was quite enough. Middle-class girls started to be accepted from the age of 11-12. The Emperor approved a set of petty-bourgeois pupils of 200 people. According to the new plan, reading, writing and grammar of three languages, geography, history and arithmetic were taught at the first class, and all subjects were introduced gradually. At the same age, it was supposed to teach girls

dancing, drawing, beginnings of music and needlework peculiar to female sex. 42 hours a week were required for all subjects. The reform changed the nature of the Educational Society. The broad tasks set by Catherine II were replaced by narrower and more utilitarian ones. At the same time, graduates took strict exams, and real tests were introduced. According to results of them awards were distributed.

Lessons were usually continued from 7 to 11 o'clock, and then from 14 to 16 o'clock. The main subject was considered to be the language of the nobility, – French. Dialogues between teachers and girls weren't encouraged. It was also not supposed to ask questions on the topic under study. Marks were awarded on a twelve-point scale. By the end of the Institute, many girls knew French better than Russian. There were inspection exams that were taken in the presence of the inspector of classes, i.e. deputy director. Public exams, sometimes in the presence of royalty, were a formality: the best students retold the tickets they had learned in advance.

Upon graduation six best graduates received the so-called cipher. That was a gold monogram in the form of the initial of the reigning Empress; it was pinned to a white bow with gold stripes and worn on the left shoulder. Gold and silver medals were also awarded. Awards were given at the end of each class as well: books, pencils, needlework tools. According to academic success such insignia were given as a bow, the color of which indicated the degree of success of its wearer, as well as laces with tassels that were tied on one's hair.

The Charter pointed out the need for the development of pedagogical abilities: older pupils had to study for several hours a week with younger ones, so that later they could teach their own children. In their free time, pupils were recommended to read historical books and moral stories, mainly in French. Fluency in foreign languages, music, playing the harp, singing, modeling, drawing, embroidery, drawing of geographical maps were especially appreciated. Physical education lessons were compulsory for everyone. The Institute had a strict daily routine. The rise was at 6 o'clock. The usual menu at breakfast included a piece of bread with a small piece of butter and cheese, a portion of milk porridge or pasta. For lunch they got liquid soup without meat, for the second dish – meat from soup and a small pie. In the evening there was tea with a bun. During the fasts, the diet became even more meager: for breakfast girls could get several potatoes with vegetable oil and porridge, for lunch – soup with cereals and a lean pie. Some girls ended up in the infirmary with a diagnosis of exhaustion. If a girl had pocket money, then she could have a heartier breakfast in the teachers' room, separate from other girls. They could also quietly arrange with servants to buy groceries, although this was officially severely punished by overseers.

Free time was strictly regulated. Girls lived in bedrooms (dormitories) designed for nine people with a lady assigned to them. In addition, there was also a class lady who monitored girls' behavior during classes. For vulgar behavior,

girls could be expelled from the Institute. Much attention was paid to religious education. Moral education included the assimilation of secular virtues: gentleness, courtesy, good behavior, modesty and generosity. A special place was given to economic education. Mathematics was taught in conjunction with home economics. The pupils wrote daily bills, kept a daily record of household expenses, “negotiated” with suppliers about the purchase of food supplies, “determined the price” of each product, etc. Indoor classes were followed by walks in the palace park. Here fountains and three ponds were arranged; one pond was for swimming in summer, the other two served as garden decorations.

Meetings with relatives were limited to two reception days a year. The date could last no more than two hours. It was especially difficult for girls who were from far away. They sometimes didn't see their relatives for a long time. All correspondence was strictly controlled by class ladies, who read each letter before sending it to relatives and after receiving the reply. Class ladies were obliged to monitor the decent upbringing of girls. The main criterion for the selection of them was usually an unmarried status. This was because she had to spend all day with pupils.

Institute girls were fenced off from the influence of a family, but not from the world in general. They were taken out for walks and even court events; gala dinners and performances were held within the walls of Smolny. Sometimes they were taken to the Tauride Garden, but under strict control: everything was done to prevent their contact with other walkers. Balls were held several times a year: on the birthday of the Emperor and Empress, on the New Year's Eve, etc. These events were attended by all pupils and superiors. Girls danced with each other for several hours. Occasionally, balls were held with the invitation of cavaliers, but they had to be necessarily... relatives of girls; kinship was considered a prerequisite for the invitation. With the beginning of wars these few holidays also stopped: it was considered reprehensible to have fun. Corporal punishment wasn't accepted for pupils but shouting and swearing were often included in the pedagogical arsenal of some mentors. It wasn't uncommon for an offender to be ashamed in front of the entire Institute. It was especially difficult for those suffering from enuresis; they were forced to go to breakfast with a wet sheet tied over their dress. One could get a reprimand for a loud conversation at recess, a carelessly made bed, an improperly tied bow or a stray curl from a strict hairstyle. The most important thing was to follow the rules of the Institute unquestioningly. Obedient pupils were called «parfaits» [in French, *parfaite* – *perfect*]; minx girls could be called «moveshka» [in French, *mauvaise* – *bad*]¹⁶.

¹⁶ V.B. Pomelov, *Smol'nyj institut blagorodnyh devic. K 250-letiyu so dnya osnovaniya [Smolny Institute of Noble Maidens. To the 250th anniversary of its foundation]*, «Primary school», n. 2, 2015, p. 87.

Following the example of the Smolny Institute of Noble Maidens, similar educational institutions began to open in other cities of Russia. However, this Institute continued to be a kind of a center, and other women's Institutes and boarding schools looked up to it¹⁷.

In the second half of the XVIII century, the outstanding representatives of the pedagogical thought of Russia N.I. Novikov and G.S. Skovoroda were the exponents of anti-serfdom sentiments. A.N. Radishchev was the outstanding representative of the first generation of the Russian revolutionary enlightenment.

6. *Pedagogical views of G.S. Skovoroda*

The outstanding Ukrainian philosopher, democrat and educator Grigory Savvich Skovoroda (1722-1794) was a fearless denouncer of the official religion and dead church scholasticism. He graduated from the Kiev Theological Academy and the Faculty of Philosophy in the German town of Halle. Then he was a teacher at the Pereslavl Seminary¹⁸. In 1759-1766, he was a poetry teacher at the Kharkov collegium. For the next 28 years, he was an itinerant philosopher, preacher, and poet. In streets and squares, at rural fairs, he taught people in the form of sermons or fables, denounced nobility and higher clergy. His oral presentations expressed the ideology of peasant masses, the middle and lower Cossacks, and the urban poor. He put forward the ideal of a free personality, saw the meaning of life in self-knowledge¹⁹.

Although his worldview was idealistic in general, there were many materialistic elements in his views that make him related to the greatest Russian scholar Mikhail Vasilyevich Lomonosov (1711-1765). G.S. Skovoroda believed

¹⁷ During the 155 years of the Smolny Institute's existence there were 86 graduations. The first took place in 1776, the 85th, – the last in St. Petersburg, – in 1917. It was then that Nina Vladimirovna Kostenko-Radzievskaya (born Kruber) (1900–2004, USA) graduated from the Institute. With her death, the last living thread connecting us with Smolny broke. In summer of 1917 the Institute was closed. The building was seized by the Bolsheviks; there they were preparing their Great October Socialist Revolution (1917). They willingly used the building because it was warm and cozy, had electricity, steam heating, running water, and, finally, it was very significant in size. The Institute of Noble Maidens itself, headed by Princess V.V. Golitsyna, moved to Novochoerkassk, where its last, 86th graduation, took place in February 1919. In summer of 1919, the Institute left Russia and continued its work in Serbia for some time. As for the Smolny Palace it became the «headquarters of the revolution», and even in many ways its symbol. The city's Communist party government has been located here for many years, and even up to nowadays. Today, the Governor of St. Petersburg has his residence just in this building!

¹⁸ Pereslavl-Zalessky is one of the oldest cultural and educational centers in Russia, located in the Yaroslavl region, 140 km from Moscow.

¹⁹ N.A. Konstantinov, *Istoriya russkoj pedagogiki* [History of Russian pedagogy], Moscow, Gosuchpedgiz Publ., 1938, p. 102 (in Russian).

that nature was the beginning of everything; that it's boundless in space and time, and it had neither begun nor end. Skovoroda denied innate ideas and considered the world around him to be a source of knowledge. He sharply criticized the then prevailing domestic ideas of education. One of the most important positions that he defended was the statement about the ability of ordinary people to independent pedagogical creativity. Another important idea he preached was the need to develop own national interests rather than to follow instructions from outside. He argued that blindly following foreign theories was harmful.

In the parable *Grateful Herodius* he ridiculed the desire of the Ukrainian nobility to imitate mechanically French and German laws, habits, and overall lifestyle. In this regard, he told a parable about a monkey who gave its children a noble upbringing. This education was carried out by French teachers who taught monkeys to speak French, to sing, to play, to dance, and to have secular manners so that they could get into the court of the Moroccan owner. In contrast to the monkey, which ape-imitated the tastes and requirements of the Moroccan rulers (i.e., Russian nobles), Skovoroda brought out a simple, truly and noble stork Herodius. By raising its children, he tried to save them from arrogance, idleness, immorality and selfishness.

Skovoroda, like Rousseau, demanded a natural education, but at the same time he didn't consider the primitive state of people an ideal form of social life; he didn't idealize children's nature and didn't demand the removal of children from the complexities of social life «into the bosom of nature». His idea of realizing the education in accordance with natural characteristics of children had a positive social content. It should also be noted that this thought wasn't a borrowing from Rousseau, whose *Emile* was published only in 1761, and Skovoroda returned from Europe back in 1753. In Russia, Rousseau's work was strictly forbidden, and Skovoroda came to the idea of natural education independently of the French thinker. Finally, a pupil and biographer of Skovoroda P. Kovalinsky wrote that his teacher Skovoroda applied principles of free and natural education back in the 1750s, i.e. before the appearance of the book *Emil, or On Education*²⁰.

Skovoroda demanded that people should be assigned to a particular activity in accordance with their abilities and interests. He believed that educator should lead upbringing; natural inclinations of children should be developed through exercises and activities. In the parable *The Grateful Herodius*, the stork tells the monkey: «My father gave me wings, and I learned to fly myself. He gave me a good heart, and I use it as I see fit». Skovoroda attached great importance to labor education in the matter of moral improvement of a person. He put forward advanced didactic requirements. In particular, he pointed out

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 103.

that students should study the material consciously. Based on the material they have studied, they should draw their own conclusions. Skovoroda considered it necessary to educate all children, regardless of their social status, and was a proponent of equal education for men and women.

7. *Pedagogical activity and views of N.I. Novikov*

The famous educator and teacher of the second half of the XVIII century Nikolay Ivanovich Novikov (1744-1818) was educated at the Moscow University, where his worldview was formed. His educational activities began in the youth years. N.I. Novikov led a movement for organizing such public schools which could be independent of the tsarist government. He directed public initiative in creating schools for the underprivileged population. He opened and ran two schools for children of underprivileged stratum with his own funds. Novikov sought to help teachers to organize the education of children properly and published a large amount of educational literature: ABC books, alphabets, textbooks on various subjects. N.I. Novikov was the creator and editor of the first Russian children's magazine «Children's Reading for Heart and Mind».

At the time Novikov was the most famous Russian publisher. His printing house published the third part of all books in the country. He has published hundreds of books on all branches of knowledge. In his satirical magazines «Drone» and «Painter» N.I. Novikov published articles on pedagogical topics. They drew public attention to issues of education. He believed that the cause of all human errors was ignorance, and the cause of perfection was knowledge. Nikolay Ivanovich was the first organizer of the book trade and it spread to many Russian cities. Novikov opened a library in Moscow at his own expense. He organized the so-called *Friendly Society*, the purpose of which was to educate people and to promote a new progressive system of education. It was the forerunner of the pedagogical society.

N.I. Novikov stood at the origins of Russian pedagogical science. In his essay *On the Education and Instruction of Children* (1783), he used the term «pedagogy» for the first time in Russia. By pedagogy he meant a special and important science about the education of body, mind and heart. The purpose of this science, he wrote, was to educate children to be happy and useful citizens. The whole work is imbued with love for children²¹. Novikov was a great humanist. He spent all his available funds on organizing aid for the hungry.

N.I. Novikov's entire educational activity was imbued with hatred of autoc-

²¹ N.I. Novikov. *O vospitanii i nastavlenii detej* [On the Education and Instruction of Children], in *Anthology of pedagogical thought in Russia of the XVIII century*, Moscow, Pedagogy Publ., 1985, p. 289 (in Russian).

racy, serfdom regime and all its offspring, including the serfdom educational system. He led the fight against slavery, despotism and arbitrariness not as a revolutionary, but from a moderate educational position. Novikov named education the main means of resolving social issues. He called for the moral improvement of people. He believed that people would become virtuous only by means of education. Novikov sought to reconcile science with religion and saw religious education as an integral part of the moral education of children and youth.

Novikov wasn't a defender of the official religion and the dominant Orthodox church, but he was a proponent of religious tolerance, criticized the Orthodox clergy, put forward anti-clerical ideas, and suggested that the development of the world should take place according to its natural laws. The purpose of education, in his opinion, was to form an active virtuous person who directed his activities to benefit the Fatherland and his fellow citizens. Every person was useful to the state if his mind had been enlightened. That is why N.I. Novikov insisted on giving children a broad and versatile mental education. He believed that education shouldn't only enrich children's minds with new knowledge, but it should also develop their mental ability. He said, their minds should be exercised and enriched with various knowledge²².

Guided by the idea of national education, which occupied a large place in his entire pedagogical system, N.I. Novikov believed that children should, first of all, learn their native language and literature, history and geography of their country. He included in the content of training elementary foundations of humanitarian and exact sciences, as well as knowledge about nature. N.I. Novikov believed that children should explore the world of plants and animals, get acquainted with the work of people and with labor processes. He openly called to instill in children respect for workers and peasants, to take them into the houses and granaries of the peasantry, into the workhouses of artists and needle workers; to show them how the diverse riches of the earth were processed and how they were prepared for use for the benefit and pleasure of people; to teach them to know the main tools used for that, and to honor those who were engaged in it²³. Children should be taught to love all people regardless of their religion, nationality, social position in the society. In order to arouse children's compassion and respect for the poor and the destitute, he advised taking them to the sad but instructive homes of the poor, the sick and the dying, to show how difficult it's for the sick and the needy to get bread. It's

²² G.P. Makagonenko, *Nikolaj Novikov i russkoe prosveshchenie XVIII veka* [Nikolai Novikov and the Russian Enlightenment of the XVIII century], Moscow, 1952, p. 29 (in Russian).

²³ Ya.A. Rotkovich, *O pedagogicheskikh i metodologicheskikh vzglyadah N.I. Novikova* [On the pedagogical and methodological views of N.I. Novikov], «Soviet Pedagogy», n. 10, 1953, p. 35 (in Russian).

very important to educate children with a love of truth and a firm intention to defend the truth, to teach children to value useful work from an early age²⁴.

Novikov also made a lot of valuable suggestions in the field of moral education. He considered it necessary to love and to respect children, to educate them on positive examples, to make them think about motives of their actions, to practice moral actions constantly. He opposed physical punishment strongly. He pointed out that the consciousness of children should be enriched with correct moral ideas and, above all, they must deeply impress the natural equality of people.

His article *On the Education and Instruction of Children*, published in the magazine «Addition to the Moscow Gazette» was the most important pedagogical work of the time. The author called in it for the development of pedagogy as a theory of education. He argues with those who believed that there was already enough material for this science. He sought to inform a wide range of his readers, parents and educators with information already available in pedagogy²⁵.

Catherine II was well aware that all of Novikov's activities were imbued with hatred of autocracy and serfdom. In 1779, his printing house was taken away from him, and in 1792, without trial and investigation, he was thrown into prison. It was only in 1796, immediately after the death of Catherine II, that Emperor Paul I, her son, who succeeded her, released Novikov, but he never received the right to publish his views. Novikov's activities and views had a great impact on the formation of the worldview of the advanced people of Russia of the time, in particular of A.N. Radishchev.

8. *The outstanding revolutionary educator A.N. Radishchev*

The greatest representative of progressive pedagogical thought in Russia in the second half of the XVIII century was the founder of the Russian revolutionary movement Alexander Nikolaevich Radishchev (1749-1802). He was the son of a wealthy landowner, and was educated in the Page Corps (1766-1766). Then he studied at the Law Faculty of the University of Leipzig (1767-1771). Upon his return to Russia, he was appointed an official in the Senate.

In his main work *Journey from St. Petersburg to Moscow* (1790), Radishchev faithfully reflected the life of ordinary people, sharply denounced autocracy and serfdom. Catherine II, after reading the first 30 pages of the book, regarded the author as «a rebel worse than Pugachev». On June 30, 1790, on her

²⁴ N.A. Trushin, *Social'naya i pedagogicheskaya deyatel'nost' N.I. Novikova* [Social and pedagogical activity of N.I. Novikov], «Soviet Pedagogy», n. 6, 1956, p. 72 (in Russian).

²⁵ Novikov, *O vospitanii i nastavlenii*, cit., p. 293.

order, Radishchev was arrested and imprisoned. He was sentenced to death for writing his book but was eventually sentenced to 10 years of hard labor in Siberia. He was stripped of the rank of nobility and his entire fortune. After serving his sentence, he committed suicide in protest against the autocracy.

Radishchev lived in the era of increasing serfdom and merciless exploitation of people, but nevertheless boldly and courageously stood up for the downtrodden and humiliated. He was one of the few advanced Russian nobles who rose in the XVIII century to understand the need for a revolutionary struggle against autocracy. The revolutionary Radishchev carefully studied the experience of the peasant war under the leadership of Pugachev and developed a theory of the people's revolution. According to this theory poor people should have the right to change the social system of Russia for the better one. The time would come soon, when there would be no exploited or exploiters, and the working people would take power into their own hands²⁶.

Radishchev relied on the scientific discoveries of M.V. Lomonosov, whom he worshipped, considering his views the pinnacle of scientific thought of the XVIII century. He developed the advanced positions of Russian philosophical materialism in his views on nature, the origin of man and his consciousness. Radishchev recognized the existence, materiality and cognizability of the world, and called the official church ideology and masonic teachings mystical nonsense, reminiscent of the old days of scholasticism. A.N. Radishchev considered the main task of education to be the formation of a person with civic consciousness, high moral qualities, with love to his Fatherland. Unlike many contemporary thinkers, he believed that only a person who was able to fight actively the autocracy for the benefit of the oppressed people could be named a true patriot. He outlined these lofty thoughts in his essay *A Conversation about what a Son of the Fatherland is*.

In his main work, *Journey from St. Petersburg to Moscow*, he painted a depressing picture of suffering to which landlords subjected peasant children. He pointed out that the serfdom system hindered the spiritual development of peasant children, stifled their natural abilities, blunted their intelligence. That's why he demanded education obligatory for all children regardless their social status. He believed that one of the greatest points of the Constitution of the state had to be education, both public and private. The state is obliged to ensure that younger generation should receive proper education; it would help develop the child's strength and make him a true patriot, a true son of

²⁶ V.Z. Smirnov, *Pedagogicheskie vzglyady A.N. Radishcheva* [Pedagogical views of A.N. Radishchev], «Soviet Pedagogy», n. 9, 1952, p. 36 (in Russian).

²⁵ A.N. Radishchev, *Beseda o tom, chto est' Syn Otechestva* [A conversation about what a son of the Fatherland is], in *Anthology of pedagogical thought of Russia of the XVIII century*, Moscow, Pedagogy, 1985, p. 380 (in Russian).

²⁶ V.K. Bobrovnikova, *Pedagogicheskie idei A.N. Radishcheva* [Pedagogical ideas of A.N. Radishchev], «Soviet Pedagogy», n. 8, 1949, p. 72 (in Russian).

the Fatherland. Radishchev opposed the blind subordination of children to the will of their parents. He pointed out that the relationship between parents and children wasn't their private matter, but a deeply public one.

A.N. Radishchev believed that the relationship of parents to children should be based on mutual respect, love, reasonable demands; the whole society and every individual citizen were equally interested in it. Radishchev devoted a great place in the upbringing of a true son of the Fatherland to the process of mastering knowledge and mental development. Together with all leading men of his time, he strongly insisted that the Russian language should become the language of science and education. He was counting this as a necessary condition for the development of science in Russia, as well as the initial point of democratization of education. He put forward an intensive educational program, which should include knowledge about society and nature.

Radishchev highly appreciated the views of the French enlighteners, but at the same time he thoroughly criticized their theories on the relationship of man and society. Objecting to Rousseau, who argued that man's loss of freedom and the emergence of inequality of people was the result of their social unification, Radishchev pointed out that in the primitive state people were weak, debilitated, relaxed, and only by uniting into society they have become much stronger.

A.N. Radishchev considered a man to be a social being. The latter needed communication with other people for his formation. Radishchev criticized Rousseau's individualistic concept of education, bitterly ridiculed his fans, pointed out the incongruity of their educational means and methods, «emile-like representations of forests, meadows and fields», objected to the idealization of children's nature. At the same time, he urged to consider the natural characteristics of children. The main thing in the formation of a person, according to Radishchev, wasn't his natural data, but the circumstances of life, social factors that surround a person²⁷. He criticized closed educational institutions, isolated from the surrounding life, and pointed out the need for such organization of education that would help incline a person to a society. Radishchev believed that in conditions of education isolated from society, it would be impossible to form a person with social aspirations, interests and inclinations.

In the works *The Life of Fyodor Vasilyevich Ushakov*²⁸ and *Journey from St. Petersburg to Moscow*, he noted that daily participation in the fight against

²⁷ A.N. Radishchev, *O Cheloveke, ego Smertnosti i Bessmertii* [About Man, his Mortality and Immortality], in *Anthology of pedagogical thought of Russia of the XVIII century*, Moscow, Pedagogy, 1985, p. 393 (in Russian).

²⁸ Fyodor Vasilyevich Ushakov (1747–1770) was a Russian materialist philosopher and jurist. He studied at the University of Leipzig and was a close friend of Radishchev. The latter is the author of the only biographical essay of Ushakov *The Life of Fyodor Vasilyevich Ushakov*, St. Petersburg, 1789.

despotism, violence, and injustice played a huge role in the formation of true sons of the Fatherland²⁹. A.N. Radishchev holds a place of honor among the Russian thinkers of his time. He had an undoubted influence on the foreign public thought of the XVIII century. The bust of Radishchev was exhibited in Paris during the French bourgeois revolution. His book *Journey from St. Petersburg to Moscow* was distributed in handwritten form among the leaders of the French Convention. This book was soon translated into German in Leipzig and then in many countries of the world. Radishchev's influence on the development of revolutionary democratic thought in Russia was especially great.

Summing up the above, we can state that the era of Catherine II, or Catherine the Great, was eventful in terms of the organization of the educational system in the Russian Empire. The first teachers-organizers (F.I. Yankovich de Mirievo, I.I. Betskoy) by their practical activities, and the first original teachers-thinkers (N.I. Novikov, G.S. Skovoroda and A.N. Radishchev) by their written works, numerous local education figures determined the directions of the development of education and pedagogical thought in the Russian Empire.

²⁹ Radishchev, *Beseda o tom, Chto est' Syn Otechestva*, cit., p. 380.

Traditional Resistance and Narrators' Dialogue in Serial Children's Novels in the Modernising Ottoman Empire

Refika Altıkulaç Demirdağ
Department of Turkish Language
Education
Çukurova University
Adana (Turkey)
raltikulac@cu.edu.tr

ABSTRACT: The aim of this study was to examine the first serial novels for children, which were published in Ottoman magazines and newspapers between 1894 and 1908, and which are now almost forgotten in the pages of these publications. It is generally accepted that an ambivalent attitude towards modernisation can be felt in novels written during the modernisation period of the Ottoman Empire. However, an examination of the serials published for children reveals that there is no clear concern with modernisation, but rather an attempt to convey traditions to children in the clearest and most didactic way possible. For this reason, series prioritising traditions, like *Hasude* and *Muallime*, and series that encouraged sympathy for technological innovations, like *Mösyö Elektrik*, will be examined. Although it may seem ambivalent or dualistic, it will also be shown that there is a decisive change towards the concept of childhood.

EET/TEE KEYWORDS: Ottoman children's literature; Serial novels; Tradition; Türkiye; XIX-XX Centuries.

1. *The concept of the changing childhood and the types of narrators*

It is argued that childhood, unlike infancy, is not a biological category but a social construct. It is generally accepted that civilisation has changed the perception of childhood. This change is linked to how childhood is defined by adults. In the twentieth century, it was recognised that the marking out of the world of childhood from that of adulthood was inseparable from «the process

of civilisation»¹. The negative impact of modernity on childhood has generally been linked by researchers to the impact of the capitalist system on the world of children². One of the consequences of modern civilisation is the differentiation of attitudes towards children. So, children come to be seen as needing to be protected by adults.

The concept of childhood developed as an adjunct to the modern family ... 'childrenese' became fashionable during the seventeenth century. (...) But by the late seventeenth century special artefacts for children were common³.

At the end of the eighteenth-century children needed to be taught advice books; the distance between the children and adults was increasing⁴. While the prevalence of the Disneyesque childhood perception of the modern process of civilisation is remarkable, the perspective of this perception on Third World countries is also noteworthy. In this respect, the Disneyesque understanding of the child is a remarkable representation of change, even if it did not become apparent until the twentieth-century. Through comics, Disney tells children about an unreal world, a world where no one works, work has no worth, and relationships between individuals are shaped by utilitarianism⁵. The idealised world is an American utopia; however, hidden in the background of this world is the view of an underdeveloped Third World. The representation of Third World peoples in cultural and racial terms is stereotypical, especially through «infantilisation»⁶. Ironically, however, it has been observed that Third World countries have also become accustomed to this change⁷. It is therefore appropriate to accept that the concept of childhood has changed in different ways in the East and the West. There is also an inevitable, albeit indirect, interaction between the two. In order to link this transformation to this research, the following question must first be answered: what was the situation during the nineteenth-century the period of Ottoman modernisation?

2. Ottoman Modernization and the Changing Concept of Childhood

At the heart of the process of Ottoman modernisation lay a problem of military policy: continuous military defeats and territorial losses led the Ot-

¹ H. Cunningham, *Children and Childhood in Western Society since 1500*, New York, Pearson Education, 1995, p. 5.

² K. İnal, *Çocukluğun Örselenen Dünyası*, Ankara, Sobil Yayınları, 2007.

³ J. Holt, *Escape from Childhood*, New York, E.P. Dutton, 1974, p. 21.

⁴ Cunningham, *Children and Childhood in Western*, cit., p. 5.

⁵ A. Dorfman, A. Mattelart, *How to Read Donald Duck*, New York, I.G. Editions, 1992.

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ *Ibid.*

tomans to search for the factors underlying Western military superiority in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries⁸. When it became clear that military reforms alone were insufficient to save the Empire, modernisation prompted reforms in many other areas, including administration, the economy, and education, and these changes were reflected in social life. The Europeanisation of the regime the movement towards a state governed by law was first manifested in institutions and subsequently in education and intellectual life⁹. Tanzimat writers such as Namık Kemal, Ahmet Mithat Efendi, and Şemsettin Sami, who believed that Islam did not preclude modernity, addressed modernisation in their novels, poems, and plays through a number of symbolic themes, including the condition of women, children's education, slavery, and concubinage¹⁰. Although ambivalent about these issues, they were often critical of practices such as the limited education of women and arranged marriages, which they regarded as necessary to reform in the course of modernisation¹¹. The transformation in the concept of childhood likewise brought about a change in attitudes towards children.

Special products for children began to be imported and sold in a number of areas, from clothing to toys, with the development of social relations with Europe and the emergence of a group that could be called a middle class. Children's fashions began to emerge, especially in centres with strong trade links with the West¹².

In the mid to late nineteenth century, and especially in the early twentieth century, there were significant changes in the attitudes of many people in Istanbul towards children:

Children were increasingly taken seriously as children, defined as a distinct segment of the population. Society was becoming more child-oriented now, with men taking more of an interest in the upbringing of their children, a trend that began in the late Ottoman period...¹³.

With children being seen as «the guarantee of the future of the state», the education and upbringing of children emerged as an independent field of inter-

⁸ Ş. Mardin, *The Genesis of Young Ottoman Thought: A Study in the Modernization of Turkish Political Ideas*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1962.

⁹ İ. Ortaylı, *Batılılaşma Sorunu*, in *Tanzimat'tan Cumhuriyet'e Türkiye Ansiklopedisi*, İstanbul, İletişim Yayınları, 1983, Vol. 1, pp. 134-139.

¹⁰ A.H. Tanpınar, *19uncu Asır Türk Edebiyatı Tarihi*, İstanbul, Çağlayan Kitabevi, 2001.

¹¹ M.A. Kılıçbay, *Osmanlı Batılılaşması*, in *Tanzimat'tan Cumhuriyet'e Türkiye Ansiklopedisi*, İstanbul, İletişim Yayınları, 1983, Vol. 1, pp. 147-152.

¹² G.G. Öztan, *Türkiye'de Çocukluğun Politik İnşası*, Doctoral Thesis, İstanbul Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü, Department of International Relations (Supervisor: Fatmagül Berktaş), İstanbul, İstanbul Üniversitesi, 2008-2009, p. 3.

¹³ B.C. Fortna, *Bonbons and Bayonets: Mixed Messages of Childhood in the Late Ottoman Empire and the Early Turkish Republic*, in Id. (ed.), *Childhood in the Late Ottoman Empire and After*, Leiden, Brill Academic Publishers, 2016, pp. 173-188.

est. The idea of establishing modern schools as a mechanism of social control, and equipping childhood with “ideal” Western-style roles and behaviours in accordance with the political will and the order it established, was a matter of socio-political vision in the Ottoman-Turkish project of modernity¹⁴. The transformation in children’s social life has covered a wide range of areas over time, from literature to theatre, from clothes to play spaces and tools¹⁵. This change was also reflected in poems, stories, and serialised novels for children with an increase in the number of children’s journals and magazines¹⁶. Fortna claims that a clear pattern emerges from an investigation of the ways childhood was designed and represented by adults¹⁷.

This heightened atmosphere exaggerated the pre-existing tendency to create two distinct worlds of childhood. The first, referred to here in shorthand as the world of ‘bonbons,’ is a realm of idealized, romanticized and proto-Disneyesque fantasy. In this construction children are protected and isolated from adult concerns. In the literature produced for children that was rapidly creating its own publishing niche from the 1880s onwards children are frequently depicted as being dependent on the wisdom, bounty and prescience of their elders but otherwise isolated from the preoccupations of the grown-up world, quite like their counterparts in the West¹⁸.

In this world, which Fortna calls the «bonbons», it can be said that the author-narrator began to use a style similar to the way adults talk to children for children’s readers. But it is not such a sharp transformation. It always contains contradictions and ambivalent feelings at the beginning. The works in children’s magazines published before the Second Constitutional Era are particularly important in this respect, as they are instructive in terms of showing the process of change.

Making visible the relationship between literary genres produced in the same period has the potential to make visible some of the cultural ambivalence of that time. At this point, the observation that works written for children and works written for adults in the same period may show different cultural attitudes to the reflection of traditions in the work is a contextual problem. Indeed, while Bakhtin draws attention to the dialogue he claims to exist between genres: «The interplay of genres in a single whole literary period is an extremely interesting and important problem»; «All genres significantly reinforce each other in harmony; all literature, conceived as a collection of genres, exhibits

¹⁴ Öztan, *Türkiye’de Çocukluğun Politik İnşası*, cit., p. 3.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁶ «The latter part of the nineteenth century, especially the reign of Abdulhamid II (1876-1909), represents the synthesis of previous structural developments. It was a period of growth and differentiation in the economic and social fields, and of ideological transformation». K.H. Karpas, *The Transformation of the Ottoman State 1789-1908*, «International Journal of Middle East Studies», vol. 3, n. 3, 1972, pp. 243-281.

¹⁷ Fortna, *Bonbons and Bayonets*, cit., p. 174.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 175.

an organic unity of the highest order»¹⁹. We can use this to understand the traditional transformation to dialogue in the novel, called dialogism, which instantiates Bakhtin's claim that all texts are fundamentally dialogic²⁰.

Discussions of literary genres tend to neglect the need to see children's literature as part of the organic system of a particular literary period. However, the dialogical relationship of children's literature to other genres deserves to be noticed. For the inevitable difference in the narrator's attitude towards children and adults suggests a dialogue between the two narrator types. This difference in attitude must have permeated the way the traditions were reflected in the works. The influence of the conventional form in the narrative is related to Bakhtin's dialogue:

In addition to those real meanings and ideas of one's addressee that actually determine the style of the utterances (works), the history of literature also includes conventional or semi-conventional forms of address to readers, listeners, posterity, and so forth, just as, in addition to the actual author, there are also conventional and semi-conventional images of substitute authors, editors, and various kinds of narrators²¹.

This matter of who the speaker or writer perceives as their audience is of immense significance in literary history, according to Bakhtin:

Each epoch, each literary trend and literary-artistic style, each literary genre within an epoch or trend, is typified by its own special concepts of the addressee of the literary work, a special sense and understanding of its reader, listener, public, or people²².

It should be noted that the increase in the number of newspapers and magazines published during the reign of Abdülhamid II was due to an increase in the number of readers, and this reading act was linked to the spread of popular adventure and scientific novels. This trend has also led to an increase in publications for children²³. Among the magazines and journals published between 1890-1908, those for children occupy an important place. These con-

¹⁹ M. Bakhtin, *Éstetika slovesnogo tvorčestva*; Engl. transl. *Speech Genres and Other Late Essays*, (translated by V.W. McGhee), Austin, University of Texas Press, 1986, pp. 98-99, 167.

²⁰ Id., *Carnival and Other Subjects: Selected Papers from the Fifth International Bakhtin Conference*, University of Manchester, July 1991, Turkish transl. *Karnavaladan Romana: Edebiyat Teorisinden Dil Felsefesine Seçme Yazılar*, (ed. S. Irzık), İstanbul, Ayrıntı Yayınları, 2001.

²¹ Bakhtin, *Speech Genres and Other Late Essays*, pp. 98-99.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 98.

²³ The oppressive attitude of Sultan Abdulhamid II in the administration known as the Hamidian era, H.H. Duman, C. Pekman, *Türk Basın Tarihi*, Eskişehir, Anadolu Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2014, pp. 65-66; N. Berkes, *Türkiye'de Çağdaşlaşma*, ed. A. Kuyaş, İstanbul, Yapı Kredi Kültür Sanat Yayıncılık, 2003, p. 368, reading curiosity, which can be seen as an escape from the period of political oppression, the habit of amusing oneself by reading curious and entertaining things, seems to have remained within its limits N. Berkes, *Türkiye'de Çağdaşlaşma*, ed. A. Kuyaş, İstanbul, Yapı Kredi Kültür Sanat Yayıncılık, 2003, p. 369. On the other hand, it was in this area of repression that the most intense period of Ottoman modernisation took place.

tain poems, stories, fairy tales, riddles, etc. written for the purpose of educating children. In addition to many literary genres, there is also the genre of serial novels²⁴. The fact that this tradition, which provides the best examples of the impact of oral culture on written culture, includes child readers is also an indication of the far-reaching impact of these publications on society. It has been shown that children follow the serials in the newspapers with interest for a long time. Thus, this study examines the relationship between children's serial novels and modernisation from two perspectives: attitude to tradition and attitude to technology as directly related to modernisation. So, it will be shown that dialogue emerges from different types of narrators in the context of a changing concept of childhood and that these types of narrators have attended to the negotiation about modernisation.

3. *Traditions in Serial Novels for Children: Hasude and Muallime*

The undeniable dimension of the cultural influence of the Westernisation on the literature of the Modernisation period of Ottoman Empire led to the emergence of a new perception of life in the novel, which entered Turkish literature as a new genre. Although this life is similar to the modern style, it also includes criticism of some traditions or ways of daily life. The Tanzimat writers offer new perspectives on many issues, from arranged marriages to the place of women in social life. In works written for children, however, this tendency is approached more cautiously. In these serial novels, the idea of modernising traditions has been abandoned in favour of messages aimed at cultural transmission.

A total of eighteen serialised children's novels written between 1894 and 1908 have been identified in this study. Since it is not possible to present all of these series within the limits of this article, so the study focuses on prominent works *Hasude*²⁵ [The Envy] and *Muallime*²⁶ [The Female Teacher] to illustrate the rigid attitude towards tradition in this part. It will suffice to briefly mention the other series on the subject. The aim is to show that it is possible to evaluate Bakhtin's concept of «dialogue» based on the «narrator», with an attitude similar to that which operates on the ground between genres. On this

M.A. Kılıçbay, *Osmanlı Batılılaşması*, in *Tanzimat'tan Cumhuriyet'e Türkiye Ansiklopedisi*, İstanbul, İletişim Yayınları, 1983, Vol. 1, p. 152.

²⁴ Most of these serials, almost forgotten in the pages of old periodicals and not attracting the attention of more than a few scholars, have neither been transferred from the Arabic alphabet to the Latin alphabet nor translated into today's Turkish language.

²⁵ Üsküdar Kız Sanattan İhsan, *Hasude*, «Hanım Kızlara Mahsus Gazete», 1899.

²⁶ Emine Semiye, *Muallime*, «Hanım Kızlara Mahsus Gazete», 1898.

basis, noting the differences or similarities in the narrators' styles and perspectives can reveal society's commitment to deeply held value judgments.

The *Hasude* series written by İhsan of Üsküdar Kız Sanat (Girl's art School) in «Hanım Kızlara Mahsus Gazete» [Newspaper for Ladies] in 1899. The hero of the work, Adil Bey, has a sister Bedia, who is a main character of novel, enters into an unhappy marriage. Adil Bey, who is fooled by his friends into thinking that she is a good-natured girl, is initially unaware of his wife Binnaz's bad habits. As time goes by, it becomes impossible to continue the marriage when it is revealed that Binnaz has bad habits such as not wearing what she wears a second time, not liking every dish with an excuse and gossiping. In particular, her jealousy of her husband's sister Bedia, leads her to make mistakes out of greed. At the end of the story, Adil Bey finds happiness by marrying a suitable person whom his sister finds for him after he leaves Binnaz. When Adil Bey decided to marry for the first time, he disregarded the advice of his sister and the trusted «guide» women around him and made the decision himself. The fact that Adil Bey's first marriage was, according to tradition, a wrong decision is implied at the beginning of the story:

Adil Bey wanted to get married. They looked at so many girls. They found Raif Efendi's daughter suitable. It would be a wedding. Bedia Hanım did not want this girl because she had heard from her friends that her morals were unpleasant and even bad. But Adil Bey's friends deceived him, and Adil Bey did not listen to his sister and insisted that he would definitely marry this girl²⁷.

Bedia tells her brother that she had heard negative things about Binnaz. For example, «When she wore a dress, she would not wear it again, she would tear it up and say that it would be a dress like this»²⁸. Adil Bey does not heed his sister's advice, and Bedia is forced to accept the marriage.

For men who have reached marriageable age, the tradition of the women of the family or the intermediary women who are engaged in this business to quest to find suitable girls is affirmed in the story. In this tradition, the custom of investigating whether the character of the physically liked girl is good is also reflected positively. The tradition of the groom seeing the girl on the wedding day is not criticized in this novel. The first pioneer play was Şair Evlenmesi [The Wedding of a Poet], written by İbrahim Şinasi, which used satire to criticise the tradition of arranged marriages. The play argues that men and women should meet and talk before getting married. Many later novels and plays were based on this play and criticised arranged marriages, such as *Taaşuk-ı Tal'at*

²⁷ «Hanım Kızlara Mahsus Gazete», n. 212, p. 8.

²⁸ *Ibid.*

ve Fitnat [Talat and Fitnat's love]²⁹, *İntibah*³⁰ [Awakening], *Yeryüzünde Bir Melek*³¹ [An Angel on the World], *Turfanda mı yoksa Turfa mı*³² [Is it new or rotten], *Muhadarat*³³ and plays such as *Zavallı Çocuk*³⁴ [The Poor Child], *Sabr u Sebat*³⁵ [Patience and Perseverance], *İçli Kız*³⁶ [Sweet Girl], *Çok Bilen Çok Yanılır*³⁷ [Those Who Know Much, Make Many Mistakes].

There is also some advice on marriage, such as that a woman should dress beautifully for her husband³⁸. It is recommended that if a woman changes her clothes when she comes home from outside, she should dress nicely beautifully the house. Considering that the journal, which is an extension of «Hanımlara Mahsus Gazete», contains publications aimed at girls, it seems that girls in particular are being prepared for marriage in the traditional way, and that the novel is being used as a tool.

The main purpose of the *Hanım Kızlara Mahsus Gazete* is to prepare young girls for family life so that the order and development of society can be realised through the family, the smallest building block. This magazine tells young girls in various ways how they should act in order to be good bride candidates. Girls should not be 'too eager to get married'. In preparing young girls for marriage, the magazine tries to raise modest brides-to-be and ensure that they seek happiness not in possessions but in getting on well with their spouses, because 'happiness is not in wealth but in the sincerity between husband and wife'³⁹.

At the same time, however, works written for adults were redefining the role of women in society. There was an attempt to highlight not only a woman's domestic life as a mother or wife, but also those aspects that would be beneficial to society. Fatma Aliye's novels are an example of this issue. The first strong female characters appear in her novels, *Muhadarat*, *Udi*. Her young sister, Emine Semiye, is one of the most important writers of the «Çocuklara Mahsus Gazete». Her novel *Muallime*⁴⁰, which «is almost identified with the

²⁹ Ş. Sami, *Taaşşuk-ı Tal'at ve Fitnat*, Eskişehir, Anadolu Üniversitesi Açıköğretim Fakültesi Yayını, 2018.

³⁰ N. Kemal, *İntibah*, İstanbul, Panama Yayıncılık, 2018.

³¹ A. Mithat Efendi, *Yeryüzünde Bir Melek*, Ankara, Türk Dil Kurumu Yayınları, 2000.

³² M. Murad, *Turfanda mı Yoksa Turfa mı*, İstanbul, Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 2019.

³³ F. Aliye Hanım, *Muhadarat*, İstanbul, Bilge Kültür Sanat, 2022.

³⁴ N. Kemal, *Zavallı Çocuk*, İstanbul, Bilge Kültür Sanat, 2017.

³⁵ A.H. Tarhan, *Sabr u Sebat*, İstanbul, Dergah Yayınları, 2000.

³⁶ İd., *İçli Kız*, İstanbul, Dergah Yayınları, 2000.

³⁷ R.M. Ekrem, *Çok Bilen Çok Yanılır*, İstanbul, Bilge Kültür Sanat, 2024.

³⁸ «Hanım Kızlara Mahsus Gazete», n. 213, p. 8.

³⁹ S.H. Dinçyürek, *II. Abdülhamid Dönemi'nde Bir Genç Kız Dergisi: Hanımlara Mahsus Gazete'nin Hanım Kızlara Mahsus Kısım*, in H. Çolak, Z. Kocabıyıkoglu Çeçen, N.I. Demirakın (edd.), *Ayşegül Keskin Çolak'a Armağan: Tarih ve Edebiyat Yazıları*, İstanbul, Ke-bikeç Yayınları, 2016, p. 149.

⁴⁰ Emine Semiye, *Muallime*, İstanbul, IQ Kültür Sanat Yayıncılık, 2020.

Hanım Kızlara Mahsus Gazete [Newspaper for Ladies] in the history of Turkish literature»⁴¹ is an important example in this respect.

Muallime (The Teacher),⁴² the main heroine of the novel, is hired to educate an eleven-year-old girl, Refah, privately. She also tries to educate the other members of the family when she lives with them. Although Refah's parents want her to be educated according to modern methods, Muallime refuses and teaches Refah according to religious requirements. Muallime is particularly disturbed by the fact that the requirements of Islam, such as praying, fasting and reading the Holy Quran, are not observed at home. She was not educated in a teacher training college, but was traditionally educated by her father. Over time, she motivates the other members of the house, even Refah's very young and beautiful mother, Saadet, who is flirtatious, to live according to Islam and teaches them the rules. Muallime has lived with the family for years. But she has been unable to prevent the family's downfall.

Refah's mother, Saadet, who is portrayed as an ignorant and naive woman, falls in love with her daughter's fiancé. When this situation arises, Saadet and those who led her astray are killed. The novel has a very active and intriguing plot. However, at a time when perceptions of childhood are still changing, this novel does not use a narrator who addresses the child from a new child's perspective, nor does it differ in style from works written for adults. The artistic, meaningful and indirect style of expression and the difficult to understand combinations of Arabic and Persian words give the impression that it was not written for children. The fact that it was published in «*Hanım Kızlara Mahsus Gazete*» gives the impression that this newspaper was written for teenage girls. It aims to educate them through literary works and, above all, requires them to adhere to Islamic tradition.

Reading the story of three generations of fictional heroines in an allegorical style can reflect modernisation and changing attitudes to education. Firstly, Saadet was brought up by her stepmother, who was criticised for being a very pious woman whose oppressive attitude was reflected in a negative situation. Saadet is a female type created by the harmful effects of modernisation. The character of this woman, who likes to dress well, travel and buy expensive things, is portrayed with a pathetic weakness. Although Refah is in danger of becoming like her mother, Muallime eliminates this risk. She gives her a traditional upbringing. Although Muallime and Refah are described as happy at the end of the novel, this is not complete happiness, because they suffered a lot. It can be concluded that the most ideal type of woman in these three generations is Refah, who was educated by a female teacher as a child. This can be thought of as reflecting the reason for the emergence of modernization and the need for girls to be raised according to traditions to improve its possible

⁴¹ Dinçyürek, II. *Abdülhamid Dönemi'nde*, cit., p. 154.

⁴² «*Muallime*» means female teacher.

negative consequences like Saadet who dies at the end of the story with shame and asking for forgiveness.

The idea that children's attitudes to social life should also be based on tradition is prominent in almost all of the series. For example, in Halil Rüşdü's work entitled *İbtîlâ-yı Masumâne* [Innocent Addiction], the hero named Mini Mini is interested in going to the theatre and in the meantime falls in love with an actress. In fact, it is difficult to say that this is love. Because the little boy in the story wants to be a poet, and he believes that to be a good poet one has to fall in love. So, Mini Mini often goes to the theatre to see the actress and tries to show himself to her by taking long walks in the street. Finally, when the school authorities discover that he often goes to the theatre, he is forbidden to take the weekend off. Feeling insulted by this punishment, Mini Mini realises his mistake and gives up bad habits like going to the theatre. The most interesting difference between this series and the others is that it was the subject of a complaint in another magazine on the days it was published. When the article in question is published, the editors of the journal do not suspend the series but publish an explanation. An article signed «Nihat» was published in the magazine «Mecmua-i Lisan», claiming that the main child character named Mini Mini was inappropriate for child readers because he falls in love with a theatre actress. In response, an article entitled *İbtîlâ-yı Masumâne Nam Eser-i İbret-amize Hitâmı* published in the 158th issue of the magazine announced that the series had been criticised because it was not known how the story would end and claimed that the author had written this series to serve as a lesson for the children of the homeland⁴³.

The important point in this issue is that a work written for children is the subject of an article in the journal about whether or not it is suitable for children. In addition, issues such as the inconvenience of a young child falling in love and the fact that going to the theatre is considered inappropriate behaviour were clearly expressed. The impact of traditions on children is also significant in that the story was the subject of complaints when it was published. Although the magazine's management did not stop the publication of the series because of the complaint, it is important that the protagonist adopts the behaviour expected of a child at the end of the story, such as working hard, obeying what parents say, staying away from foreigners and the theatre. In this way, direct messages are conveyed to the readers. In this novel, narratives about traditions such as prayer, rituals, and also entertainment during the holy month of Ramadan, going to prayer on Eid morning at the end of the holy month, kissing parents' hands, and holiday visits are highlighted and care is taken to present these traditions in a positive way to the children.

In contrast to *Muallime*, in *Hasude* and *İbtîlâ-i Masumâne*⁴⁴ the narrator

⁴³ «Çocuklara Mahsus Gazete», vol. 4, p. 158, p. 1, 18 Şubat 1314.

⁴⁴ Halil Rüşdü, *İbtîlâ-yı Masumâne*, «Çocuklara Mahsus Gazete», 1899.

clearly characterizes which type of reader is being addressed. In *Hasude* it is girls of marriageable age, and in *İbtıla-i Masumane* it is adolescent boys. Although the first part of *İbtıla-i Masumane* does not explicitly reveal its concern for children's education, this becomes clear by the end. This Disneyesque approach marks the transition to the "bonbons" world created by adults to protect children from evils of the real world. However, emphasizing tradition's importance in this world is incompatible with Disney's global utopia. This is because, although the advice is given to children by an adult, the attitude is no different from that of works written for adults. It is therefore useful to mention Bakhtin's mirror metaphor and the Disneyesque narrator. For at this point, it is important how those who write for children and those who write for adults wish to see themselves in the mirror:

Indeed, our position before a mirror is always some-what spurious, for since we lack any approach to ourselves from outside, in this case, as in the other, we project ourselves into a peculiarly indeterminate possible other, with whose help we then try to find an axiological position in relation to ourselves; in this case, too, we try to vivify ourselves and give form to ourselves-out of the other⁴⁵.

The narrator's attitude to modernisation can be seen as an attempt to see their self through the idea of modernity and the characteristics they try to correct through the eyes of others, based on the appearance they see. As Bakhtin points out, narrators see only their external reflection in the mirror and cannot really see their selves. The narrator is trying to find an axiological position in relation to themselves; in this case too, they are trying to animate themselves and give themselves form – out of the other. In this case, in this unnatural reflection, different narrators (those who write for adults and those who write for children) do not share the same meaning. The narrator feels the need to give form to science and technology by anticipating the observer's possible evaluation, as if looking at its exterior is like looking at oneself in a mirror. In order to clarify this issue, it should be also deal with the impact of science and technology on children's creation of the ideal type of child, which is portrayed through certain tasks and actions in children's serial novels. In addition, the effort to raise a generation that can easily adopt the developments of science and technology, despite the rigid attitude towards the continuation of traditions, can be made visible the negotiation and dialogue between the narrators towards modernisation.

⁴⁵ M. Bakhtin, *Author and Hero in Aesthetic Activity*, in Id., *Art and Answerability: Early Philosophical Essays*, (M. Holquist, V. Liapunov (edd.); Engl. trans. By V. Liapunov), Austin, University of Texas Press, 1990, pp. 32-33.

4. *Inspired by Modern science and adventure*

Ten serial novels were published in «Çocuklara Mahsus Gazete» [The Special Children's Magazine] between 1897 and 1904. It is the longest-running children's magazine, with 627 issues, and was first published in 1896⁴⁶. During its twelve years of publication, it was published in parallel with the passive press regime of the time⁴⁷. The first article of each issue was called Selamlık Resm-i Âlîsi, which explained the Sultan's «Cuma selamlığı»⁴⁸ [Friday greetings] for the week in a fancy language. It is important to remember that the works published in the magazine are subject to censorship and cannot contain any dissenting opinions to the sultanate. For this reason, the works published are usually simple adventure stories. Ahmet Faik's works called *Küçük Seyyah* [The Little traveller], *Mösyö Elektrik*, *Bahr-i Sefid'de Bir Cevelan* [A Journey in the Archipelago], *Tahtü'l-Arz Bir Cevelân* [A Travel Underground], *Bir Haftada Devr-i Alem* [Around the World in a Week] are adventure books with the influence of Jules Verne in their names. It is possible to say that translation works play a role in the writing of these stories⁴⁹. However, the originality of the components and the style, which is in keeping with the traditions of the society of the time, are remarkable.

Writers' attitudes to modernisation in travel and adventure novels are limited to emphasising the importance of science and technology. However, in the novels of this period, technological inventions were rarely emphasised in works written for adults. Ahmed Mithat, Hüseyin Rahmi, Halit Ziya, Refik Halit and Mehmet Rauf are among the writers who have used the tools of technological inventions in their works, sometimes as surprising, sometimes as modern magic: «Ahmet Mithat Efendi, in his novel *Hayret* (1885), includes in particular the telegraph, the telephone and the phonograph»⁵⁰. However, as with works written for children, the primary purpose of the adult novels was not to promote these discoveries or to popularise science. Although in adult novels the dandy characters created by misguided modernisation attract attention, in children's novels the desired modernised model child type comes to the fore. This type is especially portrayed as being curious about science and technology and praised for his devotion to tradition. One of the best examples of this is the series *Mösyö Elektrik*. The author of the novel Fâik Sabri (Duran)

⁴⁶ S. Küçük, *İlk Türkçe Çocuk Dergileri ve Çocuklara Mahsus Gazete*, «Selçuk Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Dergisi», 2010, p. 715.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 718.

⁴⁸ It is an event held when the Sultans of the Ottoman Empire arrive and leave for Friday prayers.

⁴⁹ S. Paker, *Tanzimat Döneminde Avrupa Edebiyatından Çeviriler, Çoğul-dizge Kuramı Açısından Bir Değerlendirme*, (transl. by A. Tükel), «Metis Çeviri», n. 1, 1987, pp. 31-32.

⁵⁰ S. Küçük, *Osmanlı Algısında Garb Teknolojisi: Mösyö Elektrik'in Sergüzeşti*, «Belleten», vol. 77, 2013, pp. 713-740.

(1882-1943), is a geographer. The series begins with a conversation between a young man called Behçet and his friends. While Behçet is discussing the benefits of electricity with his friends, a visitor arrives at the house and introduces himself as Monsieur Elektrik. At the man's urging, Behçet follows him and they go on a journey. On this journey, Behçet saw extraordinary machines that worked with electricity. The journey begins with the great express train, coloured by inventions that were ahead of their time.

Fâik Sabri, in his book named *Jül Vern'in Hayatı ve Eserleri* [Jules Verne's Life and Works], states that he wrote the novels *Mösyö Elektrik* [Monsieur Electric] in 1903 and *Bir Haftada Devr-i Alem* [Around the World in a Week] in 1906, under the influence of the novels he read from Jules Verne in his youth⁵¹. He also expresses that he is a foresighted person who imagines the innovations that are not available for that day and writes in his novels⁵².

In Fâik Sabri's series *Mösyö Elektrik*, in which the author states to have been influenced by Jules Verne, the theme of the adventure of travel emphasises the scientific and technological learning of the protagonists as a process. The aim is for children to both enjoy and learn from reading adventure stories. However, the author sometimes cannot resist adopting a very didactic attitude. For example, when one of his friends asks Behçet to teach them about electricity, Behçet accepts the request like a scientist, acting as an educator and teaching his friends about electricity:

Behçet – All right. Let me tell you what electricity is: until recently, nobody knew what electricity was. The first person to explain it was an English scientist called Maxwell. He realised that light and electricity are naturally the same and proved it with mathematic. But he died before he could experience it. This success was later given to Hertz from Germany. Looking at the movement of electrical vibrations, he tried to convert the vibrations into a measurable state and succeeded. Later he proved that vibrations have the ability to propagate like light, in a straight line like light vibrations and at a speed of 300,000 kilometres per second⁵³.

In this long monologue, Behçet explains the scientists' electrical studies like a scientist. After meeting Monsieur Electric, they embark on a journey by electrical train, which has extraordinary speed. This journey shows him how electricity makes life easier and how it makes the villagers happy. Thus, the positive effects that technological developments will have on production are shown. When Behçet wakes up at the end of the journey, he realises that it was all a dream. In this way, the author shows to children the need for the fantasy world of science. This is an attempt to educate children by presenting them as an idealised type, hardworking, dreamer, and faithful.

⁵¹ F.S. Duran, *Jül Vern: Hayatı ve Eserleri*, İstanbul, Kanaat Kütüphanesi, 1932, p. 83.

⁵² Duran, *Jül Vern: Hayatı ve Eserleri*, cit., pp. 5-6.

⁵³ Id., *Mösyö Elektrik*, «Çocuklara Mahsus Gazete», 1900, p. 18.

Although travel, seeing new places and people and learning new things are encouraged in children's novels, the weight of tradition is also felt. For example, İbrahim Ethem's *Seyyie-i Safalet* [Indulge in Debauchery] has the task of warning children about foreigners. The author tells the story of children who indulge in debauchery with his wicked friends. In this series, the traditional themes of family relations, respect and loving distance between children and adults are emphasised.

Other topics that were written about directly concerned social life, such as arranged marriages, the comparison of village and city life, the education of girls, the participation of women in social life, slavery and concubinage, the lifestyle of Levantines, the entry of governesses into the family and the problems that this caused in Tanzimat literature⁵⁴. While these issues are often treated along the wrong axis of modernisation, the message is conveyed, either indirectly or directly, that modernisation is only possible through a correct perception of the West. However, there was no such message in the serials written for children. The issue of captivity and concubinage was also raised and in some ways criticised by artists such as Ahmet Mithat Efendi, Samipaşazade Sezai and Abdülhak Hâmid. However, these issues were not encountered in these serials written for children.

Conclusions

It can be said that the ambivalence between modernity and tradition is made visible in Ottoman literature influenced by Western literature. In serial novels for children, on the other hand, the clarity of this ambivalence diminishes, and the narrator's attitude becomes more traditional. This difference makes us think that it is possible to apply Bakhtin's concept of "dialogue" between genres to the diversity of narratives depending on the reader. The period covered in this article is one in which intellectuals in the Ottoman Empire were discussing how modernisation should take place, and there was concern about cultural change. However, in works written for children, the existence of this anxiety is not clear.

This duality of attitudes towards tradition in children's and adult novels must be seen in the context of the desire to use the transmission of tradition in children's literature as a tool for revealing the deeply internalised value judgments of societies as the perception of childhood began to change under the influence of the West. For this reason, reading novels or other genres written for adults and children together, and looking at the dialogical relationship be-

⁵⁴ R. Korkmaz, Z. Güneş, *Tanzimat Dönemi Türk Edebiyatı I*, Eskişehir, Anadolu Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2011, pp. 76-88.

tween them, allows for a deeper understanding of society's attitude to changing traditions. This is related to appearance, just as Bakhtin emphasises about one's situation in front of the mirror. This external view will include three different views of the same mirror and more. As in Muallime and Hasude, published in «Hanım Kızlara Mahsus Gazete», the appearance is viewed from the Eastern side, which associates strict adherence to religion and tradition with education. Another external view in the same mirror is the traditional form of the relationship between science and technology and the adventure novels published in the «Çocuklara Mahsus Gazete». From the perspective of works written for adults, these three different narrative attitudes reveal a dialogue. This dialogue is remarkable in that it reflects the negotiations of the transitional period of society. Based on Western instruments, they look at modernisation, not themselves, in a Western mirror, and prefer to create idealised types of children engaged in a series of activities by conveying to the reader the scientific and technological aspects they see in them. The reason for this, of course, has to do with the historical period in which they find themselves. Loyalty to the Sultanate and the desire to be a good Muslim still form the basis of child education, although it is felt that adult literature is beginning to move beyond these main themes.

Seeing the dialogical relationship between different types of narrators who depending on the nature of the reader will also help to see the organic structure of the whole. As a result, making comparisons in order to see the disagreements between different parts of society in the deeper meanings reflected in the dialogues within the text, and the dialogues between genres, will help to evaluate many issues that are not much emphasised today from different perspectives.

The Formation of Good Christians and Obedient Subjects: The Colonial Eritrean School and the Capuchin Textbooks

Bomi Yi
Department of Education
Roma Tre University (Italy)
byi@uniroma3.it

ABSTRACT: Before 1912, colonial schools in Eritrea adopted Italian textbooks, which were often inadequate for the needs of Indigenous students. The Capuchins were among the first to publish school manuals specifically designed for the local population: the first series, comprising seven volumes, was published beginning in 1912, followed by a second series of three volumes from 1923. This contribution analyzes these texts to examine their pedagogical objectives, teaching methodologies, and strategies of cultural transmission, considering Italian colonial educational policies, archival sources, and existing interdisciplinary scholarship, with the aim of highlighting the role of education within the colonial project as conveyed through these manuals.

EET/TEE KEYWORDS: Italian schools abroad; Indigenous education, Capuchin textbooks; Eritrea; XX Century.

Introduction

Before 1912, the colonial schools established for the Indigenous population of Eritrea used textbooks adopted from Italian schools, which were not always suitable for the contexts and needs of native pupils. The need for school manuals adapted to the local environment had already been recognized before 1900. In a report dated 11 February 1898, Governor Ferdinando Martini, after visiting the schools run by the Sisters Daughters of St. Anne, pointed out the inadequacy of the pedagogical criteria used in selecting the textbooks, which failed to take into account the cultural background of the Indigenous pupils:

I will not speak of the books adopted by the Sisters; but to tell Galla, Sudanese, or Harar girls about Cornelia and the Gracchi, or about the wars of Hannibal, shows what didactic and pedagogical criteria guide the good Sisters in their teaching¹.

Furthermore, C. Pacchiotti, a teacher at the government school of Keren, emphasized in her report of 15 June 1908 the inappropriateness of the textbooks then in use, as they were «written exclusively for schools in Italy». She expressed the wish to have volumes «more in keeping with the places where the school carried out its activity»².

The Capuchins were among the first to respond to this need. At the beginning of their Mission in Eritrea, they began publishing not only catechetical texts but also manuals for popular instruction. The first textbook of the initial series intended for the Indigenous population – designed specifically for use in colonial schools – was published in 1912, while the first volume of the second series, composed of three volumes, appeared in 1923.

This paper aims to analyze the school textbooks published by the Capuchins in Eritrea during the Italian colonial period, in order to identify the values and messages prioritized in the education of Indigenous pupils.

The analysis of these texts is situated within an interdisciplinary field of research – ranging from contemporary history to linguistics – and has been partly anticipated by several significant contributions. Tekeste Negash described the characteristics of the volumes belonging to the two series, highlighting their educational objectives³; Laura Ricci examined the linguistic aspects of the texts, emphasizing the ideology implicit in lexical choices and content⁴; Silvana Palma, through a joint examination of educational policies and teaching materials, helped clarify the role of textbooks within the colonial educational project⁵. Moreover, Giampaolo Montesanto, in his doctoral dissertation, analyzed the manuals from the perspective of teaching the Italian language to the Indigenous population⁶.

¹ *Scuole delle Suore di S. Anna*, Massaua, 11 febbraio 1898, in ASDMAE, AE, b. 145. Letter drafted and signed by Ferdinando Martini (my translation).

² *Andamento generale della Scuole elementare di Cheren nell'anno scolastico 1907-08*, Keren, 15 June 1908, in ASDMAE, AE, b. 558. Typescript signed by C. Pacchiotti (my translation).

³ T. Negash, *Italian Colonialism in Eritrea. 1882-1941: Policies, Praxis and Impact*, Uppsala, Almqvist and Wiksell International, 1987.

⁴ L. Ricci, *La lingua dell'impero. Comunicazione, letteratura e propaganda nell'età del colonialismo italiano*, Roma, Carocci, 2008; Ead., *La debole «italificazione» delle ex colonie italiane. Sulla manualistica didattica in Libia e nel Corno d'Africa*, «Testi e Linguaggi», vol. 11, 2017, pp. 87-100.

⁵ S. Palma, *Educare alla subalternità. Prassi e politiche scolastiche nella colonia eritrea*, in B.M. Carcangiu, T. Negash (edd.), *Africa Orientale Italiana nel dibattito storico contemporaneo*, Roma, Carocci, 2007, pp. 211-238.

⁶ G. Montesanto, *Italiani in Eritrea, dai manuali per l'alfabetizzazione coloniale (1912-1930) alle ultime voci*, Tesi di Dottorato, Dipartimento di Scienze Umanistiche (Tutor: M.C. Castiglione), Palermo, Università degli Studi di Palermo, a.a. 2023.

This study seeks to explore, from a pedagogical perspective, the explicit and implicit educational objectives, the teaching methodologies proposed by the authors, and the strategies of cultural transmission promoted within the colonial context, engaging in dialogue with previous scholarship and, in particular, with the contents of unpublished archival sources. By examining the dynamics emerging from the interaction of these elements, the image of the Eritreans that the textbook authors sought to shape during the writing process comes into focus, shedding light on the role assigned to schooling within the broader political and civic project of Italian colonialism.

1. *The first series of textbooks published from 1912 to 1920*

In 1914, with the establishment in Saganeiti of the government school “San Michele” for young Indigenous Catholics, bilingual textbooks were adopted. These were designed to facilitate learning and foster intercultural dialogue⁷, featuring texts written in Italian followed by their translations into Tigrinya⁸. The first volume of the series was published in 1912, and in the following years the others appeared, for a total of seven volumes.

Monsignor Giuseppe Camillo Carrara, then Vicar Apostolic of Eritrea, observed the limited spread of education among the population⁹ and sought to broaden access in order to «educate and instruct as many boys as possible»¹⁰. Considering print to be an effective means to «disseminate education and civilization [...] throughout the colony»¹¹, he promoted the publication of bilingual popular manuals in Italian and Tigrinya – the first experiment in bilingual education in the colony.

⁷ M. Da Nembro, *La missione dei minori cappuccini in Eritrea. 1894-1952*, Romae, Institutum Historicum Ord. Fr. Min. Cap, 1953, p. 77.

⁸ Tigrinya was spoken by the majority of Christian communities in Eritrea. Regarding local languages spoken in Eritrea during the colonial period, at least a dozen different idioms were recorded. According to Gallo, «Tigrinya is spoken by 288,515 people; Tigre by 153,517; Saho by 40,791; Bega by 28,396; Bilen by 24,465; Dankalia by 21,710; other languages spoken include Amharic, Cunama, Baria, Arabic, Tacrura, Oromo, Somali, several Indian languages, and Hebrew» (my translation). See, R. Gallo, *Le popolazioni delle colonie e possedimenti italiani secondo il censimento del 1931-IX*, in Congresso di studi coloniali (edd.), *Atti del secondo congresso di studi coloniali. Napoli, 1-5 ottobre 1934-XII*, 7 voll., Firenze, Tip. Giuntina di Leo S. Olschki, Vol. IV, pp. 273-290.

⁹ Report by Mons. Giuseppe Camillo Carrara to the Minister General, Asmara, 20 June 1912, in APCL, sez. XIII, Cass. 01, fasc. 01, docc. 03.

¹⁰ Report by Mons. Giuseppe Camillo Carrara to the Sacred Congregation, Asmara, 6 June 1912, in APCL, sez. XIII, Cass. 01, fasc. 01, docc. 02 (my translation).

¹¹ Report by Mons. Giuseppe Camillo Carrara, Vicar Apostolic of Eritrea to Commendatore Agnesa, Director General of Colonial Affairs, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Asmara, 6 May 1912, in APCL, sez. XIII, cass. 01, fasc. 01, docc. 01 (my translation).

Table 1 below provides an overview of the series, indicating the essential information and main distinguishing features, and serving as a basis for the comparative analysis of the contents and textual typologies employed.

Tab. 1. The first series of educational textbooks published by the Catholic Mission in Eritrea.

Title	Author/ Editor	Year	No. of Pages	Type of Bilin- gual Arran- gement	Content Type	Illust- rations	Exer- cises	Content Struc- ture
Manuale di istruzione. Ad uso degli indigeni per cura della Missione Cattolica	[Ezechia da Iseo] ¹² / Missione Cattolica (edd.)	1912	128, [276] ¹³	Texts presented entirely in Italian, followed by their full Tigrinya translation	School Subjects (History, Geography, Hygiene, Agriculture)	25, including two maps	No	preface 1. A brief history of human progress 2. Basic geography 3. Basics of Hygiene 4. Elementary principles of agriculture 5. Physical and natural sciences 6. Moral duties Appendix 1. Famous travelers and explorers 2. The arts 3. Rules of etiquette 4. Quotations from famous men – Proverbs 5. Errors and prejudices

(segue)

¹² The manuals do not indicate the author; information on them can be found in da Nembro, *La missione dei minori cappuccini in Eritrea*, cit., p. 78.

¹³ The Italian version of the manual is indicated by numbers, while the Tigrinya version, which follows, is provided in square brackets.

Title	Author/ Editor	Year	No. of Pages	Type of Bilin- gual Arran- gement	Content Type	Illust- rations	Exer- cises	Content Struc- ture
Indu- strie-arti- mestieri. Manuale ad uso degli indi- geni nelle due lingue italiano e tigrigna. Per cura della Mis- sione Cat- tolica	[Ezechia da Iseo]/ Missio- ne Cat- tolica (edd.)	1914	160, [214]	Texts presen- ted enti- rely in Italian, follo- wed by their full Tigrinya transla- tion	Introduction to the various types of indu- stries	26	No	Preface On the work Cap.1 On Industries Cap.2 On the Arts Cap.3 On Tra- des Appendix
Manuale di lettur- e scelte. Italiane – Tigrai. Ad uso del- le scuole indigene. Per cura della Mis- sione Cat- tolica	[Egidio da Cara- gliol]/ Missio- ne Cat- tolica (edd.)	1916	455	Bilin- gual paral- lel text (left: Italian / right: Tigrin- ya)	Various rea- dings and miscellaneous notions	No	No	Prefazione Short stories, anecdotes, and descriptions Various texts Rights and duties Hygiene Fables and apologues Letters Poems
La Colo- nia Eri- trea. Manuale di istru- zione. Italiano – Tigrai. Ad uso del- le scuole indigene. Per cura della Mis- sione Cat- tolica	[Ezechia da Iseo]/ Missio- ne Cat- tolica (edd.)	1917	215	Bilin- gual paral- lel text (left: Italian / right: Tigrin- ya)	Encyclope- dic and geo- graphic topics (Government, Commerce, Banking, etc.)	No	No	Preface 1. Geographic knowledge 2. Colonial government 3. Justice in the Colony 4. Colonial commerce 5. Industries in the Colony 6. Agriculture in the Colony 7. Banks in the Colony 8. Religions in the Colony

(segue)

Title	Author/ Editor	Year	No. of Pages	Type of Bilin- gual Arran- gement	Content Type	Illust- rations	Exer- cises	Content Struc- ture
Uomini illustri del lavoro della scienza e della carità. Libro di lettura. Italiano – Tigrai. Ad uso delle scuole indigene. Per cura della Missione Cattolica	[Ezechia da Iseo]/ Missione Cat- tolica (edd.)	1917	263	Bilin- gual paral- lel text (left: Italian / right: Tigrin- ya)	Biographies of notable figures and moral tea- chings	No	No	Preface 1. Engineers and Architects 2. Scientists 3. Painters, Sculptors, and Musicians 4. Industria- lists and Mer- chants 5. Writers and Poets 6. Judges and Legal Scholars 7. Navigators and Explorers 8. Sovereigns and Pontiffs 9. Generals 10. Politicians 11. Benefac- tors 12. Missiona- ries
Manuale di igiene. Italiano -Tigrai. Ad uso delle scuole indigene. Per cura della Missione Cattolica	[Ezechia da Iseo]/ Missione Cat- tolica (edd.)	1918	191	Bilin- gual paral- lel text (left: Italian / right: Tigrin- ya)	Hygiene edu- cation and daily life prac- tices	No	No	Preface 1. Climate and Housing 2. Food and Beverages 3. Personal Hygiene 4. Diseases of Tropical Regions 5. Plant-Based Medicines 6. Emergency Aid

(segue)

Title	Author/ Editor	Year	No. of Pages	Type of Bilin- gual Arran- gement	Content Type	Illust- rations	Exer- cises	Content Struc- ture
Embaiè... (Vittorie del lavoro). Libro di lettura. Italiano – Tigrài. Ad uso delle scuole indigene. Per cura della Missione Cattolica.	[Ezechia da Iseo]/ Missione Cattolica (edd.)	1920	215	Bilingual parallel text (left: Italian / right: Tigrinya)	Narrative texts on work education and productive activities	No	No	To My Kind Benefactors! Preface 1. Childhood Memories 2. Practical Apprenticeship 3. Education for a Merchant 4. A Commercial Exploration Journey 5. Towards Success!
Manuale di lettura scelte. Italiane-Tigrài. Ad uso delle scuole indigene. Seconda edizione	[Egidio da Caraglio]/ Missione Cattolica (edd.)	1928	382	Bilingual parallel text (left: Italian / right: Tigrinya)	Various readings and general knowledge	No	No	Contents listing short stories; No chapter divisions. Preface included.

Source: author's organization.

All the texts are bilingual in Italian and Tigrinya, with two main types of layout. In the first two volumes, the texts written in Italian are followed by their translation into Tigrinya, whereas in the subsequent works a facing-page bilingual layout emerges, with Italian on the left-hand page and the Tigrinya translation on the right. This shift suggests a methodological evolution, moving from a sequential translation approach to a more structured and pedagogically effective comparative method. Montesanto notes that, given the linguistic complexity of the early volumes and the non-facing bilingual structure, these manuals required the teacher to mediate the content. In particular, he stresses that these texts were intended for use by instructors, who could utilize the blackboard as a teaching tool, allowing students to transcribe selected and presented content into their own notebooks¹⁴.

Turning to the analysis of content, the sections specifically devoted to the

¹⁴ Montesanto, *Italiani in Eritrea*, cit., pp. 61-69.

teaching of the Italian language appear to be quantitatively limited. Chapters explicitly aimed at promoting language learning in grammatical, syntactic, lexical, and lexicographic aspects are virtually absent. In this context, Ricci and Siebetcheu note that the readings, characterized by a non-colloquial lexicon and literary forms, and lacking grammatical aids, seem to derive from the standard Italian manuals of the period, with the exception of the inclusion of translations of the selected excerpts into the local language¹⁵. This observation suggests the possible existence of additional manuals specifically intended for teaching Italian. Indeed, some primers published by the Capuchins are extant, designed either to facilitate the local population's acquisition of Italian¹⁶ or, conversely, to enable Italian officials to learn the local language¹⁷.

With regard to the historical section, the *Manuale di istruzione* takes the form of a didactic narrative, intended to provide an elementary overview of the origins of labor and means of production – including communication and transport systems, as well as artisanal activities¹⁸. This approach is further developed in *Industrie, arti, mestieri*, which illustrates origins and evolution of various professions.

The section also offers a highly condensed and simplified account of Italian history, in which a clearly moralistic interpretation of events is evident, characteristic of pedagogy rooted in religious tradition. The narrative established a direct correspondence between political decline and moral decay: «With vices began discord, disorder, and civil wars. And the glorious republic perished»¹⁹. From this perspective, moral virtue is presented as a necessary condition for political stability and prosperity. Particularly notable is the centrality attributed to Christianity, highlighted by the reference to the birth of «N.S.G.C.» [Our Lord Jesus Christ], indicated as a turning point in relation to the Empire of Augustus. The beginning of the Middle Ages is described as the moment when «paganism disappeared and Christianity spread» and «a new civilization imposed itself upon the old»²⁰, reflecting a providential conception of history.

¹⁵ L. Ricci, R. Siebetcheu, *L'italiano in Africa: ex colonie, vecchie e nuove aree di emigrazione*, in C. Bagna, L. Ricci (edd.) *Il mondo dell'italiano. L'italiano nel mondo*, Pisa, Pacini, 2019, p. 194.

¹⁶ For example: Missione Cattolica (edd.), *Nuovo sillabario amarico-italiano*, Asmara, Tipografia Francescana, 1909; A. Da Ronciglione, *Manuale tigray-italiano-francese*, Roma, Casa editrice italiana, 1912; Id., *Manuale amarico-italiano-francese*, Roma, Casa editrice italiana, 1912.

¹⁷ For example: B. Da Casteltermini, *Primo passo allo studio dell'italiano, ad uso degli arabi*, Torino, Ditta G.B. Paravia e C., 1914; *Sillabario ed esercizi di lettura in lingua tigrigna. Compilato per cura della scuola s. Giorgio*, Adi Ugri, Asmara, Tipografia Francescana, 1914; *Piccola grammatica per imparare l'italiano*, Asmara, Tipografia Francescana, 1917.

¹⁸ Missione Cattolica (edd.), *Manuale di istruzione ad uso degli indigeni*, Asmara, Tipografia Francescana, 1912, pp. 12-27.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 41 (my translation).

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 42 (my translation).

It is also noteworthy that the narrative emphasizes the continuity and grandeur of Rome, described as the state «the most famous and powerful in the world»²¹, outlining a teleological historical perspective aimed at celebrating the achievement of national unity. The entire narrative context is indeed oriented toward exalting the ideal of a «united, free, and independent Italy»²², presented as the outcome of the *Risorgimento* process.

Of particular interest is the volume *Uomini illustri del lavoro*, which presents brief biographies of prominent historical figures, partially replacing the traditional periodized teaching of history with exemplary narratives, perhaps considered more comprehensible and memorable. Beyond occasional references to the greatness of Roman civilization, the idea of history as progress and conquest is conveyed primarily through examples of Italian men²³, except for seven foreigners (Giorgio Stephenson, Tommaso Britton, Enrico di Mesmes, Ferdinando Magellano, Napoleone, Agatangelo e Cassiano) and one woman, Duchess Filangeri. Africa is almost entirely absent from the text. The selection privileges European male figures, implicitly aiming to transmit values of patriotism and nationalism, thereby presenting a male-centered and Eurocentric orientation.

In the geographical section, the treatment of Italian and Eritrean territories is only partial in the *Manuale di istruzione*, whereas in *La colonia Eritrea*, the geographical description of the colony is more detailed and systematic. This representation, however, once again reflects a Eurocentric perspective, positioning Europe as the universal benchmark of civilization and aiming to instill in Indigenous pupils the legitimacy of colonization, justified by presumed European superiority. The preface of the manual explicitly clarifies the rationale behind its compilation:

For about half a century, Europe has dedicated itself to the civilization of the African continent. All its regions, even those most fiercely defended by the nature of the soil and the character of the inhabitants, have been subject to penetration [...]. We have conceived the idea of gathering in a book – brief, simple, and clear – everything concerning the remarkable progress recently achieved by our Colony. By reading these pages, the Indigenous peoples will come to appreciate our work, and a stronger, more intense affection for Eritrea will be awakened in their hearts²⁴.

The natural sciences are extensively represented, with particular attention to the fundamentals of biology – such as the human body, the classification of living beings, and the five senses – supplemented by elements of astronomy

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 41 (my translation).

²² *Ibid.*, p. 43 (my translation).

²³ Palma, *Educare alla subaltermità. Prassi e politiche scolastiche nella colonia eritrea*, cit., p. 231.

²⁴ Missione Cattolica (edd.), *La colonia Eritrea. Manuale di istruzione. Italiano-tigrai. Ad uso delle scuole indigene*, Asmara, Tipografia Francescana, 1917, pp. 7-8 (my translation).

(the sun, moon, stars, etc.), physics (sound and echo), and meteorology (winds, hail, storms, thunderstorms, etc.). In contrast, there is no section specifically devoted to arithmetic or geometry.

From a methodological perspective, the numerous manuals in this series feature a composite thematic-textual structure, combining narratives with educational content and disciplinary texts. This approach became widespread following the political unification of Italy and the gradual establishment of a national public-school system, in which the reading book for children became widely used – particularly after the 1888 programs drafted by Aristide Gabelli for Minister Paolo Boselli, which recommended the inclusion of observations and general knowledge within the reading books²⁵.

In the excerpts, sometimes accompanied by exemplary narratives, a hierarchy of moral values was emphasized – centrality of the family, the importance of school and work, respect for parents and superiors, dedication to labor, and the rejection of idleness – and personal virtues such as sincerity, kindness, courage, temperance, charity, and honesty were promoted. These principles trace their roots to the curricula of the Kingdom of Sardinia in 1860, which, in the instructions for the second class, linked the ethics of duty to textual structure, aimed at providing pupils with a core body of knowledge that was both accessible and proportionate to their capacity for understanding²⁶.

The presentation of knowledge and moral precepts within dialogic-narrative frameworks – sometimes limited to individual episodes²⁷ and at other times extending throughout the volume²⁸ – aims to make the exposition more engaging through formative dialogues between teachers and students, in which the teacher stimulates pupils' curiosity with questions, followed by comments, clarifications, corrections, and explanations. According to Russo, both the methodological form and the choice of content reflect the experiential and intuitive approach characteristic of positivist teaching at the time²⁹.

As noted in a review of the *Manuale di letture scelte*, Cerulli observes that the work was compiled partly from original material and partly by adapting Italian school texts³⁰, a procedure likely applied to other manuals as well.

²⁵ M. Civra, *I programmi della scuola elementare dall'Unità d'Italia al 2000. Analizzati e commentati*, Torino, Marco Valerio, 2002, p. 197.

²⁶ B.G. Russo, "Il libro di lettura non sia un centone di trite nozioni": i manuali di lettura nei programmi ministeriali per la scuola elementare (1860-1905), «Linguistica Pragmensia», vol. XXXIII, n. 2, pp. 158-159. Si veda anche, Civra, *I programmi della scuola elementare dall'Unità d'Italia al 2000.*, cit., pp. 153-174.

²⁷ See, for example: Missione Cattolica (edd.), *Manuale di istruzione ad uso degli indigeni*, cit.; Missione Cattolica (edd.), *Manuale di letture scelte italiane-tigrai. Ad uso delle scuole indigene*, Asmara, Tipografia Francescana, 1916.

²⁸ Missione Cattolica (edd.), *Embaiè... (Vittorie del lavoro). Libro di lettura italiano-tigrai ad uso delle scuole indigene*, Asmara, Tipografia Francescana, 1920.

²⁹ Russo, "Il libro di lettura non sia un centone di trite nozioni", cit., p. 162.

³⁰ E. Cerulli, *Recensioni. Manuale di Letture scelte italiane – tigrai ad uso delle scuole*

However, not all passages were adapted to the local context. Indeed, there are texts on topics far removed from the pupils' experience, such as the bridge between England and Scotland³¹ or the gold rush at Ballarat in Australia³².

The first series of manuals represents the first significant attempt to organize schooling through structured texts, with numerous re-editions, and was progressively adopted, at least in part, by other schools of the Catholic Mission³³.

2. *The second series of textbooks published by the Capuchins*

Between 1923 and 1930, the Catholic Mission issued a new series of textbooks, organized into three volumes, each intended for one of the three grades of elementary school. In the first edition of this collection, the manuals were divided into three volumes for the second, third, and fourth grades of elementary school, reflecting the school organization then in force, which was revised following the arrival of Mons. Carrara in 1911 and at the request of a group of young Eritreans, had extended literacy in Tigrinya and Italian up to the fourth grade³⁴.

In the second edition – of which only the third volume is available as a source – while maintaining the division into three volumes, they were reformulated for the first, second, and third grades, incorporating «all the latest changes regarding the administrative divisions of the Colony of Eritrea» and ensuring «an ever-closer alignment with the real life of the Eritreans»³⁵, in accordance with Decreto Governatoriale n. 3808 of 12 September 1921, which established a three-year duration for the elementary school cycle intended for Eritrean pupils (Art. 3).

The Table 2 below shows the structure of the three volumes belonging to the second series of elementary school books for the local population, published by the Catholic Mission in Eritrea.

indigene per cura della Missione Cattolica – Asmara – Tipografia Francescana 1916, «L'Africa Italiana», vol. XXXV, fasc. X, ottobre 1916, p. 263.

³¹ Missione Cattolica (edd.), *Manuale di istruzione ad uso degli indigeni*, cit., p. 18.

³² Missione Cattolica (edd.), *Manuale di letture scelte italiane-tigrai*, cit., p. 46.

³³ Da Nembro, *La missione dei minori cappuccini in Eritrea*, cit., p. 77.

³⁴ A. Tesfamichael, Mons. Camillo Carrara. *Primo Vicario Apostolico dell'Eritrea. Semplificazione memoria di un centenario 1924-2024*, Gorle, Velar, p. 40.

³⁵ G. Da Milano, *Libro per le scuole elementari eritree. Volume III. Classe III. Seconda edizione riveduta e migliorata*, Asmara, Tipografia Francescana, 1930, back cover (my translation).

Tab. 2. Second series of elementary school textbooks for the Eritrean pupils by the Catholic Mission in Eritrea

Title	Author/ Editor	Year	No. of Pages	Type of Bilingual Arrangement	Content Type	Illustrations	Exercises	Content Structure
Libro per le scuole elementari indigene. Volume I. Clase II.	Giandomenico da Milano / Missione Cattolica (edd.)	1923	131	Italian-dominant bilingual, with some Tigrinya terms	Academic disciplines (Italian, Arithmetic, Object lessons)	No	Si	Some statements; Italian language; Short readings; Arithmetic; The four operations on whole numbers; Object lessons
Libro per le scuole elementari indigene. Volume II. Clase III.	Giandomenico da Milano / Missione Cattolica (edd.)	1924	293	Italian-dominant bilingual, with some Tigrinya terms	Academic disciplines (moral education, Italian language, arithmetic, geometry, general knowledge, geography)	No	Si	Preface; Some observations; Practical rules for the moral and civil conduct of Eritrean youth; Duties toward God; Duties toward ourselves; Duties toward others; Italian grammar; Short stories for exercises; On the noun; On the article; Short stories for exercises; On the adjective; Short stories for exercises; On the pronoun; Short stories for exercises; On the verb; Short stories for exercises; Arithmetic; The four operations with decimal numbers; On the metric system; Introductory concepts of geometry; Various notions; Geography; On the colony of Eritrea; Brief information about Italy; On Libya; On Somalia; Nomenclature

(segue)

Title	Author/ Editor	Year	No. of Pages	Type of Bilingual Arrangement	Content Type	Illustrations	Exercises	Content Structure
Libro per le scuole elementari indigene. Volume III. Classe IV.	Giandomenico da Milano / Missione Cattolica (edd.)	1925	380	Italian-dominant bilingual, with some Tigrinya terms	Academic disciplines (moral education, Italian language, arithmetic, geometry, general knowledge, geography)	No	Si	Moral education; Duties toward God; Duties toward ourselves; From the history of Rome; Italian grammar; Short stories for exercises; Descriptions for exercises; Arithmetic; Metric system – units of length; Concepts of geometry; Geography; General notions; Africa – general overview; Europe – general overview; Political divisions; Asia – general overview; America – general overview; North America; South America; Oceania – general overview; Various notions; Animal kingdom; Plant kingdom – types of plants; Mineral kingdom; Appendix: Division of Eritrea; Italy, mother of great men
Libro per le scuole elementari indigene. Volume III. Classe III. Seconda edizione riveduta e migliorata.	Giandomenico da Milano	1930	279	Italian-dominant bilingual, with some Tigrinya terms	Academic disciplines (moral education, Italian language, arithmetic, geometry, general knowledge, geography)	No	Si	Preface; Some observations; Practical rules for the moral and civil conduct of Eritrean youth; Duties toward God; Duties toward ourselves; Duties toward others; Italian grammar; Short stories for exercises; On the noun; On the article; Short stories for exercises; On the adjective; Short stories for exercises; On the pronoun; Short stories for exercises; On the verb; Short stories for exercises; Introduction to writing; Arithmetic; The four operations with decimal numbers; On the metric system; Introductory concepts of geometry; Various notions; Geography; On the colony of Eritrea; Brief information about Italy; Other Italian colonies in Africa

Source: author's organization.

A significant difference compared to the first series of manuals is in the organization of the content: while in the first series each text follows its own independent compositional criteria, without a direct correspondence to a specific school grade, in the second series the three volumes are structured by discipline and calibrated to the intended grade level, thereby ensuring methodological consistency and clarity of exposition.

The first volume contains content related to the Italian language, arithmetic, and natural science lessons; the second expands the educational program to include moral education, Italian language, geometry, general knowledge, and geography; while the third, finally, presents a more articulated structure, also encompassing history and natural sciences.

This structure is consistent with the prevailing directives³⁶, which prescribed for elementary schools serving the local population the teaching of Italian and the local language³⁷, arithmetic, geometry, geography, penmanship, as well as moral and physical education. The composition of the manuals therefore appears to be guided by these guidelines, reflecting both the intention to comply with governmental regulations and the aim of systematizing school knowledge within a formative and civilizing framework.

However, in contrast with the regulatory indications, the second and third volumes include historical content: the former addresses the colonization of Eritrea by Italy, while the latter presents the history of ancient Rome. This choice is justified in *Some Observations* as a means of illustrating «Italy's work in the Colony»³⁸ through episodes designed to stimulate the students' imagination³⁹.

Another notable change concerns the type of bilingual layout adopted: unlike the first series of manuals, in the second series the majority of the text is written in Italian, while individual phrases or words in Tigrinya are occasionally inserted, primarily to facilitate comprehension and the learning of linguistic content. Moreover, in all volumes, words of at least three syllables have been marked with accents to minimize pronunciation errors, following the criterion employed by Antonio Stoppani in the stereotyped edition of *Il bel Paese*, published with tonic accents on words for the use of schools and foreigners⁴⁰.

³⁶ Decreto Governatoriale n. 3808 of 12 september 1921, *Le norme relative all'istruzione dell'elemento indigeno*, art. 3.

³⁷ The manuals did not include a section dedicated to teaching the local language; this may be attributed to the complexity arising from the presence of numerous indigenous languages and the consequent possibility that each school organized language instruction autonomously according to the needs of the local context.

³⁸ G. Da Milano, *Libro per le scuole elementari indigene. Vol. II. Classe III*, Asmara, Tipografia Francescana, 1924, p. II (my translation).

³⁹ *Ibid.*

⁴⁰ G. Da Milano, *Libro per le scuole elementari indigene. Vol. I. Classe II*, Asmara, Tipografia Francescana, 1923, p. III. See also, S. Baffi, «Fare gli Italiani»: Il bel paese d'Antonio Stoppani, «Italies: culture, civilisation, société: revue d'études italiennes», vol. 6, 2002, p. 283;

Alongside these formal and linguistic features, the *Osservazioni* and *Nota bene* included in the manuals – intended to «communicate some modest fruits of experience»⁴¹ to teachers – reveal an explicitly practical and didactic purpose. These insertions, of a more prescriptive and advisory nature, provide guidance drawn from the everyday practice of teaching in a missionary and multilingual context, supporting teachers in managing methodological difficulties and compensating for the absence of pedagogical manuals specific to the various disciplines.

The analysis of the manuals reveals a pedagogical context clearly oriented toward the cultural and environmental adaptation of educational material. The *Libro per le Scuole elementari indigene, vol. I, classe II* highlights the inadequacy of contemporary Italian textbooks, judged as «too many things, devoid of meaning», since they referred to «events, conditions, and levels of civilization»⁴² alien to the experience of Eritrean students. The preparation of the manual was preceded by field observation and experimentation aimed at understanding the needs and local elements of the school, in order to adapt teaching «to the mentality of indigenous children»⁴³. This objective is reflected in targeted methodological and content-related choices.

First, local elements are integrated into the manuals as the very subject of instruction, to promote learning based on realities familiar to the students. In the second volume, for example, there is a chapter entitled *On the Colony of Eritrea*, which addresses the territory's geographical features, as well as its legal, educational, and military systems⁴⁴.

Indigenous elements also appear as functional examples to support the comprehension of general concepts; in the lesson devoted to reptiles, for instance, the general description is accompanied by references to the local fauna:

Q. What kind of animals are reptiles?

A. They are crawling animals with long, stick-like bodies; they have no legs, or their legs are very short [...].

Q. Which reptiles are found in Eritrea?

A. The lizard (ለሐሲቶ:), a type of snake called (ሐማት : ተመንት :), the viper (አፍባት :), and the boa (ገበል።)⁴⁵.

Similarly, the sentences and examples draw on the pupils' everyday life –

G. Virgilio, *Una lingua per la divulgazione scientifica nell'Italia postunitaria: Il bel paese di Antonio Stoppani*, in A. Giannotti, L. Ricci, D. Troncarelli (edd.), *L'italiano lungo le vie della scienza e dell'arte*, Firenze, Franco Cesati, 2020, p. 114.

⁴¹ Da Milano, *Libro per le scuole elementari indigene. Vol. I. Classe II*, cit., p. IV (my translation).

⁴² *Ibid.*, p. I (my translation).

⁴³ Da Milano, *Libro per le scuole elementari indigene. Vol. II. Classe III*, cit., preface (my translation).

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 251-258.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 222-223 (my translation).

«Durra is less tasty than teff. Papayas are less sweet than custard apples»⁴⁶; «By accident, Paolo let the plate of zighinì fall to the ground, where it shattered into pieces»⁴⁷ – thereby establishing a direct connection between school content and real life.

Some dialogical stories, moreover, illustrate how the school contributed to shaping and re-elaborating the pupils' perception of their own community.

Agos: Your village is the ugliest village in the entire colony of Eritrea.

Negusiè: My village? It has only a few houses built in the Italian style, but it has many beautiful, spacious huts; even the Doctor saw them when he passed through on a hunting trip, he and his companions.

Agos: There isn't even a carriage road; no automobile ever passes by; it's a village of goats.

Negusiè: And is yours supposed to be beautiful, with all that dust from the road, with cars frightening the donkeys and the goats? I'm not coming to your village: it's a village of hyenas!⁴⁸

Through such examples, the intention to make school content more accessible and culturally meaningful for Indigenous pupils becomes evident, achieved by drawing on experiences, languages, and contexts familiar to them.

Local references and situations drawn from the colonial setting also appear in the exercises. For example:

On the low plain, Mmbrahatu's family harvested 9 sacks of durra; they bought 3 sacks of durra in Asmara, and received 6 sacks as a gift. How many sacks of durra do they have in total?⁴⁹

A load of coffee weighting 192 kg cost 1,884 lire in Asmara. Transported to Massawa, the camel driver, who owned the coffee, earned 2,364 lire by selling it. Question: How much did that coffee cost per kilogram? And how much did the owner earn by reselling it in Massawa, if his travel expenses amounted to 75.50 lire?⁵⁰

Finally, in the methodological guidelines addressed to teachers, the author suggests situating the lesson within the local context. This is exemplified in the teaching of the verb to *have*, which is presented through a direct comparison with the Tigrinya language:

The teacher should ask in Tigrigna how many oxen the father of one of his pupils possesses; once the answer is given in Tigrinya, he can easily demonstrate the corresponding form of ኣለ: that is, the Italian verb 'to have', which is much simpler in its usage than the

⁴⁶ G. Da Milano, *Libro per le scuole elementari indigene*. Vol. III. Classe IV, Asmara, Tipografia Franciscana, 1925, p. 80 (my translation).

⁴⁷ Id., *Libro per le scuole elementari indigene*. Vol. I. Classe II, cit., p. 31 (my translation).

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 48 (my translation).

⁴⁹ G. Da Milano, *Libro per le scuole elementari indigene*. Vol. II. Classe III, cit., p. 133 (my translation).

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 195-196 (my translation).

term $\lambda\lambda\epsilon$, which must change to $\lambda\eta$: when the possessed object is feminine, to $\lambda\eta\Omega$: when referring to multiple masculine objects, and to $\lambda\eta\Phi$: when referring to multiple feminine objects⁵¹.

Overall, the teaching strategies adopted reflect a clear comparative and adaptive approach, aimed at facilitating the conceptual transition «from the known to the unknown»⁵², as stated in the preface to the first volume and in accordance with the 1888 curricula. These strategies reveal the influence of positivist culture, both in their methodological framework and in their epistemological orientation, which assigned a central role to direct observation and concrete experience of reality as privileged pathways for the construction of knowledge⁵³.

From this standpoint, all three volumes employ the dialogic method of questions and answers – also found in the first series – considered the most effective tool for promoting gradual and active learning⁵⁴, as well as for transmitting cognitive content and educational values.

The emphasis on direct observation and concrete experience⁵⁵ likewise emerges in the *Osservazioni* and *Nota Bene*. For example, in teaching about plants, teachers are encouraged to «have pupils observe, during school walks, those grasses and trees that will later form the subject of specific lessons»⁵⁶. Similarly, in teaching the concept of the perpendicular, the use of everyday objects and bodily postures is proposed as a source of concrete examples:

The legs of the table, which rest on the classroom floor, are perpendicular lines; the posture of a child standing “at attention” is an example of perpendicularity; many of the strokes in the Italian uppercase alphabet are examples of perpendiculars to the line that can be drawn beneath each of them... Of all these lines, the pupil must become accustomed to drawing numerous examples in the designated notebook, or at least in the squared notebook used for Arithmetic⁵⁷.

Affinities with the 1888 curricula can be observed not only in the methodological strategies but also in the content. Table 3 compares the arithmetic content of the 1888 curricula with that of the Catholic Mission (1923 to 1925).

⁵¹ Da Milano, *Libro per le scuole elementari indigene*. Vol. I. Classe II, cit., p. 23 (my translation).

⁵² *Ibid.*, p. III (my translation).

⁵³ Civra, *I programmi della scuola elementare dall'Unità d'Italia al 2000.*, cit., p. 192.

⁵⁴ Da Milano, *Libro per le scuole elementari indigene*. Vol. I. Classe II, cit., p. III.

⁵⁵ F.V. Lombardi, *I programmi per la scuola elementare dal 1860 al 1985*, Brescia, La Scuola, 1987, pp. 67-71.

⁵⁶ Da Milano, *Libro per le scuole elementari indigene*. Vol. II. Classe III, cit., p. 225 (my translation).

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 203 (my translation).

Tab. 3. Comparison between the 1888 curricula and the Catholic Mission manuals (1923-1925) in the subject of arithmetic.

Grade	The 1888 Curricula ⁵⁸	The curricula presented in the school manuals published by the Catholic Mission in Eritrea, 1923-1925
1	Writing of numerals Numbering Addition and subtraction: mental calculations up to 10, written calculations up to 100	Absent
2	Four operations Mental calculation with numbers 1 to 9 and written calculation up to 1,000 Intuitive understanding and notation of common fractions	Numbering up to 9,999 Numbering from 10.000 Four operations Common fractions Units of measurement and measures of length Measures of capacity Measures of weight Measures of value Roman numerals
3	Four operations with whole numbers Four operations with decimal numbers Practical method for converting common fractions into decimals Measures of weight Practical everyday measurements	Four operations with whole numbers Decimal numbers Four operations with decimal numbers Common and decimal fractions Roman numerals Measures of length, including those used in Eritrea; measures of capacity, including those used in Eritrea; measures of weight, including those used in Eritrea; and measures of value
4	Four operations with decimal numbers Decimal metric system Measures of length, area, volume, capacity, and weight	Roman numerals Decimal numbers Four operations Decimal metric system Measures of length, area, volume, capacity, weight, and value

(segue)

⁵⁸ Lombardi, *I programmi per la scuola elementare dal 1860 al 1985*, cit., pp. 90-97.

Grade	The 1888 Curricula	The curricula presented in the school manuals published by the Catholic Mission in Eritrea, 1923-1925
5	Four operations with whole numbers General concept of the common fraction Reduction of fractions to a common denominator and conversion of mixed fractions into improper fractions Simplification of fractions Four operations with common fractions Conversion of a common fraction into a decimal Metric system Ratios and proportions Simple rule of three using the unitary method Applications to interest and partnership calculations	Absent

Source: author's organization.

The comparative analysis of the curricula, particularly in the area of arithmetic, reveals a shared structural approach and the presence of the same core elements – four operations, fractions, decimal numbers, and the metric system – reflecting a common educational tradition. Both curricula emphasize the acquisition of operations and numeration from the early grades, as well as the progressive learning of measurements.

A significant difference is found in the inclusion, in the Capuchin manuals, of a section dedicated to local units of measurement, reflecting an adaptation to the Eritrean context. Moreover, while the 1888 curricula are more comprehensive, including complex concepts such as proportions and the simple rule of three, the curricula designed for Eritrea are limited to an elementary level and do not document the content expected for the first and fifth grades. This can be explained primarily by the three-year duration of the elementary course, established by the regulations in force at the time (D.G. n. 3808 of 12 September 1921). Furthermore, education directed at Eritreans was conceived from the outset as part of a hierarchical and discriminatory educational project, aimed at providing essentially practical knowledge so that pupils could «learn to read and write just enough to understand and convey a simple order to a basic work account»⁵⁹.

A cyclical system is adopted in which each volume progressively prepares

⁵⁹ *Sull'istruzione agli indigeni: proposte preliminari*, Asmara, 29 July 1918, in ASDMAE, EMAI, AE, b. 145 (my translation). Typescript signed by Aldo Bibolini.

students for the next, following the principle of «from easy to difficult»⁶⁰. In the area of arithmetic, the first volume introduces fundamental concepts – numeration up to 10,000 and the four operations with whole numbers; the second volume develops operations with decimal numbers, reviews measures of length and weight, and reinforces learning through exercises; the third volume, finally, further consolidates acquired knowledge while extending the curriculum to include measures of area and volume. This cyclical progression reflects a pedagogical strategy aimed at the gradual consolidation of mathematical skills, consistent with the methodological trends of Italian curricula of the period, already present in the Coppino programs of 1867 and later incorporated in the Orestano programs of 1905, which organized content by grade rather than by subject⁶¹.

3. *To form good christians and obedient subjects*

The prefaces of the manuals reveal the educational objectives envisioned during their preparation. In both series of manuals, the «civil and moral elevation of the Eritrean school population»⁶² is presented as a primary goal, aimed at guiding them from the «darkness of ignorance and prejudice»⁶³ toward the «clear horizons of civilization»⁶⁴.

In this context, discourse about Italy adopts an exalted and hyperbolic tone, describing the nation as «great and powerful among the civilized nations of Europe»⁶⁵; «the most beautiful land of Europe and the most illustrious in the history of civilization»⁶⁶; «one of the largest and strongest states of Europe»⁶⁷. Such representation constructs a model to inspire admiration and deference among the indigenous population and reinforces the ideological justification for colonization. In contrast, Africa is depicted in derogatory terms: «they do not even have an idea of [...] civilization and progress»⁶⁸ and «they have lived

⁶⁰ Da Milano, *Libro per le scuole elementari indigene. Vol. II. Classe III*, cit., Preface (my translation).

⁶¹ Russo, «*Il libro di lettura non sia un centone di trite nozioni*», cit., pp. 158-166.

⁶² Da Milano, *Libro per le scuole elementari indigene. Vol. I. Classe II*, cit., p. I (my translation).

⁶³ Missione Cattolica (edd.), *Manuale di istruzione ad uso degli indigeni*, cit., VIII (my translation).

⁶⁴ *Ibid.* (my translation).

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, p. VII (my translation).

⁶⁶ Missione Cattolica (edd.), *Manuale di letture scelte italiane-tigrai*, cit., p. 68 (my translation).

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 70 (my translation).

⁶⁸ Missione Cattolica (edd.), *Manuale di istruzione ad uso degli indigeni*, cit., p. 9 (my translation).

without ever having contact with the civilized world»⁶⁹, thereby strengthening the narrative of the civilizing mission.

The ideology is evident in the preface of *La colonia Eritrea*, where the colony is described as the «firstborn daughter of Italy». The rhetoric of «marvelous progress», conveyed through images of infrastructure and technological achievements, facilitates the framing of colonial expansion as moral and civil advancement. The subjugation of the indigenous population is represented as a positive outcome of civilization, translating political and cultural domination into symbolic integration: «Thousands of natives speak our language, obey our laws, and rally around our flag»⁷⁰.

The civilizing role attributed to Europe in relation to Africa is already explicitly emphasized in the first series of manuals and is further developed in the second series. For example, the manuals include didactic definitions such as:

Q: What is meant by a Colony?

A. A land that a civilized nation occupied beyond the sea for the purpose of education and civilization⁷¹.

And also:

Q: What is Italy's purpose in governing the Eritrean Colony?

A: To promote education, agriculture, and the improvement of the customs of the indigenous inhabitants, helping them to become ever more civilized, as Italy has already done with other peoples in very distant times⁷².

These passages demonstrate how the manuals construct a representation of Italian colonialism as an educational mission, framing the instruction of the indigenous population within a rhetoric designed to legitimize Italian intervention and highlight its alleged benefits for Eritrea.

Q. Are all these means of communication and transportation available in Eritrea?

A. Yes, they are.

Q. Who brought these beautiful and very useful inventions to our Colony?

A. Italy brought them.

N.B. The prudent teacher will take these lessons as an opportunity to inspire pupils to love their studies and to cherish Italy, which has brought so much splendor of civilization and progress to this Colony⁷³.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 58 (my translation).

⁷⁰ Missione Cattolica (edd.), *La colonia Eritrea. Manuale di istruzione.*, cit., p. 8 (my translation).

⁷¹ Da Milano, *Libro per le scuole elementari indigene. Vol. II. Classe III*, cit., p. 245 (my translation).

⁷² *Ibid.*, p. 256 (my translation).

⁷³ Da Milano, *Libro per le scuole elementari indigene. Vol. I. Classe II*, cit., p. 115 (my translation).

Through the use of N.B. [*Nota Bene*], the author does not merely provide objective information but also encourages the teacher to appeal to an affective dimension, fostering admiration for Italy among pupils and consolidating an emotional connection to the purported civilizing mission of Italian colonialism.

Another identifiable objective in the manuals concerns economic development and the formation of the local workforce. The large number and practical focus of the texts suggest that the educational intent was primarily oriented toward operational and functional learning. The theme of labor, in particular, occupied a central and recurring position across the volumes, constituting a fundamental axis within the colonial educational project.

In the *Manuale di istruzione* (1912), an entire chapter is devoted to the elementary principles of agriculture; the volume *Industrie-arti-mestieri* (1914) systematically addresses knowledge of the various types of productive and industrial activities; in *La Colonia Eritrea*, a specific chapter focuses on local industries; while in a chapter of *Uomini illustri del lavoro* (1917), biographies of prominent figures in the industrial and commercial sectors are collected. Finally, in the text *Embaiè* (1920), the exemplary figure of a young Eritrean is presented – someone with whom pupils could easily identify – where references to work and productive activities emerge as constitutive dimensions of personal and social formation, as means of improving one's condition:

Every man must therefore work willingly: first of all because work is a command of God, and then because work perfects man and is a source of tranquility, well-being, and wealth. Work is a law, a duty, a need for everyone. Woe to those who neglect it! ⁷⁴

In the manuals, work is celebrated as a driving force of human and civil progress, a universal value encompassing all social classes and professions:

Work! A sacred word that embodies comfort in suffering, hope for the future: this powerful driving force propels humanity swiftly along the path of civil and moral progress. The wealthy work to improve the fate of their employees and the condition of their estates; artists work to honor the homeland through the creations of mind and hand; scholars work to enrich the sacred treasury of knowledge; the laborer must work to vanquish that poisonous serpent called ignorance, to provide for his family, to be of service to his country and humanity, diligently fulfilling his duties as a good father and honest citizen ⁷⁵.

Although the manuals affirm that «All arts and trades are useful. [...] no art or trade is ignoble or can bring dishonor» ⁷⁶, they place a clear emphasis on

⁷⁴ Missione Cattolica (edd.), *Manuale di letture scelte italiane-tigrari*, cit., p. 366 (my translation).

⁷⁵ Missione Cattolica (edd.), *Industrie, arti, mestieri. Manuale ad uso degli indigeni nelle due lingue italiana e tigrignà*, Asmara, Tipografia Francescana, 1914, pp. 8-9 (my translation).

⁷⁶ Missione Cattolica (edd.), *Manuale di istruzione ad uso degli indigeni*, cit., p. 16 (my translation).

productive, industrial, and artisanal occupations that serve the colonial economic system⁷⁷, while references to liberal, intellectual, or high-level cultural professions, as well as administrative roles – such as lawyer, notary, judge, physician, public official, writer, or musician – are entirely absent. This omission implicitly reveals the construction of an artificial hierarchy of professions, in which indigenous people were assigned manual, technical, or subordinate tasks, whereas positions of prestige, intellectual authority, or managerial responsibility remained the prerogative of Italians.

Within this framework, the second series of manuals, in addition to generally praising work, explicitly aims to «introduce pupils to trades»⁷⁸ such as farmer, tailor, shoemaker, saddler, and electrical mechanic, among others.

This logic is already evident in the 1918 report *Sull'istruzione agli indigeni. Proposte preliminari*, drafted by Aldo Biboloni, then Head of the Mining Office of the Eritrean colony. In this document, the author proposed an educational model designed to serve colonial policy, conceiving education «as a means primarily intended to train the workforce necessary for the needs of the colony». Consequently, education for indigenous people was expected to meet the «strict requirements of the culture indispensable to the technologies of the various types of manual labor»⁷⁹.

Another discernible objective in the manuals concerns the political and affective assimilation of the indigenous population within the Italian colonial structure. Indeed, numerous passages in the school texts attest to the intention of inculcating in pupils a sentiment of devotion toward the Italian homeland.

In the *Manuale di letture scelte italiane-tigrai...*, cit., for example, there is a definition of the homeland expressed in strongly affective terms:

The homeland is the country where we were born, where we grew up as children, where we were instructed and educated, where our relatives live, and where the bones of our ancestors rest. The homeland is the territory to which we belong by birth and where we are governed, defended, and cared for with such attentive care⁸⁰.

In the subsequent passage, love for the homeland acquires a moral and religious connotation, framing it as a genuine sacred duty:

⁷⁷ For example, in *Industrie, arti, mestieri.*, cit., professions are divided into three main sections: industries, arts, and crafts. The categorization of work within the section is as follows:

- Industries: paper industry, textile industry, leather industry, candle industry, match industry, petroleum industry, salt industry, bread industry, honey and wax industry, refrigeration industry, coin industry, arms industry, hat industry;
- Arts: printing, engraving, photography, casting, glasswork, ceramics;
- Crafts: tailor, saddler, shoemaker, carpenter, blacksmith, mason.

⁷⁸ Da Milano, *Libro per le scuole elementari indigene. Vol. I. Classe II*, cit., p. II (my translation).

⁷⁹ *Sull'istruzione agli indigeni: proposte preliminari*, cit (my translation).

⁸⁰ Missione Cattolica (edd.), *Manuale di letture scelte italiane-tigrai*, cit., p. 98 (my translation).

Love for the homeland is a sacred duty for everyone, and all must live for and take an interest in its welfare. Therefore, young people, strive to make yourselves worthy of your homeland by respecting its laws and authority: make its name great and glorious through virtue and work⁸¹.

The appeal to the idea of the homeland is made even more explicit in the following passage:

Our valiant askaris who, at Amba-Alagi, Abba-Garima, in Benadir, and in Tripoli, heroically sacrificed their lives for the honor of the homeland, are a noble example of the sincere and strong affection we must feel toward Italy, which has bestowed upon the peoples of Eritrea welfare, freedom, security, and peace within civil and religious order⁸².

Although the concept of «homeland» is initially linked to one's place of origin, when referring to the askaris – the local soldiers serving colonial Italy – it shifts to a symbolic and political dimension, aligning with the colonizing nation. The notion of sacrifice for the «homeland» thus no longer pertains to one's native territory, but to Italy itself which becomes the new focal point of moral and emotional belonging. In this way, the concept of homeland is transformed into an ideological category, serving to cultivate a sense of fidelity and subordination to colonial authority:

From the day Italy extended its protection over Eritrea, it became a land of labor, rich in all the comforts of life, free from any enemy invasion, secure within its borders, open to commerce, and respected among all the lands of Africa. Learn to salute Italy as the loving and beneficent Mother-Homeland⁸³.

Beyond the intentions explicitly stated in the prefaces of the manuals, the clear aim of evangelization emerges, in line with the guiding principles of Monsignor Camillo Carrara, Apostolic Vicar of Eritrea from 1911 to 1924. He devoted particular attention to the reorganization and expansion of mission schools, placing them under the Catholic Mission and recognizing as a privileged means for transmitting Christian values and strengthening the cultural and spiritual identity of local communities⁸⁴.

From this perspective, the manuals drafted by the missionaries were not merely teaching tools but became vehicles of catechesis, harmoniously blending scholastic and spiritual formation. Through the readings, examples, and exercises provided, a distinct catechetical imprint is evident, as demonstrated

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, p. 100 (my translation).

⁸² Missione Cattolica (edd.), *Manuale di istruzione ad uso degli indigeni*, cit., p. 105 (my translation).

⁸³ Da Milano, *Libro per le scuole elementari indigene. Vol. II. Classe III*, cit., p. 29 (my translation).

⁸⁴ Da Nembro, *La missione dei minori cappuccini in Eritrea*, cit., pp. 73-74.

in the various explanatory materials: «God is all-powerful»⁸⁵; «Your Heavenly Father knows that you need food and clothing, and if you are good, these things will not be lacking»⁸⁶; «Nature is beautiful, but He who created nature is more beautiful than it. But who is this Being so great, so beautiful, so majestic? – What is His name so that our lips may honor Him? It is God»⁸⁷.

Furthermore, the text of the *Our Father* – indicated below – occupied a significant place in the *Practical norms for the moral and civil conduct of young Eritreans*:

When you pray, pray like this: Our Father, who art in heaven, hallowed be Thy name; Thy kingdom come; Thy will be done on earth as it is in heaven. Give us this day our daily bread; forgive us our trespasses, as we forgive those who trespass against us and lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from evil⁸⁸.

Each passage, while guiding the learning of the Italian language, is accompanied by explicit references to God and creation, intended to inspire in pupils a sense of wonder and devotion that introduces the catechetical discourse. Indeed, catechesis represented, in missionary pedagogy, an educational instrument of high symbolic and practical value, aimed at instilling a sense of belonging to God, reverence, and love for Him.

Conclusion

The analysis of the manuals published by the Capuchin Order reveals a dual pedagogical orientation. On one hand, the missionaries conceived and organized the school as a «tactic and means of winning over those outside Catholicism»⁸⁹; on the other hand, under the control of the Italian government over the educational activities of the Catholic Mission, the teaching content had to conform to the general guidelines established by the competition organized by the colonial administration. These two axes – religious and political – constituted the foundations upon which the educational framework of the mission schools was built, as is clearly evident from the manuals themselves.

An illustrative example is the passage that states

⁸⁵ Da Milano, *Libro per le scuole elementari indigene. Vol. I. Classe II*, cit., p. 3 (my translation).

⁸⁶ Id., *Libro per le scuole elementari indigene. Vol. II. Classe III*, cit., p. 5 (my translation).

⁸⁷ Missione Cattolica (ed.), *Manuale di letture scelte italiane-tigrai*, cit., p. 22 (my translation).

⁸⁸ Da Milano, *Libro per le scuole elementari indigene. Vol. II. Classe III*, cit., p. 3 (my translation).

⁸⁹ Da Nembro, *La missione dei minori cappuccini in Eritrea*, cit., p. 177 (my translation).

In Italy many great men were born, renowned throughout the world. There are also young boys of just a few years who deserve to be remembered with esteem for their goodness and courage. I recall Luigi Gonzaga, and Balilla⁹⁰.

The text deliberately juxtaposes two emblematic figures: Luigi Gonzaga, a young saint of the Christian tradition, and Balilla, a patriotic symbol later appropriated by fascist rhetoric.

The apparent heterogeneity of this association resolves itself in the construction of a unified model of the “ideal youth”, in which religious virtues and nationalist values merge seamlessly. Through this synthesis, the manuals make explicit their pedagogical aim: to form good Christians and obedient subjects.

The analysis of the manuals highlights how religious motivations – though firmly rooted in the *mission ad gentes* – had to contend with the demands of the colonial government, compelling the missionaries to navigate between differing requirements of faith and political control, with varying degrees of critical awareness. This dual responsibility transformed educational action into a complex terrain of negotiation between religious values and formative aims on the one hand, and state objectives on the other.

⁹⁰ Da Milano, *Libro per le scuole elementari indigene*. Vol. II. Classe III, cit., p. 30 (my translation).

The Strategy Testing and Examinee Backgrounds in Late Qing Examination Reforms*

Jiachang Wei
Faculty of Education
Northeast Normal University (China)
weijc233@nenu.edu.cn

ABSTRACT: The strategy testing encapsulates the political, economic, educational, and broader societal facets of an era, bridging the societal and the individual. Based on *Collection of Vermilion Papers from the Qing Dynasty* 清代朱卷集成, this study analyzes the strategy testing texts and examinees from the post-1901 imperial examination reform period in the late Qing dynasty. Employing a combined methodology of textual analysis and statistical analysis, the research investigates continuity and change in the content focus of strategy testing resulting from the reform. This is examined temporally by comparing strategy testing before and after the reform, and spatially by assessing variations in reform implementation depth across regions. Examinees' strategy essays were categorized and analyzed alongside their socio-educational backgrounds. Ultimately, an integrated theoretical and data analysis yields the conclusion that the characteristics of examinees' strategy essays were jointly determined by regional proposition styles and examinee background factors.

EET/TEE KEYWORDS: Imperial examination reform; Qing Dynasty; Strategy testing reform; Children development; XX Century.

The imperial examination system was a uniquely Chinese institution of assessment that developed through dynamic interaction with traditional Chinese culture. It was simultaneously both a product of traditional culture and a vital component thereof, while also exerting a profound influence on the entirety of Chinese history and traditional civilization¹. Peter K. Bol, Professor of East Asian Languages and Civilizations at Harvard University, asserts: «The civil

* FUNDING: 2025 National Education Science Planning Key National Project: "Research on the Traditions of Chinese Cultural Education" (Project Approval No.: AOA250020).

service examinations were one of the most important institutions in Chinese history. Without them, China would probably have been entirely different»². The uniqueness of the imperial examination system was, in part, responsible for the distinctive character of traditional Chinese society.

From its inception, the imperial examination system maintained a close connection with children. During the Tang dynasty, the «Children's Examination» [童子科] was even established as a regular subject category. Although the Qing dynasty abolished the «Children's Examination» intellectual cultivation aimed at succeeding in the imperial examinations remained central to childhood education³. From the moment children entered private schools, their fundamental life trajectory became centered on «studying – passing the examinations – entering officialdom». They invariably devoted themselves to mastering literary compositions and engaging in reputation-driven examination preparation, deliberately neglecting any texts deemed irrelevant to the examinations⁴.

The imperial examination reforms implemented in 1901 involved abolishing the military examinations, discarding the rigid *Eight-Legged Essay* [八股文] format, and eliminating the practice of transcribing examination papers for provincial and national examinations. Concurrently, the strategy testing both the provincial and national examinations was restructured to focus on *Strategies on the Political Systems and Technical Arts of Various Nations* [各国政治艺学策], encompassing the political systems and specialized arts/technologies of countries across the five continents. The strategy testing featured in provincial and national examinations between 1902 and 1904 was closely tied to contemporary issues of national welfare and the people's livelihood, primarily concerning politics, economics, military affairs, culture, education, law, and other aspects of Western and Eastern nations. A single strategy testing paper thus encapsulated numerous facets of an era's economy, politics, and culture. It served not only as a nexus connecting society and the individual but also bore significant implications for children's education and development⁵.

¹ T.H. Qu, Y.K. Zhu, *The Value of the Imperial Examination System in the Context of Modern Pedagogy*, «Education Review», n. 2, 2006, pp. 82-84.

² B.A. Elman, *A Cultural History of Civil Examinations in Late Imperial China*, Berkeley and Los Angeles, University of California Press, 2000, Back Cover.

³ J. Hou, X.C. Xie, *The Promotion of Children's Healthy Growth by Tianjin YMCA*, «Journal of South China Normal University (Social Science Edition)», n. 5, 2012, pp. 39-47.

⁴ Z. Xu, *Leave it Alone, or Popular in Villages: The 'Representation' of the Historical Picture of the Enlightenment Education Primer and Its Modern Enlightenment*, «Journal of Educational Science of Hunan Normal University», n. 4, 2022, pp. 112-122.

⁵ J.S. Yuan, *The Construction of Teacher-Student Relationships in Song Dynasty Academies under the Imperial Examination System*, «History of Education & Children's Literature», vol. XX, n. 1, 2025, pp. 349-373.

1. Literature Review

1.1. Research on strategy testing

Early research on strategy testing was relatively fragmented, lacking a systematic theoretical framework. Scholars predominantly explored the modern value of strategy testing from their respective disciplinary perspectives. For instance, some scholars examined the element of “history” within the strategy testing to depict facets of the continuation of «historical memory» in late Qing China⁶. In 2009, Chinese scholar Liu Haifeng initiated a relatively systematic discussion on strategy testing, innovatively proposing the concept of «Cexue» 策学. He elaborated on the value and significance of «Cexue» from the perspective of «Kejuxue» 科举学⁷. Subsequently, through an analysis of the strategy testing from the national examinations of 1903 and 1904 following the late Qing examination reforms, Liu Haifeng analysed the “education-first” principle reflected in the content of post-reform strategy testing⁸.

1.2. Research on imperial examination examinees

Imperial examination examinees have consistently been a focal point and major theme within Imperial Examination Studies. Research centered on examinees can be broadly categorized into two types: «examinee groups» and «individual examinee cases». Studies on examinee groups often focus on specific cohorts, such as concentrating on particular historical periods, some scholars examining the imperial examination examinees group after the 1901 examination reforms⁹. Others investigate specific geographical regions, such as research tracing shifts in the mentality of scholars from the Jiangnan area¹⁰. And still others examine examinees holding specific examination degrees, such as spatiotemporal analyses of the family backgrounds of national graduates in

⁶ Q. Zhang, “History” in “the strategy testing”: An Aspect Concerning the Continuation of “the Historical Memories” in Late Qing Dynasty, «Fudan Journal (Social Sciences Edition)», n. 5, 2005, pp. 53-62.

⁷ H.F. Liu, “Ce-Xue” and “Keju-Xue”, «Journal of Educational Studies», n. 6, 2009, pp. 114-123.

⁸ Id., *Prioritizing Education: The Strategy Testing Reform in the New Policy of the Imperial Examination in the Late Qing Dynasty*, «Educational Research», n. 9, 2024, pp. 76-90.

⁹ Y.L. Song, *The Imperial Examination System Reform and Examinee’s Mentality: The Imperial Provincial Examination in Zhejiang in the 28th Year of Guangxu*, «Journal of China Examinations», n. 7, 2020, pp. 64-70.

¹⁰ L. Zou, *The Evolution of the Mentality of Jiangnan Scholars during the Ming and Qing Dynasties*, «Journal of South China Normal University (Social Science Edition)», n. 2, 1997, pp. 54-57.

the Song Dynasty¹¹. Research on individual examinee cases primarily focuses on single examination lineages or specific examinees. For example, scholars have analyzed the link between the founding narratives of elite families and examination success using the Zhang clan of Pucheng as a case study¹².

1.3. *Research on the relationship between examinations and examinee background*

Current research on the relationship between examinations and examinee backgrounds primarily focuses on examinees who passed the examinations. For instance, Chinese scholars argue that China's university autonomous enrollment system exhibits significant evidence of advantage transmission among privileged family strata¹³. Similarly, research by South Korean scholars indicates that children from families with higher socioeconomic backgrounds and private education expenditures have, on average, a 1,4 to 1,76 times higher probability of entering top-ranked universities¹⁴. Overall, scholarly attention remains disproportionately concentrated on examination outcomes; studies exploring the interplay between examinees' socio-educational backgrounds and their response content during the examination process are significantly underrepresented.

2. *Research Texts: A Comparative Analysis of Strategy Testing Following the Imperial Examination Reform in the Guangxu Reign Period*

Following the imperial examination reform in the 27th year of the Guangxu reign (1901), supplementary provincial examinations combining grace and regular sessions for the Gengzi (1900) and Xinchou (1901) years were held in the 28th year of Guangxu (1902)¹⁵. In April 1903, supplementary nation-

¹¹ Y. Hao, L.Y. Zhu, *A Spatio-temporal Analysis of the Family Background of Palace Graduates in the Song Dynasty*, «Journal of Peking University (Philosophy and Social Sciences)», n. 2, 2025, pp. 128-139.

¹² C.J. Wang, L.F. Cui, *The Story of Song Dynasty Aristocratic Families Rising from the Perspective of the Imperial Examination Society: A Case Study of the Zhang Family of Pucheng*, «Journal of Social Sciences», n. 11, 2024, pp. 37-46.

¹³ Z.F. Xun, Q.H. Wang, *Independent Recruitment: A Battle Field for Elite Students*, «Tsinghua Journal of Education», n. 2, 2011, pp. 56-63.

¹⁴ M.J. Youn, *Is the Transcript-Based Admission System a "Means of Passage for the Privileged Class"? The Relationship Between the College Admission System and Educational Inequality in Higher Education*, «The Journal of Educational Studies», n. 1, 2022, pp. 235-260.

¹⁵ H.F. Liu, B. Li, *History of Chinese Imperial Examination*, Singapore, Palgrave Macmillan, 2024, pp. 866-870.

al examinations (Huishi) combining grace and regular sessions for the Xinchou (1901) and Renyin (1902) years were conducted, followed by the Jiachen (1904) grace national examination. *Collection of Vermilion Papers from the Qing Dynasty* records 10 national examination strategy testing papers and 55 provincial examination strategy testing papers from these three years. Overall, the post-reform strategy testing exhibited certain commonalities, while from a regional perspective, different areas demonstrated distinct emphases.

2.1. *Change and continuity in strategy testing before and after the examination reform*

The strategy testing format predated the establishment of the imperial examination system. During Emperor Wu of Han's reign (141-87 BCE), a special examination category titled *Exemplary Virtue and Direct Criticism* was established on Dong Zhongshu's recommendation, employing strategy testing to assess examinees' insights on state governance.

Initiated in 605 CE during Emperor Yang of Sui's reign, the imperial examination system incorporated and gradually refined the strategy testing format over its evolution. Since the Ming and Qing dynasties, the status of the third-session strategy testing in provincial and national examinations had been significantly lower than that of the first and second sessions. The quality of responses to «the Four Books» [四书] questions in the first session was deemed particularly critical for success¹⁶.

To elevate the status of strategy testing, the Qianlong reign implemented reforms to examination evaluation criteria. Examiners were instructed to evaluate not only examinees' grasp of Confucian principles and literary composition, but also their mastery of classical scholarship¹⁷. In August 1901, Empress Dowager Cixi issued an edict reforming the imperial examinations. The second session of provincial and national examinations was restructured around «strategy testing» as the primary format, focusing on the political systems and technical arts of various nations. This reform simultaneously elevated the importance of strategy testing and transformed its substantive content. Specifically, two national examinations were held post-reform, in 1903 and 1904, each containing 5 strategy tests.

This section employs a diachronic comparative framework to analyze pat-

¹⁶ B.A. Elman, *From Philosophy to Philology: Intellectual and Social Aspects of Change in Late Imperial China*, Cambridge, Council on East Asian Studies, Harvard University, 1984, pp. 90-94.

¹⁷ M. Mizukami, *The Imperial Examination and Strategy Testing in the Qing Dynasty: Examiners' Emphasis on Policy Discourse and the Reproduction of Han-Learning Scholar-Officials*, «Journal of Imperial Examination», n. 1, 2010, pp. 2-11.

terns of persistence and transformation in strategy testing, juxtaposing ten post-reform specimens (1903-1904) against five pre-reform exemplars from the 1898 national examination. The analysis specifically interrogates which elements of strategy testing endured through the examination reforms and which underwent substantive reconstitution.

The foundational structure of strategy testing persists, the term «strategy testing» inherently comprises two dimensions – the «strategy» component emphasizes contemporary socio-political urgencies; the «testing» element further examines candidates' methodologies and strategies for addressing these issues.

Despite the 1901 reforms shifting the examination's focus from domestic to international affairs, strategy testing's fundamental structure as an assessment tool persisted throughout the late Qing reforms. Specifically, the strategy testing in the pre-reform national examination already demonstrated a pronounced spirit of «Statecraft Application» [经世致用] pragmatism – prioritizing practical statecraft over theoretical abstraction. The strategy testing documented for the third session of the 1898 national examination in *Wan Kuo Kung Pao* 万国公报 reveals a predominant focus on statecraft, with four of the five queries interrogating core governance competencies¹⁸. These questions systematically evaluated examinees' administrative capacities through discrete analytical lenses: historical-cultural paradigms, pedagogical restructuring, military modernization, and fiscal policy formulation.

Regarding content, in the post-reform national examinations of 1903 and 1904, 8 out of the 10 questions centered on urgent societal concerns of the time, such as educational reform, economic modernization, social governance, and diplomatic crises. This value orientation, emphasizing practical utility grounded in social realities, represents a consistent pursuit in the «strategy» dimension of strategy testing both before and after the reform. In terms of the «testing» aspect, the 1898 pre-reform questions predominantly employed imperative interrogatives like «How can we make possible...» [可使] and «How to make possible...» [如何使], demanding detailed responses outlining concrete solutions to practical problems. This emphasis on the practical applicability of answers was inherited in the post-reform questions of 1903 and 1904. Among the ten questions from these two years, formulations such as «State comprehensively the strategies for...» [试陈.....之策], «Elaborate comprehensively on the strategies for...» [试详言.....策], and «One ought to explore their profound subtleties and strategies» [宜探其深微策] predominated. While differing slightly in phrasing, these modes of questioning share a fundamental functional similarity with the 1898 style, preserving the core characteristic of demanding practical, actionable responses after the reform.

Beyond these persistent characteristics permeating late Qing strategy test-

¹⁸ E.K. Cai, *Strategy Testing from the Third Session of the Wuxu Metropolitan Examination* 中朝新政：戊戌正科會試第三場策問題, «*Wan Kuo Kung Pao*», n.113, 1898, pp. 39-41.

ing, the strategy testing functioned as the core reform vehicle in the 1901 imperial examination restructuring. The underlying ethos of this institutional transformation becomes discernible precisely through a comparative analysis of strategy testing content across pre- and post-reform periods.

Firstly, analysis of pre- and post-reform strategy testing reveals a readily apparent change: a significant reduction in word count. Strategy testing in 1898 typically comprised around 200 characters, whereas those from the post-reform examinations of 1903 and 1904 generally contained approximately 50 characters. This reduction in the length of strategy testing, occurring within the context of the examination reform, was far from coincidental; it embodied the underlying rationale of the reform.

As stated in the *Memorial from the Council of State and the Ministry of Rites on Revising Examination Procedures* [政务处礼部会奏变通科举事宜摺]:

According to established regulations, strategy testing consistently comprised five major questions, each containing numerous sub-items – ranging from eight or nine to over ten per question – resulting in excessive length. Consequently, examination protocols permitted examinees to simply label responses with “Question No. X” on their answer sheets. This practice induced two detrimental outcomes: less-prepared examinees resorted to perfunctory responses, while even substantively knowledgeable examinees could do no better than reproduce boilerplate answers from commercially published study aids, yielding near-identical solutions [一向例策题五道, 每道或十余条, 或八九条, 题目字数过多。故功令仅书第几问, 考生对策: 无论空疏寡学者固属依题敷衍, 即实对者亦不过抄袭坊本, 勦说雷同]¹⁹.

This critique highlights the structural deficiencies arising from excessive length in strategy testing items, simultaneously foreshadowing the streamlining of questions as a core objective in the 1901 imperial examination restructuring.

Additionally, the verbosity of the 1898 national examination questions also stemmed from their frequent inclusion of extensive quotations from classical texts, such as original passages from *the Record of Learning* [学记], *the Book of Changes* [周易], and opinions expressed by Confucian scholars. These inclusions largely predetermined the substantial length of questions during this period.

After the 1901 reforms, regulations forbade examiners from altering, adding to, or deleting content from *the Four Books and Five Classics* [四书五经] in the questions. To achieve concision, the post-reform strategy testing shifted its substantive focus towards examining examinees' understanding of *Strategies on the Political Systems and Technical Arts of Various Nations*.

¹⁹ *Memorial to the Throne by the Ministry of Rites and the Administrative Council Regarding Reforms of the Imperial Examination System* [政务处礼部会奏变通科举事宜摺], “The Peking Times”, 1901, pp. 4521-4534.

The prominence of direct quotations from classical works within the strategy testing was diminished, leading to a marked decrease in their frequency.

While the reduction in character count represents a superficial transformation observable in post-reform strategy testing, deeper shifts manifested in their problematizing perspectives and the knowledge base.

Regarding perspective, the 1898 strategy testing predominantly centered on domestic endogenous issues. All five prompts solicited strategies addressing practical internal problems confronting the Qing state. Following the 1901 reforms, the 1903 and 1904 strategy testing incorporated an explicitly international dimension. Of the ten questions posed over these two years, eight directly required examinees to analyze Western institutions. Within these eight questions, terms explicitly referencing the West – such as «Western Lands» [泰西] and «Various Countries» [各国] – were consistently employed. This signified an expansion of the questions' scope beyond domestic endogenous problems to encompass strategies for addressing exogenous challenges arising from the international environment, including diplomacy and military affairs.

Concerning the knowledge base, the 1898 questions anchored themselves firmly within traditional Confucian classics, directing examinees to ground their analyses and arguments solely in canonical texts and Chinese history. Post-reform, however, Western learning [西学] and Technologies/Arts [西艺] became the core content. Western political thought, military systems, economic structures, legal frameworks, and historical developments collectively constituted the essential knowledge required for formulating examination responses. Illustratively, five of the ten questions from 1903 and 1904 explicitly invoked Western history. For example, the 1904 national examination question – «It is observed that the diplomatic strategies of Western nations often exploit the rhetoric of territorial preservation to realize substantive gains. Comprehensively enumerate examples from the past century's history to demonstrate this phenomenon» [泰西外交政策往往借保全土地之名而收利益之实, 盍缕举近百年来历史以证明其事策] – directly assessed examinees' grasp of Western historical narratives.

2.2. Regional characteristics of the strategic question exam after the reform of the imperial examination system

The imperial examination system has long been viewed as a national examination with highly centralized power. However, while imperial authority interfered with examination content through imperial mandate, the strategy testing after the 1901 examination reforms granted partial autonomy at the question-design level to local authorities.

Specifically, the second-session strategy testing, which focused on *Strate-*

gies on the Political Systems and Technical Arts of Various Nations, was no longer exclusively formulated through imperial mandate. As documented in Xuan Bao选报:

It is proposed that henceforth for both the Shuntian Provincial Examination and the national Examination, the first session and second session (strategy testing) shall be formulated at the examiners' discretion, while the third session retained the emperor's personal control over question design – thus preserving reverence for classical scholarship within the promotion of practical studies; provincial examination officials are hereby instructed that all questions must strictly adhere to the original texts of the Four Books and Five Classics without deletion, alteration, addition, or fragmentation of the Classics [拟请嗣后顺天乡试及会试, 第一场论题、第二场策问题, 均由考官酌拟; 其第三场四书、五经义题, 仍请钦命。庶于讲求实学之中, 仍寓崇尚经术之意。请飭下各省乡试考官: 命题仍遵四书、五经原文, 不得删改增减, 割裂圣经]²⁰.

This demonstrates that after the 1901 imperial examination reforms, although the central government imposed detailed regulations on the content, format, and even length of provincial strategy testing, it still retained space for regional discretion and contextual adaptation in question design. Consequently, post-reform provincial strategy testing exhibited distinctive regional characteristics.

Collection of Vermilion Papers from the Qing Dynasty archives fifty-five provincial strategy testing across ten provinces following the 1901 examination reforms. Among these 55 provincial examination strategy testing, the proposition styles spanned a reformist spectrum: Some embodied radical reformism, directly critiquing institutional frameworks, sovereignty crises, and international norms; others adopted conservative pragmatism, focusing on technical improvements while avoiding systemic critique; the remainder exhibited a hybrid transitional character, merging legacy topics with progressive themes across varied complexity levels.

Provinces such as Shuntian, Zhejiang, Jiangnan, Jiangxi, and Hubei epitomized the radical reformism, deploying Western lexicons to examine sovereignty-juridical contests, epistemological restructuring, and international political economy – testing examinees' mastery of comparative statecraft. Exemplifying this trend, Zhejiang province's 1902 question demanded:

Western learning originates from Greece. How did its doctrinal schools differentiate? What were the patterns of flourishing and decline in institutional education? Among renowned educators, who stands as the most distinguished? Which educational tenets prove superior? Now, as we extensively adopt optimal methods from various nations to codify an educational system, please elaborate strategies for encouraging scholarly pursuit

²⁰ *Domestic Affairs Chronicle: Revised Regulations on Imperial Examination Reforms Memorialized by the Council of State Affairs and Ministry of Rites*[内政纪事: 更正政务处礼部会奏变通科举章程], «Selection Journal», 1902, pp. 11-12.

[西国学术导源希腊, 其流派若何? 学校废兴若何? 教育名家孰为最著? 宗旨孰优? 方今博采良法, 厘定学制, 试陈劝学之策]²¹.

Jiangxi province concurrently queried: «Western wealth-creation hinges on manufactured exports and raw material imports. Delineate systematic methods to emulate this model» [泰西各国导民生财, 莫善于输出制造之物, 纵输入制造之材, 应如何仿行驯致富强之益策]²².

In contrast, provincial strategy testing in Fujian, Henan, Hunan, Guizhou, and Shanxi exhibited conservative pragmatism. While complying with the reform mandates of the 1901 examination restructuring, these questions retained substantive elements of traditional Chinese historical-cultural frameworks and strategically employed classical Confucian concepts as discursive entry points, such as Fujian: «Invoking the institutional norms of *Rites of Zhou* 周礼 and diplomatic precedents from *Spring and Autumn Annals* 春秋 to systematically demonstrate the universal principles of international law» [以周礼春秋证公法策] and Shanxi's

Chinese learning and Western learning interconnect in essence and function. Western thinkers such as Bacon, who advocated experimental verification, and Cartesians who focused on mental certainty, fundamentally resonate with Chinese learning. Contemporary academies integrate Western strengths to supplement gaps in our traditional scholarship. How should we avoid empty formalism, eliminate absurd fallacies, clarify moral principles while refining scientific inquiry establish foundational tenets for practical application, and thereby formulate strategies for imperial talent deployment? [中学西学互有体用。西人中如培根之讲求实验, 笛卡尔之专务心安, 未尝不与中学通。今普通学堂兼取西人所长, 补我所未逮, 何以不病迂疏, 不涉诞妄, 义理明而格致精, 体立用行, 以备朝廷任使策]²³.

In summary, following the 1901 imperial examination reforms, provincial implementation of strategy testing restructuring exhibited significant regional divergence: certain jurisdictions adopted radical reformism, comprehensively reorganizing examination content through Western conceptual frameworks while embracing modernized and internationalized perspectives; others pursued conservative pragmatism, maintaining traditional cultural foundations as interpretive vehicles while technically complying with the reformed syllabus on *Strategies on the Political Systems and Technical Arts of Various Nations*;

²¹ *Compilation Committee of the Qing Dynasty Examination Papers Collection*, «Collection of Qing Dynasty Examination Papers» [清代朱卷集成], vol. 298, Wuhan, Hubei People's Publishing House, 2010, p. 117.

²² *Compilation Committee of the Qing Dynasty Examination Papers Collection*, «Collection of Qing Dynasty Examination Papers» [清代朱卷集成], vol. 314, Wuhan, Hubei People's Publishing House, 2010, p. 296.

²³ Y.H. Zuo, *Integration of Chinese and Western Knowledge: The Keynote and Variations of Knowledge Transformation in Modern China*, Beijing, Social Sciences Academic Press, 2019, p. 126.

This spectrum generated distinct textual styles across provincial strategy testing. Multiple factors contributed to these disparities: geographical positioning, economic development levels, regional cultural traditions, and even the ideological leanings of local chief examiners collectively shaped these divergent reform trajectories.

3. *Research Subject: Analysis of Examinee Cohorts following the Guangxu Reign Period Examination Reforms*

The 1901 imperial examination reforms abolished the *Eight-Legged Essay* as the standard examination genre. Coupled with the inherently open-ended nature of strategy testing, examinees enjoyed greater latitude in formulating diverse argumentative approaches and textual styles compared to the *Eight-Legged Essay* era. Throughout their individual scholarly journeys, both the macro-level cultural environment of their geographical regions and the micro-level influences of personal Familial Scholarly Capital and pedagogical lineage actively shaped the argumentative frameworks and stylistic features evident in their strategy essays.

3.1. *Analysis of examinee response characteristics*

The *Collection of Vermilion Papers from the Qing Dynasty* contains 41 strategy essays authored by 34 examinees between 1901 and 1904. This section employs a multidimensional analysis of these responses to identify the predominant characteristics of examinee argumentation and textual style during this period.

Regarding textual style, the *Eight-Legged Essay* had persisted as the mandated examination genre for 531 years – from its formalization by the Hongwu Emperor in 1370 (Hongwu 3rd Year) to its abolition during the 1901 late Qing reforms. Despite its official removal, centuries of immersion in *Eight-Legged Essay* conventions meant that examinees' stylistic transformation could not be as swift or complete as the policy change itself. Consequently, post-1901 strategy essays exhibited distinct stylistic variations.

First is the parallel prose style, which still retains some characteristics of old-style writing, such as well-balanced antithesis and the use of numerous allusions. In terms of sentence structure, there is a high proportion of four- and six-character sentences, with corresponding tones and parts of speech. The use of words also emphasizes ornate language.

Then there is the prose style, whose responses emphasize the analysis and

resolution of practical problems, reflecting a pragmatic approach to the world. Unlike the ornate prose of the old era, these examinees use common words and phrases instead of obscure ones in their responses. In terms of sentence structure, since they have abandoned the deliberate pursuit of parallelism, their sentences tend to be scattered, with varying lengths. Among the 34 examinees, 13 adopted this straightforward and pragmatic text style.

Finally, in addition to the above two text styles, two examinees' strategy essays combined both characteristics and were thus classified as intermediate style (s shown in the Table 1.).

Tab. 1. Typology of Textual Style (N=34)

textual style	n	Representative examinees
parallel prose style	19	Jin Zhaofeng金兆丰 Tian Yufan田毓璠
intermediate style	2	Wang Hongxiang王鴻翔 Zhang Jiajun张家骏
prose style	13	Shao Xian绍先 Wang Shoupeng王壽彭

The characteristics of a strategy essay are shaped by its textual style and argumentative approach. When it comes to the argumentative approach of examinees, we must still begin with the *Eight-Legged Essay* format. The *Eight-Legged Essay* consists of eight sections: introduction, thesis statement, opening argument, main argument, first section, middle section, final section, and conclusion. Its logical structure emphasizes a step-by-step progression, with each section building upon the previous one²⁴.

After the abolition of the *Eight-Legged Essay* format, examinees lost the standard answer for textual structure and began to freely explore suitable argumentative approaches. In this process, examinees' strategy essays began to diverge into two directions: «logical deduction» and «example analysis».

Strategy essays of the example analysis type typically allocate over 30% of the total text length to case descriptions and involve three or more cases. To better describe the cases, the texts also include numerous specific temporal and spatial markers, such as «Warring States» [战国] and «Qin» [秦]. Among the 34 examinees whose strategy essays were collected in this study, 16 used example analysis as their primary argumentative approach.

Compared to the example analysis type, the most prominent feature of the logical deduction type strategy essays is that the proportion of case analysis content is lower. Additionally, the concepts involved are more abstract, such as

²⁴ H.F. Liu, *On the Nature of the Imperial Examination as an Intellectual Assessment* 论科举的智力测验性质, «Journal of Xiamen University (Arts & Social Sciences)», n. 3, 1996, pp. 112-117.

frequently used logical connectives like «Therefore»[故曰] «Thus» [是以] and «From this perspective» [由是观之]. The number of examinees emphasizing logical deduction was 18, roughly equivalent to the number of examinees using example-based analysis (as shown in the Table 2).

Tab. 2. Typology of Argumentative Approach (N=34)

argumentative approach	n	Representative examinees
example analysis	7	Zhang Maotong张茂炯 Qian Gan钱淦
intermediate style	9	Wang Shoupeng王壽彭 Niu Zesheng鈕澤晟
logical deduction	18	Jin Zhaofeng金兆丰 Shao Xian绍先

3.2. Classification of examinee backgrounds

Collection of Vermilion Papers from the Qing Dynasty provides detailed records of examinees' hometowns, family backgrounds, and pedagogical lineage. The 34 examinees mentioned earlier who transcribed the examination responses are also included in this collection. In terms of place of origin, the *Eighteen Provinces of the Interior* [内地十八省] during the late Qing Dynasty largely retained the framework established during the Ming Dynasty. Most provinces, such as Jiangsu, Zhejiang, Fujian, and Shanxi, share names and core regions that are highly consistent with those of today, and their provincial boundaries remain largely stable. Therefore, the information regarding the examinees' places of origin can be directly utilized.

In contrast, the family background and academic lineage of examinees require clear definition and selection. Regarding academic lineage, *Collection of Vermilion Papers from the Qing Dynasty* records the examinees' teachers, including their «Shou ye zhi teacher» [受业知师、] «Shou ye teacher» [受业师、] «Shou zhi teacher» [受知师、] «Wen ye teacher» [问业师、] «Yi ye teacher» [肄业师], along with their names, pseudonyms, and official titles. However, the fact that a teacher is recorded does not necessarily mean that there was a modern-style teacher-student relationship involving the transmission of knowledge between the teacher and the examinee. For example, the «Shou zhi teacher» refers to the examiners who recognized and promoted the examinee during their participation in the imperial examinations²⁵. The term «Shou zhi

²⁵ C. Han, *Teachers? Students? Japan-educated Students as Teachers in Jinshiguan of the Imperial University of Peking*, «Journal of Tsinghua University (Philosophy and Social Sciences)», n. 3, 2013, pp. 28-37.

teacher» here simply signifies a sense of gratitude for recognition and promotion, and there was no substantive teacher-student relationship between the examinee and their mentor.

Therefore, this study conducted a preliminary screening of the examinees' «Shou zhi teacher»[受知师] and «Shou ye zhi teacher» [受业知师]. It excluded those examination officials responsible for organizing imperial examinations, retaining only mentors who maintained substantive pedagogical relationships with the examinees. These teachers also exhibited distinct stage-specific characteristics as the examinees moved forward through their educational journey. During the examinees' childhood stage, their teachers were primarily their family members, such as uncles, older brothers, or aunts. Once examinees developed the ability to pursue independent studies, they would encounter new teachers during their academic journey. To avoid overlapping personnel between examinees' family members and their teachers, and to comprehensively consider this top-down inheritance model, this study limited the scope of family backgrounds to parents and grandparents. Both the teachers from examinees' childhood family backgrounds and those from their independent study phase were considered part of their teachers' lineages.

Specifically, in terms of family background, examinees were classified based on whether their parents and grandparents held imperial examination titles and official positions, as well as the level of these titles and positions. First, examinees whose immediate ancestors (parents and grandparents) held imperial examination titles at the level of *Juren* [举人] or above (17 individuals); Second, examinees whose immediate three generations of blood relatives primarily held titles obtained through donation or were granted honorary titles, with imperial examination achievements below the level of *Juren* or no actual official positions, were classified as «donation families» (10 individuals); Third, examinees whose immediate three generations of blood relatives only held lower-level achievements or had no official position records were classified as «ordinary families» (7 individuals) (as shown in the Table 3).

Tab. 3. Typology of Familial Scholarly Capital (N=34)

Familial Scholarly Capital	n	Representative examinees
examination families	17	Wang Shoupeng王壽彭 Li Dexing李德星
donation families	10	Jin Zhaofeng金兆丰 Tian Yufan田毓璠
ordinary families	7	Zhang Jiajun張家駿 Lou Sigao樓思誥

In terms of pedagogical lineage, whether the teacher has personally undergone the rigors of the imperial examination system and the level of success achieved in such examinations inevitably influences their educational philos-

ophy and objectives. The teacher's educational philosophy and objectives will also influence students participating in the imperial examinations through teaching activities. Based on this, this study categorizes examinees with a teacher background of «Juren or higher imperial examination achievements» as the «high-degree holders» pedagogical lineage category; examinees with a teacher background of «Juren or lower imperial examination achievements» are categorized as the «low-degree holders» pedagogical lineage category (as shown in the Table 4).

Tab. 4. Typology of Pedagogical Lineage (N=34)

pedagogical lineage	n	Representative examinees
high-degree holders (Juren and higher)	23	Jin Zhao Feng 金兆丰 Wang Shou peng 王壽彭
low-degree holders (Juren or lower)	11	Shao Xian 紹先 Tian Yufan 田毓璠

3.3. *The relationship between examinees' backgrounds and the characteristics of the strategy testing*

Strategy testing exhibits distinct regional characteristics across different regions. These regional differences in strategy testing also result in examinees from different regions demonstrating distinct regional characteristics and developing a unique textual style when answering such questions. According to the records in *Collection of Vermilion Papers from the Qing Dynasty*, among the 34 examinees studied in this research, the highest numbers came from Zhejiang, Jiangsu, and Anhui provinces, with 14 (41.1%), 8 (23.5%), and 3 (8.8%) examinees, respectively. The greater the number of successful examinees in a region, the more significant the role the imperial examination system played in the academic lives of local students. The textual styles of strategy essays from different regions are distributed as shown in the Table 5.

Tab. 5. Regional Distribution of Textual Styles (N=34)

Region	parallel prose style	intermediate style	prose style
Zhejiang Province	7	0	7
Jiangsu Province	5	1	3
Anhui Province	3	0	0
Other Regions	4	1	3

From the perspective of an argumentative approach, strategy essays from examinees in different regions exhibit distinct overall characteristics. Examin-

ees from Zhejiang Province place greater emphasis on using logical deduction for an argumentative approach. Among the 14 Zhejiang examinees involved in this study, 11 fall into this category, while the remaining three belong to the intermediate category. In contrast, examinees from other regions such as Shandong and Henan tend to focus more on the intermediate category, with 5 out of the 8 examinees involved falling into this category. The most balanced region is Jiangsu, where the number of examinees in the example analysis type and logical deduction type is equal as shown in the Table 6.

Tab. 6. Regional Distribution of argumentative approach (N=34)

Region	example analysis	intermediate style	logical deduction
Zhejiang Province	0	3	11
Jiangsu Province	4	1	4
Anhui Province	1	1	1
Other Regions	1	5	2

Compared to geographical factors, familial scholarly capital and pedagogical lineage are more closely and directly linked to examinees.

From the perspective of textual style, examinees from ordinary families, facing the transitional period following the reform of the imperial examination system, exhibited a trend of equal distribution between the two styles during the exploration of new and old approaches, without a clear tendency toward aggregation. As shown in the table, examinees from ordinary families and those with lower examination achievements in their lineage maintained a balanced distribution between the «parallel prose style» and the «prose style». However, examinees whose family members and teachers had higher examination achievements benefited from their cultural capital and were unwilling to actively embrace new textual styles as shown in the Table 7 and Table 8).

Tab. 7. Textual Style Distribution by Familial Scholarly Capital (N=34)

Familial Scholarly Capital	parallel prose style	intermediate style	prose style
examination families	9	1	7
donation families	7	0	3
ordinary families	3	1	3

Tab. 8. Textual Style Distribution by Pedagogical Lineage (N=34)

pedagogical lineage	parallel prose style	intermediate style	prose style
high-degree holders (Juren and higher)	14	1	8
low-degree holders (Juren or lower)	5	1	5

From the perspective of the argumentative approach, familial scholarly capital has little influence on an examinee's argumentative approach. Overall, whether from an examination family or an ordinary family, examinees tend to organize their strategy essays using logical deduction. However, this pattern differs significantly when considering the examinee's pedagogical lineage. Examinees from prestigious pedagogical lineages prioritized logical deduction in their responses more often than those from low-degree examination lineages. Among the 23 examinees from high-degree examination lineages, 14 (60.9%) structured their strategy essays around logical deduction, a significantly higher proportion than those from low-degree lineages. In contrast, among examinees with a low-degree examination lineage, the number of those who used examples to argue their points was on par with those who relied on logical deduction as shown in the Table 9 and Table 10.

Tab. 9. Argumentative Approach Distribution by Familial Scholarly Capital (N=34)

Familial Scholarly Capital	examination families	donation families	ordinary families
example analysis	3	4	0
intermediate style	5	2	2
logical deduction	9	4	5

Tab. 10. Argumentative Approach Distribution by Pedagogical Lineage (N=34)

pedagogical lineage	high-degree holders (Juren and higher)	low-degree holders (Juren or lower)
example analysis	3	4
intermediate style	6	3
logical deduction	14	4

4. *Beyond Differences: The Co-Impact of Examination Style and Individual Background*

After the reform of the imperial examination system, different groups of examinees faced a new examination content, namely *Strategies on the Political Systems and Technical Arts of Various Nations* and exhibited different

orientations in terms of textual style and argumentative approach. Behind the similarities and differences in textual style and argumentative approach among these groups of examinees lies the combined effect of the style of the examination questions and the individual backgrounds of the examinees. Specifically, the style of the strategy testing and the individual backgrounds of the examinees had different ways and paths of influencing the examinees.

4.1. *The influence of examination style on examinee response style*

Liu Haifeng and Yuan Jinshan comprehensively proposed the *College Entrance Examination Baton* theory based on the modern Chinese higher education entrance examination system. The late Qing imperial examinations, as a nationwide talent selection mechanism, bear significant similarities to the modern Chinese Gaokao²⁶. According to the *Examination Baton* theory, examinations, serving as a crucial lever for talent selection, exert a downward guiding and motivating effect on student development, influencing both its direction and extent; simultaneously, they serve an upward function, interfacing with talent selection itself and controlling its standards and quality.

The strategy testing in the late Qing imperial examination system differed fundamentally from China's contemporary National College Entrance Examination (Gaokao) in their institutional purposes and social ramifications. Whereas the Gaokao functions as a higher education admission mechanism that feeds into universities, primarily serving to select examinees for academic institutions, its linkage to social stratification remains indirect. Conversely, the imperial examinations constituted a civil service recruitment system, through which successful examinees were directly appointed to government posts, thereby establishing an immediate connection with individual social status²⁷. Consequently, not only is the *Examination Baton* theory applicable to the late Qing imperial examinations, but due to their direct linkage with social stratification, the examinations likely exerted an even more profound influence on examinees.

Post-reform, local examiners gained a measure of autonomy in formulating strategy testing. While maintaining the core focus on *Strategies on the Political Systems and Technical Arts of Various Nations* distinct regional characteristics emerged in the setting style, influenced by local cultural contexts.

²⁶ H.F. Liu, J.S. Yuan, *The Reform of College Entrance Examination and Enrollment and Students' Comprehensive Development of Morality, Intelligence, Physique, Aesthetic and Labor Education*, «Journal of Higher Education», n. 2, 2022, pp. 1-12.

²⁷ J.S. Yuan, A.C. Zhang, *The imperial examination system: "How to examine" and the comprehensive development of students during the Ming and Qing dynasties*, «International Journal of Educational Development», n. 114, 2025, pp. 1-9.

For instance, economically developed coastal regions might have emphasized pragmatic problem-solving, while some northern regions could have prioritized *Neo-Confucian Philosophical Orthodoxy* [理学] transmission. In line with the *Examination Baton* theory, these regional differences in question-setting style generated a guiding «baton effect» on the textual styles and argumentative approaches employed by local examinees in their responses.

Concretely, two Provincial Examinations and two national Examinations were conducted after the 1901 reforms. The 1902 Provincial Examination marked the debut of restructured strategy testing under the reformed system. Subsequent examinations at both levels progressively intensified the steering effect of the «examination baton», compelling examinees to align their responses with the new paradigm. By the 1903 and 1904 national Examinations, examinees had synthesized a response strategy consciously calibrated to the emerging tendencies in strategy testing design – a pattern initially observed in the Provincial Examinations.

Building on our earlier textual style categorization – parallel prose, prose, and Intermediate – these styles can be interpreted as markers of ideological orientation. The parallel prose style adheres to pre-reform conventions, reflecting a conservative adherence to classical norms. Conversely, the Plain style embodies reformist tendencies by abandoning ornate couplets in favor of direct language and analytical discourse resonant with modernity.

Beyond textual style, examinees' argumentative approaches also reveal their ideological orientations toward the reformed strategy testing. Analyzing both textual styles and argumentative approaches across regions: among 22 examinees from Jiangnan (the Jiangsu-Zhejiang core region), 15 employed logical deduction (68.2%) and 10 adopted a prose textual style (45.5%), collectively indicating a reform-oriented response paradigm. Conversely, among 11 examinees from Anhui and Henan, 8 exhibited parallel prose or intermediate styles (72.7%) while 8 utilized example analysis or intermediate argumentative approach (72.7%), demonstrating a conservative response paradigm.

In summary, strategy testing after the late Qing imperial examination reform functioned as a mediating mechanism between macro-level regional cultural paradigms and micro-level examinee stylistic dispositions. They not only crystallized local cultural aesthetics but also acted as an institutional «steering baton» directing examinees' preparation and response strategies. Crucially, this cultural shaping operated bidirectionally: both examinees and strategy testing reciprocally influenced regional cultural styles.

On one hand, Juren who achieved success in local examinations became stylistic exemplars, their textual styles and argumentative approaches emulated by subsequent examinees – thereby reshaping regional evaluation standards for strategy essay. On the other hand, though question formulation reflected preexisting cultural norms, the public release of strategy testing topics drew intense scrutiny from local intellectuals, catalyzing reflexive cultural adjustments.

Thus emerged a dynamic triad: «Regional Cultural Style → Strategy Testing Style (Mediator) → Examinee Response Style». Regional cultural forces propelled the direction and intensity of examination reforms, which then channeled examinees' textual styles and argumentative approaches. Concurrently, examinees' textual styles and argumentative approaches fed back into regional culture, forging an interdependent cultural ecosystem.

4.2. *The impact of individual background on examinees' answering styles*

French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu, in his seminal essay *The Forms of Capital*, first conceptualized a comprehensive theory of cultural capital. He emphasized that internalized cultural capital comprising cultural competencies, knowledge, and linguistic dispositions cultivated through socialization contexts (particularly within familial and educational milieus) fundamentally shapes individual development²⁸.

This cultural capital undoubtedly contributes to an examinee's superior performance in exams during periods when both exam content and format are relatively stable. However, during times of reform, both the content and format of the exam undergo significant changes. Examinees with substantial cultural capital may find themselves hindered by their own accumulated cultural resources, demonstrating a pattern of path dependence²⁹. Specifically, examinees from privileged backgrounds, whose familial and pedagogical networks possess extensive examination-specific expertise inevitably benefit from the intergenerational transmission of such strategic knowledge.

These examinees grow up with the repeated reinforcement of old experiences and thus, when confronted with a new exam format or content, tend to rely on old strategic knowledge to address new challenges.

In stark contrast, examinees from disadvantaged backgrounds often raised in resource-constrained households predominantly rely on autonomous experimentation to navigate challenges. Thus, when confronted with new examination formats or content, they generally demonstrate greater exploratory initiative, exhibiting dispersed distributions in both textual styles and argumentative approaches.

After the late Qing Dynasty's reform of the imperial examination system, examinees from different familial scholarly capital and pedagogical lineage

²⁸ P. Bourdieu, *The forms of capital*; J.G Richardson, *Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education*, New York, Greenwood Press, 1985, p. 256.

²⁹ J.S. Yuan, A.C. Zhang, *The imperial examination and the college entrance examination from the perspective of affirmative action: assistance to disadvantaged examinees in China*, «Humanit Soc Sci Commun», n. 12, 2025, pp. 1053-1067.

exhibited varied strategic approaches when responding to the newly introduced content on *Strategies on the Political Systems and Technical Arts of Various Nations* in the examination. Specifically, examinees from families with a history of success in the imperial examinations, whose teachers had achieved high ranks in the examination system, tended to exhibit a tendency to “cluster” in both text style and argumentation strategies. In terms of textual style, they were more likely to adopt the parallel prose style which had evolved from the classical eight-legged essays. In the argumentative approach, they preferred the more complex logical deduction methods. Conversely, examinees from ordinary family backgrounds, lacking a strong cultural capital, showed a more dispersed strategy in both textual style and argumentative approach.

Statistical data from the *Collection of Vermilion Papers from the Qing Dynasty* reveals that, among the 34 examinees recorded, 17 hailed from examination families. Among these 17 examinees, 10 (58.8%) chose parallel prose or intermediate style for their textual style, and 14 (82.4%) adopted logical deduction or intermediate style in their argumentative approach. Furthermore, among the 23 students taught by teachers who had achieved high-ranking success in the imperial exams, 14 (60.7%) employed a parallel prose textual style and logical deduction argumentative approach in their answers. This suggests that examinees from examination families or trained under high-degree holders tend to exhibit a convergence in both their argumentative approach and textual style. In contrast, the 11 examinees trained under low-degree holders exhibited no such clustering, with an equal distribution of different textual styles and argumentation approaches.

In summary, the higher the level of imperial exam success achieved by an examinee’s family members or teachers, the more pronounced their path dependence on old exam strategies when responding to the new types of questions introduced after the reform. Examinees who themselves had previously succeeded in the imperial exams not only influenced the text styles and argumentative strategies of their peers but also reinforced the reliability of their own experiences. As these examinees transition into roles as parents or teachers, their old experiences are passed on to the next generation, shaping their exam strategies. The next generation, therefore, may lose the desire for independent exploration, relying instead on the successful experiences of the previous generation, even if the external environment changes. This phenomenon is clearly evidenced by the different characteristics exhibited by examinees from various backgrounds when answering the newly reformed exam questions, particularly in the case of the strategy testing – the most altered section of the reformed system in the late Qing Dynasty. In addition, examinees from impoverished backgrounds, due to the lack of inherited cultural capital, are less constrained by the inertia of old exam practices, making them more adaptable to changes in the exam content during periods of reform.

The wonderful and winding journeys of Nils Holgersson in Spain

Ingela Johansson
Centre for Languages and Literature
University of Lund (Sweden)
ingela.johansson@rom.lu.se

Henrik Rahm
Centre for Languages and Literature
University of Karlstad (Sweden)
henrik.rahm@kau.se

Carmen Sanchidrián Blanco
Department of Theory and History of Education
University of Málaga (Spain)
sanchidrian@uma.es

ABSTRACT: Selma Lagerlöf's *The Wonderful Adventures of Nils* (1906–1907), originally a Swedish geography textbook, became a literary classic translated into 60 languages. This study explores its Spanish translations from 1921 and 1982, and focuses on the book's reception in Spain. Which role did it come to play in the new context? Based on press material from 1905–1985, it finds that the book appeared in Spanish media as early as 1910, following Lagerlöf's Nobel Prize. Spanish critics, influenced by French cultural authorities, praised its imagination more than its educational intent. In the 1980s, the story resurfaced through a TV adaptation, prompting new interest. The study highlights how the work has transcended its original educational context.

EET/TEE KEYWORDS: Selma Lagerlöf; Children's Literature and Education; Educational Transfers and Translations; Spain; XX Century.

Introduction

Once upon a time there was a mean teenager in a country far away in the north who was transformed into a pixie and travelled around on the back of a goose, learning about geography, history, culture, and, not least, about the essence of being human. This is a way to summarize *The Wonderful Adventures of Nils*¹ [*Nils Holgerssons underbara resa genom*] (Sverige, 1906-1907), written by Selma Lagerlöf. The first four words are the same as in fairy tales and this is the way the book begins: «Det var en gång en pojke» [Once upon a time there was a boy]. Does this mean that the book is a fairy tale? It could be read in that way, at least the first chapter. But since it is a book of about 500 pages it would be impossible to read and listen to it in the same way as the folktales collected by the Brothers Grimm, stories to be listened to in full length without interruptions.

The Wonderful Adventures of Nils is well known as a story. Today we primarily think of it as an example of Selma Lagerlöf's art of storytelling. However, the process of its coming into being is more complex than that. Originally, the book was commissioned by Sweden's General Public-School Teachers' Association in 1901 for the Swedish schools to be used as a textbook of Swedish geography and Swedish (both Swedish language and Swedish literature). For decades the book was used in this double sense in Swedish primary schools.

Thus, we could add «textbook of Swedish» and «of Swedish geography» to the list of possible labels for the book. The literary quality is undisputed as Selma Lagerlöf was one of the leading authors around 1900. She was the first woman to obtain the Nobel Prize in Literature in 1909 and the first woman to become member of the Swedish Academy five years later. There are translations to various languages of the book, and it has also appeared in numerous shortened and illustrated editions over the years.

The multifaceted ways of reading and labelling *The Wonderful Adventures of Nils* is the point of departure for a research project² with the aim to examine and compare Selma Lagerlöf's influence in education, pedagogy and literature in Sweden, Spain, and Greece, taking as a point of departure *The Wonderful Adventures of Nils*. The research questions are:

1. In what ways and for what purposes is *The Wonderful Adventures of Nils* used in education, pedagogy and literature in Sweden, Spain, and Greece?

¹ In what follows, we will use the established English translation of the title, *The Wonderful Adventures of Nils*, or the shortened version *Nils Holgersson*.

² Project on the influence of Selma Lagerlöf's book *The Wonderful Adventures of Nils* on education and culture in Sweden, Spain and Greece. Participants: Henrik Rahm (Karlstad University), Ingela Johansson and Marianna Smaragdi (Lund University), and Carmen Sanchidrián (Málaga University).

2. What role does Selma Lagerlöf's work play in education, pedagogy, and literature in Sweden, Spain, and Greece?
3. What are the challenges for translations of Lagerlöf's works such as themes, specific Swedish phenomena, or Swedish culture?
4. Which thoughts and ideologies from Lagerlöf's works are expressed in translations as well as in discourses about education, pedagogy, and literature?

The research team belongs to four disciplines – Spanish literature, History of Education, Swedish linguistics and Modern Greek – and has an integrated competence in analyzing how ideas and words travel between languages and culture. The aim of this article is to present the results related to Spain. We have focused on research question 1 and 4.

The Wonderful Adventures of Nils became the first in the series Reading books for Sweden's childhood schools at Albert Bonnier's publishing house. It was published in new editions until 1973, with a total of more than 500,000 copies. The book quickly spread internationally and has been translated into some sixty languages. *The Wonderful Adventures of Nils* was first translated into Spanish in 1921, but Lagerlöf was a prominent author in Spain before that, a prominence which of course increased after she was awarded the Nobel Prize in 1909 and five years elected to the Swedish Academy. The close cultural connection between Spain and France at the turn of the last century and the fact that French was the first foreign language in Spanish textbooks makes it reasonable to assume that Lagerlöf was well known in Spanish intellectual circles because of translations of her works into French as early as 1903. The same would apply to Greece where French was first foreign language from 1832 to 1945, and in some regions until 1997. It was only in 1976, two years after the restoration of democracy in Greece, that *dimotiki* (the modern Greek language variant) began to be used in schools. During the military dictatorship, and even before, the archaic and artificial language form *katharevousa* had been used both in official contexts and in the school system. It is therefore interesting to see if the same kind of radical orthography as in the Swedish original text are reflected in the Greek translation.

There are examples of international publications about Selma Lagerlöf³,

³ See, among others, L. Vinge (ed.), *Selma Lagerlöf Seen from Abroad/Selma Lagerlöf i utlandsperspektiv*, Stockholm, Almqvist och Wiksell, 1998; M.L. Blanco Gómez, *Selma Lagerlöf: la maestra que se convirtió en escritora Nobel*, in P. Martino-Alba, M.L. Blanco-Gómez (edd.), *Mujeres Extraordinarias: Pinceladas Literarias Sobre Fémimas Premio Nobel*, Madrid, Dykinson, 2020, pp. 57-76; H. Forsås-Scott, L. Stenberg, B.T. Thomsen (edd.), *Re-mapping Lagerlöf: performance, intermediality and European transmissions[e-book]*, Sweden, Nordic Academic Press, 2014; J. Bergenmar, *Between Värmland and the world A comparative reception history of Selma Lagerlöf*, in Y. Leffler, Å. Arping, J. Bergenmar, G. Hermansson, B.J. Lindh (edd.), *Swedish women's writing on export: tracing transnational reception in the nineteenth*

and there are also specific studies on Lagerlöf's influence in some countries⁴. She has received, of course, greater attention in the Nordic countries⁵. Taking all this into account, this article analyzes her presence in Spain beyond the years of her Nobel Prize reception. Given that her main work was a book designed for schools, and therefore with academic and moral content, the study of Lagerlöf and her work is relevant to the history of children's literature and education. This study looks at Lagerlöf's presence in Spain through the translations of *The Wonderful Adventures of Nils* and her presence in the daily press.

1. Sweden 1900 – democracy, education, orthography and literature at stake

With regards to education, Sweden was one of the forerunners in Europe, introducing compulsory school of two years in 1842. From 1842 to 1900 the literacy rate rose from 20-40% to almost 100%⁶. However, Sweden was late

century, Göteborg, University of Gothenburg, Department of Literature, History of Ideas, and Religion, 2019, pp. 263-320.

⁴ As a non-exhaustive list see, E.C. Mebius, *Vita & Selma: A Note on the Reception of Selma Lagerlöf in the English-Speaking World*, «Notes and Queries», vol. 69, n. 2, 2022, pp. 165–168; E.C. Mebius, *Leonard Woolf on Selma Lagerlöf's Mårbacka: the reception of Lagerlöf in the English-Speaking World, Part II*, «Notes and Queries», vol. 70, n. 2, 2023, pp. 119-120; P. Graves, *The Reception of Selma Lagerlöf in Britain*, in A.S. Bondesson, *Italy seen from Sweden and Sweden seen from Italy: Selma Lagerlöf's Sicilian novel and Italian translations*, «Scandinavian Studies», vol. 83, n. 2, 2011, pp. 233-246; J. Watson, *Scandinavian Literature in Nazi Germany: Selma Lagerlöf as One Example*, «Scandinavian Studies», vol. 61, n. 4, 2019, pp. 482-499; J. Watson, *Swedish Novelist Selma Lagerlöf, 1858-1940, and Germany at the Turn of the Century: O Du Stern Ob Meinem Garten*, Edwin Mellen Pr, 2004; I. Desmidt, «Jetzt bist du in Deutschland, Däumling». Nils Holgersson on Foreign Soil – Subject to New Norms, «Forskningssoutput: Tidskriftsbidrag, MetaJournal des traducteurs = translators' journal», vol. 48, n. 1-2, 2003, pp. 165-181.

⁵ For example, see A. Nyblom, *Varumärket Selma Lagerlöf: Jubileet som populärhistoriskt mediasystem 1900/2000*, «Historisk Tidskrift för Finland», vol. 95, n. 1, 2010, pp. 70-91; C. Axell, J. Hallström *Technology and the shaping of a Swedish national identity in the educational work of Selma Lagerlöf, 1900-1907*, «History of Education & Children's Literature», vol. X, n. 1, 2015, pp. 299-316; D. Lindmark, *Learning to write the right learning. The ideological function of copies in writing instruction in 19th-century Sweden*, in J. Meda, R. Sani, D. Montino (edd.), *School exercise books: a complex source for a history of the approach to schooling and education in the 19th and 20th centuries*, Firenze, Polistampa, 2010, Vol. 2, pp. 1441-1450; J. Evertsson, *Materiality, Wallcharts, and Educational Change in Sweden from the Mid-Nineteenth to the Early Twentieth Century*, «Nordic Journal of Educational History», vol. 9, n. 1, 2022, pp. 27-59.

⁶ J. Westberg, *Att bygga ett skolväsende. Folkskolans förutsättningar och framväxt 1840–1900 [e-book]*, Nordic Academic Press, 2014, p. 21.

in introducing political democracy, granting the right of voting for men in 1909, and universal suffrage as late as in 1921.

The new textbook, commissioned by Sweden's General Public-School Teachers' Association, should replace or in any case supplement the criticized *Primary School Reading Book* [*Läsebok för folkskolan*] which was published in its first edition as early as 1868. One criticism of the *Primary School Reading Book* was that it contained widely separated texts that did not create a context. In addition, with its request, Sweden's General Public School Teachers' Association wanted to create not only a reading book but also a textbook in Swedish geography. One of the members of this association was Fridtjuf Berg. In 1905 he became minister of ecclesiastical affairs with responsibility for the Lutheran state church and the schools. He made sure that the book was introduced into the schools and in 1906 carried out the last (and maybe last?) major spelling reform in Swedish through an ordinance, or Royal Circular, as ordinances were called in this pre-democratic era in Sweden. This reform simplified the spelling: several consonants together were now written with only one, spelling was unified for the same sounds, and verbs were now written in a unified form without distinguishing between person and number. The v-sound would be spelled uniformly instead of the previous initial hv-, medial -fv-, and final -f and that the t-sound would be written with -t or -tt final instead of -dt. Linguistically interesting is that Adolf Noreen, professor of Nordic languages in Uppsala and ardent advocate of radical new spelling, was Selma Lagerlöf's language expert and language expert in the work on *The Wonderful Adventures of Nils* (Callin 2014). Selma Lagerlöf (with the support and advice of Adolf Noreen) wrote the book in accordance with the spelling reform and also wrote the verbs throughout with singular forms [*de får* and *de fick* instead of *de få* and *de fingo*] [our translation from Swedish]⁷.

The fact that the book was written following the new rules, combined with the fact that it was both a reading and geography book, makes it extremely important in the history of Swedish education. The spelling reform coincided with the publication of *The Wonderful Adventures of Nils*, and it became a kind of revolution for school education. The language used in the book was considered very modern and very different. The reception was mixed. We do not know exactly how the 1906 spelling reform took root, but there seems to be a generational divide among those born in the mid-1890s. They seem to have adopted the new spelling, unlike previous generations. And with each new cohort that perceived the new spelling as natural, public support grew⁸.

Nils Holgersson became the first in the series Reading books for Sweden's

⁷ L. Alfvegren, *Adolf Noreen och Selma Lagerlöf*, «Språk och stil», n. 2, N.F., pp. 33-41, <<https://libris.kb.se/bib/9265453>> (last access: 15.12.2025).

⁸ M. Callin, *Det stavas revolution!*, «Språktidningen», 14.8.2016, <<https://spraktidningen.se/artiklar/det-stavas-revolution/>> (last access: 27.02.2025).

childhood schools at Albert Bonnier's publishing house⁹. In 1921 Selma Lagerlöf condensed the two volumes into one volume. It was published in new editions until 1973, in total more than 500,000 copies.

2. Nils Holgersson in Spain. Translations

The wonderful adventures of Nils was translated twice into Spanish. The first translation was published 15 years after the book's original publication in Sweden, in 1921¹⁰, and is notable for being translated directly from Swedish, rather than indirectly via German, as was the case with works written by other Swedish authors such as Ellen Key. The translator, Carlos Antonio de Talavera Björnberg (1853-1942), was bilingual, with a Spanish father and a Swedish-Finnish mother. Alongside his name, with a somewhat unclear role, the name Vicente Clavel also appears. Clavel, the founder of the Cervantes publishing house, likely facilitated both the translation and the publishing process.

In the prologue to the 1921 translation, Talavera provides a brief biography of Selma Lagerlöf, including her most prominent works, and adds *Nils Holgersson* to the list:

We do not hesitate to call this book the *Don Quixote* of Swedish children. It constitutes a family epic, picturesque, instructive, and moving. It is written with such a grace of colouring and such noble intent that it justifies that after its publication, Selma Lagerlöf was elected member of the Swedish Academy and awarded the Nobel Prize of Literature in 1909¹¹.

Talavera's translation is undoubtedly the most widely circulated Spanish version of the book, and it has also served as the basis for many abridged versions of *Nils Holgersson*.

Nils Holgersson was retranslated 61 years later by Matilde Goulard de

⁹ In 1898, Ellen Key criticised the first book in «Ord och Bild», saying that it was «a national disaster», and in a letter to Selma Lagerlöf, she wrote, «Thank you for attacking the old textbook! It was undoubtedly born under the star of boredom». L. Lindblom, *Ellen Key & Selma Lagerlöf: breven*, Stockholm, Första upplagan, Blue Publishing, 2022, p. 42.

¹⁰ S. Lagerlöf, *El maravilloso viaje de Nils Holgersson a través de Suecia*, Trad. de Carlos Antonio Talavera Björnberg, Barcelona, Editorial Cervantes, 1921.

¹¹ The Spanish texts have been translated by us and they appear herein as footnotes: [No vacilamos en llamar este libro el Quijote de los niños suecos. Constituye una epopeya familiar, pintoresca, instructiva y conmovedora. Está escrito con tal gracia de colorido y tan noble finalidad, que justifica que tras su publicación fuera elegida Selma Lagerlöf miembro de la Academia y se la designaba para el premio Nobel de Literatura, que se le concedió en 1909]. C.A. Talavera Björnberg, *Prólogo*, in S. Lagerlöf, *El maravilloso viaje de Nils Holgerssons a través de Suecia*, Barcelona, Editorial Cervantes, 1921, p. 7.

Westberg¹². While little is known about Talavera's life, we have more insights into Goulard's biography. She was born into a progressive Spanish family, attended la *Institución Libre de Enseñanza* in Madrid¹³, and was sent to Stockholm by the Spanish Junta de Relaciones Culturales in 1938. There, she began working as a foreign lecturer. When the position was withdrawn, in 1939, Goulard decided to stay in Sweden, because of the political turmoil in Spain and Franco's rise to power. In 1942, she obtained a position at the newly founded Ibero-American Institute in Gothenburg and later held positions as a teacher at the Gothenburg School of Business, Economics and Law, as well as the University of Gothenburg¹⁴. Goulard translated Spanish language poetry, notably Juan Ramón Jiménez (Nobel Prize for Literature in 1956), into Swedish, and Swedish poetry into Spanish (among others, Pär Lagerkvist, Hjalmar Gullberg, and Karin Boye) in the 1960s and 1970s. In 1982, she published a new translation of *Nils Holgersson* into Spanish¹⁵.

In a comparative study, Kure-Bonne¹⁶ concludes that in his translation of *The wonderful adventures of Nils*, Talavera followed the general tendency of his time toward domestication. This implies making the text as understandable as possible for the reader in the new cultural context, making it similar to a text written originally in the target culture. In this process, the translator takes liberties, for example omitting passages or translating toponyms to the target language. On the other hand, Goulard's more recent version aligns with the foreignizing trend, which is more common in modern translations. Apply-

¹² S. Lagerlöf, *El maravilloso viaje de Nils Holgersson a través de Suecia*; transl. by Matilde Goulard de Westberg, Barcelona, Planeta, 1982.

¹³ La Institución Libre de Enseñanza (ILE) was founded as an alternative to defend academic freedom and the right to teach independently of the reigning political or religious dogma. Its most prominent representative was Francisco Giner de los Ríos, who was profoundly compromised with the philosophy of Krause, which found eco in Spain, because it was found to be in line with liberal reformist ideas at the time. ILE existed from 1867 to 1939, when it was deemed as contrary to the nationalist-catholic ideals of franquismo. After the dictatorship, in 1978, ILE rose again and exists to this day. There are numerous references to the ILE. We will cite only the monumental work of A. Jiménez-Landi, *La Institución Libre de Enseñanza y su ambiente*, 2 vols., Madrid, Taurus, 1973-1987.

¹⁴ A. Svensson, «Mistral och femton böcker». *Om Gabriela Mistral, Matilde Goulard, Nils Hedberg och Iberoamerikanska institutets första år*, in A. Castro, E. Jiménez Tornatore, I. Söhrman (edd.), *Desde Chile a Suecia: caminos culturales por Latinoamérica y Europa: festschrift till Álvaro Foresti*, Göteborg, Göteborgs universitet, Institutionen för språk och litteraturer, 2018, pp. 93-108.

¹⁵ Although there were only two translations, there were numerous reissues and versions adapted for children of different ages. In some of them, little remains of the original work apart from the two main characters.

¹⁶ T. Kure-Bonne, *El maravilloso viaje de Nils Holgersson a través de Suecia de Selma Lagerlöf: similitudes y diferencias en dos versiones de su traducción al español. Causas y consecuencias en la traducción de algunos culturemas y topónimos* [undergraduate thesis in Spanish], Karlstad, Karlstads universitet, 2017, <<https://www.diva-portal.org/smash/get/diva2:1181911/FULLTEXT01.pdf>> (last access: 27.02.2025).

ing a foreignizing strategie, the translator does not try to conceal the fact that the text at hand is a translation.

One example of this difference between Talavera and Goulard is how they handle place names. Talavera omits several toponyms, possibly fearing that they might alienate the Spanish readers, while Goulard tends to keep the original names. In the example of this below, taken from Kure-Bonne's findings¹⁷, the toponyms are in bold:

The Swedish original

Vet nu, gåskarl, att jag är Akka från **Kebnekajse**, och att den gåsen, som flyger närmast mig till höger, är Yksi från **Vassijaure**, och den till vänster är Kaksi från **Nuolja**! Vet också, att den andra högergåsen är Kolme från **Sarjektjåkko**, och den andra vänstergåsen är Neljä från **Svappavaara**, och att bakom dem flyger Viisi från **Oviksfjällen** och Kuusi från **Sjangeli**!

1921 Spanish translation, Talavera Björnberg

Sabed que soy Okka. El pato que vuela a mi derecha es Yksi y el que vuela a mi izquierda es Kaksi. El segundo de la derecha se llama Kolme y el de la izquierda es Neljä. Tras ellos vuelan Viisi de los **Montes de Ovik** y Kunki de **Sjangeli**.

1982 Spanish translation, Goulard de Westberg

¡Sabrás que yo soy Akka de **Kebnekajse** y que el ganso que vuela junto a mí, a la derecha, es Ykside **Vassijaure** y el de mi izquierda Kaksi de **Nuolja**! ¡Has de saber también que el segundo de la derecha es Kolme de **Sajektjakkoo** y el de la izquierda es Nelja de **Svappavaara** y detrás de ellos vuelan Viisi de **Ovik** y Kuusi de **Sjangeli**!

In the examples above, seven place names appear in the original Swedish text, of which Talavera omitted all but two. Goulard, however, reinstated the others. Retaining exotic place names certainly is a foreignizing strategy and, according to Kure-Bonne, it is reasonable to believe that the greater openness to the world outside of Spain in the 1980s made it easier for such solutions to gain acceptance.

3. Reception of Nils Holgersson in Spain

The early reception of Selma Lagerlöf's works in Spain has been investigated by Jenny Bergenmar¹⁸, who focuses on the period up until 1914, using the digital resource connected to the Spanish National Library, *Hemeroteca digital*, which contains historical press materials from the early days of the press

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 18-19.

¹⁸ J. Bergenmar, *The North seen from the South in the Spanish reception of Selma Lagerlöf*, «European Journal of Scandinavian Studies», vol. 48, n. 2, 2018, pp. 170-188.

through the 1900s. This resource covers a wide range of publications on topics such as politics, science, religion, literature, and more.

The cultural distance between the two semiperipheral countries Spain and Sweden was significant at the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century. Cultural expressions such as art and literature were normally mediated by the dominant cultural centre, Paris¹⁹. Around the turn of the century, there was a general conception in the rest of Europe that the Nordic countries represented modernity, progress, and women's emancipation. Ibsen's *A doll's house*, especially the character Nora, played a great part in shaping this idea of the North²⁰. It is therefore not surprising that the scarce press material mentioning Lagerlöf emphasizes the exotic aspects of the North and the fact that this prominent and successful writer was a woman. Nor is it surprising that parts of the texts published in Spanish press obviously are recycled from primarily French sources, and sometimes also German ones. Bergenmar finds that Lagerlöf had limited presence before the Nobel Prize: the Swedish writer appears briefly in three texts, dating from 1898, 1906, and 1907. According to Bergenmar²¹, Ellen Key was better known, and her *The Century of the Child* was much discussed in Spain. However, after the Nobel Prize, there was an increasing number of articles on Lagerlöf.

From the 1910s, several prominent Spanish authors and intellectuals dwell on Lagerlöf, and apart from references to some unsigned articles, Bergenmar discusses mainly those written by Ángel Guerra²² and Julián Juderías²³. She argues that both Guerra and Juderías are primarily influenced by French literary critique, yet they represent two different approaches often adopted by critics of Lagerlöf: while Guerra emphasize Lagerlöf's deep connection to her homeland and popular traditions, portraying her as «an amiable grandmother»²⁴, Juderías considers her as a modern woman who paves the way for others, adopting a more progressive tone.

Bergenmar's study focuses on Lagerlöf's presence in Spanish press until 1914, and it is broader than the present in the sense that it includes all articles on the Swedish writer, while this investigation focuses on *Nils Holgersson*. However, much of the material from the 1910s coincide, since the geography

¹⁹ P. Casanova, *The world republic of letters*, Cambridge, MA, Harvard University Press, 2004.

²⁰ E. Lindholm Narváez, *The Valkyrie in a bikini. The Nordic woman as a progressive media icon*, in J. Harvard, P. Stadius (edd.), *Communicating the North. Media Structures and Images in the Making of the Nordic Region*, Farnham, pp. 197-218.

²¹ Bergenmar, *The North seen from the South in the Spanish reception of Selma Lagerlöf*, cit., p. 176.

²² A. Guerra, *Literatura contemporánea: Selma Lagerlof*, «La España moderna», n. 1, 1911, pp. 117-137.

²³ J. Juderías, *El triunfo de la imaginación: Selma Lagerloef*, «La lectura», n. 1, 1910, p. 43.

²⁴ Bergenmar, *The North seen from the South in the Spanish reception of Selma Lagerlöf*, cit., p. 181.

book had been published in 1906-1907. The subsequent survey of the reception of *Nils Holgersson* in Spain includes a preliminary quantitative presentation followed by a qualitative analysis of the texts written about the work, from 1905–1985.

3.1. Nils Holgersson in Spain: a constant but faint presence

As for the preliminary quantitative part of this study, we expected to find an increase in the number of articles mentioning the Selma Lagerlöf, in general, and *Nils Holgersson*, in particular, in relation to three key events: the Nobel Prize award in 1909, the publication of the first translation in 1921, and the publication of the second translation in 1982.

To investigate this, we turned to the aforementioned *Hemeroteca digital*, and used *Nils Holgersson*, with the alternative spelling *Nils Holgerson*, as a search term. The search covered the period from January 1905 to December 1985 and yielded 846 results of which 716 correspond to 1985²⁵. There were no hits during the first five years of the period; the first results appeared in 1910. These hits are presented in Pic. 1.

As shown in the diagram above, the hits are few and rather evenly distributed across the years, with a few exceptions. Using as a criterion five or more hits, we will pay some extra attention to the following years: 1910, 1911, 1922, 1926, 1961, 1962, 1978, 1984, and 1985 (not in the graph).

Looking closer to these years, we discern that, in 1910, there are seven results, of which three refer to the same article, while one briefly mentions *Nils Holgersson* in passing, focusing on another subject. This leaves four articles deserving of closer attention.

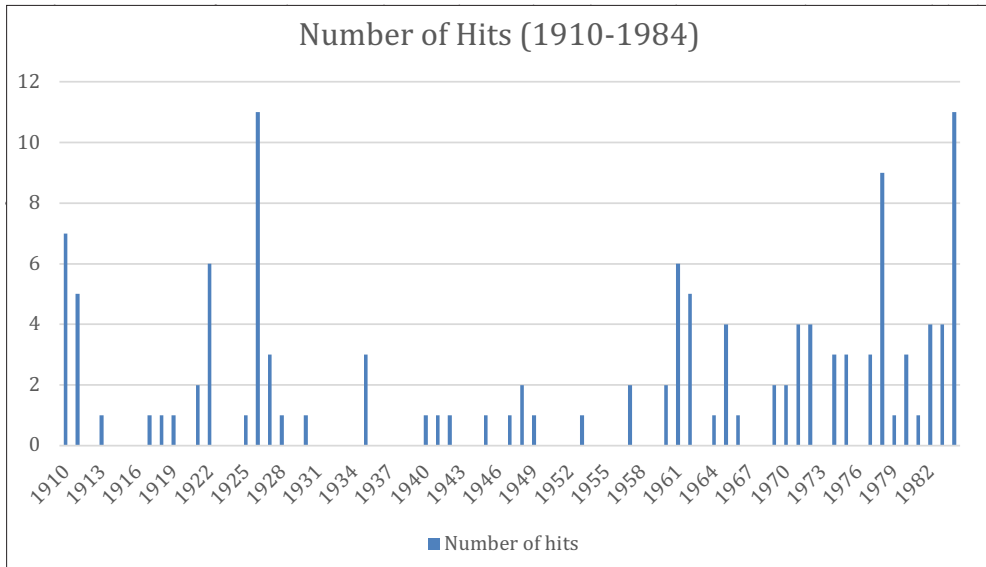
Five hits from 1911 include one brief mention and two articles warranting more careful consideration.

A closer look at the hits from 1922 shows that they consist of five advertisements for the book and one brief mention, i.e. none of the hits are of interest.

In contrast, 1926 offers more substantial contributions. Although the 11 results include eight advertisements for *Nils Holgersson*, two short reviews and one short article are found.

During the 1930s, 1940s and 1950s, very little attention is paid to *Nils*

²⁵ We intended to continue the search until 2025, but *Hemeroteca Digital* does not allow the full content to be read on any computer, which made it difficult to complete the search in recent decades. Nevertheless, we can conclude that the trend is similar to that observed in the previous decades, in that there are very occasional references to Lagerlöf, and a significant number of references to television schedules when the cartoon was rebroadcast.



Pic. 1. Results from *Hemeroteca digital* for the search *Nils Holgersson/Nils Holgerson* 1905-01-01 till 1984-12-31.

The significant increase in hits from 1985 can be easily explained²⁶: it coincides with the debut on Spanish television of the animated series based on the book. Most of the hits are from the television schedules, where the name of the Swedish goose boy is mentioned daily.

In all, our survey of the *Nils Holgersson* hits in Spanish press indicates that while references to the book are present over the years, it is often in passing or within other contexts. A noticeable surge of interest for Lagerlöf and *Nils Holgersson* can be observed in 1910 and 1911, shortly after the Nobel Prize.

²⁶ From 1985 onwards, the same pattern repeats itself; that is, the appearance of Nils Holgersson is linked to its broadcast on television. There are some years in which it appears more than a hundred times (716, 479, 127, 531, 396, 137, 563, and 476 hits), but in the others it hardly appears or appears irrelevantly. Besides, despite the emergence of new television channels and the spread of online platforms, this has not meant that Nils Holgersson has reached new generations. In a survey of 63 students studying Pedagogy at the University of Malaga, they were asked if they had heard of Selma Lagerlöf and if they knew who she was, and if they had heard of Nils Holgersson. This is the link to the questionnaire: <<https://docs.google.com/forms/d/1ib7-I6FUpbXZ7TqXb0wuiuvqcWHeAlN6X0S5RfFI0c/edit>> (last access: 27.02.2025). Next, they were shown an image from the cartoon series, and the results were similar. Of the 66 students, only four recognized it: «I recognise it and it looks familiar, but I don't know where from». «The image looks familiar. I've seen it in my grandmother's old books». «It looks very familiar, but I don't know where from». «Some film or cartoon». In summary, none of them knew Lagerlöf or Nils Holgersson, nor did they recognise the image.

However, the publication of the Talavera translation in 1921 does not seem to generate much attention, even if the press coverage in 1926 may be a delayed response to the earlier translation. In 1984, the increase in attention to the book might be linked to the 1982 retranslation, which we will investigate further in the analysis below.

Our preliminary hypothesis of an increase around the time of the Nobel Prize and following the translations remains plausible but requires further examination by a closer look at the texts. Overall, the press materials collected contain few substantial articles focused solely on *Nils Holgersson*. Including both short notices and more in-depth texts, the total number of texts for analysis in the following section below amounts to 14.

3.2. *Imagination celebrates triumphs in the Swedish Quixote*

When examining the press material from a qualitative perspective, the overall aim is to analyze whether *Nils Holgersson* is treated as any children's book or if the Spanish critics also highlight its instructive and didactic dimension.

3.2.1. *In the wake of the Nobel Prize*

As mentioned above, four different Spanish press texts from 1910 focus on *Nils Holgersson* as a central theme. The first, found in the Madrid weekly publication *Por esos mundos*, is also included in Bergenmar's study. In an unsigned article, titled «Foreign Literature» [*Literatura extranjera*]²⁷ considerable space is devoted to the Noble Prize winner Selma Lagerlöf. The article discusses Lagerlöf's background in Värmland and her love of the soil. This has been contextualized by Bergenmar as a tendency to understand Lagerlöf as the voice of a tradition and a people, more than as an original artist²⁸. In the description of the years leading up to her success as a writer, it can be noted that a few errors have slipped in. For instance, it is mistakenly stated that Lagerlöf started working as a teacher in Stockholm, when in fact she taught in the small southern town of Landskrona. The article covers some of her works but, according to the author, the book that most fully reveals Lagerlöf's personality is *Nils Holgersson*, which, in a very short period, sold 18,000 copies²⁹. The

²⁷ Anonymous, *Literatura extranjera*, «Por esos mundos», 1910, January 1, pp. 29-33.

²⁸ Bergenmar, *The North seen from the South in the Spanish reception of Selma Lagerlöf*, cit., p. 177.

²⁹ Anonymous, *Literatura extranjera*, cit., p. 30.

anonymous author prizes the energy that characterizes Lagerlöf's writing, and focusing on *Nils Holgersson*, it says: «for everything, the distinguished novelist finds the most energetic verb, the most suitable adjective, the most passionate and fitting phrase»³⁰. Aside from this praise, nothing further is mentioned about the Swedish schoolbook.

Another article mentioning *Nils Holgersson*, that indeed has a named author, is Julián Juderías' *The triumph of imagination* in the periodical «La Lectura»³¹. Before delving into the contents of the article, it is relevant to briefly acquaint its author: Juderías was the chief editor of «La Lectura», with which he collaborated remotely from his position in Odessa. Trilingual in Spanish, English, and French from childhood, he was one of the few Spaniards of his time who knew Russian and was familiar with that cultural sphere. He is said to have been proficient in 12 more languages, including Norwegian and Swedish³². This versatility may be an explanation of Juderías' interest, and, as it seems, insights, in Swedish literature.

The first thing that stands out to the modern reader in Juderías' article, which has also been noted by Bergenmar, is his comparison of Lagerlöf to Ellen Key. Juderías states that the two female authors are both accomplished writers and prominent representatives of the feminist movement³³. Juderías expresses strong sympathy for the fight for women's rights and believes that Lagerlöf and Key demonstrate that women can reach their full intellectual and artistic potential without sacrificing their feminine charms and virtues³⁴.

As a characteristic feature of Lagerlöf's works, Juderías points to the fantastic dimension. According to him, it is not surprising that this trait is present, because he considers the Nordics superior in imagination compared to any other skill³⁵. He aligns with critics who emphasize Lagerlöf's ability to absorb legends and popular stories, allowing the Swedish people to express themselves thorough her narrative. As Bergenmar points out, Lagerlöf's imagination is emphasized as a sharp contrast to realistic-naturalistic aesthetics³⁶.

³⁰ Translated from the original: «[P]ara todo la egregia novelista encuentra el verbo más enérgico, el adjetivo más adecuado, la frase más caliente y más justa». *Ibid.*, p. 30.

³¹ J. Juderías, *El triunfo de la imaginación: Selma Lagerloef*, cit., pp. 43-52.

³² A translator, writer, historian, and sociologist, Julián Juderías is still remembered today for developing the theory of the Black Legend surrounding Spain. *La esfera de los libros* (n.d.), Julián Juderías. See Julián Juderías, «La esfera de los libros», n.d., <<https://www.esferalibros.com/autores/julian-juderias>> (last access: 27.02.2025).

³³ Bergenmar, *The North seen from the South in the Spanish reception of Selma Lagerlöf*, cit.

³⁴ Juderías, *El triunfo de la imaginación: Selma Lagerloef*, cit., p. 43.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 44.

³⁶ «Selma Lagerloef, lo mismo que su ilustre compatriota Ellen Key, tiene además una doble personalidad, un doble mérito para cuantos estudian el movimiento literario de nuestro tiempo: ambas son, á la vez que escritoras de altos vuelos, que dejarán huella perdurable en las letras, representantes conspicuos de ese avance feminista que tiene por objeto conquistar para la mujer un lugar más importante que el que hoy ocupa y una influencia más decisiva de la que hoy ejerce

In Juderías' opinion, Lagerlöf's most important works are *Gösta Berling* and *Nils Holgersson*³⁷. He calls the latter «a new and most curious geography of Sweden»³⁸. Several times, he invokes the French authority André Bellessort, who, seemingly, has an ambivalent attitude to Lagerlöf³⁹. Bellessort was the author of a book about Sweden, *La Suède*⁴⁰, and he also got acquainted to Lagerlöf during his visit to the country. In his book, he writes, among many other things that have to do with the people's spirit, that the Swedish reader demands works of imagination to lighten up a harsh and boring existence⁴¹. However, according to Bellessort, *Nils Holgersson* was not likely to resonate with the pedagogues of the time, who were mainly focused on teaching children about the tangible realities of life, which he laments⁴². Juderías is clearly influenced by the French authority, especially in his focus on imagination.

In a concluding paragraph, Juderías offers reflections that, in fact, resonate in a modern eco-criticism context. According to this Spanish critic from the beginning of the 20th century, *Nils Holgersson* teaches that we have to cherish the infinite goodness of nature and its mysteries, and that we have to respect both the beings close to us and those we have yet to encounter, because all of us carry a spark within of the goodness that Lagerlöf attributes to Mother Nature⁴³. In Juderías' view, *Nils Holgersson*, though a book for children, is also highly recommendable for adult readers⁴⁴.

Curiously enough, in the same issue of «La Lectura», we find a less favourable assessment of Selma Lagerlöf's literature: a translation of André Bellessort's review of her work, on the occasion of her Nobel Prize award. The French critic is not impressed by Lagerlöf's compositions, which he finds fragmented, and disagrees with her handling of the characters. At the end of his re-

y si fuera preciso convencer á algunos de esos que miran con desconfianza las reivindicaciones feministas, por creer que su triunfo acarrearía grandes males y perturbaría hondamente la vida social, bastaría, creo yo, con aducir el ejemplo de estas dos escritoras para convencerles de que la mujer puede y debe ocupar el lugar á que aspira, sin perder ninguno de los atractivos, ninguno de los encantos, ninguna de las virtudes de su sexo, sino antes por el contrario, por razón de estos atractivos, de estos encantos y de estas virtudes». *Ibid.*, p. 43.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 47.

³⁸ «una nueva y curiosísima geografía de Suecia». *Ibid.*, p. 50.

³⁹ It has been claimed that André Bellessort was the first translator of Nils Holgersson into French, but, in fact, it was Thekla Hammar who undertook the translation, and Bellessort assisted her with linguistic advice.

⁴⁰ A. Bellessort (1911). *La Suède [e-book]*, Paris, 1911, p. 44, <<http://hdl.handle.net/2077/43359>> (last access: 27.02.2025).

⁴¹ Bellessort, *La Suède*, cit., p. 309, <<https://runeberg.org/lasuede/0321.html>> (last access: 27.02.2025).

⁴² Juderías, *El triunfo de la imaginación: Selma Lagerloef*, cit., p. 51.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 52.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 53.

view, he speculates that her Nobel speech was probably not as beautiful as that of Björnsterne Björnson, because, in his opinion, Lagerlöf lacks eloquence⁴⁵.

Finally, the same year, *Nils Holgersson* appears in a text written by Fernando Araujo⁴⁶ for the influential Spanish cultural magazine *La España moderna*. Once again, it is obvious that the Spanish intelligentsia lend their ears to Bellessort, who argues that the Swedish people crave this kind of imaginative literature; the Swedish are drawn to the unexpected, intense sensations, the supernatural, adventures in the forests, and the poetry of wandering through swamps, ultimately finding their way home⁴⁷. This happens to be an almost direct translation of Bellessort, who writes about the poetry of the swamps in his text about Lagerlöf⁴⁸. Even if *Nils Holgersson* is treated in this article, Araujo devotes more space to Lagerlöf's *The legends of Christ*.

Two articles mention *Nils Holgersson* in 1911. The first, titled *Selma Lagerlöf*, appears in the contemporary literature section in «La España moderna». The text is written by Ángel Guerra, pseudonym for José Betancort Cabrera, a writer and cultural journalist originally from the Canary Islands but residing in Madrid at the time⁴⁹. Guerra was one of the most influential Spanish intellectuals of the period.

In her research on Lagerlöf, Bergenmar found an earlier article by Guerra. In that article, he «repeatedly situates Lagerlöf in a specific geographic and cultural domain»⁵⁰, specifically her home region. In the 1911 article, Guerra continues to emphasize Lagerlöf as a writer deeply connected to her soil and tradition, mentioning *Nils Holgersson* in the context of the author's often-discussed vivid imagination. Guerra wonders where Lagerlöf's fantastic storytelling originates, and notes that Swedish Nobel award winner frequently

⁴⁵ «Ella no tiene elocuencia». A. Bellessort, *La fantasía sueca*, «La Lectura», n. 1, 1910, p. 115.

⁴⁶ F. Araujo, *La labor de Selma Lagerlöf*, «La España moderna», n. 5, 1910, pp. 200-202. Araujo's impression of Bellessort can be explained by the fact that he was well-versed in French and had, among other things, published a French grammar book. See also L. González Corrales, *Fernando Araujo*, in M. Alvar Ezquerro, M.A. García Aranda, *Biblioteca Virtual de la Filología Española (BVFE): directorio bibliográfico de gramáticas, diccionarios, obras de ortografía, ortología, prosodia, métrica, diálogos e historia de la lengua*, n.d. <<https://www.bvfe.es/es/autor/9228-araujo-y-gomez-fernando.html>> (last access: 27.02.2025).

⁴⁷ «El sueco pide á sus novelistas que le den cuentos extraños, adora lo inesperado, la sensación viva, lo sobrenatural, las aventuras en las selvas, la poesía de los extravíos á través de los pantanos, á cuyo extremo se encuentra el buen camino del hogar». *Ibid.*, pp. 200-201.

⁴⁸ «[Le Suédois] adore l'inattendu, la sensation vive, le mystère, le surnaturel qui flotte sur la nature comme les elfes du brouillard, les aventures dans des forêts que personne n'a foulées, la poésie des égarements à travers les marécages au bout desquels on retrouve enfin le bon chemin du foyer». Bellessort, *La Suède*, cit., p. 309.

⁴⁹ A. Guerra, *Literatura contemporánea: Selma Lagerlof*, «La España moderna», n. 1, 1911, pp. 117-137.

⁵⁰ Bergenmar, *The North seen from the South in the Spanish reception of Selma Lagerlöf*, cit., p. 179.

cites her grandmother and her father as important sources of her imaginative tales. In *Nils Holgersson*, Guerra finds an episode he believes exemplifies the interplay in Lagerlöf's work between harsh reality and marvellous legends, between the monotony of daily labour and the pleasures and festivities. In this episode, this interaction ensures that life remains vibrant and never tiresome: there is the harvesting of potatoes, collecting of fruit, spinning of flax, and long-term visits of a travelling shoemaker, all often done in the company of people from nearby farms. Additionally, there are memorable festivities, such as Christmas Eve and Santa Lucia celebrations⁵¹. Referring to this passage in *Nils Holgersson*, Guerra connects Lagerlöf's art closely to her homeland, but he also wonders what Sweden is really like. He reflects upon the fact that some of Lagerlöf's stories are difficult to fully comprehend without a Scandinavian background. As for *Nils Holgersson*, Guerra argues that while it has a simple plot, it carries a philosophical and instructive dimension [«¡qué fondo filosófico más educador!»⁵²] that makes it comparable to, if not better than, Kipling's *The Jungle Book*.

The same year, the second issue of «La España moderna» features Selma Lagerlöf's Nobel Prize banquet speech, titled *The legend of a debt*⁵³. In this speech, Lagerlöf recounts the story of how she travelled by train to Stockholm to receive the Nobel Prize. She declares that she is in debt not only with the readers, especially with the children who have written to her to thank her for *Nils Holgersson*, but also to the abundant generosity of nature.

All in all, the authors writing about *Nils Holgersson* in Spanish reviews during the first decade of the 20th century were strongly and directly influenced by André Bellessort. Like the French literary critic and connoisseur of Swedish life, they emphasize Lagerlöf's imaginative gifts, though they do not mention the book as a schoolbook. However, one of the authors, Ángel Guerra, does mention the book's educational qualities.

3.2.2. Nils Holgersson in the 1920s

As mentioned earlier, the numerous results from the search for material from the first half of the 1920s in *Hemeroteca digital* proved irrelevant, so we will turn directly to 1926. That year, the magazine «Literatura hispano-americana» features, in its «Bibliografía» section, the publication of *Nils Holgersson*

⁵¹ Guerra, *Literatura contemporánea: Selma Lagerlof*, cit., pp. 120-121.

⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 132.

⁵³ S. Lagerlöf, *La leyenda de una deuda*, «La España moderna», n. 2, 1911, pp. 166-171. See also <<https://www.nobelprize.org/prizes/literature/1909/lagerlof/speech/>> (last access: 27.02.2025).

in the Editorial Cervantes' series «Los príncipes de la literature». The assessment of the book is highly appreciative, with the anonymous reviewer echoing Talavera's description of the book as the *Don Quixote* of the Swedish children. *Nils Holgersson* is described as highly suggestive, irresistibly enchanting, and having left a deep impression on the anonymous author of the notice⁵⁴.

Equally positive, but from a different perspective, is the 1926 article written by María Luz Morales in «El Sol»⁵⁵. Under the title *Books for children*, Morales criticizes the new trend, also noted by Bellessort, of prioritizing the practical aspects of life in school education, relegating fantasy and imagination to a secondary role. Her argument is that children should be allowed to read enjoyable literature in their free time. If not, they will come to regard reading as a tedious activity and avoid books altogether⁵⁶. It is exceedingly demanding to expect children to read additional instructional literature after a long school day:

When they are allowed to set away books imposed on them by primary and secondary education, we leave them with... other educational books. Of course, in these, the lesson to be learnt is disguised –which makes it even more cloying and repulsive– under the too often used precept of teaching by delighting. As it is commonly practised, it is like those umbrella-canes that serve neither as umbrellas nor as canes; it neither delights nor instructs⁵⁷.

Adults must respect children's reading tastes, and when it comes to modern literature, Morales argues that there is no more enjoyable and entertaining option than *Nils Holgersson*⁵⁸.

Finally, in a short notice in «La Vanguardia», the signature Argus calls *Nils Holgersson* an incomparable and suggestive book, and he repeats the epithet «the Don Quixote of the Swedish children»⁵⁹.

⁵⁴ «La obra es de una sugestión tan grande, de un encanto tan irresistible, que no recordamos que ningún otro libro nos haya impresionado tan dulce y profundamente». Anonymous, *Bibliografía*, «Literatura hispano-americana», n. 154, 1926, p. 32.

⁵⁵ M.L. Morales, *Libros para niños*, «El Sol», 1926, November 19, p. 1. Morales oversaw the family themes section in «El Sol» from 1926 to 1931, but she is best known as a pioneering film critic and the first female chief editor of a cultural magazine, «La Vanguardia», in 1936-1937.

⁵⁶ «Peso de llevar que, quien ha tenido que soportarlo exclusivamente y a la fuerza desde muy niño, lo suelta muchas veces lanzando un hondo suspiro de alivio... para no volver a tomar un libro en sus manos jamás. Y esto, por amar al niño y por amor al libro, es lo que debemos evitar». *Ibid.*

⁵⁷ «Cuando les es dado abandonar por un momento los libros que la enseñanza primera o segunda les imponen, dejamos en sus manos... otros libros de enseñanza. Claro está que en éstos la lección va disfrazada—lo que la hace más empalagosa y repugnante—en atención a la letra del tan manoseado precepto de “instruir deleitando”. Con el que, tal como suele entenderse y practicarse, sucede como con los bastones-paraguas, que no sirven como paraguas ni como bastón; ni deleita ni instruye». *Ibid.*

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

⁵⁹ Argus, «La Vanguardia», 1926, September 3, p. 19.

In summary, among the texts on *Nils Holgersson* from the 1920's, the one that most draws our attention is the article on children's reading habits by María Luz Morales. It is somewhat curious that the schoolbook *Nils Holgersson* is highlighted as a counterpoint to the schoolbooks that Spanish children are supposed to read, and that the author specifically recommends it as a book for leisure reading.

3.2.3. *Nils Holgersson in the 1980s – before the television breakthrough*

As mentioned in the quantitative part of this study, several newspapers and periodicals included *Nils Holgersson* among their reading recommendations in 1984. A closer look showed that these recommendations were frequently accompanied by information on the new Akal edition. It would be reasonable to believe that this new edition was a promotion of the 1982 *Nils Holgersson* translation, made by Goulard. However, upon closer inspection of the Akal edition, it turns out that it consists of the Talavera translation. This is confirmed by Pilar Trenas, who mentions in Spanish newspaper *ABC* that *Nils Holgersson* had last been published in the 1960s, but since the copies had run out, Akal decided to reissue the book⁶⁰. The increase in numbers of hits thus corresponds to the reissuing of Talavera's translation.

Apart from several brief reading tips, one article stands out in the 1984 material: in «Diario 16», the famous Spanish author of *Wolf Moon* [*Luna de lobos*], Julio Llamazares, calls *Nils Holgersson* a masterpiece, and gives it three stars, which was supposedly the magazine's highest rating⁶¹. Llamazares recounts the story of the Swedish schoolbook project and asks, rhetorically, how a textbook with educational purposes could become so successful. The answer, he states, is very simple: «[T]he commission had not been given to a teacher or an expert in geography, but to one of the most imaginative writers with the most beautiful language in the history of Swedish and world literature»⁶². It is noteworthy, that when Llamazares summarizes the plot, he omits the disobedience of Nils, writing that this teenaged farmer boy in Southern Sweden got tired of life in a reduced rural ambit and felt the desire to discover new places and horizons⁶³.

⁶⁰ P. Trenas, «ABC», 1984, January 28, p. 58.

⁶¹ J. Llamazares, *El maravilloso viaje de Nils Holgersson*, «Cambio 16», 1984, May 13, p. 29.

⁶² «[E]l encargo había sido hecho no a una profesora ni a una experta en geografía, sino a una de las escritoras más imaginativas y de lenguaje más hermoso de la historia de la literatura sueca y universal». *Ibid.*

⁶³ *Ibid.*

4. *Reacapitulation and discussion*

This study on the reception of Selma Lagerlöf's *The Wonderful Adventures of Nils* demonstrates that the book has been present in Spanish press since 1910, the year that followed on Lagerlöf's Nobel Prize award. Before that, Spanish readers had only been introduced briefly to the Swedish author. The Nobel Prize brought her authorship into focus, and she was introduced and her works reviewed in the Spanish cultural magazines of the days. As Bergenmar (2018) points out, the Spanish intellectuals were impressed by cultural authorities, mainly from France, with Paris being the dominant cultural centre, but also, to some extent, by German critics. Some of the most prominent Spanish intellectuals of the time, such as Ángel Guerra, Julián Juderías, and María Luz Morales, commented on *Nils Holgersson* in the first two decades of the 20th century, but they echo a strong influence, especially from the French critic André Bellessort.

A sense of self-doubt can be discerned in some of the Spanish authors' writings: they are drawn to Lagerlöf's work and, by extension, to the exotic North, but they know little about Sweden, which leads them to rely heavily on authorities such as Bellessort. Some even explicitly state that they would probably enjoy Lagerlöf's work more fully if they had been more familiar with Sweden. As Bergenmar mentions, recycling not only of ideas but also of phrasing is frequently encountered. Some reviews of *Nils Holgersson* are exceedingly assertive, and the often-cited phrase «the *Don Quixote* of the Swedish children» awakes the suspicion that some of the authors relied more on Talavera's prologue to his translation than on their own careful reading of the book.

The fact that *Nils Holgersson* was originally commissioned as a schoolbook is mentioned in several of the *Hemeroteca* articles. However, the book's instructive aspects are generally mentioned in passing, while the authors focus first and foremost on the vivid imagination that flows from its pages. It is noteworthy that Morales (1926b) in fact uses *Nils Holgersson* as an example of literature that is *different* from schoolbooks, being an enjoyable option for the free time. Just like Bellessort, Morales highlights the reigning practical-realist trend in children's education and finds it delimiting. Almost 60 years later, Llamazares would express that *Nils Holgersson*, as a work of fantasy, by far transcends the typical dimensions of a schoolbook of its time. It is noticeable that Llamazares overlooks the moral lesson in the boy's initial transformation, a punishment for his disobedience, and emphasizes the fact that he wanted to go out and broaden his horizons.

Dalla caduta del fascismo alle riforme del 1955. Le cause dell'inadempienza e della ripetenza scolastica in Basilicata e gli sforzi per debellarle

Rocco Labriola
Lucanian Deputation
of Homeland History
Potenza (Italy)
rocco_labriola@yahoo.it

From the fall of Fascism to the reforms of 1955. The causes of school non-attendance and grade repetition in Basilicata, and the efforts to eradicate them.

ABSTRACT: A wealth of documentation, contained in the Potenza Education Authority Fund, recently organized and made accessible to scholars, sheds new light on the unique characteristics of post-World War II elementary education in Basilicata. Statistical data and reports compiled by teachers and principals allow for a more thorough analysis of educational events, which, despite the challenges, offered glimpses of growth and change, provided that schools were not left alone in their task, but assisted, supported, and, above all, listened to the needs that Lucanian educators were quick to suggest.

EET/TEE KEYWORDS: Illiterate; Progress; Archive; Reforms; Basilicata; XX Century.

1. Il problema della ripetenza e dell'inadempienza scolastica: cause economiche e sociali

Nell'immediato secondo dopoguerra la Basilicata presentava un assetto politico e amministrativo in piena rifondazione¹ nonché una situazione socio-

¹ Per un generale quadro, tra le tante pubblicazioni, si veda: D. Verrastro, E. Vigilante (edd.), *Emilio Colombo. L'ultimo dei costituenti*, Bari, Laterza, 2017; G. Cervellino, *Humanitas, fides et cultura in Enzo Cervellino. Una vita all'insegna dell'impegno nella scuola, nella politica, nel-*

economica tra le più complicate dell'intera penisola². Il latifondo era ancora predominante nel Materano dove appena il 2,2% delle proprietà copriva il 27% del territorio. Non diverso il contesto del Potentino, se si considerava che nell'Aviglianese solamente quattro famiglie, tra cui i Doria ed i Ruffo, erano titolari del 23,4% del reddito complessivo che significava in media 279 mila lire, mentre il 93% dei coltivatori era titolare del 34% del reddito complessivo con una media di circa 400 lire³. Circa il 70% dei lucani era occupato nell'agricoltura, condotta ancora con metodi arcaici e con scarso utilizzo di concimi e macchine moderne; rimaneva inadeguato lo sviluppo delle restanti attività produttive come quelle industriali e del terziario. Mancavano, inoltre, le infrastrutture:

La provincia di Potenza è servita da due linee ferroviarie dello Stato [...] le linee sono ad un solo binario e [...] non va trascurato il fatto che le stazioni ferroviarie nella generalità si trovano ad una notevole distanza dai Paesi e spesso il percorso delle autocorriere, dalla stazione al centro abitato, è ancora più lungo e faticoso del percorso in treno. Vaste zone [...] rimangono sprovviste di comunicazioni ferroviarie e sono collegate con linee automobilistiche gestite per gran parte dalla SITA. Molte volte le frane primaverili e le nevi invernali interrompono le comunicazioni.

Ancora, si evidenziava come la rete idrica e quella elettrica, «nonostante i riconosciuti sviluppi di questi ultimi anni, lasciano molto a desiderare, non solo perché non servono molti comuni ma anche per la scarsa efficienza»⁴.

In tale stato di cose l'emigrazione si poneva quasi come scelta obbligata, tanto che nell'arco temporale dal 1946 al 1970 abbandonarono la Basilicata 209.489 abitanti: in particolare, fino al 1950, l'esodo riguardò 17.234 individui, mentre nel periodo 1951-60 raggiunse quota 91.945, con la media annua salita a 9.194 persone⁵.

Certo, si sperava molto nella Riforma agraria e nella Cassa per il Mezzo-

la cultura, Rionero, Calice, 2015; V. Verrastro (ed.), *Vincenzo Verrastro. Fede, cultura, politica. Atti delle giornate in ricordo di Vincenzo Verrastro* (Avigliano 6-7 novembre 2009), Avigliano, Pisani, 2014.

² G. De Luna, *La repubblica inquieta. L'Italia della Costituzione. 1946-1948*, Milano, Feltrinelli, 2019, p. 21.

³ P. Brindisi, *Campi rossi. La Federbraccianti in Basilicata dal 1943 al 1961*, Brienza, Le Penseur Edizioni, 2021, pp. 77-121; D. Prinzi, *La riforma agraria in Puglia, Lucania e Molise nei primi cinque anni*, Bari, Laterza, 1956, pp. 9-20.

⁴ Archivio di Stato di Potenza, Fondo Provveditorato agli Studi di Potenza (d'ora in poi ASP, FP), busta (b.) 13, fascicolo (fasc.) 125, Provveditorato agli Studi, di Potenza, 1^a circoscrizione scolastica, *Monografia riassuntiva circoscrizionale sul "Fenomeno della ripetenza e della inadempienza scolastica in provincia di Potenza", Decennio 1950-60*, Potenza, 02.05.1961, pp. I-VI.

⁵ Dal 1876 al 1970 hanno abbandonato la Basilicata circa 659.887 persone, vale a dire un numero superiore alla stessa popolazione censita in quest'ultima data. A.R. Colangelo, *Cento anni di emigrazione*, in N. Calice (ed.), *Basilicata tra passato e presente*, Milano, Teti, 1977, pp. 26-27. R. Labriola, *Immigrazione e profitto studentesco. Alunni del "Nord" e del "Sud" a*

giorno, ma il loro lavoro era ancora nelle fasi iniziali e dunque ingiudicabile⁶. Questo complicato quadro socio-economico di sicuro non sfuggiva agli insegnanti ed ai direttori didattici dell'epoca; addirittura, essi sottolineavano nelle loro relazioni annuali – le istituzioni educative mostrano in termini ancora più chiari e amplificati la portata di tale situazione – dato che la scuola

è un organismo delicatissimo, sensibilissimo, che attrae tutto quanto si agita attorno ad essa e da sola, presa quasi come 'campione' può dare l'esatta cognizione di un ambiente in tutti i suoi aspetti. Anzi, è proprio sulla scuola che si proiettano infallibilmente e drammaticamente, tutti i problemi tutte le ansie, tutti i tormenti che agitano gli uomini, quindi la società, quasi fatta termometro indicativo di situazioni, che altrimenti sfuggirebbero all'analisi dello studioso.

Nonostante la buona volontà e i sacrifici del suo personale la scuola lucana «è la vittima e la protagonista di uno sforzo generoso destinato a fallire appunto perché difettano le strutture economiche e sociali che la renderebbero, ipso facto, arbitra di una evoluzione che, in molte zone della Circoscrizione rimane ancora oggi un pio desiderio»⁷. Tra i tanti aspetti che mettevano forse meglio in luce come le difficoltà della scuola lucana non fossero di carattere solamente pedagogico ma specchio proprio di un generale contesto di sofferenza, emergeva quello dell'inadempienza, nell'anno scolastico 1956-57 pari al 12,94% in tutta la provincia di Potenza⁸. In ordine decrescente per numero di casi, le motivazioni erano le seguenti: 1) per lavoro prematuro, 2) per miseria, 3) per eccessiva distanza dalla scuola, 4) per malattia, 5) per minorazione, 6) per negligenza dei genitori⁹.

A Rotonda, scriveva il Direttore didattico, «Moltissime famiglie di rurali ritengono prematuro per la scuola il bimbo seienne, idoneo, secondo loro,

confronto, in Id. (ed.), *La Scuola media "G. Perotti" di Torino tra storia e pedagogia*, Potenza, EditricErmes, 2020, pp. 15-36.

⁶ G. Colangelo, P. Dell'Aquila, T. Russo, R.M. Salvia, *Dalla Costituente allo Statuto regionale. Riflessioni sulla Basilicata del secondo dopoguerra*, Milano, FrancoAngeli, 2022; G. De Rosa, A. Cestaro (edd.), *Storia della Basilicata IV. L'età contemporanea*, Bari, Laterza, 2002.

⁷ ASP, FP, b. 13, fasc. 125, Provveditorato agli Studi di Potenza, 1^a circoscrizione scolastica, *L'aspetto economico-sociale come una delle cause più importanti del fenomeno della ripetenza e della inadempienza. Mezzi che si propongono per la sua eliminazione*, in *Monografia riassuntiva*, cit. Per un approfondimento sui cambiamenti culturali del tempo: A. Ascenzi, R. Sani (edd.), *L'innovazione pedagogica e didattica nel sistema formativo italiano dall'Unità al secondo dopoguerra*, Roma, Studium, 2022, p. 335 e ss.

⁸ E. Gallicchio, *La programmazione dell'istruzione in Basilicata*, Bari, Arti Grafiche Laterza, 1965, pp. 17-18. La provincia di Potenza (l'altra è Matera) negli anni Cinquanta era divisa in tre circoscrizioni scolastiche: Melfi, Lagonegro e Potenza. Per i dettagli: R. Labriola, *La Basilicata tra i banchi di scuola. Dal periodo fascista agli anni Sessanta del Novecento*, Potenza, EditricErmes, 2017.

⁹ ASP, FP, Provveditorato agli Studi di Potenza, 1^a circoscrizione scolastica, *Aspetto didattico pedagogico del fenomeno della inadempienza e della ripetenza*, in *Monografia riassuntiva*, cit. Tra i più recenti contributi sulla scuola lucana nel secondo dopoguerra si veda anche: R. Labriola, *L'istituzione della Scuola media «M. Granata» di Rionero in Vulture. Storia, territorio e modelli pedagogici*, prefazione di R. Sani, Potenza, EditricErmes, 2025.

a condurre al pascolo lo sparuto gregge, a far da guardia alla casa durante l'assenza dei genitori, o, peggio ancora, a far da balia ai fratellini in fasce»¹⁰.

Analoga situazione nel comune di Viggiano, dove «Molti non frequentano a causa del loro precoce avviamento al lavoro [...], si iscrivono regolarmente, ma abbandonano nel corso dell'anno in quanto devono aiutare i genitori nei lavori agricoli o devono badare ai fratelli più piccoli»¹¹.

Strettamente collegata al lavoro precoce era l'indigenza delle famiglie. A Sant'Arcangelo i fanciulli che frequentavano le scuole erano soprattutto figli di poveri contadini che vivevano alla giornata e l'acquisto di libri e quaderni incideva pesantemente sul loro bilancio familiare. Essi, dichiarava il direttore didattico, «guardano con simpatia la Scuola [...] ma sono i mezzi, che, purtroppo difettano». Il contributo governativo e quello comunale di due lire erano insufficienti, per non parlare della *Giornata del Patronato* «che dà ben poco e offre alla cittadinanza uno spettacolo poco edificante, quello del povero maestro costretto a subire contumelie quanto chiede la modesta offerta». Ma, continuava, «tutto questo è ben poca cosa: bambini poveri hanno bisogno di indumenti per l'inverno, di assistenza sanitaria, di refezione [...]». Quest'ultima «è vita per i nostri comuni rurali, quando si pensi che tanti poveri bambini devono attendere a sera il ritorno dei genitori per consumare il magro desinare»¹².

A Calvello la refezione era gestita dal Patronato scolastico e «funziona in locali di fortuna forniti dal Comune [i quali] sono infelicissimi e la cucina è un'aula adibita anche a refettorio con conseguenza di affumicamento e eccessivo riscaldamento dei bambini». Mancavano tavoli, sgabelli, piatti, casseruole, pentole e soprattutto una cucina per la cottura delle vivande¹³. Situazione non diversa nel comune di Anzi dove il numero degli assistiti per la refezione era pari a 187 alunni contro i 285 bisognosi¹⁴. A Francavilla sul Sinni, causa le scarse risorse del Patronato, la scuola non poteva fare fronte a tutti gli alunni

¹⁰ ASP, FP, b. 15, Direzione Didattica di Rotonda, 04.06.1958. Sulle condizioni degli studenti italiani durante il difficile periodo bellico: J. Meda, *È arrivata la bufera. L'infanzia italiana e l'esperienza della guerra totale (1940-1950)*, Macerata, eum, 2017.

¹¹ ASP, FP, b. 15, Direzione Didattica di Viggiano, 10.04.1958. Sulle scuole rurali si veda: A. Barausse, M. D'Alessio (edd.), *Processi di scolarizzazione e paesaggio rurale in Italia tra Ottocento e Novecento. Itinerari ed esperienze tra oblio, rappresentazione, propaganda e realtà*, Lecce, Pensa Multimedia, 2018.

¹² ASP, FP, b. 15, Direzione Didattica di S. Arcangelo, 10.07.1958. Associazione Nazionale dei Patronati Scolastici, *L'assistenza scolastica in una moderna società democratica*. Atti del 6° Congresso nazionale dell'Associazione nazionale dei patronati scolastici, Roma, 21-24.04.1967, Roma, Tip. Marconi, 1964.

¹³ ASP, FP, b. 15, Direzione Didattica Governativa di Laurenzana, 26.09.1959. Sull'attività assistenziale dello Stato dopo il fascismo si veda anche: Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione, *La Scuola Italiana dal 1946 al 1953*, Roma, Istituto Poligrafico dello Stato, 1953, pp. 127-129.

¹⁴ ASP, FP, b. 15, Direzione Didattica Governativa di Laurenzana, 21.09.1959.

in stato di povertà che erano oltre il 50% degli iscritti e che necessitavano non solo di libri e quaderni, ma di indumenti e refezione appunto¹⁵.

Non migliore la situazione del capoluogo potentino dove, ci si lamentava, «l'assistenza di questo primo quinquennio», riferendosi al periodo 1950-55, «è stata quasi nulla se si eccettua la distribuzione di qualche libro e qualche grembiule fatta dal Patronato scolastico»¹⁶.

La causa economica era sicuramente determinante, ma non la sola, denunciavano dal Circolo didattico di Avigliano. «[...] a sostegno di tale tesi è probante, definitivo e luminoso l'esempio di certe zone molto povere del Trentino e dell'Alto Adige dove nonostante tutto l'analfabetismo è quasi inesistente»¹⁷.

Gravissimo il problema dei collegamenti tra le abitazioni e le scuole o addirittura l'assenza di queste ultime. A Brindisi di Montagna la popolazione era sparsa in quattro frazioni, tra l'altro, non concentrate in gruppi di abitazioni ma formate da case sparse non collegate col comune e tra di loro da alcuna strada «ma solo da sentieri tracciati dalle orme umane, su un terreno molto vasto, accidentato e isolato dal resto del mondo»¹⁸.

Non si contava il numero dei paesi che lamentavano «il pessimo stato delle strade, alcune delle quali si trasformano sovente in impetuosi e perigliosi torrenti» tali da rappresentare un serio pericolo per l'incolumità dei piccoli studenti¹⁹.

Peggio andava a quelle famiglie che vivevano in zone addirittura prive di scuole. La loro istituzione era complicata sia per ragioni economiche, troppo onerose per l'erario, sia numeriche, dato che a volte le persone interessate erano coloni che si spostavano annualmente. L'istituzione di scuole sussidiate appariva complicata perché dovevano sorgere a 2 km da quelle statali; inoltre, i

¹⁵ ASP, FP, b. 15, Direzione Didattica di Senise, 04.06.1958.

¹⁶ ASP, FP, Provveditorato agli Studi di Potenza, 1^a circoscrizione scolastica, *Cause ed articolazione della ripetenza e della inadempienza nell'ultimo decennio. Studio delle cifre complessive per Circolo e per Classe per ogni anno nel Decennio dal 1950 al 1960 e studio riassuntivo per la Circoscrizione*, in *Monografia riassuntiva*, cit.

¹⁷ ASP, FP, b. 15, Direzione Didattica di Avigliano. Sulla scuola di questo comune: G. Coviello, *Gli Aviglianesi. Una comunità in cerca di futuro. Il territorio, la scuola, la politica comunale*, Avigliano, Pisani Teodosio Edizioni, 2021; id., *La scuola delle frazioni di Avigliano tra riforme e storia sociale*, Potenza, Villani, 2014; Più in generale: E. De Fort, *Scuola e analfabetismo nell'Italia del '900*, Bologna, il Mulino, 1995.

¹⁸ ASP, FP, b. 15, Direzione Didattica di Potenza III, 10.07.1958. D. Marchesini, *Città e campagna nello specchio dell'analfabetismo*, in S. Soldani, G. Turi (edd.), *Fare gli italiani. Scuola e cultura nell'Italia contemporanea. Una società di massa*, Bologna, il Mulino, 1993, Vol. 2, pp. 9-40.

¹⁹ ASP, FP, b. 15, Direzione Didattica di Picerno, 29.05.1958. Sulla scuola a Picerno: R. Labriola (ed.), *Fare scuola in Basilicata. Patrimonio storico-educativo, progettualità e indirizzi pedagogici nell'Istituto Comprensivo di Picerno*, introduzione di M. D'Alessio, Potenza, EditriceErmes, 2025. Ed anche: A. Barausse, C. Ghizzoni, J. Meda, «Il campanile scolastico»: ripensando la dimensione locale nella ricerca storico-educativa. *Editoriale*, «Rivista di Storia dell'Educazione», vol. 5, n. 1, 2018, pp. 7-14.

maestri erano costretti ad anticipare le spese per vitto e alloggio che sarebbero state rimborsate solo dopo sei mesi o un anno. Con molto sforzo a Sant'Arcangelo si cercò di ovviare a tali problematiche istituendo, con molta fatica, corsi addirittura per famiglia e per zona, anticipando l'orario di ingresso «per dare la possibilità a tutti i fanciulli di andare a pascolare»²⁰.

In tale panorama risultava davvero complicato affrontare un'altra delle questioni dell'inadempienza, valeva a dire quella della disabilità. «Gli alunni con gravi handicap dovrebbero frequentare scuole speciali», si osservava, «che invece sono inesistenti». Frequentando, infatti, gli istituti tradizionali, «a parte lo scarso risultato che possa ottenersi, molte volte si crea in loro quel complesso d'inferiorità tanto dannoso per il successivo svolgimento. Quando, poi, entra in palio il pudore familiare la frequenza non si ottiene»²¹.

2. Il problema della ripetenza e dell'inadempienza scolastica: dalle cause pedagogiche alle possibili soluzioni

Frequentando molo saltuariamente o abbandonando la scuola l'inadempiente inesorabilmente veniva respinto e diventava ripetente, aggravando la sua situazione di disagio. «Il ripetente, per il solo fatto di essere tale, diventa un 'anormale' ipso facto perché si porta dietro, fatalmente, un'anima stanca, assopita, sfiduciata, avvilita che colora di tristezza ogni sua giornata scolastica in una classe che lo considera un intruso, un inetto, un tardo a capire». Qui giocava un ruolo importante il maestro, la cui preparazione in chiave pedagogica moderna doveva porlo in grado di soppesare il contesto familiare e sociale di provenienza dell'alunno e l'eventuale presenza di difficoltà di apprendimento.

Se invece lo studente si «trova di fronte un insegnante che non è un Educatore della specie migliore, certamente, come minimo, partecipa anche lui» a fornire «un'impressione quanto meno strana» dell'alunno. Il maestro cioè «non deve farsi prendere da quella specie di 'fatalismo' secondo il quale il ripetente è irrecuperabile e che non valga la pena tentare: fatalismo che si appiccicherà anche al ragazzo che cadrà nella consapevolezza sciocca di non essere buono a nulla». Infatti «se si fa avanti perché vorrebbe pur provare d'essere buono a qualche cosa, c'è da chiedersi: chi gli crede?». La questione, allora, più che di carattere didattico e pedagogico diventava umana ed al docente spetta-

²⁰ ASP, FP, b. 15, Direzione Didattica di S. Arcangelo, 10.07.1958. Sulla condizione dell'infanzia si veda anche: P. Calvaruso, *La formazione umana e civica nell'esperienza delle scuole rurali e pluriclassi*, Roma, Anicia, 2013; C. Covato, S. Olivieri (edd.), *Itinerari nella storia dell'infanzia. Bambini e bambine, modelli pedagogici e stili educativi*, Milano, Unicopli, 2003.

²¹ ASP, FP, b. 15, Direzione Didattica di Pietragalla, 30.04.1958.

va cercare le giuste strategie per mettere a proprio agio il ripetente, invogliarlo alla frequenza cercando di portare la sua preparazione, se non al pari degli altri alunni, quantomeno ad un livello accettabile: «Potrebbe farsene un collaboratore, ridandogli la fiducia in se stesso; potrebbe assumerlo come punto di partenza nel suo lavoro, potrebbe farlo accompagnare nella fatica giornaliera da un compagno più capace, più agile, più pronto»²².

La disabitudine alla disciplina ed all'istruzione sin dalla più tenera età a causa dell'assenza di asili infantili, in special modo nelle campagne, rappresentava un altro elemento che incoraggiava l'inadempienza scolastica così come creava già un solco profondo tra chi abitava nelle zone rurali e chi in città ed aveva la possibilità di frequentare anche prima delle elementari:

mentre i ragazzi di città giungono per la prima volta a scuola con una forma mentis tale da rappresentare per loro una garanzia di successo, grazie alla vita più evoluta e piena di sensazioni che conducono, i bambini di campagna giungono, purtroppo, a scuola come Alice nel Paese delle meraviglie. Tutto li stupisce, li spaventa, li ostacola. È il primo e più grave scoglio in cui incappano e non sempre hanno la forza di superarlo. In città, i bambini di prima classe, per la maggior parte, hanno frequentato già la scuola materna. Essa è di fondamentale importanza per il bambino. Lo accoglie nell'età in cui egli ha un vivace bisogno di esplorare, di scoprire l'ambiente che lo circonda, di muoversi e di operare. La scuola materna collabora con la famiglia e guida e sviluppa nel bambino l'immaginazione, il senso per la scoperta, l'amore per i compagni. Tramite il 'gioco e il fare' che sono i suoi mezzi di sviluppo, dà ordine ai suoi pensieri e ai suoi sentimenti, concorre, cioè, alla formazione della sua personalità ed all'educazione della volontà. Tutto questo giova moltissimo nel momento in cui il bambino entra nella scuola elementare. Egli prende subito possesso dell'ambiente nuovo, fa amicizia con i compagni, si trova a proprio agio²³.

Fondamentale l'utilizzo di mezzi come la televisione. Ormai entrata in tutte le case, scriveva un maestro nella sua relazione, «è per il bambino fonte perenne di sensazioni. I programmi per ragazzi ampliano la sua visuale, allargano la cerchia del suo ambiente, lo rendono cittadino del mondo». In campagna tutto questo non era presente: con pochi televisori e poche radio, la sua vita si svolge «in un ambito angusto: poche le sensazioni nuove, scarsi i contatti con

²² ASP, FP, Direzione didattica del 1° Circolo di Potenza. Convegno magistrale 1° Circolo Pz 23.3.1961. *Aspetto didattico pedagogico del fenomeno della inadempienza e della ripetenza*, in *Monografia e relazioni sul fenomeno della inadempienza e della ripetenza*, Potenza, 1961. Sul concetto di ripetenza: M. Ferrari, M. Morandi, M. Falanga, *Valutazione scolastica. Il concetto, la storia, la norma*, Brescia, La Scuola, 2018.

²³ ASP, FP, Direzione Didattica 2° Circolo, "Santa Maria", Potenza, *Cause ed articolazioni della ripetenza e della inadempienza nell'ultimo decennio. Studio delle cifre complessive per circolo e classi per ogni anno nel decennio dal 1950 al 1960*, in *Monografia sullo studio del fenomeno dell'inadempienza e della ripetenza nel decennio 1950-60*, Potenza, s.d. Su questo ambito scolastico: M. Ferrari, *Asili nido e scuole dell'infanzia nel primo trentennio della Repubblica italiana tra proposte educative e disposizioni normative*, in G. Zago (edd.), *L'educazione extrascolastica nella seconda metà del Novecento*, Milano, FrancoAngeli, 2017; D. Caroli, *Per una storia dell'asilo nido in Europa tra Ottocento e Novecento*, Milano, FrancoAngeli, 2014.

estranei, col mondo. I bambini di campagna e di città partono così, al momento dell'entrata a scuola, da due punti diversi. Diverso perciò è il traguardo che raggiungono»²⁴.

In generale, a livello nazionale, ancora tanti erano i progressi da farsi nella scuola dell'infanzia, anzi, «Poco o nulla si parla della educazione infantile trascurata dai partiti, dimenticata dai sindacati, non ancora oggetto di attento interesse da parte dei pedagogisti», si puntualizzava in alcuni noti studi²⁵.

Le relazioni di insegnanti e direttori didattici oltre ad evidenziare le gravi falle del sistema di istruzione lucano fornivano tutta una serie di riflessioni e ragionamenti su come provare ad uscire da quello stato di difficoltà.

Anzitutto migliorare l'edilizia scolastica. Le condizioni strutturali delle scuole non incoraggiavano di certo la frequenza: buona parte di esse erano adattate in edifici di ex conventi o stanze prese in fitto a privati dal comune. L'arredamento era spesso insufficiente; praticamente assenti le biblioteche. A Savoia di Lucania, con ben 30 inadempienti, la creazione di una scuola nella contrada Tempa, suggeriva il direttore didattico, avrebbe risolto in buona parte il problema²⁶.

Talvolta i lavori erano bloccati dalle lungaggini burocratiche. Come nel comune di Abriola ove la costruzione dell'edificio scolastico era in stallo a causa di divergenze tra il direttore dei lavori della ditta costruttrice ed il Genio Civile di Potenza²⁷, o a Senise, con «la relativa pratica che si era insabbiata negli uffici provinciali». A tale riguardo il direttore didattico così si esprimeva: «Occorre che la prassi burocratica venga snellita perché non sempre l'azione degli organi dello Stato e quella dei Comuni si integrano nel dirigere i propri poteri concorrenti per il buon fine dell'azione che la legge si preoccupa di promuovere». Tutto questo «ha impedito a molti comuni della Lucania di avere un edificio scolastico»²⁸.

Oltre all'incremento del numero delle scuole in special modo nelle zone rurali, risolutivo anche per eliminare i doppi turni, si doveva pensare ad in-

²⁴ ASP, FP, Direzione Didattica 2° Circolo, "Santa Maria", Potenza, *Cause ed articolazioni della ripetenza*, cit., in *Monografia sullo studio*, cit. Sull'argomento: L. Bravi, *La televisione educativa in Italia. Un percorso di storia sociale dell'educazione*, Roma, Anicia, 2021.

²⁵ T. Tomasi, *La scuola italiana dalla dittatura alla Repubblica (1943-48)*, Roma, Editori Riuniti, 1976, p. 208. Ed anche: F. Borruso, *Tra Rinnovamento pedagogico e Democratizzazione della scuola italiana: la testimonianza e l'operato di Dina Bertoni Jovine e Tina Tomasi*, in A. Ascenzi, R. Sani (edd.), *Inclusione e promozione sociale nel sistema formativo italiano dall'Unità a oggi*, Milano, FrancoAngeli, 2020, pp. 177-92.

²⁶ ASP, FP, b. 15, Direzione Didattica di Tito, 04.06.1958.

²⁷ ASP, FP, b. 15, Direzione Didattica Governativa di Laurenzana, 21.09.1959. G. Ciullini, *La politica di edilizia scolastica e i suoi provvedimenti legislativi (1945-1975)*, in M. Gattullo, A. Visalberghi (edd.), *La scuola italiana dal 1945 al 1983*, Firenze, La Nuova Italia, 1986, pp. 294-310.

²⁸ ASP, FP, b. 15, Direzione Didattica di Senise, 04.06.1958. V. Viola, *Un problema di "spazio". Alcune riflessioni storiografiche sull'edilizia scolastica in Italia tra Ottocento e Novecento*, in Barausse, De Freitas Ermel, Viola (edd.), *Prospettive incrociate*, cit., pp. 471-94.

crementare i sussidi dei Patronati scolastici per fornire gratuitamente libri, quaderni, vestiario e cibo agli scolari più poveri²⁹.

Nelle relazioni di docenti e dirigenti si auspicava, inoltre, l'istituzione di classi differenziali intese come sezioni poco numerose in cui fosse stato possibile «una maggiore individualizzazione dell'insegnamento» tale da richiedere un meno impegno meno gravoso da parte dello studente ma con lo scopo di dare al suo lavoro scolastico più continuità e poterne seguire meglio il recupero e l'evoluzione della sua persona³⁰.

Il maestro doveva diventare una figura centrale di riferimento non solo per la scuola, ma per l'intera comunità, al pari del sindaco e del sacerdote. Si chiedeva per gli insegnanti delle zone rurali un obbligo di permanenza di almeno 5 anni, pari ad un ciclo di scuola elementare, in modo da permettere loro di ambientarsi e capire le dinamiche del luogo. Il maestro doveva diventare

il modello da imitare, il confidente, il consigliere, e perché no, il paciere, l'agronomo e il medico dello spirito, il compagno e l'amico dei giovani, colui che conoscendo profondamente i desideri, i bisogni, i crucci e le ambizioni, in quanto con essi vive, può avere per ognuno la parola buona che frena gli impulsi o incoraggia la timidezza, che accende l'entusiasmo dei giovani e spinge a liberarsi di vecchi pregiudizi.

La permanenza lunga garantiva inoltre la continuità didattica ritenuta imprescindibile, al punto che «l'esperienza di lunghi anni di scuola dice ai maestri e ai dirigenti che gli alunni affidati anche ad un solo mediocre insegnante per tutto il corso di studio rendono molto di più di altri alunni che sono via via affidati a più maestri ricchi di genio e di cultura!», riferivano alcuni direttori didattici.

Con una maggiore permanenza il maestro imparava ad apprezzare la terra e gli alunni con cui lavorava e quando un docente «ama sinceramente i suoi scolari e ne è riamato, si occupa di essi, ne promuove la collaborazione appassionata, riesce anche ad accattivarsi la partecipazione delle famiglie, si sforza di adottare sistemi di insegnamento intelligenti e aperti che non destano noia e repulsione per lo studio». Inoltre «si adopera affinché le ore trascorse a scuola non siano noiose» ma «di lieta e operosa comunione spirituale. In tal modo le assenze diminuiranno»³¹. Al maestro doveva essere inoltre garantita la possibilità di aggiornarsi alla luce dei più recenti mezzi offerti dalla peda-

²⁹ ASP, FP, b. 15, Direzione Didattica di Tito, 04.06.1958.

³⁰ ASP, FP, b. 13, fasc. 125, Provveditorato agli Studi di Potenza, 1^a circoscrizione scolastica, *Cause ed articolazione della ripetenza*, cit., in *Monografia riassuntiva*, cit. Le classi differenziali furono abolite nel 1971. L. Ambrosoli, *La scuola in Italia dal dopoguerra ad oggi*, Bologna, il Mulino, 1982, pp. 122-123.

³¹ ASP, FP, Provveditorato agli Studi di Potenza, 1^a circoscrizione scolastica, *Aspetto didattico pedagogico del fenomeno della inadempienza e della ripetenza*, in *Monografia riassuntiva*, cit. Per un approfondimento della questione: A. Santoni Rugiu, *Maestre e maestri. La difficile storia degli insegnanti elementari*, Roma, Carocci, 2006, pp. 134-35; ed anche: A.M. Colaci, B.

gogia moderna e soprattutto non doveva essere lasciato solo nel suo lavoro, ma sostenuto e affiancato da altre figure come igienisti, psichiatri e assistenti sociali. Si suggeriva, infatti, ad ogni comune di dotarsi di almeno un centro di recupero scolastico dove svolgere attività musicali, recite, letture di racconti, nonché «quella attività fondamentale del depistage psico-pedagogico», l'intervento, cioè di una psicologa che in collaborazione con un assistente sociale e d'accordo con i maestri doveva «dedurre lo stato d'intelligenza, le deficienze fisiche e psicologiche dei ragazzi». Dato poi, che parte delle inadempienze derivavano da cattive condizioni di salute degli alunni, si rivelava necessario istituire i consorzi per medici scolastici, da abbinare, se necessario, a quelli degli uffici sanitari e dotarli di medicinali. Per chiudere il cerchio diventava imprescindibile l'attivo coinvolgimento delle famiglie, con contatti continui anche mensili.

Le scuole lucane dovevano poi aprirsi al territorio, sia in tema di attività, sia di programmi. Si ribadiva, infatti, «come esigenza di ordine generale, la necessità di dare a tutto l'insegnamento un orientamento europeistico, di educare quotidianamente 'al senso europeo e mondiale'». Fondamentale a tale riguardo «fare specialmente leva sulle materie dei programmi che più e meglio si prestano al bisogno di creare questa coscienza di solidarietà»: quindi la Storia, la Geografia, la Religione, le Scienze. Buona idea poteva essere quella di incoraggiare la corrispondenza con alunni di altre nazioni ed in lingua straniera, promuovendo lo scambio di materiale didattico, organizzando mostre o redigendo «vere e proprie monografie ricavate da informazioni ricevute da ragazzi di quella nazione». Con questi scritti, come già era tra l'altro uso nelle scuole del 1° Circolo di Potenza, dare vita a delle vere e proprie gare³².

Tanto lavoro da fare insomma, una strada in salita per la scuola lucana, ma la svolta si riteneva necessaria in quanto «deve crearsi una coscienza scolastica»³³ che ancora sul territorio latitava.

Serpe (edd.), *Mezzogiorno, scuola, educazione. Persistenze e innovazioni (1900-1960)*, Lecce, Pensa Multimedia, 2020.

³² ASP, FP, Direzione didattica del 1° Circolo di Potenza. Convegno magistrale, cit., *Inserimento della scuola elementare della provincia nelle prospettive di integrazione europea*, in *Monografia e relazioni*, cit. Più in generale, sull'argomento: Ambrosoli, *La scuola in Italia*, cit., pp. 102-104.

³³ ASP, FP, Provveditorato agli Studi di Potenza, 1^a circoscrizione scolastica, *Aspetto didattico pedagogico del fenomeno della inadempienza e della ripetenza*, in *Monografia riassuntiva*, cit. Sulla scuola italiana del secondo dopoguerra si veda anche: F. De Giorgi, *La Repubblica grigia. Cattolici, cittadinanza, educazione alla democrazia*, Brescia, La Scuola, 2016; P. Russo, *Il ministro Gonella*, in L. Bellatalla, G. Genovesi, E. Marescotti (edd.), *La scuola in Italia tra pedagogia e politica*, Milano, FrancoAngeli, 2004, pp. 53-55; L. Pazzaglia, R. Sani (edd.), *Scuola e società nell'Italia unita. Dalla Legge Casati al Centro-Sinistra*, Brescia, La Scuola, 2001.

3. Il «Piano P», l'anagrafe scolastico, i programmi del 1955

Dall'inchiesta Medici si evinceva che nel 1958, in Basilicata, il fabbisogno globale di aule delle scuole di ogni ordine e grado fosse pari a 3.969; quelle mancanti risultavano essere 2.095, ben il 52,8% del totale. Una condizione peggiore, in tutta la penisola, era presente solo in Sardegna, con il 54,2% ed in Calabria³⁴.

Una situazione, ad ogni modo, che già da qualche anno si era cercato di affrontare in maniera sistematica e radicale con i nuovi programmi scolastici del 1955, il «Piano P» e l'anagrafe scolastico, quest'ultima ritenuta risolutiva soluzione per il preciso reperimento degli inadempienti su tutto il territorio nazionale³⁵. In Basilicata non poche, tuttavia, furono le difficoltà nell'istituzione dell'anagrafe e nell'espletamento delle funzioni connesse. La prima questione era proprio stabilire gli obbligati alla frequenza in base all'età. A Sant'Arcangelo, informava con dovizia di particolari il Direttore didattico,

La rilevazione fu condotta da maestri di buona volontà, i quali, sebbene impegnati nelle quotidiane lezioni, si recarono, in ore pomeridiane e in giorni festivi, presso ogni famiglia, così com'era stato predisposto dal Superiore Ministro, per raccogliere gli elementi necessari atti alla rilevazione stessa in modo da consentire lo studio del singolo caso per le proposte da presentare ai Superiori Uffici. A ciascun gruppo d'insegnanti fu assegnato un rione dell'abitato o una zona di campagna. Un lavoro improbo, che dette risultati soddisfacenti [...].

Gli stessi maestri predisponavano quindi gli elenchi degli obbligati.

Detti elenchi vanno pubblicati in duplice copia in modo che dopo il controllo – da parte della Direzione – i maestri interessanti conservino una copia per procedere alle iscrizioni appena riaperte le scuole. A norma dell'art. 182 del T.U. Istruzione Elementare chiedo ai Sindaci, con un poco di anticipo (in giugno – prima che gli insegnanti si mettano in congedo), gli elenchi dei fanciulli che, per ragioni di età, hanno l'obbligo scolastico (sei anni al 31 dicembre dell'anno in corso o al primo gennaio dell'anno successivo). In questo lavoro, che considero delicato e di particolare importanza per il fatto che gli elenchi non sempre vengono aggiornati dai Comuni collaborano, con gl'impiegati del Comune stesso, anche i miei maestri, in modo che si ottenga una copia fedele degli elenchi, con le variazioni del caso, per far sì che nessuno sfugga al controllo.

Ad inizio anno scolastico i maestri controllavano l'iscrizione degli obbligati e scovando gli eventuali inadempienti; era poi compito della Direzione inviare

³⁴ Gallicchio, *La programmazione*, cit., p. 40; G. Medici, *Introduzione al piano di sviluppo della Scuola*, Roma, Istituto Poligrafico dello Stato, 1959, pp. 176-189. Sulla Sardegna: A. Marrone, *La lotta all'analfabetismo nella Sardegna del secondo dopoguerra: realtà, rappresentazioni e memorie*, in *Leggere, apprendere, capire il mondo. Analfabetismi e alfabetizzazioni nella storia dell'educazione*, XVIII congresso nazionale CIRSE, Università degli Studi di Reggio Emilia, Reggio Emilia, 30 gennaio – 1° febbraio 2025.

³⁵ Ordinamento delle anagrafi della popolazione residente, Legge n. 1228 del 24.12.1954, G.U., n. 8, 12.01.1955.

avvisi individuali raccomandati ai genitori e ai tutori dei bambini che non ottemperavano all'obbligo scolastico, assegnando il termine perentorio di cinque giorni per provvedere. Per i Comuni che non erano sede di circolo tale gravoso incarico competeva all'insegnante fiduciario. Per tutto il corso dell'anno si rivelava inoltre fondamentale tenere sotto controllo la frequenza «giacché l'inadempienza dell'obbligo scolastico si concreta anche in un'ingiustificata assenza, più o meno prolungata, la quale spesso prelude all'abbandono definitivo della scuola da parte dell'alunno»³⁶.

L'anagrafe per le scuole elementari imponeva un lavoro impegnativo e, per il suo funzionamento, lamentava il Direttore didattico di Tito, «non è più sufficiente l'opera del Direttore o del Segretario, ma occorre anche quella di un altro insegnante, il quale – nelle ore pomeridiane – deve controllare registri, schede e sbrigare quella fitta corrispondenza per ottenere chiarimenti atti a sistemare la posizione di ogni alunno»³⁷. Ancora, la stessa anagrafe non era esente da errori.

Non mancano i bambini che si trasferiscono in altro paese durante il periodo estivo, sfuggendo al controllo scolastico. sarebbe necessario che essi non venissero iscritti da altra scuola se non previa richiesta della scheda anagrafica alla direzione di provenienza. Spesso si riesce a sapere il paese di trasferimento dell'alunno, ma non anche la direzione dalla quale quel paese dipende. Occorrerebbe allora che il Ministro della Pubblica Istruzione pubblicasse un annuario con l'elenco di tutti i circoli didattici d'Italia e la competenza territoriale di ciascuno. L'attuale guida "D" è insufficiente perché elenca soltanto le sedi di direzione³⁸.

Alcune famiglie, nonostante lo stretto controllo, si ostinavano ancora a non mandare i loro figli a scuola; per loro, chiariva il Direttore didattico di Sant'Arcangelo «in qualche Comune ho interessato anche l'arma dei Carabinieri: è bastato che un milite girasse di casa in casa per richiamare a scuola gli'inadempienti». Per gli altri purtroppo non rimaneva che la denuncia, anche se, tuttavia, ad essa «è bene che si ricorra in casi estremi, perché più che sull'azione repressiva, bisogna fare affidamento su un'azione intelligente e costante di persuasione e d'incitamento presso le famiglie». La denuncia, inoltre, doveva essere sporta dall'Ispettore scolastico, «e ciò richiede, purtroppo, un lavoro gravoso per l'intera Circoscrizione». Tra l'altro il dirigente faceva notare come la procedura legata alla denuncia fosse piuttosto lenta e non serviva a riportare

³⁶ ASP, FP, b. 15, Direzione Didattica di S. Arcangelo, 10.07.1958.

³⁷ ASP, FP, b. 15, Direzione Didattica di Tito, 04.06.1958. Per un più approfondito quadro della situazione educativa del tempo, si rimanda a: V. Persichella, *L'obbligo del diploma. Scuola di massa, lavoro e trasformazione sociale nel Mezzogiorno*, Bari, De Donato, 1978; Formez, *La scuola di completamento dell'obbligo nel Mezzogiorno*, Roma, Formez, 1969.

³⁸ ASP, FP, b. 15, Direzione Didattica di Tito, 12.06.1958.

gli studenti a scuola nell'immediato. Infatti ancora non si conosceva l'esito dei 32 denunciati di Sant'Arcangelo a distanza di mesi³⁹.

Come si comportavano le famiglie che ricevevano il provvedimento giudiziario? Delucidazioni sulla loro utilità le forniva il Direttore didattico di Avigliano.

Le prime denunce, che furono un'assoluta novità, determinarono nell'ambiente rurale prima uno stordimento, poi una paura, ma al primo fioccare di ammende i fanciulli furono mandati a scuola, anche se qualche genitore osò venire in ufficio, con aria minacciosa, a protestare. Però le poche denunce tonificarono l'ambiente: i rurali compresero che l'inadempienza all'obbligo scolastico è un reato punibile a norma di legge e, innanzi tutto, compresero che il reato non rimaneva segreto ma veniva scoperto. Adagio, adagio si è fatta strada la convinzione che è assolutamente necessario mandare i figli a scuola. [...] ormai i rurali sono coscienti del loro lavoro in tale campo⁴⁰.

A volte risultava umanamente complicato denunciare alcune famiglie per la loro estrema indigenza.

Le condizioni di alcune famiglie sono tali da esigere che ogni figliuolo si guadagni il "tozzo di pane" che mangia, accudendo i fratellini minori, mentre la mamma si sottopone ai faticosi lavori agricoli, o attendendo al pascolo dei pochi capi di bestiame, che costituiscono l'unica risorsa. E quando tali condizioni ci sono note, non si ha più il coraggio di denunciare i genitori dell'inadempiente che, qualora dovesse pagare la multa, dovrebbe limitare il pane ai figliuoli⁴¹.

Nel gennaio del 1955 fu varato dal Ministero della P.I. il cosiddetto «piano P», al fine di migliorare la condizione dell'educazione elementare in alcune province italiane classificate come «scolasticamente depresse»⁴². Così nel triennio 1955-58, in aggiunta ai normali stanziamenti, alle città meridionali coinvolte nel Piano (vi erano anche Potenza e Matera) furono assegnate 400 milioni di lire per i Patronati, 130 milioni per la Scuola materna, 663 milioni per scuole rurali più altri piccoli interventi per un totale di 1 miliardo e quattrocento milioni. A ciò si aggiunse la nuova istituzione di 7.770 nuove classi di cui 4.721 nella sola Italia meridionale⁴³.

A supporto del «Piano P» fu inoltre decisa una strutturale riforma del percorso elementare: la legge n. 303 del 14.06.1955 sancì, infatti, che si passasse da una suddivisione 3+2 (ciclo triennale e poi ciclo biennale) al suo opposto,

³⁹ ASP, FP, b. 15, Direzione Didattica di S. Arcangelo, 10.07.1958.

⁴⁰ ASP, FP, b. 15, Direzione didattica di Avigliano.

⁴¹ ASP, FP, b. 15, Direzione Didattica di Pietragalla, 30.04.1958.

⁴² A. Frajese, *Dal piano "P" al piano decennale per la scuola*, in «Prospettive meridionali», n. 12, 1958, pp. 7-8; P. Russo, *Il dibattito sul piano decennale di sviluppo della scuola (1959-1969)*, in G. Genovesi (ed.), *Pedagogia e scuola in una società di massa. Dibattiti e prospettive nel Novecento italiano*, Milano, FrancoAngeli, 2002, pp. 38-56.

⁴³ Provveditorato agli Studi di Matera, *L'edilizia e l'assistenza scolastica in provincia di Matera. Realizzazioni e prospettive*, Matera, Montemurro, 1960.

2+3, ma con l'introduzione di un esame per il passaggio dal primo al secondo ambito di studi. All'interno dei cicli la bocciatura non era possibile «se non in casi di gravi anomalie psico-fisiche»⁴⁴.

Conclusioni

L'anagrafe scolastica, i cicli ed il «piano P», secondo molti insegnanti lucani, incisero «modificando e quasi annullando il fenomeno della inadempienza riducendo sensibilmente quello della ripetenza». In special modo «la costruzione di numerosissimi edifici scolastici nelle frazioni e nei comuni minori ha esercitato una azione di potente attrazione verso le scuole di numerosi alunni che erano endemicamente inadempienti [...]». L'inadempienza, che relativamente alla Circostrizione scolastica di Potenza era del 4,25%, nel 1959-60, comunque preoccupante, risultava ad ogni modo diminuito sensibilmente rispetto al 7,8% dell'anno scolastico 1955-56. In sostanza gli evasori dell'obbligo scolastico, nella circostrizione in questione, si erano ridotti a due categorie: gli ammalati e gli anormali⁴⁵.

Per queste due categorie di inadempienti la condizione rimaneva ancora molto complicata ed incerta; al momento non si vedeva altra soluzione se non quella dei collegi scuola «simili a quelli già funzionanti a Maratea e a Potenza, dove potrebbero aver vita scuole differenziali per minorati fisici e psichici [...]». Sarebbero così recuperati alla società elementi che ora vivono ai margini della vita civile e che invece potrebbero essere inseriti come soggetti attivi nella collettività»⁴⁶.

⁴⁴ ASP, FP, Provveditorato agli Studi di Potenza, 1^a Circostrizione scolastica, *Cause ed articolazione della ripetenza*, cit., in *Monografia riassuntiva*, cit.; sui programmi del 1955: F. Pruneri, *La scuola elementare*, in F. De Giorgi, A. Gaudio, F. Pruneri (edd.), *Manuale di storia della Scuola italiana*, Brescia, Scholé, 2019, pp. 159-61; G. Trebisacce, *Innovazione pedagogica e realizzazioni educative nella scuola del Mezzogiorno nel secondo dopoguerra: gli anni '40 e '50*, in F. Frabboni, F. Pinto, G. Trebisacce (edd.), *Sistema formativo e Mezzogiorno*, Firenze, La Nuova Italia, 1990, pp. 3-10.

⁴⁵ ASP, FP, Provveditorato agli Studi di Potenza, 1^a Circostrizione scolastica, *Cause ed articolazione della ripetenza*, cit., in *Monografia riassuntiva*, cit. Per una ricostruzione storica ed un moderno approccio alla scuola inclusiva si rimanda a: C. De Luca, G. Spadafora, *Le questioni della scuola inclusiva tra possibilità e sostenibilità. Per un nuovo paradigma educativo*, in C. De Luca, G. Domenici, G. Spadafora, *Per una inclusione sostenibile*, Roma, Anicia, 2023, pp. 31-48.

⁴⁶ ASP, FP, Provveditorato agli Studi di Potenza, 1^a Circostrizione scolastica, *Cause ed articolazione della ripetenza*, cit., in *Monografia riassuntiva*, cit.; E. Gallicchio, *I Collegi scuola in Basilicata*, Cosenza, Pellegrini, 1979. Per un quadro più ampio: M. Gelati, *Dall'inserimento all'integrazione scolastica degli alunni disabili*, in L. Bellatalla (ed.), *La scuola in Italia tra pedagogia e politica*, Milano, FrancoAngeli, 2006.

Social Studies Lessons at Pazarören Village Institute in Turkey: An Oral History Study

Elvan Yalçinkaya
Department of Social Studies
Education
Erciyes University
Kayseri (Turkey)
elvanykaya@erciyes.edu.tr

Durdu Celalettin Aslan
Department of Social Studies
Education
Erciyes University
Kayseri (Turkey)
celalettin1987aslan@gmail.com

Hayati Samur
Department of Social Studies
Education
Erciyes University
Kayseri (Turkey)
samurhayati@outlook.com

ABSTRACT: This study examines the historical perspective of social studies lessons taught at Pazarören Village Institute. The research is based on oral history interviews with a graduated teacher from the institute. The study seeks to understand the content of the social studies lessons, teaching methods used, extracurricular activities, and the impact of the lessons on students. During the interview, information was gathered about how the lessons were conducted, what materials were used, how teaching techniques were shaped, and how the social studies course contributed to the development of the village community. Additionally, the teacher's thoughts on the educational philosophy of the village institutes and the role of social studies in modern education are also explored. This study aims to understand better the educational philosophy and practices of social studies lessons at Pazarören Village Institute. Based on the findings of this study, contemporary

education systems, especially in rural areas, can be inspired by the village institute model. In addition, conducting more oral history research with other teachers or graduates of Pazarören Village Institute can better understand the education system's impact and ideas for improving contemporary education methods.

EET/TEE KEYWORDS: Village Institutes; Social Studies Education; Oral History Research; Applied Education; Turkey; XX Century.

Introduction

Village Institutes and schools had an essential place in the history of Turkish education. These schools were multidimensional institutions that aimed to raise competent individuals with the education they offered to pre-service teachers in different departments in their time. In line with this purpose, they adopted the motto of raising «teacher leaders» in society. Village institutes, among the most prominent institutions, reflecting the basic philosophy of the early Turkish Republic period, aim to educate teachers to guide people living in rural areas in connection with this basic philosophy that came to the fore in its establishment¹. As teachers trained in village institutes as guiding individuals started to work in rural areas, significant progress was made in ensuring social unity and solidarity and adopting democratic values for the people in the society². In other words, teachers trained in village institutes played an essential role in raising individuals who would protect the fundamental values of the Republic.

Pazarören Village Institute was also founded with this purpose in 1940 in the Pazarören district of Kayseri. Pazarören Village Institute is one of the important village institutes in Turkey's educational history. Established in the 1940s, the village institutes aimed to raise the academic level in rural areas and introduce villagers to modern education. Pazarören and other village institutes made significant contributions to the development of the rural regions and played an essential role in the modernization of education. Today, the village institutes are recognized as a key step in Turkey's educational development, offering a model for educational reform. In the 1950s, the village institutes began to be closed due to political reasons and the changing educational approach of the government. Pazarören Village Institute was closed in 1954.

¹ A. Turhal, *An Alternative Model in Turkish Education History: Village Institutes*, «Manisa Celal Bayar University Faculty of Education Journal», vol. 4, n. 2, 2016, pp. 18-21; E. Kanbolat, *Primary Education in Turkey from the Alphabet Revolution to Village Institutes (1928-1940)*. PhD diss., Istanbul University, 2015, Yök Thesis Center, Thesis n. 416083, pp. 1-10.

² A.Z. Tunç, *Art Education in Village Institutes and the Approaches of the Period's Administrators to Art*, «Dokuz Eylül University Buca Faculty of Education Journal», vol. 26, 2009, pp. 30-34.

In 1942, President İsmet İnönü visited Pazarören Village Institute.



Pic. 1. President İsmet İnönü's visit to the school (from the school archives).

This visit was made to demonstrate his commitment to the education system and to observe the educational philosophy of the village institutes firsthand. During the visit, İnönü observed the institutes' core principles and educational activities, conversed with teachers and students, and gathered information about the school's operations. He also emphasized the role of village institutes in Turkey's development and reiterated his support for educational reform movements.

At Pazarören Village Institute, students received practical education and theoretical knowledge. Most of their education occurred in villages where they could engage with real-life rural experiences. The institute also provided training in agriculture, livestock, and other fields. In addition, students participated in cultural activities such as theater and music to support their social and cultural development.

This school, established in Pazarören in Kayseri province, includes the post office, sickrooms, administrative building, cooperative building, classrooms, and dormitories.



Pic. 2. Pazarören Village Institute, <<https://tarihikeyseri.blogspot.com/2013/08/kayseri-pazaroren-koy-enstitusu.html>>³.

Considering the conditions of Turkey at that time, it was a school with relatively abundant resources. Physical facilities were provided to ensure the students' development in multiple dimensions. The school has a library, gymnasium, farm, cinema hall, and electricity generation facility. Additionally, alongside core subjects such as mathematics, science, social studies, and language, there were arts, agriculture, and sewing teachers at the school. The school also had a full-time doctor. Students learned basic health knowledge from the doctor in the infirmary.

³ In this photo, you can see the following buildings: 1 Post office, 2 Sickrooms, 3 Administrative building, 4 Cooperative building and 5 Classrooms and Dormitories.



Pic. 3. Teachers of Pazarören Village Institute, <<https://tarihikeyseri.blogspot.com/2013/08/pzaroren-koy-enstitusu-ogretmenleri.html?q=pazar%C3%B6ren>>⁴.

According to the Village Institutes Education Program, which took place in 1943, a total of five years (260 weeks) of theoretical and practical education was planned. Of this period, 114 weeks were dedicated to cultural subjects, 58 weeks to agricultural courses and practices, 58 weeks to technical classes and practices, and 30 weeks to holidays. While farming and technical courses were taught to help farmers engage in modern agricultural activities, the program also aimed to organize farmers in production sectors and instill a contemporary development approach through agricultural business economics and cooperatives⁵.

Teachers trained in village institutes are not only people who are limited to the school and instructional field but also educational heroes equipped with different life skills who can set an example to society with their contemporary personality in the places where they work⁶. Therefore, as a reflection of the

⁴ In Photo 3, they are 1 Mustafa Dayıoğlu (director), 2 Seyfi Söylemez (school doctor), 3 Kadir Göle (art teacher) and 4 Muazzez Hanım (sewing teacher).

⁵ S. Hovardaoğlu Çalışır, *A Rural History Research on the Socio-Spatial Impacts of Pazarören Village Institute (1938-1954)*, «Tarih Okulu Dergisi», vol. XIX, 2014, p. 586.

⁶ Y. Akyüz, *Turkish Educational History*, Ankara, Pegem A Publishing, 2011, pp. 392-396; E. Mildivanlı Akdoğan, *Educational Philosophy in Village Institutes and the Teaching of History and Citizenship Knowledge*, PhD diss., Atatürk University, 2016. Yök Thesis Center, Thesis n. 429630, pp. 3-20.

education they received, teachers trained in village institutes are individuals who know how to cultivate the soil, animal husbandry, and carpentry⁷. Starting their professions with a command of different life skills provided teachers who graduated from village institutes with the ease of adaptation to where they began to work and paved the way for them to be an example to society⁸.



Pic. 4. Students working in the fields (from the school archives).

At Pazarören Village Institute, social studies lessons were designed to contribute to the education of rural communities by focusing on both theoretical and practical aspects of social development. In these classes, students learned about rural life and social structures while developing a sense of social responsibility. In this context, social studies held a significant place in the curriculum of the village institutes because raising individuals equipped with multiple life

⁷ S. Çetin, A. Kahya, *Village Institutes as a Rural Modernization Project: A New Attempt at Meaning-Making Through the Aksu and Gönen Examples*, «METU Journal of the Faculty of Architecture», vol. 34, n. 1, 2021, pp. 133-162; S. Kartal, *A Different Educational Institution in Community Development: Village Institutes*, «Mersin University Journal of the Faculty of Education», vol. 4, n. 1, 2008, pp. 23-36.

⁸ C. Mercanoğlu, G. Şimşek, *The Village Institutes Experience as a Planning Example*, «Planning Journal», vol. 28, n. 3, 2018, pp. 261-281.

skills who have adapted to the conditions of the age is among the main goals of social studies education⁹.



Pic. 5. Students learning woodworking (from the school archives).

Social studies is a course that covers multiple fields such as history, geography, sociology, psychology, and economics and aims to ensure the complete adaptation of the individual to society and acts by building a bridge between the past and the present to achieve this goal¹⁰. Although the roots of social studies in Turkish educational history date back to the Tanzimat period, the idea of teaching social studies as a separate discipline and course was first

⁹ L. Jay, *The Disciplinary and Critical Divide in Social Studies Teacher Education Research: A Review of the Literature from 2009–2019*, «Theory & Research in Social Education», vol. 50, n. 3, 2022, pp. 399-374; E. Çıydem, S. Kaymakçı, *An Evaluation on the Orientation of Social Studies Course in Turkey*, «İnsan ve İnsan», vol. 27, 2021, pp. 179-207.

¹⁰ D. Krutka, S. Metzger, Z. Seitz, *Technology Inevitably Involves Trade-Offs: The Framing of Technology in Social Studies Standards*, «Theory & Research in Social Education», vol. 50, n. 2, 2022, pp. 226-254; L.P. Jay, *What do social studies methods instructors know and do? Teacher educators' PCK for facilitating historical discussions*, «Theory & Research in Social Education», 2023, vol. 51, pp. 72-99.

discussed in the V. Education Council held in 1953¹¹. In this council, it was criticized that different subjects currently taught under the *knowledge of life* course in primary education were spread to other classes, such as history, geography, and citizenship in secondary school. It was suggested that these areas should be combined under the social studies course in secondary school. At this point, the social studies course was included for the first time in the 1953 Teachers' Schools and Village Institutes Program (Turkish Ministry of National Education [MEB], 1953). The social studies lessons at Pazarören Village Institute aimed to teach academic knowledge and develop students' sense of social responsibility and leadership skills. Education was seen as preparation for raising villagers' educational levels and contributing to rural communities' development. Students applied what they learned in their villages, acquiring the skills to confront social problems and generate solutions.

The primary aim of the village institutes was not only to teach students theoretical knowledge but also to prepare environments where students could apply what they learned at school and to realize a teaching based on real-life skills. In this respect, the type of education that stands out in village institutes is applied education¹². Applied education allows students to transfer what they learn in the school environment directly to daily life and evaluate themselves by drawing original conclusions from these transfers¹³. The importance of applied education comes to the fore in acquiring specialized skills to be gained in any profession. Specialization is a long process that includes theoretical, practical, and metacognitive elements. The structure of applied education, which combines theoretical values with practical applications, facilitates individuals in achieving expertise¹⁴.

During the 5-year education process in village institutes, in addition to culture courses, agricultural courses, and practical training, teaching method courses, technical professions, and practices were equally offered to individuals¹⁵. In the courses where practical methods were emphasized, students were given feedback during and at the end of the process. It was important for students to demonstrate thoroughly the skills required for the relevant courses¹⁶.

¹¹ Çıydem, Kaymakçı, *An Evaluation on the Orientation of Social Studies Course in Turkey*, cit., p. 180.

¹² Turhal, *An Alternative Model in Turkish Education History: Village Institutes*, cit., pp. 18-19.

¹³ M. Schwichow, C. Zimmerman, S. Croker, H. Härtig. *What Students Learn from Hands-On Activities*, «Journal of Research in Science Teaching», vol. 53, n. 7, 2016, pp. 980-982.

¹⁴ N. Katajavuori, S. Lindblom-Ylänne, J. Hirvonen. *The Significance of Practical Training in Linking Theoretical Studies with Practice*, «Higher Education», vol. 51, n. 3, 2006, pp. 439-443.

¹⁵ P. Bilir, *The New Physical Education Curriculum and Evaluation of Physical Education Lessons in Village Institutes in Terms of Constructivist Teaching Approach*, «SPORMETRE Journal of Physical Education and Sports Sciences», vol. 6, n. 3, 2008, pp. 145-150.

¹⁶ A. Çoban, *An Examination of the Village Institutes as a Teacher Training Policy Exam-*

Thanks to the education provided in the village institutes, individuals started to specialize in various occupations and careers, especially teaching, at a very early age.

In addition to being a prominent method in the Village Institutes, applied education is a teaching method that can significantly contribute to the social studies course in achieving educational goals. The primary reason for this is that social studies is a discipline that emphasizes reflective thinking skills¹⁷. The critical factor in reflective thinking is adapting the knowledge learned at school to daily life. The structure of social studies that is not disconnected from daily life will ensure that reflective thinking skills are emphasized¹⁸.

The research aims to evaluate the approach to social studies as a course during the period of village institutes and to reveal the adventure of social studies according to the conditions of the period from the teacher who graduated from the village institutes with the oral history method. This study, which examines the historical relationship between the Village Institute and social studies, addresses several key questions. These include the courses provided to teacher candidates, whether social studies was part of the curriculum and its related fields, the teaching methods and techniques used in social studies classes at the village institutes, and which teaching tools were more commonly used in the lessons. Additionally, out-of-classroom teaching methods, such as field trips and observations, are also examined. The study aims to understand the role of social studies in the Village Institute period, the teaching methods employed, and the impact of this period on teachers' professional lives.

When we examined the literature on the subject, we discovered that the studies conducted with village institutes and social studies were curriculum comparative studies¹⁹. In the oral history research method studies, we realized that the researchers discussed the village institutes in a general framework regarding education and training²⁰. In this study, we examined the period of village institutes in the social studies course using oral history research. This examination will bring an essential contribution to social studies education.

ple, «Kastamonu Education Journal», vol. 19, n. 2, 2011, pp. 449-458.

¹⁷ D. Bekiroğlu, N.Ü. Güllühan, *Trends of Thinking Skills in Social Studies and Life Studies Courses: A Meta-Synthesis Study*, «Thinking Skills and Creativity», vol. 45, n. 1, 2022, pp. 85-103.

¹⁸ S. Mathews, C. McGill, *Honestly, I Had a Very Strong Reaction to This Reading: Social Studies Pre-Service Teachers' Application of Literacy Frameworks While Engaging with a Graphic Textbook*, «Journal of Adolescent & Adult Literacy», vol. 65, n. 5, 2022, pp. 431-439.

¹⁹ See for example: C. Mısırlıoğlu, *Köy Enstitüleri Hakkında Değerlendirmeler (1940-1950)*, MS thesis. Necmettin Erbakan University (Turkey), 2018; Çiydem, Kaymakçı, *An Evaluation on the Orientation of Social Studies Course in Turkey*, cit.

²⁰ S. Uygun, *A Oral History Study on the Teaching Profession in Turkey*, PhD diss., Ankara University, 2003, Yök Thesis Center, Thesis n. 127835; M. Göksu Metin, *Out-of-Classroom Learning Environments: The Example of Village Institutes*, «Turkish History Education Journal», vol. 9, n. 1, 2020, pp. 1-16.

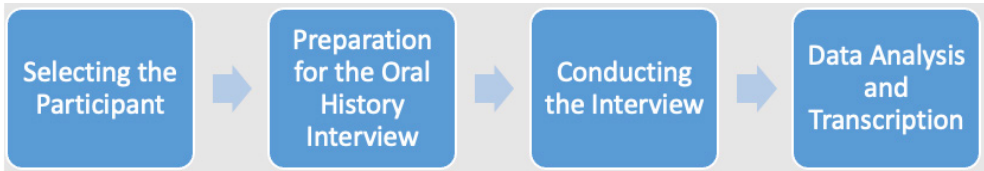
1. Method

1.1. Research Model

In this study, we conducted qualitative research using the oral history research method to examine how the social studies course was conducted during the period of village institutes. Oral history research is a method that aims to explore and evaluate a subject in detail through extensive interviews within a specific system²¹. The questions used in oral history research should be selected to ensure meaningful and effective use away from directing the participant²². Oral history research is a method that offers the researcher essential opportunities for a better understanding of history. The reason for this is that with the oral history method, the participant's experiences on any subject in the past are recorded, deciphered, and archived with their permission²³. In this sense, oral history is a contribution made by making sense of the past to understand the present better and guide the future in a better way²⁴.

1.2. Research Process

Oral history gathers data based on individuals' experiences to bring past traces to the present. Conducting an oral history study with a retired teacher who studied at Pazarören Village Institute would provide valuable insights into the educational understanding, social structure, and contributions of the village institutes to the education system. The following steps were followed for this study:



Pic. 6. Stages of oral history research.

²¹ Uygun, *A Oral History Study on the Teaching Profession in Turkey*, cit.

²² See for example: T. Tonbul, *A Oral History Study on the Problems of Teachers Working in the Third Service Region (1995-2005)*, Master's thesis, Fırat University, 2010. Yök Thesis Center, Thesis n. 285893; A. Yıldız, *An Oral History Study with Cyprus Veterans of the 50th Infantry Regiment in the 1974 Cyprus Peace Operation*, Master's thesis, İstanbul Bilgi University, 2022. Yök Thesis Center, Thesis n. 760236.

²³ See: H. Demirci, *The Kazakh Family and Child Rearing in the Sociocultural Change Process (Oral History Study)*, PhD diss., Erciyes University, 2013. Yök Thesis Center, Thesis n. 340241; A.C. Altınok, *The Teaching Profession from the Perspective of Teachers Who Worked in the 1970s: An Oral History Study*, PhD diss., Erciyes University, 2013. Yök Thesis Center, Thesis n. 567042.

²⁴ See: S. Counce, *Oral History and the Local Historian*, İstanbul, Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2008.

Using the oral history research method outlined in the study, we conducted two independent interviews with a retired teacher (90 years old) who graduated from Pazarören Village Institute in Pınarbaşı district of Kayseri province. He is not alive now. Both interviews were conducted at the participant's home to ensure a more intimate environment and to obtain more reliable information, given the participant's advanced age. The interview focused on the teacher's narratives, and guiding questions were asked when necessary. The participants were allowed to share their memories, and the interview was recorded. Efforts were made to ensure that the participant felt comfortable throughout the interview. Additionally, clarifications were provided during the process to prevent any misunderstandings. The interviews were recorded with the participant's permission and digitized for analysis (Picture 6).

Some of the demographic characteristics expressed by the participant with his consent are as follows: «My name is Veli Yalçın. I am 90 years old. I was born in Kılıçkaya village in the Develi district of Kayseri. My father was a farmer. My mother was a housewife. At that time, my family was quite crowded compared to today. We were nine siblings from the same mother and father. I am married, and I have three children».

1.3. Data Collection Tool and Data Analysis

This study used a semi-structured interview with 16 questions in 4 parts to reveal the relationship between the Village Institutes and the social studies course. Open-ended questions were prepared for use in the interview. The questions included the teacher's memories and observations based on his experiences. We also consulted three education experts for the interview questions. We evaluated the data we obtained through the interviews we conducted by subjecting them to content analysis. As a result of this evaluation, we revealed the themes related to the Village Institutes period and the social studies course, and we examined these themes under four main headings. These headings are as follows: Admission of Students to Village Institutes, Education and Training in the Period of Village Institutes, Social Studies Teaching during the Village Institutes Period, Perspectives of Teachers Graduated from Village Institutes on Education-Teaching and Social Studies Course in their Professional Lives.

2. Findings

2.1. Admission of Students to Village Institutes

The participant made the following statements about himself:

As a child, I did not have a dream job or a professional goal. The fact that the generation before us did not have anyone who set goals for themselves was a situation that affected us at this point. My education life was tough during my childhood due to economic conditions. We couldn't even find a piece of paper to use while studying. In the past, our elders used to have documents that they rolled up to smoke tobacco. Most of the time, we used those tobacco papers to study.

Based on the participant's responses, they could not set a professional goal due to challenging living conditions and the absence of a role model. Additionally, the living conditions in rural areas during the participant's childhood were arduous, as evidenced by the lack of even basic study materials.

In response to the question, «What were your reasons for choosing the teaching profession?» the participant gave the following answers:

One day, news spread in our village. That students would be admitted to the village institutes through an exam. I wanted to take the exam, but my father was against the idea at first because I was helping him in farming. Nevertheless, four people from our village and I went to Develi to take the exam. The exam went well for all five of us. Seventy-five people from Develi took the exam, and five from our village succeeded. We were first asked questions about our father's and mother's origins in the exam. Then, we were asked if we wanted to study. We said that we wanted to study a lot and that most of the people in our village were farmers. We said that we wanted different professions than them and that at least if we studied, the next generation could take us as an example and turn to study.

The participant overcame familial obstacles to attend the interview exam, the first step towards their professional orientation. The reason for the emergence of this obstacle is economic, as it arises from the need for a labor force in farming. During the interview exam, participants were asked general questions and were allowed to discuss their reasons for wanting to pursue a career in teaching. This may have been done to evaluate their self-expression skills and interest in teaching.

Pazarören Village Institute was established by law in 1940 and accepted students from Kayseri, Sivas, Yozgat, Kırşehir and Niğde. The institute began training teachers in the Pazarören Regional Boarding School, built in the 1930s and referred to as the Main Building by those who studied there. As a result of the increasing number of students and the institute's desire to train teachers comprehensively, it was soon expanded to cover a vast area within the town of Pazarören²⁵.

²⁵ Hovardaoğlu Çalışır, *A Rural History Research on the Socio-Spatial Impacts of Pazarören Village Institute (1938-1954)*, cit., p. 586; T. Kurşuncu, *The Village Institutes Project and an Example as Pazarören Village Institute*, Master's thesis, Aksaray University, 2018. Yök Thesis Center, Thesis n. 541746.

In addition to this structural information, the participant also shared the following views:

The village teacher's school I attended was located in the town of Pazarören in Pınarbaşı district. Situated in the city's center, the school had a vast area with a central building in the middle. Afterward, new buildings were added around this main building according to need. The health center, police station building, and dormitories for new students were among the buildings lined up around the main building. We also had a farm located a little further away from the town. On this farm, we would learn about agriculture and animal husbandry. However, the situation of my friends and I from the same village differed slightly from that of the other students. Because of our life in the town, we sometimes switched from being learners to being teachers. We often supported the staff working on the farm.

The participant provided objective information on the physical characteristics and functioning of Pazarören Village Institute, which was consistent with the literature. In addition, another finding was that the participant used the advantage of having grown up in the village in his education at the institute's farm.

2.2. Courses Taught in Village Institutes and Teaching Methods Used in the Courses

The type of people that the village institutes wanted to raise were not individuals who focused on only one field or one skill, but leaders equipped with different skills and knowledge. Therefore, the education given in village institutes covers multiple fields and provides individuals with the requirements of various professional skills in terms of practice. In this sense, the participant stated the following about the subject:

We took many theoretical and practical courses, including Turkish, History, Geography, Social Studies and Science. The training we received was not only related to the teaching profession. We were trained in different occupations, from agricultural practices to carpentry. Our teaching method differed from lesson to lesson. In theoretical courses, if we were teaching in the classroom, the oral lecture method came to the fore, while in vocational courses such as agriculture, animal husbandry, and carpentry, practical training was at the forefront. Sometimes, theoretical and vocational courses were combined. For example, while we were learning area calculations in math class, we would suddenly find ourselves planting saplings in the school garden.

It is evident from the participant's views that courses in various fields were taught during the village institute period and that social studies and its related fields, such as history and geography, were among these courses. Theoretical courses primarily employed the oral lecture method, while vocational training-oriented courses focused on practical training. At times, the combination

of theoretical courses and practical courses is a feature that can increase the permanence of learning by providing concretization.

2.3. Situation of Village Institutes Regarding Extracurricular Methods and Techniques

The education philosophy prevalent in village institutes shares similarities with the constructivist approach to education, which has influenced many contemporary teaching methods and techniques applied in the present day. In this regard, it was inevitable that the village institutes also employed methods and techniques that facilitated and concretized learning, such as travel and observation. Participant opinions on the matter are as follows:

Although we used observation and travel, the travel method had special importance in our village institutes. Sometimes, we would visit village schools in nearby villages and stay there for two or three months. During these trips, we would see how a village teacher lived in the towns and how they met their food and drink needs, and we would also learn how to light a stove. In the school environment, we received the answers to the question of how to explain lessons to a primary school student directly from both the teachers in the school and the educators working in the village institutes who led us.

The participant's views indicate that the travel-observation method was prominent in teaching during the village institute period. This was due to the principle of on-site teaching, where pre-service teachers were taken to village schools to observe village life and teaching practices.

2.4. The Courses Relevant to Social Studies in Village Institutes

In terms of general characteristics, social studies is a multifaceted discipline that includes a variety of knowledge. The versatility of social studies stems from the fact that it covers different disciplines and subjects. According to the Ministry of National Education [MNE], social studies learning areas include social sciences such as history, geography, economics, sociology, anthropology, psychology, philosophy, political science, law, human rights, citizenship, and democracy. In this context, while examining the courses that the social studies course was related to during the period of the village institutes, we used the MNE's definition of social studies learning areas as a basis. Accordingly, the participant in the study stated the following about the courses that social studies was related to during the period of the village institutes: «The courses such as history, geography, sociology that we had in the village institutes were related to social studies». This opinion proves that some of the courses in the

curriculum of the village institutes were related to the learning areas of the social studies course.

2.5. The Teaching of Social Studies Courses in Village Institutes

The conduct of social studies in village institutes is similar to the conduct of other theoretical courses. The participant stated the following in this regard:

Oral lecturing and question-answer methods were used predominantly in this process. The teacher would present the lesson in general terms based on the oral expression method and ask whether we understood the subject. For example, in Geography, the teacher would first draw a map on the board and then ask us to draw the same map. The maps usually varied from near to far. We would draw a map of the town we were in or of distant countries worldwide.

According to the participant's explanations, the oral teaching technique and the question-answer technique are at the forefront of social studies classes. It is also understood that the principle of near-far is taken as a principle in geography teaching.

2.6. The use of out-of-class Teaching Methods in Social Studies Courses in Village Institutes

In educational terms, out-of-class teaching techniques facilitate teaching because they provide concretization in almost every field, regardless of the field and time they are used. Due to this concrete effect, it is a standard teaching method in village institutes. At this point, in some field courses where social studies are emphasized in the village institutes, the travel observation method, one of the extracurricular teaching methods, is used. The participant's opinion in connection with the subject is as follows:

In the sociology course, within the scope of the social studies course, we would attend weddings and national holiday celebrations to follow the culture of the region where the village institute was located more closely. We could follow the local and folk dances played in these places. While doing this, we were not a classical audience. We were asked to focus on festivals and weddings with the eyes of a social scientist. Sometimes, we were even involved in the folk dances. I learned about the region's local "halay" (Turkish Folk Dance) from the experiences I gained from my impressions here. Later, when I returned to the village where I was born, I applied what I had learned to the festivals there. I was the student who played the local halay of the Pazarören region, the best at the village institute. People in my village would admire the halays my friends and I played together.

The participant's answers revealed that he made purposeful observations by attending local weddings and festivals. Participating in weddings and festivals is not only an unforgettable memory in the eyes of the participant but also a value that contributes to learning and adapting to the region's culture. Since the teaching and transmission of culture is an essential aspect of sociology and social studies, it is possible to trace the teaching of sociology and, thus, social studies directly in the village institutes.

2.7. Situation of Teachers Graduated from Village Institute Mentioning Social Studies to Their Students

Many of the subjects and skills taught to prospective teachers during the Village Institute period are the subjects and skills that they will use effectively in their professional lives. This means they will use the social studies subjects they encounter in their student and professional lives. The participant's opinions on this subject are as follows:

I would talk to my students about various areas of social studies, such as history, geography, citizenship, etc. The life science course was positioned where the social studies course was at the forefront. The lessons we taught at a more general level in the lower grades were covered more comprehensively in the 4th and 5th grades. History, geography, and citizenship were prominent topics in this course.

Looking at the teachers' opinions, we can see that social studies are among the courses that the participants have taught and mentioned in their professional life, and that social studies, which are included in the life science course in the first three years of primary education, are designed as a separate course in the following years.

2.8. Teachers Graduated from Village Institutes Seeing Social Studies as Important in Instructional Meaning

Since it was a course I saw as related to life, I attached great importance to teaching the social studies course and its associated fields to my students correctly. Especially in history, I ensured that students learned the War of Independence and Kemalism subjects well. For me, as a teacher, a Turkish child learning about their founding father (Atatürk) was a value that came before everything else.

According to the participant's response, it is observed that he considers the social studies course necessary in terms of teaching. The participant's state-

ment that «a Turkish child learning about his/her founding father (Atatürk) was a value that came before everything else» proves that history topics about Atatürk are essential to the participant.

2.9. Methods Used by Teachers Graduated from Village Institutes in Social Studies Course

The oral expression method was at the forefront among the teaching methods I emphasized in the classroom. I often preferred the question-answer method to differentiate the teaching process. Sometimes, I expected the groups to draw a picture of the subject I was explaining; sometimes, I expected them to prepare a written text and present the subject orally through this text. I often preferred the debate method in group work. The fact that the students were active during the lessons was important for learning.

From the answers given by the participant, it is seen that the method she mainly uses in the social studies course is the oral expression method. The participant teacher uses the question-and-answer method to enrich the lecture and to activate the students in the teaching process through group work and debate methods.

2.10. Usage of Extracurricular Teaching Techniques in Social Studies Courses by Teachers Graduated from Village Institutes

I have often used techniques such as field trips and observations throughout my teaching life, regardless of the course. Social Studies course and its related fields were among the courses in which I used field trips and observations. Since I mainly worked in village schools during my professional life, we organized trips to lakes, rivers, and hills near the village to learn about the surface features around us. Concretizing the subjects we covered in the lesson in this way made it easier for children to learn.

It is observed that the participant uses extracurricular teaching methods such as travel and observation in his teaching. It is observed that the teacher who organizes trips to the rivers, lakes, and hills in the villages where he works with his students states that these trips facilitate learning by concretizing learning.

Conclusion

When considering the educational aspect of village institutes, the approach to education emphasized in these institutions is similar to the constructivist approach, which aims to make the student an active participant. These institutes aim to equip students with various skills in different fields, making student engagement necessary. In addition to the constructivist understanding of education, the prominent educational approach in village institutes is directly related to practical education. Teaching practice courses, which last for two to three months in village institutes, are essential for introducing students to the living conditions a village teacher must adapt to and ensuring adaptation to the teaching profession.

At Pazarören Village Institute, social studies was not just an academic subject but also aimed at helping students understand their social environment, societal structures, and surrounding issues. The course content allowed students to gain insights into rural life's geographical, economic, and social aspects. Students were encouraged to develop solutions for the problems they encountered in their villages. The social studies curriculum also included historical content. Students learned about the history of towns and the evolution of societies, and they tried to apply this knowledge in their villages. Furthermore, cultural awareness was promoted through the lessons. Students learned about their own culture and were introduced to the societal structures of different regions of Turkey.

During this period, the village institutes placed the most significant importance on social studies and related field courses. These courses included history, geography, citizenship, and sociology. While oral expression was the primary teaching method, it was often supplemented with question-answer sessions and debates. Additionally, students are expected to participate in festivals and weddings in the regions where the institute is located. This can contribute significantly to their understanding and appreciation of the local culture. The research revealed that the participant teacher accurately defined the social studies concept. This indicates the teacher's awareness of the idea and suggests he will apply it in his practices. Teachers who graduated from village institutes place significant importance on the social studies course in their professional lives and make efforts for students to adopt it correctly. The key finding is that history topics are crucial in providing individuals with a national identity. Furthermore, teachers' occasional use of group work and debate methods to support the teaching process is essential for promoting student activism. The fact that the teachers who participated in the research applied extracurricular teaching methods such as excursions and observations to teach social studies subjects better is a phenomenon that will increase the permanence of learning by providing a better understanding of the subjects seen in the lecture. In addition, the fact that the planned trips are organized to places

near the individual proves that the principle of teaching from near to far is put into practice in the lessons discussed.

The social studies lessons at Pazarören Village Institute contributed to students' academic development and helped foster a sense of social responsibility. The content of the social studies curriculum, which provided knowledge about the economic and social structures of villages, equipped students with skills that would help them contribute to the development of their villages. These lessons, as part of the educational philosophy of the village institutes, contributed to the development of villagers as more conscious members of society.

The Role of the Family in Realizing Educational Ideals in Poland during the Interwar Period (1918-1939)

Zofia Frączek
Institute of Pedagogy
Department of History and Theory of Education
University of Rzeszów (Poland)
zfraczek@ur.edu.pl

ABSTRACT: In the interwar period, the potential of the family in Poland was appreciated by politicians (representatives of the two political movements, i.e. *the Endecja* – supporters of national education and *the Sanacja* – proponents of state education), as well as teachers, scholars and socio-educational activists. They perceived the family as an important socio-cultural and educational environment, on which the multifaceted development of children and youth depends, and thus the successful future of the nation and the state. Therefore, they strongly emphasized the need to support the family and strengthen its cooperation with the school, which was to contribute to educational success. This article presents the educational ideals propagated in Poland in the interwar period and the role attributed to the family and its cooperation with school in realizing these ideals.

EET/TEE KEYWORDS: Educational Ideal; National Education; Educational role of the family; Poland; Interwar Period; XX Century.

Introduction

The formulation of educational ideals and aims is related to the concept of *teleology of education*, which defines the principles of their formulation, examines the relationships between them and the conditions of practical application¹. When interpreting the term *educational ideal*, it can be assumed that it is a comprehensive description of integrated human qualities, valuable

¹ M. Nowak, *Teorie i koncepcje wychowania*, [Theories and Concepts of Upbringing and Education], Warszawa, Wydawnictwa Akademickie i Profesjonalne, 2008, p. 346.

from the point of view of welfare of the developing individual and society. It is a certain theoretical construct relating to the desired personality of a person. On the other hand, the *aims of education* are states of affairs that are desirable to achieve in the process of education. They are derived from the educational ideal, and their realization brings the learner's personality closer to that ideal². That is why the ideal of education is also understood as a set of aims to which one strives, which can be more or less specific, short-term or long-term, single or constituting a certain whole.

The ideal of education to be implemented in the process of upbringing and education constitutes a matter of overriding importance. It determines the selection of educational and instructional content, which in turn shapes the choice of teaching aids, as well as the methods of training and professional development of teachers and educational administrators. The content of this ideal consists of basic spiritual (primarily moral), material and organizational values, which are most valued and desired by society. It can also be interpreted as a set of desirable attitudes of the human individual (resulting from the preferred axiology), referring to himself/herself, as well as other people, social groups, nature³.

F.W. Araszkiewicz explained that the formation of ideals of education and the derivation of educational aims from them occur in connection with many factors, including: social and economic conditions and the balance of political forces; educational ideology (which is a derivative of the social ideology of certain social classes); with the current state of pedagogical sciences at a given time⁴.

Presenting the genesis of Polish historical teleological concepts, it is possible to point to the occurrence of several motivations that conditioned their formation. One of them was the metaphysical-religious motivation, which occurred (most likely as the only one) in the Middle Ages. From the sixteenth century onward, secular motivations began to develop alongside it. Concepts of an individual useful for public service, understanding state life and capable of creative social functioning were put forward. In the seventeenth century, the ideal of a person and citizen was exposed. In the difficult period of the Partitions of Poland, heroic-messianic, positivist, and national motivations prevailed. In

² J. Górniewicz, *Teoria wychowania (wybrane problemy)* [Theory of Education (Selected Problems)], Olsztyn, Wydawnictwo Olsztyńskiej Szkoły Wyższej, 2008, p. 75.

³ A. Smolański, *Ideaty wychowawcze w polskiej myśli pedagogicznej od XVI w. do końca II Rzeczypospolitej*, [Educational ideals in Polish pedagogical thought from the sixteenth century to the end of the Second Republic of Poland], Opole, Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Opolskiego, 1994, p. 7.

⁴ F.W. Araszkiewicz, *Ideaty wychowawcze Drugiej Rzeczypospolitej*, [Educational Ideals of the Second Republic of Poland], Warszawa, Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1978, p. 14.

the interwar period, on the other hand, the most common were: the ideal of national education and the ideal of state education⁵.

It should be emphasized that the Polish nation has developed rich resources of teleological thought throughout its history. Scholarly work in this area has never stopped, even during the loss of independence by Poland. When creating the ideal of education today, it is worth referring to this teleological legacy, which in some parts is suitable for direct implementation, in others it allows for creative inspiration and can be applied after critical revision.

1. Ideals of Education in Poland in the Interwar Period

From the beginning of the twentieth century, the national aims of education were more exposed than in earlier periods. At the same time, the idea of interpersonal solidarity was invariably alive among Polish educators, because Polish teleological tradition included the construction of ideals of education that took into account the transnational dimension and universal values. It should be noted that among the thinkers of that time there were those for whom national affairs were of greater importance than universal human affairs, others considered them equally significant, while still others regarded nationality merely as a subordinate and constituent element of humanity as a whole⁶.

In the interwar period, many authors developed the activities initiated in the earlier period, at the same time efforts were made to create new teleological models. During this time, two ideals were most often exposed – national education and state education. In the 1920s, the former predominated, whereas in the 1930s, the latter gained primacy. It is worth adding that they were not the only ones, as they coexisted with other, less popular teleological and pedagogical conceptions⁷.

In Polish pedagogical thought, the national orientation was initiated by Stanisław Szczepanowski, an economist, publicist and social activist who lived during the partitions. He believed in the establishment of an independent Polish state through the authentic engagement of all Poles in every sphere of life, particularly in the fields of education and upbringing. Szczepanowski perceived national education as an instrument for the moral and economic regeneration of the nation. He envisioned the future Poland as a democratic state

⁵ Smolański, *Idealy wychowawcze w polskiej myśli pedagogicznej*, cit., p. 10.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 40.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 54.

and expected schools to fulfil the mission of providing egalitarian, popular, and civic education for the entire nation⁸.

The proponents of the concept of national education included representatives of the political and scientific community, as well as active teachers and socio-educational activists. Among them were philosophers, historians, educators, sociologists, lawyers and doctors⁹. The importance, tasks, aims and content of national education were discussed and written by, among others: Zygmunt Balicki, Lucjan Zarzecki, Mieczysław Baranowski, Władysław Marian Borowski, Edward Gabryelski, Iza Janke. They drew attention to the role of education in preparing representatives of younger generations to fulfil their duties towards the nation and the state. For example, W. M. Borowski argued that:

Based on the national tradition and the achievements of pedagogical knowledge, our education should create its own view of the matter of educating young generations, based on the assumption that the civilization of every society must emerge primarily from the creative forces of the national genius. Only in this way can a nation develop and enrich its own individuality, and at the same time contribute new elements to the cultural heritage of humanity. [...] In the period of great transformation of the national existence, the greatest task of education is to adapt the young generations to the new conditions of political life and to enable them to undertake great efforts for the future of the Homeland¹⁰.

The foundation for national pedagogy in Poland at the turn of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries was laid by the views of Roman Dmowski (a leading ideologist and activist of the National Democratic Party) and Zygmunt Balicki (pedagogue, publicist, organizer and activist of the National League). They conditioned the way of understanding the ideal and the aims of education. R. Dmowski, representing political movement *the Endecja*, asserted that the nation constitutes the essential moral content of the state, while the state represents the indispensable political form of the nation. He was of the opinion that a nation can lose a state, yet it does not cease to be a nation as long as it preserves the moral bond with the tradition of its state. Z. Balicki, on the other hand, treated the nation as the highest good on earth. Therefore, he set two tasks for pedagogy and education. The first was to immerse the young generation so deeply into the traditions of the nation so that they would feel united with it. The second is the formation of positive patriotism, which would be expressed in the ideal of a soldier-citizen, whose most important qualities

⁸ Araszkiewicz, *Idealy wychowawcze Drugiej Rzeczypospolitej*, cit., pp. 32-34.

⁹ J. Falkowska, *Myśl wychowania narodowego w Galicji okresu autonomii. Twórcy i idee*, [The Thought of National Education in Galicia of the Period of Autonomy. Creators and Ideas], Toruń, Wydawnictwo Adam Marszałek, 2013, p. 88.

¹⁰ W.M. Borowski, *Ogólne zarysy wychowania narodowego*, [General Outlines of National Education], Warszawa – Lublin, Wydawnictwo M. Arct, 1918, pp. XII-1.

Balicki identified as: the ability to cooperate, discipline, camaraderie, solidarity, deep religiosity, physical strength, entrepreneurship¹¹.

In the Ministry of Religious Denominations and Public Enlightenment, the principles of national education were implemented by: Stanisław Grabski, Stanisław Głabiński and T. Łopuszański, the latter of whom developed a program of national education aimed at building and consolidating the newly reestablished Polish state. He proposed that all levels of school administration, as well as every teacher, should be actively involved in implementing this new form of national education¹².

Significant changes in educational policy and pedagogical issues took place after the May Coup in 1926. Activists associated with Józef Piłsudski's *the Sanacja* political movement undertook efforts to construct a new educational ideal. Within the ministry, Stanisław Czerwiński and Kazimierz Pieracki¹³ were responsible for developing a new system of education, referred to as *state education*. The principles of this system were widely discussed in the speeches and writings of *the Sanacja* politicians. One of the first was their presentation by Minister Gustaw Dobrucki in August 1927, who wrote that the main task of the school should be to educate the young generation to become physically and morally healthy, socially conscious, and creatively engaged citizens of the state¹⁴. The ideas of state education were also reflected in the views proclaimed by other politicians active at that time – Kazimierz Świtalski, Janusz Jędrzejewicz, Adam Skwarczyński. They were also supported by scientists, educators and pedagogues, among others: Jan Stanisław Bystron; Zygmunt Mysłakowski, Kazimierz Sośnicki¹⁵. It is worth noting that the promotion of *the Sanacja*'s educational ideology was also taken up by prominent figures of Polish literature, including authors such as: Henryk Sienkiewicz, Stefan Żeromski, and Stanisław Wyspiański¹⁶.

An important reason why *the Sanacja* movement linked its ideology so closely with the state as the supreme category was the widespread twenti-

¹¹ Araszkiewicz, *Ideaty wychowawcze Drugiej Rzeczypospolitej*, cit., pp. 35-37.

¹² A. Niedojadło, *Wychowanie narodowe i państwowe w szkołach powszechnych*, [National and State Education in schools of primary education], Tarnów, Wydawnictwo Diecezji Tarnowskiej Biblos, 2013, p. 84.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 85.

¹⁴ *Okólnik Ministra Wyznań Religijnych i Oświecenia Publicznego Gustawa Dobruckiego z dnia 25 sierpnia 1927 roku w sprawie regulaminu pracy wychowawczej w szkołach średnich*, «Dziennik Urzędowy Ministerstwa Wyznań Religijnych i Oświecenia Publicznego», [Circular of the Minister of Religious Denominations and Public Enlightenment of Gustaw Dobrucki, dated 25 August 1927 on the regulations of educational work in secondary schools], «Official Journal of the Ministry of Religious Denominations and Public Enlightenment» n. 12, 1927, item 208.

¹⁵ Niedojadło, *Wychowanie narodowe i państwowe w szkołach powszechnych*, cit., p. 96.

¹⁶ S. Łempicki, *Polskie tradycje wychowawcze*, [Polish educational traditions], Warszawa, Nasza Księgarnia, 1936, p. 137.

eth-century tendency across many countries to strengthen the role of the state. In Poland, the concept of *state education* was also intended to serve as a counterbalance to *national education*, which had been emphasized by the nationalist and conservative political movement associated with Roman Dmowski¹⁷.

Those who advocated *state education* assumed that as a result of it, the individual must feel united with the state¹⁸. However, there were also authorities who preferred the term *civic-state education*. Such a position was presented, for example, by the Polish pedagogue and educational activist Hanna Pohoska, who considered the essence of this education to be the education of the individual and the collective to be conscious and creative citizens, who understand their duties towards the state, are able to fulfil them and feel a genuine need to do so¹⁹.

The periodization of the process of creation and implementation of the educational ideology of the *Sanacja* political movement in practical educational activity was developed by F.W. Araszkiewicz, who distinguished the following three periods: the years 1926-1932, the time of developing the theoretical and statutory foundations of civic-state education, the development of the educational ideal and the formation of teaching staff for its implementation. During the years 1932-1935, the full implementation of the concept of civic-state education took place, along with the deepening of its theoretical foundations, as sanctioned by the 1932 acts. It was a time of dominance of state education; the years 1935-1939 were a time of turn, towards civic and national education. During this period, the realization of the ideal of education was associated with equal treatment of the idea of the nation, the state and the Catholic religion²⁰.

To sum up, it can be said that the educational ideal in the interwar period in Poland was a Pole-citizen-worker-fighter in the service of the homeland. Highly esteemed were such values as homeland, nation and state. The role of work for the good of the homeland was emphasized as well as the need to educate the young generation in respect for the good of the state and its authority, as well as towards all those who, with work, and when the circumstance

¹⁷ A. Radziwiłł, *Ideologia wychowawcza sanacji i jej odbicie w polityce szkolnej w latach 1926-1939* (część wstępna, część pierwsza i zakończenie), [*The Educational Ideology of the Sanacja and Its Reflection in School Policy in the years 1926-1939* (Introductory part, Part One and Conclusion)], «Kwartalnik Pedagogiczny», n. 1-2, 2014, p. 251.

¹⁸ K. Jakubiak, *Wychowanie państwowe jako ideologia wychowawcza sanacji. Kształtowanie i upowszechnianie w periodycznych wydawnictwach społeczno-kulturalnych i pedagogicznych*, [*State Education as an Educational Ideology of the Sanacja. Shaping and Disseminating in Periodical Socio-cultural and Pedagogical Publications*], Bydgoszcz, Wydawnictwo Wyższej Szkoły Pedagogicznej, 1994, p. 46.

¹⁹ H. Pohoska, *Wychowanie obywatelsko-państwowe*, w: S. Łempicki (red.), *Encyklopedia Wychowania* [*Civic-State Education*, in: S. Łempicki (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Education*], Warszawa, Nasza Księgarnia, 1934, Vol. I, p. 943.

²⁰ Araszkiewicz *Ideale wychowawcze Drugiej Rzeczypospolitej*, cit., p. 21.

occurred, through armed struggle – had fought to regain and preserve the nation's and the state's independence. Educated on these ideals and values, Polish youth passed the exam in their preparation for civic service to their homeland during World War II²¹.

2. The Role of the Family in Realizing Educational Ideals in Poland during the Interwar Period

Already at the end of the nineteenth century, in publications devoted to national education, attention was paid to the importance of family in the upbringing and education of a child, while at the same time recognizing the need for its cooperation with school. And so Józef Dietl, one of the most outstanding reformers of public life in nineteenth-century Poland, commenting on the role of family, emphasized that the school should play the role of a substitute for parents. He claimed that parents have the exclusive right to raise their children. At the same time, he noted that some parents are not able to guarantee their children proper upbringing and education at home, which is why they send them to school and thus entrust them to the government, which should support family in carrying out educational tasks, and also organize school life in consultation with them. J. Dietl emphasized that in these circumstances the government becomes a kind of parents' representative, therefore it cannot ignore their opinions regarding the organization and operation of schools. He also emphasized the view that sending a child to a state school does not exempt parents from overseeing their child's upbringing and education²². He also proclaimed that, just as every family, the local community (which is an assembly of families *the gmina*) has the duty to raise the children living in its area, according to the needs and resources at its disposal. Consequently, it has the right to establish and maintain schools that correspond to those needs and capacities²³.

Similarly, a place in the upbringing and education of a child was attributed to the family by the pedagogue and theoretician of education, Bronisław Trzaskowski, who lived before Poland regained independence. He explained that the natural law gives rise to the influence of parents on the upbringing and education of a child and extends beyond family home and reaches all the environments in which the child finds himself/herself, including state school.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 284.

²² J. Dietl, *O reformie szkół krajowych zeszyt I. Stanowisko szkoły, rada szkolna krajowa, język wykładowy*, [On the Reform of National Schools, Issue I. The Position of the School, National School Council, Language of Instruction], Kraków, Drukarnia Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, 1865, pp. 20-21.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 23.

Therefore, the government should share the management and administration of school with parents or their legal representatives. Like J. Dietl, he noted that both the family and the local community (the *gmina*) are obliged to raise and educate children. He argued that school, serving as a substitute for family, the community (the *gmina*) and the country, should be conceived as an institution that is familial, communal, and national in character. Trzaskowski applied these requirements in particular to lower schools, while in the case of secondary schools and universities, due to the preparation of students to perform representative social roles, he granted the government even greater influence²⁴.

Kazimierz Twardowski (1866–1938), a great patriot, one of the most outstanding Polish philosophers, and a university teacher, also emphasized the role of the family in the process of educating the younger generation in the spirit of love for the homeland. He wrote:

There is no more beautiful and important task for parents than to raise their children to be healthy, strong, enlightened and courageous citizens, who love their Homeland from the bottom of their hearts, who know how to work for its good and glory, and to die for its integrity and freedom!²⁵

At the same time, Twardowski saw the need for cooperation between family and school, as well as the necessity for each student to work on self-improvement. At the same time, he noted that even the best parents cannot raise a perfect individual; which is why a young person after leaving family home must work on himself/herself, on his/her shortcomings and imperfections. It should complement and deepen the knowledge of the homeland and the history of the homeland acquired from family home and school²⁶.

Similar observations were made by the social and educational activist and teacher Aleksander Patkowski, who assigned a particularly important role in the education of the younger generation to the school of primary education and its cooperation with the family. At the same time, he showed that the will of parents can be a destructive factor in relation to school, especially when the level of material and ethical culture of the family differs from the average level of social culture of a given country. He also noted that sometimes it can be the other way around, i.e. school atmosphere may be characterized by a low level of environmental culture²⁷.

A wide range of pedagogical guidance, exposing the importance of family

²⁴ B. Trzaskowski, *Zarys organizacji szkół niższych*, [An Outline of Lower School Organization], Lwów, (ed. aut.) 1867, pp. 6–8.

²⁵ K. Twardowski, *O patriotyzmie*, [About patriotism], Lwów, Macierz Polska, 1919, p. 20.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 21.

²⁷ A. Patkowski, *Szkola powszechna i regionalizm*, [Primary School and Regionalism], «Tygodnik Pedagogiczny», n. 3, 1926, pp. 72–73.

in education in the spirit of national pedagogy, was presented by the author of the educational handbooks, Stanisława Sarjusz-Wolska, who stated that:

Education – that is, the development of the natural qualities, talents, drives, creative forces, the entire spiritual and physical nature of the young generation – as a historical process is a decisive factor in the future of the nation, its fate and existence²⁸.

She also noted that educational work is not confined to school, kindergarten and other institutions exclusively dedicated to it, but above all it takes place in family – the child's natural environment and in its immediate environment²⁹. Emphasizing the educational values of the family, Sarjusz-Wolska wrote:

Family is the primary form of human life relations. Founded upon the instinct of self-preservation, innate feelings of love, and altruism arising therefrom, it generates natural laws governing mutual obligations among its members and assigns a guiding role to parents, who protect and support their offspring. [...] It is the first school of coexistence and cooperation. It liberates and educates mental and emotional forces of the spirit of the individual. It evokes gratitude and attachment to the environment, awakens elements of ethical and social feelings. And it should be a model of order and harmony, prevailing in the universe and indispensable for the existence and proper, creative development within any human community [...]. A strong foundation of the family, based on affection, truth, love, work, conscientious fulfilment of duties, and the absolute exclusion of selfishness, are at the same time the foundations of a strong and healthy society. [...] A strongly organized family becomes not only a useful, cohesive part of the social whole and a bastion of civic virtues, but it is also a treasury faithfully preserving native culture and tradition, attachment to the homeland, and sometimes it is also a sanctuary that saves the persecuted language, religion and the dearest elements and national ideals³⁰.

Among the key educational tasks of family, Stanisława Sarjusz-Wolska included the following:

- engaging children as early as possible in important household or community activities and introducing them to responsibility for the undertakings they participate in;
- accustoming the child to self-service and to independently satisfying their own needs;
- developing the ability to cope with failures and adversities, as well as to remain prudent in situations of danger;

²⁸ S. Sarjusz-Wolska, *Zarys wychowania moralnego i obywatelskiego*, [Outline of Moral and Civic education], Warszawa, Skład Główny w Księgarni Towarzystwa Polskiej Macierzy Polskiej Szkolnej, 1927, p. 11.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 16.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 62-63.

- sensitizing young people to the needs of others and awakening in them a willingness to offer help;
- shaping love for truth, honesty and conscientious execution of duties and instructions;
- developing respect and fondness of work as an essential moral factor and creative force, making the spiritual and material life of the individual more perfect, and multiplying the wealth of the natural world surrounding humans³¹.

S. Sarjusz-Wolska also emphasized the necessity for parents to supervise the biological maturation of the younger generation. She warned against the consequences of underestimating this matter. She wrote that ignoring it in silence and leaving it to random influences may be associated with a number of dangers and even cause harm to children. She explained that:

[...] that is, to deprive the matter of its proper seriousness in advance [...] and, leaving the child to himself/herself or under the sway of harmful influences, to push him/her to the pernicious ways of conduct, even into wrongdoing. [...] The full blossoming of life is not self-indulging, licentiousness, debauchery, and the unrestrained pursuit of pleasure and excess. On the contrary, it is a high inner discipline – and a disciplined cooperation of all human powers subject to moral order. [...] It is obvious that educators are under a serious obligation to maintain vigilant watchfulness, so as to protect children from improper stimuli, excitations, premature curiosity, and harmful habits³².

Another significant representative of national pedagogy, who emphasized the importance of the family as an educational factor, was the Polish pedagogue and publicist Władysław Marian Borowski. He maintained that:

Of all forms of human coexistence, it is family that most closely binds people together, unites them, and brings them closer to one another. [...] Through its influence, it reaches the very core of human character and the entire structure of the human spirit. Family life awakens and develops spiritual capacities that could not come to fruition in any other form of upbringing or education. Learning here takes place almost unconsciously—not only through reason but also through the heart. [...] It is mainly from the family that it depends what kind of person one will become in the future: whether an egocentric individual concerned solely with his/her own welfare, or one adapted to communal life and endowed with a sense of social responsibility³³.

Borowski was convinced that a person who experienced love in family life is capable of giving this affection to other people, thus achieving a higher level of ethics and socialization. That is why he claimed that family is rightly called the cell of social life in which man is formed. In turn, the set of these

³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 65.

³² *Ibid.*, pp. 66-67.

³³ Borowski, *Ogólne zarysy wychowania narodowego*, cit., pp. 265-266.

cells builds the tissue of the social organism that grows out of the family³⁴. He argued that a well-functioning family is the most important school for an individual of his/her own upbringing and education, mastering selfish drives, getting used to concessions, patience and working for the good of others. It is the most important factor in social evolution. The rejection of family threatens the destruction of the bonds of communal life and exposes the individual to the experience of loneliness. Without family, a person becomes emotionally cold and incapable of higher feelings³⁵.

Like Sarjusz-Wolska, Borowski also regarded love, truth, and work as particularly valuable virtues and, at the same time, as the moral foundations of family life. Among these, he considered love the most important, explaining that the effectiveness of educational influences depends primarily upon it. He wrote that one can defend oneself against the unkindness and selfishness of strangers by seeking asylum in the family environment, but if we are dealing with selfishness, mutual hostility or indifference, then we lose the sense of security, experience loneliness, and even the loss of the meaning of life, which is the basis for suicidal acts³⁶.

According to Władysław Marian Borowski, marital love was of particular importance for the proper and harmonious functioning of the family environment. He wrote that:

When it is strong and great, it illuminates all other feelings, adds brilliance, strength and intensity to them. Whoever is happy in this corner of one's heart carries the mood of a loving person into everything they do – into their work, their relationships with others, and the upbringing and education of their children. [...] On the other hand, it is difficult to describe the desolation that arises in the human soul under the influence of indifference or, what is worse, mutual aversion in the marital relationship. Then our best feelings fall silent and fade away [...]. Sometimes even the purest and most spontaneous parental love degenerates. The situation of children in such families, where hatred, jealousy and suspicion prevail, is truly tragic³⁷.

Borowski also noted that sometimes the educational influence of parents is burdened with numerous mistakes, among which he listed: excessive indulgence towards the child, turning a blind eye to his/her mistakes and lack of consistency, granting children too much freedom, or failing to participate actively in their lives³⁸. He emphasized the need for parents to use discipline based on moral elements in educational practices and close spiritual contact

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 266.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 266-267.

³⁶ W.M. Borowski, *Wychowanie narodowe*, [National Education], Warszawa, Wydawnictwo M. Arct, 1922, pp. 212-213.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 213-214.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 215-216.

between older generations and younger ones, which was to contribute to the latter's spiritual perfection³⁹.

According to W.M. Borowski, apart from love, truth should reign in family life. He explained that truth is essential even for the proper functioning of looser forms of human association – such as political or commercial relationships. He emphasized that trust can only be gained by truthfulness, while lying brings with it suspicion, secrecy and hypocrisy. He noted that the one who seeks truth in the outside world must first of all be honest with himself/herself. A person who deceives oneself cannot be honest with others, and this brings with it moral losses for the individual and relationships with other people. Therefore, according to Borowski, education should arouse in a person from an early age a disgust for lying, humiliating oneself, destroying one's honour and dignity⁴⁰.

According to W.M. Borowski, the third factor, which also constituted the moral foundation of family life, was work. He explained that:

[...] in the atmosphere of family life, everything should breathe with work. Only then will the child acquire ethical habits and become accustomed to active living⁴¹.

Therefore, it is the responsibility of parents to form the child's conviction that work is an expression not only of the struggle for one's own existence, but also of service to the common social good. Observing parents and siblings was to serve as the best example of work undertaken for the benefit of others. Engaging the child in work from the earliest years, on the other hand, was to serve as an example of solidarity, contributing to the growth of the child's social awareness and the formation of a national spirit⁴².

A great contribution to the development of national pedagogy in the inter-war period in Poland was made by the teacher and academic lecturer Lucjan Zarzecki. He claimed that the development of the homeland and national culture can only be achieved by the nation. In education, he saw a process aimed at shaping values in accordance with the needs of social life and mitigating the effects of the partitions. Apart from the state and the church, it was the family that L. Zarzecki considered to be one of the most important factors determining the effectiveness of the educational process and regarded it to be a key link in the system of national education⁴³. He claimed that no institutions or other artificial structure could replace the role of family in the process of upbringing and education. He wrote that:

³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 217.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 217-218.

⁴¹ Borowski, *General Outlines of National Education*, cit., p. 275.

⁴² *Ibid.*, pp. 276-277.

⁴³ L. Zarzecki, *O wychowaniu narodowem*, [On National Education], Warszawa, Zakład Gebethnera i Wolffa, 1917, p. 53.

As far as the current state of science is concerned, we can say with certainty that a good family has to the greatest extent all the qualities that are needed for a rational upbringing and education, especially in early childhood. No surrogates have been able to replace it, nor can they by their very nature do so. Apart from the educational technique, there must be... soul, with a whole range of natural affections, deeper layers of intuition not only of concepts, not only of knowledge⁴⁴.

This scholar added that:

Through family and school, young people are educated to become citizens. Within them, the social environment expands spiritually, grows into a nation and a state. Family and school are fundamental factors in the development of concepts: our nation and our state. [...] Just as in a good family individual egoism slowly melts away under the influence of the warmth of love and the power of the unwritten law into activity of a higher order, the same thing continues to happen in a good school⁴⁵.

Therefore, Zarzecki emphasized the need for cooperation between family and school in the process of upbringing and education, but at the same time emphasized the need for school to strengthen family, in particular in terms of nurturing family values and ideals and preparing parents to function in parental roles, and most of all women to play the role of mother. He argued that:

Family is a fundamental factor in education, and if we rightly insist on cooperation between the family and the school, we must likewise expect the school to contribute to its reinforcement. A strong school has the proper moral atmosphere. Cultivating the elements of family life and its ideals, preparing individuals to fulfil the role of fathers and mothers properly, is not a trivial thing, nor is it something that, if properly established in terms of education, would have a completely small and bland impact. In this regard, the girls' school is particularly important, as nurturing the ideal of the mother-citizen there is of great significance⁴⁶.

L. Zarzecki noted that in Poland there are many people who understand the importance of family, but fewer who are able to fulfil family duties, and this is one of the reasons why families do not perform their tasks properly⁴⁷. He regarded parents' associations operating at schools as a manifestation of support for school by family, but at the same time as an opportunity for family circles to exert influence on the school⁴⁸. At the same time, he emphasized that the greater the participation of citizens in influencing school, the greater

⁴⁴ L. Zarzecki, *Wychowanie narodowe. Studja i szkice*, [National Education. Studies and Sketches], Warszawa, Towarzystwo im. Jana Zamoyskiego, 1926, p. 250.

⁴⁵ L. Zarzecki, *Wstęp do pedagogiki*, [Introduction to pedagogy] Lwów-Warszawa, Książnica Polska, 1922, p. 29.

⁴⁶ Zarzecki, *Wychowanie narodowe*, cit., p. 251.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 252.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 395.

the chances of bringing family and school closer together and the success of national education. He wrote that:

Family can influence school not only through parental relationships, but also through the community, the Church, and local governments. Greater participation of all citizens in shaping school life is the broad path through which reconciliation and closeness between family and school can be achieved. The emancipation of the family spirit, so important for education, can only be truly felt at school, when this closeness is achieved [...] Any educational system will fail until family life, imbued with the spirit of citizenship, is established in society. In the educational system, family is a certain natural foundation, from which one should start and build upon it⁴⁹.

Like the supporters of national education, the advocates of state education noticed and appreciated the importance of family as a natural educational environment. They also supported the cooperation of the child's home and school in their educational efforts. They often treated family as the first level of patriotic and civic education and emphasized that without its participation in the process of education and support for the school, the state education system would not be effective.

For example, the pedagogue and philosopher Kazimierz Sośnicki classified family among social groups based on close bonds, and identified as its key aims – mutual assistance as well as the bearing and upbringing of children⁵⁰. On the other hand, the academic teacher, educational theorist and didactician Zygmunt Mysłakowski, speaking about the family as an important environment of human life and development, drew attention to the naturalness and directness of interpersonal relationships, to the sharing of emotions and the adoption of ideals and attitudes⁵¹. An interesting position was taken by one of the main ideologists of *the Sanacja*, Adam Skwarczyński, who, while reflecting on the foundations of human actions presented family as a certain point of support, enabling a person to become rooted in life. He showed it as the organic cell of all social life, all work and all morality⁵².

The importance of family and its cooperation with school for the future of the nation and the state was also pointed out by the pedagogue and academic teacher Mieczysław Ziemnowicz. He explained that:

Social life exists wherever a social group arises, from its lowest organizational form, which is simply family, to the ever broader and higher structures, which are the communi-

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 395-396.

⁵⁰ K. Sośnicki, *Podstawy wychowania państwowego*, [Basics of State Education], Lwów-Warszawa, Książnica-Atlas, 1933, pp. 12-14.

⁵¹ Z. Mysłakowski, *Rodzina wiejska jako środowisko wychowawcze* [Rural Family as an Educational Environment], Warszawa-Lwów, Naukowe Towarzystwo Pedagogiczne, 1931, p. 13.

⁵² A. Skwarczyński, *Wskazania*, [Indications], Warszawa, Nakładem Straży Przedniej, 1934, p. 100.

ty, the state, the nation, the country, humanity as a whole. The striving of society towards a certain goal is, and must be, the striving of family, consciously or unconsciously. [...] School acts here as the mandate of family. Therefore, there cannot and should not arise a difference in the aims of school and family, because school in its essence works for family and society, while family transfers to school a part of its authority. [...] School must also become aware of this dependence, as well as the necessity of educating for life in an organization higher than family – for national life within the state⁵³.

This scholar emphasized that it would be best if all factors of social life, including family, shaped the atmosphere of state life, expressed in sacrifice for the state, based on an understanding of its essence, faith in the future and mission of the state, and stemming from the cult for the state. M. Ziemniewicz entrusted the leading role in this undertaking to teachers, who should first become ideological statesmen themselves in order to be able to effectively influence the minds and hearts of their students⁵⁴. He further argued that the fulfilment of these educational tasks depended on the support teachers received from family environments, and therefore he wrote:

At the same time, we must make a fervent appeal to parents, as spokespeople of the family spirit, to be willing to understand the difficult tasks of the Polish teacher, resulting from this mission imposed on him/her by society. But understanding alone is not enough. It also takes a great effort on the part of the family to soar to the heights of objectivity⁵⁵.

Józef Mirski also addressed and further developed the issue of the family's role in the education of young generations of Poles. As a promoter of the so-called *new education*, he highlighted the need to shape a new pedagogical life in Poland. He included the cooperation between the family and the school among its important determinants⁵⁶. He perceived the family as both a biological and economic institution, as well as a primary educational institution. He assigned it two basic functions: a caregiving function and a traditional one, associated with the transmission of key cultural values. He regarded family as an environment in which the process of humanizing the child⁵⁷ should take place, and he classified it among socio-cultural environments alongside such elements of the surrounding reality as the nation, the state, and the Church⁵⁸. Mirski explained that:

⁵³ M. Ziemniewicz, *Rodzina a wychowane państwowe* [Family and State Education], Lwów-Warszawa, Książnica-Atlas, 1932, pp. 11-12.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 36-37.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 38.

⁵⁶ J. Mirski, *Polska myśl wychowawcza*, [Polish Educational Thought], «Oświata i Wychowanie», n. 10, 1930, p. 935.

⁵⁷ J. Mirski, *O postawie wychowawczej rodziców*, [On the Educational Attitude of Parents], «Zrąb», vol. 22, 1935, pp. 61-82.

⁵⁸ J. Mirski, *Wychowanie i wychowawca*, [Education and Educators], Warszawa, Nasza Księgarnia, 1936, p. 32.

Since nurturing and tradition constitute [...] the most important fields of education from this standpoint family must be recognized as the most fundamental educational institution, alongside which only later-along with the growth of cultural content and cultural goods – the new educational institution, namely school, emerges⁵⁹.

Furthermore, Mirski observed that within family, in addition to unconscious educational influences, there are also conscious, rational influences, the quality, scope and value of which depend on the personal culture and propriety of the parents, their pedagogical awareness and skills⁶⁰. That is why he particularly strongly emphasized the importance of cooperation between family and school, claiming that:

[...] the only proper form of education is home-school education, [...], it is not only a matter of the division of functions, but of the closest possible cooperation between family and school, between parental and professional educators. Only from such cooperation, the present forms of which are still far from ideal, will an integral type of education emerge, compensating for the shortcomings of the one-sided parental and non-parental educational attitude, and combining their advantages into a single, living whole⁶¹.

It is worth adding that Mirski also advocated dissemination of educational knowledge in family environments and the education of future parents-educators, e.g. by establishing schools for mothers and fathers⁶².

Conclusion

In conclusion, it should be emphasized that after Poland regained its independence, both the promoters of national and state education saw family as a natural environment for human life and development (in which learning takes place unconsciously), as well as the basic educational environment. They considered it as a social group, and sometimes also as a basic educational institution. They wrote that it constitutes the first level of patriotic and civic education, and therefore the possibility of realizing the preferred ideals of education, and thus the development of the nation and the state, depends on the quality of its educational functioning. They saw family as a place where the native culture (values, traditions, customs and language) was passed on to the young generation. They stressed that without family's participation in the educational process, no educational system can be effective. At the same time, they noticed that sometimes the educational influence of parents is burdened

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 164.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 165-166.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p. 187.

⁶² *Ibid.*, p. 193.

with numerous shortcomings. However, being aware of the fact that no institution or artificial structure can replace family in the process of education, they emphasized the necessity of supporting family through school and broader social environment. They saw the cooperation between family and school as an opportunity to improve its educational condition, i.e. to develop parents' awareness and educational skills. At the same time, they appealed to parents to be open to cooperation with school and teachers and to support them in educational efforts. Moreover, they acknowledged the need to educate parents in the field of fulfilling parental roles.

It should be noted that the educational ideals from the interwar period are to some extent still alive not only in Poland, but also in other European countries. In contemporary education, values such as homeland, nation, patriotism, and work remain invariably important alongside democracy, freedom and tolerance. Family continues to be the primary and most essential educational environment, having a permanent impact on the growth of the younger generation. It serves as a space for growth and development for young people, where they learn to cultivate themselves and contribute to the well-being of others. In addition, the improvement of cooperation between family and school continues to be an invariably important social and pedagogical issue. It seems that the scholarly achievements of the interwar period may serve as a source of inspiration in this regard, offering valuable insights found in scientific monographs, periodicals, and educational guides of that time. It is likewise valuable to take into account the international perspective and the lessons drawn from the experiences of other countries in this context.

Reconstruction for Children Across Two Centuries: Educational Strategies and Moral Transformation in the Adaptation of *Gulliver's Travels* (1726-1895)

Haifeng Hui
School of Foreign Languages
Huazhong University of Science and
Technology Wuhan (China)
huihf@mail.hust.edu.cn

ABSTRACT: This study examines the historical adaptations of *Gulliver's Travels* into children's literature across the 18th and 19th centuries, focusing on the interplay between educational imperatives, societal norms, and textual revisions. By comparing key adaptations – such as the 1727 Stone and King edition (18th century) and the 1864 Betton and 1895 Routledge editions (19th century) – the analysis reveals distinct strategies in handling gender perspectives, sexual taboos, and ideological framing. The 18th-century adaptations, exemplified by the Stone and King version, prioritized moral conservatism through textual omissions and euphemistic language, particularly regarding gender equality and sexual innuendos. In contrast, 19th-century editions retained original language but selectively excised content deemed inappropriate for children, reflecting Victorian-era moral rigidity and educational reforms that emphasized literary integrity alongside moral safeguarding. The study underscores how children's literature adaptations serve as cultural artifacts, mirroring evolving educational philosophies, class dynamics, and societal anxieties. By contextualizing these adaptations within industrial revolution-era urbanization, Enlightenment critiques, and shifting perceptions of childhood, the paper highlights the pedagogical and ideological motivations shaping literary sanitization for young readers.

EET/TEE KEYWORDS: Children's Literature adaptation; Educational factors; Gender concepts; Social norms; Victorian morality; XVIII-XIX Centuries.

Introduction

Although both are travelogues written in similar time periods, *Gulliver's Travels* is not a natural continuation of *Robinson Crusoe*. On the contrary, it is a parody and questioning of the latter and the entire genre of novels and their premises. However, the fate of these two novels in the children's literature world is very similar. They have been adapted into children's works since the 18th century and have always been loved by children. The popularity of *Gulliver's Travels* after its publication can be seen in Pope and Gay's letter to Swift: «It is read by people in high places and common people, from the Privy Council to the nursery»¹. Therefore, the two novels are very complementary to each other. Their differences in themes, literary styles, narrative strategies and even underlying values have led to different treatments of them in children's literature adaptations. The differences in their adaptation strategies confirm each other and help us understand children's literature adaptation more comprehensively. This paper selects the historical children's version of *Gulliver's Travels* for research, and fully explores the shaping role of educational factors in children's literature adaptation.

The first edition of *Gulliver's Travels* was published by Benjamin Motte in 1726 (hereinafter referred to as the Motte edition). Many versions appeared later, the most authoritative of which was the Faulkner edition in 1735, while² children's editions were quite rare. In the appendix of his book *Gulliver's Travels as Children's Literature*, M. Sarah Smedman listed the main children's versions of *Gulliver's Travels* that he examined, among which the only 18th-century British version was published by J. Stone and R. King in 1727 (hereinafter referred to as the S. King edition, a total of 175 pages)³. The S. King edition is also the only 18th-century children's edition that the author has found⁴. This

¹ F. Elrington Ball, *The Correspondence of Jonathan Swift, D.D.*, London, G. Bell and Sons, Ltd, 1913, Vol I, p. 359.

² Although Swift complained that some parts of the Motte version were changed by the publisher after it was published, and critics often consider the Faulkner version to be the most authoritative version, since the Motte version was the first edition of the novel, published in 1726, and the Faulkner version was published in 1727, the version that SK adapted should have been the Motte version, and the adapter could not have seen the Faulkner version. Therefore, the Motte version and the Faulkner version are selected for comparative analysis here.

³ M. Sarah Smedman, *Like Me, Like Me Not: Gulliver's Travels as Children's Book*, «The Genres of Gulliver's Travels», ed. Frederik N. Smith, Delaware, University of Delaware Press, 1990, p. 77.

⁴ The British book market had just started to rise in the 18th century, and the adult book market had yet to be developed, let alone children's books. After the publication of *Gulliver's Travels*, booksellers saw the huge business opportunities in the book and published related books one after another. Some pretended to be Gulliver's relatives and continued to write other adventure stories, such as *The Adventures of John Gulliver*, *The Son of Captain Gulliver* and *Fables Adapted from the Manuscripts of Captain Gulliver's Great-grandson*. Some wrote sequels based on a country or scene in *Gulliver's Travels*, such as *The Academic Situation in Lilliput*

paper selected the Motte edition instead of the most authoritative Faulkner edition for comparative analysis with the S. King edition, taking into account the issue of publication order. The Motte version was published in 1726, the Stone & King edition was published in 1727, and the Faulkner version was published in 1735, so the adapter of the Stone & King edition could only use the Motte version as the original version for his adaptation.

2. *Views on women in Gulliver's Travels*

Margaret Anne Doody believes that Swift has a sympathetic and supportive attitude towards women, and women are indispensable to balancing Swift's world⁵. In *Gulliver's Travels*, we can see Swift's attitude towards women, and in the adapted version, we can see that this attitude is not accepted by everyone.

1. Thus the young Ladies there are as much ashamed of being Cowards and Fools, as the Men, and despise all personal Ornaments beyond Decency and Cleanliness: Neither did I perceive any Difference in their Education; made by their Difference of Sex, only that the Exercises of the Females were not altogether so robust; and that some Rules were given them relating to domestic life, and a smaller Compass of Learning was enjoined them: For the Maxim is, that among People of Quality, a Wife should be always a reasonable and agreeable Companion, because she cannot always be young. When the Girls are twelve Years old, which among them is the marriageable Age, their Parents or Guardians take them home, with great Expressions of Gratitude to the Professors, and seldom without Tears of the young Lady and her Companions (Motte edition, Part I, Chapter VI, p. 105).
2. Thus the young Ladies there are as much asham'd of appearing Cowards and Fools, as the Men, and despise all personal Ornaments beyond Cleanliness and Decency. When they are Twelve Years of Age, or marriageable, they are taken Home by their Parents with Expressions of Gratitude to the Professors for their Care (Stone & King edition, Part I, Chapter VI, p. 45).

The paragraphs compared here are obviously different. The sixth chapter of the King edition retains all the key points of the Motte edition from the beginning to the quoted part, but here the underlined part in the Motte edition

and the Story of the King's Librarian and The Giants in the Land of Giants. There are also comments on the original work, such as *Gulliver's Secret – Comments on Gulliver's Travels*. In short, *Gulliver's Travels* gave birth to a large number of best-selling books, but there were few children's versions. At that time, the books published for children were mainly textbooks and classic children's stories and rarely included long contemporary novels like *Gulliver's Travels*.

⁵ M.A. Doody, *Swift and Women*, in *The Cambridge Companion to Jonathan Swift*, ed. Christopher Fox, Cambridge, Cambridge UP, 2003, p. 87.

is completely omitted without any mention, so this omission is very important. The deleted content is: 1. Gulliver did not find that the education of men and women is different due to gender, only the intensity of exercise and the scope of academic research are slightly different; 2. They have a motto: the wife of a rich family should be a kind and sensible partner, because she cannot stay young forever. The first point involves the relative status of men and women and the educational problems it brings, and the second point is an explanation of it.

From his life, Swift was relatively fair to women⁶. He did not put on a chauvinistic face to sneer at women, saying that they were wrong in this way or inferior to men in that way. On the contrary, from his correspondence with women throughout his life, we can see that although women were in a relatively low status at that time and had few opportunities to receive education or to develop knowledge and intelligence, Swift showed a sympathetic, encouraging and supportive attitude towards women. He also wrote or said compliments to women as was popular, but he was concerned about their vision, mind and talent, not their appearance or manners. In a letter to Ms. Pendarves on October 7, 1734, he wrote:

I wrote this for the good of the public, because there is now a vicious and absurd saying among men in this country that women should be fools in any place except in family affairs, and there are still many men who hold this view⁷.

Swift's second sentence that was deleted was a refutation of such popular views. He was highly recognized by these women. Ms. Pendaforth wrote at the beginning of her letter to Swift in 1734: «I find it as wonderful to correspond with you as to listen to a nightingale sing»⁸.

However, the phenomenon of relative equality between men and women in Lilliput (not complete equality, it is just a matter of degree) is different from the situation of male superiority and female inferiority in Britain at that time. The tradition since Christianity has always emphasized the underground status of women and required wives to obey their husbands completely. This situation has not changed after the Renaissance and the Reformation. In the 18th century, even the thinkers of the Enlightenment still held this idea. Rousseau believed that:

Women should obey men by nature. Although men are not perfect at all, women absolutely obey them and learn to endure unfair treatment and insults from their husbands without complaint⁹.

⁶ This is Doody's view. However, some scholars believe that Swift does not have a welcoming or sympathetic attitude towards women. He may not like women, but just behaves in a condescending manner.

⁷ Elrington Ball, *The Correspondence of Jonathan Swift, D.D.*, cit., p. 95.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 88.

⁹ W. Xiaoyan, *Study on the Status of Women in Britain in the 18th and 19th Centuries*, Beijing, People's Publishing House, 2007, p. 56.

On the issue of women's education, Britain began to establish girls' schools in the 18th century. Before that, only girls born in families with conditions had the opportunity to receive family education. Therefore, when the novel was adapted, the idea of women receiving education (especially education similar to that of men in Lilliput) was not generally accepted by society. The deletions here reflect the more conservative style of the adapted version.

In his introduction to Swift¹⁰, Ellington Pole, the editor of *The Letters of Swift*, pointed out that a more serious matter is that there are many obscene jokes in Swift's correspondence. Not only in his letters to men, but even in his letters to Stella, there are many jokes that any decent man would blush when reading them, and this is written to a woman he admires very much. Although people at that time were far more straightforward than modern people, Swift was incomparable to people at that time in this respect. Laurence Sterne defended himself like this:

I am not as outrageous as Swift. He tried to keep a distance from Rabelais, and I tried to keep a distance from him¹¹.

Gulliver's Travels is often accused of being indecent because it contains some more exposed satires, jokes and descriptions. Thackeray once angrily criticized it, saying that it «has dirty words, dirty ideas, anger, and obscene»¹².

3. Motte edition's adaptation of texts involving gender or sexual references

It can be seen that some of the plots in the novel are criticized for being out of line even in the adult world, not to mention being inappropriate for children. Swift's novel does have some vulgar or sexually suggestive descriptions, so the following illustrates how the children's version handles this.

1. THAT which gave me most Uneasiness among these Maids of Honour, when my Nurse carried me to visit them, was to see them use me without any manner of Ceremony, like a Creature who had no sort of Consequence. For, they would strip themselves to the Skin, and put on their Smocks in my Presence, while I was placed on their Toylet directly before their naked Bodies, which, I am sure, to me was very far from being a tempting Sight, or from giving me any other Emotions than those of Horror and Disgust (Motte edition, Part II, Chapter V, pp. 86-7. Underline mine).
2. What gave me the greatest Uneasiness, when I went to visit these Ladies of

¹⁰ Ball is referring here to Esther Johnson.

¹¹ Ellington Ball, *The Correspondence of Jonathan Swift, D.D.*, cit., p. XLVII.

¹² From C.W. Eliot, *Essays: English and American*, vol. 28, New York, PF Collier & Son, 1909, p. 32.

Honour, with my Nurse, was to see them strip and shift themselves before me, as if I was of no manner of Consequence, which gave me no other Emotions than those of Horror and Disgust (Stone & King, Part II, Chapter V, p. 119).

When the nurse took Gulliver to visit the ladies-in-waiting, the girls did not care about Gulliver's presence at all and changed their clothes in front of him recklessly, as if he did not exist. The description of this scene in the Motte version is more straightforward and clear, while the Stone & King edition has a lot of deletions. The Motte version says «they stripped themselves to the Skin», while the Stone & King edition is more subtle and removes the last three words. The Motte version says:

When they put me on the dressing table, facing their naked bodies, to be honest, I don't seem to feel any temptation at all, except horror and disgust, I have no other feelings. (91)

In contrast, the Stone & King edition is much more conservative. It deleted all the previous sentences and only retained the sentence «This scene gave me only horror and disgust». The deleted sentences are undoubtedly considered inappropriate for children by the adapter, especially words like « tempting sight» should not appear in the children's version.

1. That the Productions of such Marriages are generally scrofulous, rickety, or deformed Children; by which means the Family seldom continues above Three Generations, unless the Wife takes care to provide a healthy Father among her Neighbours, or Acquaintance, in order to improve and continue the Breed. That a weak diseased Body, a meagre Countenance, and sallow Complexion, are no uncommon Marks of a Great Man (Motte edition, Part IV, Chapter VI, pp. 96-7. Underline mine).
2. That a weak Body, and lean Countenance were no uncommon Marks of a Great Man; and a healthy, robust Mind was seen being disagreeable in a Man of Quality [...] (Stone & King, Part VI, Chapter VI, pp. 143).

In the fourth volume, Gulliver introduces the life of young nobles to the Houyhnhnms in this way: they have lived a leisurely and luxurious life since childhood, and have been living a life of debauchery once they grow up. In the end, they have to marry a woman of humble origin, ugly face, and weak body. The offspring produced in this way are often weak and sickly, but everyone believes that this is the sign of aristocratic blood. The beginning of the Motte excerpt goes on to say,

If this man's wife does not try to find a strong father for her child among the neighbors or servants to improve the breed so that it can pass on the family, the family will be extinct before the third generation (Motte edition, Part IV, Chapter IX, p. 3).

While satirizing the life of the nobility, this sentence also satirizes the common phenomenon of adultery among the mistresses of the nobility. As above, this is all content that is not suitable for children, so it was completely deleted in the Stone & King edition.

For sexually suggestive texts, the editors are not limited to deletion. They can also use more ambiguous and implicit words or adjust the word order to reduce the impact, as shown below:

1. THE Women of the Island have Abundance of Vivacity; they condemn their Husbands, and are exceedingly fond of Strangers, ... Among these the Ladies chuse their Gallants: But the Vexation is, that they act with too much Ease and Security, for the Husband is always so wrapt in Speculation, that the Mistress and Lover may proceed to the greatest Familiarities before his Face, if he be but provided with Paper and Implements, and without his Flapper at his Side (Motte edition, Part III, Chapter II, p. 31-32).
2. The Women of Laputa have a great Deal of Vivacity; they despise their Husbands, and are very fond of Strangers, whereof many, ...Out of these, the Ladies chuse Lovers; but what's most vexing is, that they act with too much Ease and Safety, for, the Husband being always rapt in Thought, if he be but furnish'd with Paper and Instruments, and without his Flapper, the Mistress and her Gallant may proceed, even to Enjoyment, before his Face (Stone & King, Part III, Chapter II, p. 19).

The adaptation here is likewise out of consideration of sexual allusions, and hence «familiarity» in the Motte edition was replaced with the more general and ambiguous «enjoyment». «Familiarity» has the broader meaning of «familiarity» in daily life. According to the *OED*, another explanation is «undue intimacy». This meaning appeared in the 17th century. Combined with its usage characteristics, it should be the meaning in the above text. Therefore, this word has a bit of sexual teasing and is relatively direct. The S. King edition adopts a vague approach and replaces this word with the more general «enjoyment», which has a more bland meaning and obscures the sexual teasing in the original text, which is more in line with moral norms and censorship.

The Stone & King version made important adjustments to the order of sentences. The Motte version says:

But the most annoying thing is that their behavior is so calm and safe, because the husband is always in deep thought, so the lovers can be bold and intimate in front of him, if he (the husband) is given paper, pen and instruments but clapping is not there (Motte edition, Part III, Chapter II, p. 31).

The Stone & King edition is:

because the husband is always in deep thought, if he is given paper, pen and instruments but clapping is not there, the hostess and her lover can flirt as much as they want in front of him (Stone & King, Part III, Chapter II, p. 19).

The Motte version first explains that the lovers can be bold and intimate in front of the male host, which will give readers a strong psychological and moral impact, but this is precisely Swift's strongest criticism of the pseudoscience and unrealistic nature of the flying islanders. The target audience of the Stone

& King edition is children, so this situation is not appropriate, so it adjusts the position of the conditional clause, first explains the situation, let the readers know that the husband is in deep thought, paper, pen and instruments are by the side, and clapping is not there, and then tells the readers how bold the lovers are. This makes it easy for readers to understand, and the psychological and moral impact of the original work is also cancelled. When it was mentioned that these women really liked the people coming up from below, the Stone & King edition replaced the degree adverb «exceedingly» with «very», and the reason is the same.

Coincidentally, the following sentence again sees the order being adjusted, but this time the situation is reversed:

1. THE Wives and Daughters lament their Confinement to the Island, although I think it the most delicious Spot of Ground in the World; and although they live here in the greatest Plenty and Magnificence, and are allowed to do whatever they please, they long to see the World, and take the Diversions of the Metropolis, which they are not allowed to do without a particular License from the King; [...] (Mort Edition, Part III, Chapter II, p. 32).
2. Tho' this Island be the most delicious Tract of Ground in the World, and the Wives and Daughters live here in the most magnificent and plentiful Manner, being allowed to do whatever they please; yet they look upon their Abode in it as a Confinement, and long to see the Metropolis, [...] (Stone & King, Part III, Chapter II, p. 19).

The Motte version directly points out the fact at the beginning of the sentence, that is, the women on the flying island regret being confined to this place, and then uses a compromising parallel sentence to state how comfortable and pleasant life on the island is, but they still don't like it here, and it is very difficult to go on. Because of the use of compromising parallel sentences and the placement in the second half of the sentence, the statement is stable. The Stone & King edition puts «although» at the beginning of the sentence, and because «although» leads to more elements, it creates a suspense. Readers are eager to know the content of the subsequent turning point, and have to read until the end to understand that no matter how good the island is, these women still don't like it here, and also add a «yet» to strengthen the tone, so the Stone & King edition of this sentence has a more turning and surprising effect.

In the previous example, the Stone & King edition cancelled the surprise and shock effect of the Motte version by adjusting the order, while in this example, the surprise and suspense effect was strengthened by adjusting the order. Why? The previous example was about sexual allusions and ridicule, so the Stone & King edition weakened the impact of this aspect as much as possible in consideration of moral constraints and censorship, while this one is a general storyline, which enhances suspense in order to attract readers and mo-

bilize their curiosity and initiative. Although the effects of the two adjustments are positive and negative, they are both caused by the adapter's ideological and market motivations during the rewriting process.

The differences in Gulliver's individualistic factors, views on women, sexual taboos, and scientific views are mainly due to the genre. When Swift was writing, he once said: «My main purpose in writing this travelogue is to irritate the world, not to please it»¹³. In the book, he satirized many people and events, including Prime Minister Walpole, Wood coinage, Newton, and so on. In addition to timely satire, there is also satire on human nature, which is particularly evident when Gulliver introduces Europe to the Brobdingnags and the Houyhnhnms. The adapted version by Stanley King is a children's reading material, and education is the adapter's primary consideration. The name Gulliver means «credulity». He traveled from one island country to another and saw many places that were completely different from Europe. But what he observed was often only surface phenomena. He was passive and credulous. He was taken prisoner several times, but never escaped by his own wisdom and strength. He was always controlled by fate. Influenced by the individualism of the time, society attached great importance to the cultivation of children's independent spirit. Although the adapter could not completely reverse the direction of the whole story, he still made some subtle changes. When introducing his life background, a more independent image of Gulliver was created, which resulted in the relationship between Gulliver and the people around him in the Stone & King edition being different from that in the Motte version. Of course, the image of the more independent Gulliver conflicts with the structure and meaning of Swift's entire novel, but whether the adapter realizes this or not, he must put the fundamental purpose of education first.

In addition to being influenced by individualism, moral norms are another major issue that the adapters must consider. The characteristics of moral norms in British society during the Georgian period were that they focused on kindness to oneself and others, inner emotions and personal moral judgments, and correct and healthy emotions. This was a compensatory adjustment¹⁴ made due to the decline in the moral power of religion. After experiencing the catastrophe of the civil war and the restoration of the monarchy, the British welcomed a relatively corrupt and hedonistic Charles II. At the end of the 17th century, the social moral standards also declined along with the royal family's enjoyment. Jeremy Collier's «Short View of the Immorality and Profaneness of the English Stage» published in 1698 was a typical response to the moral decline. When people's belief in religion declines, they must rely more on their own inner moral power to maintain social stability. In this case, some defenders of traditional morality suggested strengthening the review of media and

¹³ See Elrington Ball, *The Correspondence of Jonathan Swift, D.D.*, cit., Vol. III, p. 276.

¹⁴ R. Porter, *English Society in the Eighteenth Century*, New York, Penguin Books, p. 323.

public opinion tools and emphasizing the necessity of moral preaching. Swift's book contains many satires on the domestic situation in Britain at that time, and the comparison between Houyhnhnms and Yahoos in Book 4 is a slap in the face of human nature. These controversial points are worthy of consideration by the adapter, so it is reasonable for the adapter to make changes to the original text in order to cater to the mainstream moral norms of society¹⁵.

4. *The nineteenth century children's adaptation and the underlying educational factors*

The paper selected two children's versions of *Gulliver's Travels* published in the 19th century and the Motte version of 1726 for analysis and comparison. The purpose is to find the differences in adaptation strategies by analyzing the differences between children's versions in different historical periods, so as to find the social and historical reasons that affect the concept of children's literature and outline the historical changes in its development. The first one was published by S.O. Beeton in London in 1864. Its feature is that it is equipped with about 300 illustrations. The illustrations are in the style of sketches and are very vivid. These illustrations were designed by J.G. Thomson and engraved by W.L. Thomas. The illustrations are colorless. Hereinafter referred to as the Beeton version. The second one was published by George Routledge and Sons in London in 1895. The title page is equipped with color illustrations. There are also 43 black and white illustrations in the book. The title page also specifically states «Adapted for the young». Hereinafter referred to as the Routledge version.

After comparing the children's editions of the 18th and 19th centuries with the Motte edition of 1726, it is found that the children's editions of the two centuries have very different adaptation strategies. From the macro-level narrative structure and plot, although the St. King edition simplifies the plot, it rarely completely deletes a plot, and the story content is very complete. However, from the micro-level wording and sentence structure, the St. King edition can be said to be a version with relatively large changes. It often replaces words and adjusts the word order of the Motte edition and sometimes supplements it with abbreviations. The two versions published in the 19th century all retain

¹⁵ Swift was very cautious when publishing this novel. He stuffed the manuscript directly into Motte's door to avoid direct contact with the publisher, so that any subsequent speculation about the author of the novel could only be speculation and could not be confirmed. He further used various means in the preface to conceal his identity. This greatly reduced the political risks he might suffer. Even if someone guessed that he was the author of the novel, Swift enjoyed this guessing and was unwilling to admit it publicly.

the language of the Motte edition at the micro level without exception, without any word replacement, order adjustment or other text changes, but the plot has been deleted to varying degrees. These two different adaptation strategies are closely related to many factors of the social, historical, political and educational background at that time.

The Industrial Revolution first began in Britain in the second half of the 18th century, and then gradually expanded to other European countries. With the development of industry, a large number of rural people lost their land and had to leave their hometowns and flock to cities, which brought a large number of cheap labor to the development of industry. The dense population also accelerated the urbanization process, promoted the formation and confrontation between the bourgeoisie and the working class, and the middle class also rose in the city with the trend of industrialization. This series of changes greatly changed the historical environment at that time, had a profound impact on education, and also had an impact on children's books.

Before this, education in cities was generally limited to the wealthy middle and upper classes, and was generally based on hiring tutors. The content of education lacked a unified standard, and the methods varied from person to person. In rural areas, children received sporadic and informal education. After a large number of people poured into cities, the number of children increased significantly with the rapid growth of urban population, and many people began to call for attention to their education. However, in the early days of the Industrial Revolution, due to the lack of labor, the phenomenon of child labor was very serious, and children were physically and mentally devastated. It was only a luxury to set aside time for education. In addition, the shadow of the French Revolution had been lingering in European countries in the first half of the 19th century. The ruling class was worried that the growing working class would be a powerful force, and believed that after receiving primary education and learning to read, the people would be easily deceived by various media or «ulterior motives» works. Therefore, a suppressive policy was always adopted for the education of the masses. By the second half of the 19th century, with the further development of the Industrial Revolution and the improvement of urbanization, the problem of labor shortage was basically solved, and the number of child laborers decreased year by year. Moreover, with the continuous development of industry, the quality requirements for workers are also constantly increasing. The illiterate labor force initially liberated from the land is increasingly unable to meet the latest needs. Therefore, for the bourgeoisie, it has become an urgent need to improve the cultural quality of the general public. In addition, the benefits of the industrial revolution first unfolding in Britain have also emerged, and Britain's national strength has continued to increase. While the bourgeoisie has made huge profits, in order to ease class contradictions, maintain social order, and better serve capitalist production, it has used part of its profits to better exercise public functions. Against this

background, the issue of children's education has been raised again. Compulsory primary education was generally implemented in European countries in the mid-19th century. Britain was slightly behind in this regard and also generally implemented compulsory education in the second half of the 19th century. Even so, after the implementation of universal compulsory education, the upper class and elites were still very vigilant and paid particular attention to the content of education. The *School Review*, the earliest academic journal in the field of education, was founded by the University of Chicago in 1893. At that time, the contributors were not limited to the United States, but also many authors from Britain and other European countries. The main areas of research were the system of school education, teaching content, teaching methods and teaching materials. The establishment of academic journals is only an important and phased sign of the development of the field of education. Before that, the number of articles discussing education was already quite large. Taking *The Times* as an example, the number of articles on education between 1785 and 1900 reached 8,541¹⁶, and the number of articles on school education was 521. The two main issues that the ruling class and the elites are concerned about are what content is the most appropriate and safest, or, on the contrary, what content may disrupt social order and cause people to question the current ideology and should be avoided; the second is what content can effectively improve the quality of the educated. The first issue involves ideology and censorship, specifically in this paper, it is the issue of deletion of *Gulliver's Travels*.

The second issue is the quality of education, which explains why the two 19th century versions did not change the text. Richard Burton published an article titled *Literature for Children?* in the September 1898 issue of the «North American Review». He pointed out that modern education is based on the correct teaching of children. An important change at present is that people have re-recognized the cultural importance of English courses for native English speakers. One of the effects of the increased importance of English courses is the emphasis on literature. Many people realize that English language and literature are extremely important for the development of thinking. Therefore, Burton believes that it is necessary to increase the proportion of literature appreciation courses and to offer such courses earlier. The compilation of teaching materials is also important. The previous practice was to select some beautiful chapters from literary masterpieces for reading, and they were often edited and modified. The current practice is to read the complete work. Because literature is an organism¹⁷ no matter how young the reader is, it should be read from beginning to end. Burton said that this concept was

¹⁶ This is the search result for «education» in the Gale Group's «Times Online Database».

¹⁷ This concept comes from the Romantic view of literature as an organic and holistic concept.

widely implemented at that time. Many textbooks include entire works of literary classics¹⁸.

The two versions selected for this paper have not been altered, which is consistent with the popular practice in the education community at the time mentioned in Burton's article, which was to include literary works as completely as possible. However, we cannot simply conclude that there were no restrictions on the inclusion of literary works at the time. In the same article, Burton quickly mentioned: «But we cannot ignore the moral factor»¹⁹. Compared with the previous century, one significant difference in Britain in the 19th century was the emphasis on morality. Burton said:

When editing literary works, the moral factor must not be ignored... Mr. Howell said: «When the barbaric nature of mankind is conquered, we will no longer see its reflection in literature; the obscene sentences in great poems are deleted to make them suitable for public reading, and no one will read the works of pedant-pride. Because these things are indeed decadent»²⁰.

Therefore, although on the whole, the practice at that time was to include literary works as a whole, rather than just selecting some fragments, this did not exclude the necessary deletion of some paragraphs.

According to the statistics, the deletions related to sexual taboos in the two 19th century versions are as follows:

(1) The sixth and seventh paragraphs of Chapter 5 of Book 2 describe the ladies-in-waiting in the court of Brobdingnag. Because Gulliver was too small, the inhabitants of Brobdingnag often did not regard him as a human being, but as a pet, from the queen to the ladies-in-waiting. Therefore, they changed their clothes in front of Gulliver and even urinated in front of him without any scruples. This scene was unbearable for Gulliver: he could not stand the unpleasant smell emanating from their bodies, nor could he stand these vulgar behaviors. The skin of the ladies-in-waiting was so disgusting in his eyes. These two paragraphs were retained in the Beeton edition²¹; in the Routledge edition, both paragraphs were deleted²².

These two paragraphs involve descriptions of the body (although this kind of description of body exposure is not provocative, but disgusting), descriptions of women urinating, and even the way the maid put Gulliver on her naked breasts, which are all taboos. As Gulliver commented in the novel:

¹⁸ R. Burton, *Literature for Children*, «The North American Review», vol. 167, n. 502, 1898, p. 280.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁰ *Ibid.*

²¹ J. Swift, *Travels into Several Remote Nations of the World*, London, S. O. Beeton, 1864, p. 135.

²² Id., *Gulliver's Travels and Other Works*, London, George Routledge and Sons, 1890, p. 153.

Facing their naked bodies, to be honest, I don't seem to feel any temptation at all, except horror and disgust, no other feelings (Mort Edition, Part III, Chapter V, p. 86).

Readers are also likely to feel disgust and nausea, so these two paragraphs were partially deleted.

(2) In the third volume, Gulliver traveled to the flying island. The island was ruled by the king and nobles, but they were obsessed with their own research and did not care about their families. The abnormal interpersonal relationships made their wives and daughters very dissatisfied and yearned for a normal emotional life. In the fifteenth paragraph of Chapter 2, Gulliver mentioned that the women on the flying island despised their husbands, but were extremely fond of foreign guests. They chose their lovers from these people and cuckolded their husbands.

The Women of the Island have Abundance of Vivacity; they condemn their Husbands, and are exceedingly fond of Strangers, ...(1) Among these the Ladies chuse their Gallants: (2) But the Vexation is, that they act with too much Ease and Security, (3) for the Husband is always so wrapt in Speculation, that the Mistress and Lover may proceed to the greatest Familiarities before his Face, if he be but provided with Paper and Implements, and without his *Flapper* at his Side (Motte edition, Part III, Chapter II, p. 31-32. Numbers mine for later reference).

This passage is completely preserved in the Beeton edition. Not only that, it is also accompanied by a vivid illustration on page 195. The picture gives a positive description of the lady's face, and the adulterer wears a hat, so it is difficult to see his appearance clearly. The male host is far away from the couple, in a marginal position, and is blurred by shadows. He holds his head with his hand, as if thinking about something, and there is a globe in front of him. The protagonist in the illustration is the lady, while the two men have no obvious facial features. This artistic treatment and the text together highlight the irony of the story.



Pic. 1. A Woman of the Island with her gallant.

The Routledge edition takes a more cautious approach to this passage. Sentences 1-3 were deleted from page 220, and no illustrations were given. This actually damaged the plot and logic of the story to a certain extent, because after the adaptation, this paragraph started with saying that they were very lively and liked foreign guests, but it was vague about what they did, leaving the readers confused.

(3) The next paragraph describes the noble ladies and their daughters on the flying island, telling a story about the elopement of the prime minister's wife. Although they lived a wealthy life on the flying island and had no worries about food and clothing, the noble ladies were eager to see the world below. The wife of the prime minister of the kingdom was one of them. Although she had many children and the prime minister was a respectable man who loved her very much, she still went to Lagado under the pretext of recuperating from illness. Later, people found that she lived in a shabby little restaurant with an old and ugly servant. Her life was extremely miserable, but she was unwilling to come back. This paragraph was retained in the Beeton edition from page 195, but was deleted in the Routledge edition from page 221.

(4) The end of the eleventh paragraph of the eighth chapter of the third volume says that in the past hundred years, human beings have degenerated a lot. Syphilis has made the British people short, mentally unstable, and their fat smells bad. This was deleted in both versions.

However, we must always pay attention to the strict distinction between Swift's writing purpose and the adapted version. The original work belongs to satirical literature. Swift's two paragraphs (including similar paragraphs in other places) are not pornographic descriptions. Their purpose is not to arouse readers' associations or interests in certain aspects, but to exaggerate and satirize. Although the Lilliput and flying island he wrote about are both in a remote corner of the world (or should we say that they only exist in people's imagination), his starting point and end point are the familiar Britain. He just moved the sharp satire of reality to a remote flying island in a clever, imaginative and exaggerated way. This island is like the real British society, full of intrigues, politicians' intrigues, men and women in society and their romantic and happy lives. The arrogant posture of the little king, the infighting among the favorites, their arrogance, and their own insignificant and ridiculous stature, which they have not yet realized, form a sharp irony. The noblewoman's affair on the flying island and the example of syphilis causing human degeneration here are all intended to be ironic. As adult literature, they have their own profound connotations and meanings, but they are not appropriate as children's literature. The adapter neither needs nor can it consider such complex social realities in children's literature, so these paragraphs are deleted. The deletion reflects the difference in the adaptation process and genre, rather than the adapter's denial of the original work. This is the case with all the treatments of sexual taboo themes discussed later. Taboos always have specific

objects. The same theme is not a problem in adult literature, but may become a taboo in children's literature. It may even be a taboo in a certain period, but not in another period.

(5) Even more extraordinary is the scene in Book 4, Chapter 6, where Gulliver explains the situation in Europe to the Houyhnhnms. There are also differences in rank and status within the Houyhnhnms, which are determined by genetics; different Houyhnhnms are born with different talents, and there is no possibility of them getting better. Therefore, some Houyhnhnms are always in the position of servants and can never think of surpassing their own kind. Gulliver told his master that the nobility of his own country was completely different from that of the Houyhnhnms.

That our young *Noblemen* are bred from their Childhood in Idleness and Luxury; (1) that as soon as Years will permit, they consume their Vigour, and contract odious Diseases among lewd Females; (2) and when their Fortunes are almost ruined, they marry some Woman of mean Birth, disagreeable Person, and unsound Constitution, merely for the Sake of Money, whom they hate and despise. (3) That the Productions of such Marriages are generally scrofulous, rickety, or deformed Children; by which means the Family seldom continues above Three Generations, (4) unless the Wife takes care to provide a healthy Father among her Neighbours, or Acquaintance, in order to improve and continue the Breed. (5) That a weak diseased Body, a meagre Countenance, and sallow Complexion, are no uncommon Marks of a *Great Man*; ... (Motte, Part IV, Chapter VI, pp. 96-97. Numbers mine for later reference)

In the Beeton edition, sentences 1, 2, 3, and 4 are deleted from page 310, and in the Routledge edition, sentences 1 and 4 are deleted from page 351.

The differences in the deletions between the two versions also reveal the standards of the adapter when deleting the content. Sentence 1 tells readers that these young nobles fooled around with prostitutes and contracted venereal diseases. Sentence 2 tells readers that they had to find some women with bad family backgrounds and bad character to marry, just to covet their dowries;²³ Sentence 3 tells readers that the offspring of such families often get sick. Sentence 4 tells readers that young nobles are cuckolded. Sentence 5 tells readers that physical weakness is the true mark of nobility. Sentences 2 and 3 were retained in the Routledge edition because the content involved are relatively minor and tolerable. However, sentences 4 and 5 were deleted in all versions because they involve venereal diseases and cuckoldry, which are absolutely forbidden in children's books.

(6) The 15th paragraph of Chapter 7 of Book 4 says that a pregnant female Yahoo will have sex with a male Yahoo. This paragraph is retained in the Beeton edition (317), but deleted in the Routledge edition from page 359. The 18th

²³ This situation is also reflected in the work *Marriage -a-la-mode* by the 18th-century British painter Hogarth.

paragraph of Chapter 7 of Book 4 describes the coquettish female Yahoo in heat. This paragraph is retained in the Beeton edition (318), but deleted in the Routledge edition from page 360. These are all contents that are not suitable for children, so they were deleted.

Eighteenth-century Britain had its ideological roots. Porn writers found a perfect defense in materialistic philosophy, believing that everything in the world, including people, was material, so there was nothing wrong with the body getting pleasure. Pleasure in any form, even if it was brought about by pain and death, was acceptable as long as it was natural and rational, because pleasure was natural. In the 18th century, people believed that sex was good for physical and mental health. Decolletage and pornography were rampant, and there were even prostitute directories (such as Jack Harris's *The Whoremonger's Guide to London*), with more than 10,000 prostitutes in London. In contrast, the Victorians were notoriously prudish, and their excessive emphasis on morality was often ridiculed by later generations²⁴. Living in a post-Enlightenment era, they valued rationality very much, and Bentham's utilitarianism tried to study how to achieve the greatest happiness for the most people through concrete calculations. They believed that sex was the animal instinct left in human thought and was anti-rational. Although it could not be completely wiped out from the human world, it should be suppressed as much as possible. Muller wrote in his diary:

As long as the animal instinct of sex in people still occupies its always disproportionate position, any great progress in human life is impossible²⁵.

They disagreed with the habit of 18th century writers to like sex ridicule. In this respect, the style of 19th century novels is far from that of the previous century.

The change of philosophical concepts and class situation can be said to be the root cause of the difference in the attitude towards sex in literature in these two centuries, but this influence is deep-seated, and it affects people through the subtle influence of ideology. The direct manifestation of this deep-seated reason is the change of censorship system. It is a factor that writers, adapters and publishers need to fully consider when doing business. Although Britain also implemented compulsory primary education in line with the trend of continental Europe, its upper class and elites always worried that with the improvement of education level, the spread of new ideas among the people

²⁴ The famous female writer Virginia Woolf is an example. She grew up in the late Victorian era and was deeply imprisoned by Victorian moral norms and male worldviews during her teenage years. She was also trapped by them as an adult. For this reason, she devoted her life to awakening women's consciousness and improving their social status.

²⁵ J. Eli Adams, "Victorian Sexualities," *Companion to Victorian Literature and Culture*, ed. Herbert F. Tucker, Malden, Massachusetts, Blackwell Publishers Inc., 1999, p. 128.

would bring instability. For the ruling class, the purpose of education is mainly to impart primary skills to improve the ability of the masses in order to improve the overall national strength, and to instill patriotic feelings and serve the political function. In Germany, the government believed that the excessive reading of ordinary people led to the decline of social morality, the disturbance of social order, and the unrest of the crowd. The publishing industry was considered by the government to be ideological poison and needed to be strictly controlled²⁶. Therefore, the censorship system of various countries was relatively loose in the 18th century, but later became more and more severe, and Britain was no exception. Although the UK abolished prior censorship in 1695 and has never restored it, this does not mean that the freedom of publication is unlimited. Books may be banned after publication for excessive speech or defamation²⁷. In addition to books, the government has also strengthened monitoring in other areas, especially focusing on visual media such as comics and theater. Because these media do not rely on text, they do not require the audience's education level, have a wider audience, and are more noticed by the government²⁸. Not only that, the British newspaper industry has been thriving since its rise in the 18th century. Many newspapers have a large readership due to their low prices (especially considering that a newspaper is likely to be read by multiple readers). Newspapers are a unique medium with a short circulation cycle, which means that traditional pre-publication inspections are not applicable. By the time it is discovered that the publication is unfavorable to the government or other content that is considered unhealthy, it is difficult to reverse the impact. In response to this situation, the government began to impose stamp duties on newspapers, the main purpose of which was to force newspapers to increase their prices and thus reduce circulation. Sometimes stamp duty accounted for 1/4 of sales revenue, and some newspapers had to double their prices. The increase in newspaper prices meant that many lower-class people could not afford newspapers, so the government achieved its goal of restricting public opinion in disguise. This tax was called «knowledge tax» in the UK until it was abolished in 1861 due to huge pressure.

In addition to prohibiting what content is not allowed to be published and reducing its readership through taxation, a more effective approach is to not clearly define what is unhealthy (or defamatory, etc.) content, and the legal provisions are vague, especially on sexual issues. The Obscene Publications Act of 1857 is the main anti-obscene publication law in the UK. Before that, although the sale of obscene books was also illegal, the punishment for this

²⁶ R. Justin Goldstein, *The War for the Public Mind: Political Censorship in Nineteenth-Century Europe*, Westport, Greenwood Publishing Group, 2000, p. 5.

²⁷ In fact, publishers prefer pre-publication checks so that they can feel more at ease and don't have to worry about the books being banned after publication.

²⁸ The Licensing Act in England in 1737 is a perfect example.

behavior was mainly based on the relevant provisions in the Vagrancy Act 1824, which was introduced in response to the problem of vagrants caused by the large number of veterans in the UK after the Napoleonic Wars. Therefore, the provisions prohibiting the sale of obscene publications were marginalized in the Vagrancy Act 1824. Moreover, this behavior was treated as a common law misdemeanor, with lighter penalties and greater difficulty in enforcement, which could not effectively combat illegal authors and publishers. In view of this, Lord Campbell, the then Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, introduced the draft of the Anti-Indecent Publications Bill, which caused heated debate in Parliament. The bill was eventually passed by Parliament. The law against obscene publications has evolved from being attached to the Vagrant Act to a special Anti-Indecent Publications Bill, which shows the increasingly strict trend in Britain's attitude towards sex in the 19th century²⁹.

In addition, the change in people's concept of children and childhood is also very important for the adaptation strategy of children's literature. An important change in education during the Enlightenment was Locke's blank slate theory. His view completely reversed the traditional Puritan view that children were born with original sin, thus giving rise to a climax of children's education reform. People adopted a gentler and more caring attitude towards children, focusing on the physical and psychological development of children. Locke's *On Education* had a great influence for a long time. Later, Rousseau's view on the good nature of children further contributed to the optimistic attitude towards children during the Enlightenment. For the Victorians, their views were much more complicated. According to the research of Claudia Nelson and Michelle H. Martin, the Victorians had contradictory views on children. On the one hand, they still firmly believed that (middle-class³⁰) children were morally pure and innocent, and their pure nature could often infect adults and save them spiritually and morally. At the same time, influenced by the early 19th century, they believed that it was difficult for children to be redeemed and they urgently needed guidance from adults. The former was a potential possibility, while the latter was a reality, that is, children with the power of redemption did not naturally possess such power, and not every child was like this³¹. They could only do this under the influence of good teaching (from adults). Popular stories at the time, such as Hesba Jessica's *First Prayer* (1867), George Eliot's

²⁹ According to Leonard Freedman, censorship became increasingly strict not only in the publishing industry, but also in the theater (except for some comedies and musicals), where Puritan attitudes continued into the 20th century, and censorship also played a role. See L. Freedman, *The Offensive Art: Political Satire and Its Censorship Around the World From Beerbohm to Borat*, Westport, Praeger, 2009, p. 82.

³⁰ They believed that children from the lower classes were born with original sin, and therefore it was right for them to live a hard and tiring life.

³¹ C. Nelson, M.H. Martin, *Sexual Pedagogies Sex Education in Britain, Australia, and America, 1879-2000*, New York, Palgrave Macmillan, 2004, p. 17.

Silas Marner (1861), and Frances Hodgson Burnett's *Little Lord Fauntleroy* (1885) are all examples of children with spiritual redemption. Books on teaching methods, child rearing, and health guides warn readers that children lack strong moral self-control and are therefore particularly susceptible to temptation and corruption, so parents must always be vigilant.

Conclusion

The comparative analysis of *Gulliver's Travels* adaptations across two centuries illuminates the profound influence of sociohistorical contexts on children's literature. In the 18th century, adaptations like the Stone and King edition navigated Swift's satirical complexity by excising or softening content related to gender parity and sexual critique, aligning with emerging bourgeois sensibilities and limited educational access. By the 19th century, industrial advancements and compulsory education necessitated a balance between literary preservation and moral censorship, as seen in the Betton and Routledge editions. The Victorian emphasis on moral purity and childhood innocence led to strategic deletions of sexual references and subversive themes, even as Romantic ideals of organic literature prompted textual fidelity elsewhere.

These adaptations reveal children's literature as a contested terrain where pedagogical goals, class ideologies, and moral orthodoxies converge. The sanitization of Swift's original critique – whether through omission, rephrasing, or narrative restructuring – reflects broader efforts to mold young minds into socially compliant subjects. Furthermore, the study demonstrates how shifting perceptions of childhood, from Lockean «blank slates» to Victorian symbols of moral redemption, directly shaped editorial choices. Ultimately, this research underscores the dual role of children's adaptations: as vehicles for cultural transmission and as mirrors of the tensions between literary authenticity and ideological control. By tracing these dynamics, the paper contributes to interdisciplinary dialogues on education, censorship, and the enduring negotiation between satire and didacticism in children's literary traditions.

Giuseppe Lanza del Vasto and the *Community of the Ark*: a project for school and non-violent, spiritual and moral education

Luigiaurelio Pomante
Department of Education, Cultural
Heritage and Tourism
University of Macerata (Italy)
luigiaurelio.pomante@unimc.it

ABSTRACT: This paper intends to trace Giuseppe Lanza del Vasto's interpretation of education. He was an intellectual who lived in the twentieth century and who was considered to be the sole, true western disciple of Gandhi in Europe. In particular the author focuses on the role he bestowed upon the school, as a place of education, but even more so as a centre of experience for moral and spiritual learning.

EET/TEE KEYWORDS: History of school; History of education; Non-violence; Europe; XX Century.

A pilgrim of non-violence and a prophet of peace, the sole true western disciple of Gandhi in Europe, and for everything that religion and philosophy historians from the end of the last century were interested in¹, Giuseppe Giovanni Lanza has to date been afforded little attention by pedagogical research in the pure sense² and indeed by educational history research. It is only in recent years, in particular since the publication of *DBE, Dizionario Bi-*

¹ See A. Albanese, E. Marinò (edd.), *Un uomo un sogno: Lanza del Vasto*, Copertino (LE), Stamperia Desa, 2005; A. Drago, P. Trianni (edd.), *La filosofia di Lanza del Vasto*, Milan, Jaca Book, 2008; A. Fougère, C.H. Rocquet (edd.), *Lanza del Vasto. Pellegrino della nonviolenza, patriarca, poeta*, Milan, Edizioni Paoline, 2006.

² F. Pinto Minerva, *Nomadi nell'apprendere*, «ITER Scuola, cultura, società», vol. 3, n. 7, 2000, pp. 18-27.

ografico dell'Educazione 1800-2000, by Giorgio Chiosso and Roberto Sani³, that education historians have begun to turn their attention to the educational and pedagogical proposals of this multi-faceted intellectual from Puglia⁴, not solely due to his undeniable originality, but also due to its sizeable diffusion within the Community of the Ark, a community founded by Lanza almost eighty years ago, but still active today in several European and non-European countries⁵.

Before commencing an analysis of the southern Italian philosopher's ideas, especially in reference to education and schools, a biographical profile of the person is provided, allowing readers to understand the context in which he studied and learned, as well as the *humus* in which he set the roots of his way of thinking.

Born in San Vito dei Normanni (Brindisi) on 29 September 1901, with a Sicilian father and Belgian mother, he spent his childhood in Puglia before moving to Paris, where he attended the "Condorcet" High School and in 1920 passed the *baccalauréat*. On returning to Italy, he enrolled at the University of Pisa, from where he graduated in Philosophy in 1928, with a thesis entitled *Gli approcci della trinità spirituale*, under the guidance of Armando Carlini, who was also the university's Rector at that time⁶. In the meantime, he had added "del Vasto" (taken from the ancient nobiliary particle possessed by his ancestors) to his surname, and used the latter as his pseudonym for his entire life. It was during those years that the philosopher from Puglia discovered Christianity and converted to Catholicism⁷.

In 1937, after having already experienced some pilgrimages in Italy, in the search for a «path of redemption»⁸, "guided" by pacifist readings by the Nobel prize winner Romain Rolland, and spurred on by the desire to in some way make his own contribution to stopping any kind of war, interpreted «as a scourge created by mankind»⁹, he decided to travel to India where he met the Mahatma Gandhi. Struck by his mindset, Lanza del Vasto chose to stay and live in an ashram (an autonomous rural community where men and women lived and worked fraternally, united without distinction of religious belief or social caste) for a few months. He received the name of *Shantidas* (*servant of peace*) from the Mahatma himself, and thanks to him, he studied more about

³ G. Chiosso, R. Sani (edd.), *Dizionario Biografico dell'Educazione 1800-2000*, 2 vols., Milan, Editrice Bibliografica, 2013.

⁴ L. Pomante, *Lanza del Vasto Giuseppe Giovanni*, in Chiosso, Sani (edd.), *Dizionario Biografico dell'Educazione 1800-2000*, cit., Vol. 2, pp. 13-14.

⁵ See <<https://www.lanzadelvasto.com/it/>> (last access: 24.01.2025).

⁶ L. Pomante, *Carlini Armando*, in Chiosso, Sani (edd.), *Dizionario Biografico dell'Educazione 1800-2000*, cit., Vol. 1, pp. 282-283.

⁷ A. De Mareuil, *Lanza del Vasto*, Paris, Seghers, 1966.

⁸ G.G. Lanza del Vasto, *Giuseppe Giovanni, Lettere giovanili (1923-1936)*, Pisa, Edizioni ETS, p. 154.

⁹ Id., *Che cos'è la nonviolenza*, Milan, Jaca Book, 1979, p. 12.

the doctrine of *satyagraha*, finding an answer to human conflict in non-violence and in Hindu wisdom, and setting himself the long-term goal of building an “army of peace” and founding the Order of Western Gandhians¹⁰.

On his return from India, after further pilgrimages to the Holy Land (1938-1939), and with the desire to spread Gandhi’s teaching in Europe too¹¹, his ambitions were only realised at the end of the Second World War. In just a short time, Lanza del Vasto became an essential reference point in Paris for so many young people who met with him weekly for collective lessons, searching for a life teacher. This was the reason why, in 1948, just a few months after Gandhi was assassinated, and in order to provide a tangible tribute to his Master, he founded his first rural community in Tournier, in the Charente Maritime area¹², based on pacifist ideas. The community was named the Community of the Ark (the reference to Noah and to the primordial universal flood was clear, here). The community stayed at the site for four years, although over time the experience proved to be a failure, due to the founders’ organisational incapacity and difficulties encountered due to members who did not wish to observe the Order’s principles and rules¹³. Therefore, following a number of internal disputes and disagreements, Lanza del Vasto was forced to close the Community to establish himself with a few faithful followers in Tourette-sur-Loup.

After another journey to India in 1954, during which he met Vinoba, Gandhi’s spiritual successor, and also aware of the growing consent around his ideas, he decided to recreate the headquarters for his Community of the Ark in a country estate belonging to his wife, the musician Simone Gébelin¹⁴, located in La Chesnaie de Sénos, near Saint Pierre di Bollène, in the Rhone Valley. Unlike the Tournier community, a large group of faithful companions established itself here. They made by decisions through mutual agreement, without the conflicts that had caused the previous order to close down.

Founding the Community was the realisation of Lanza del Vasto’s dream, that of creating a bridge between two worlds: the East and the West, as the philosopher himself explained several years later in his most famous book, *L’Arca aveva una vigna per vela*:

East and West will never meet, says Kipling, and that is true while one remains on the surface, even if one desires the encounter. This encounter is achieved in the Ark, however,

¹⁰ See D. Abignente, S. Tanzarella, *Tra Cristo e Ghandi. L’insegnamento di Lanza del Vasto alle radici della nonviolenza*, Cinisello Balsamo, San Paolo, 2003; P. Formichetti, *Viaggio al centro dell’Uomo. Il pellegrinaggio di Lanza del Vasto in India (1937-1938)*, Rome, s.e., 2016.

¹¹ G.G. Lanza del Vasto, *Pellegrinaggio alle sorgenti*, Milan-Rome, Valentino Bompiani, 1953.

¹² Charente-Maritime is a French department in the Nouvelle-Aquitaine region.

¹³ G. Zaccaria, *Lanza del Vasto: note bio-bibliografiche*, Città di San Vito dei Normanni, Ufficio Relazioni con il Pubblico, 2008.

¹⁴ Simone Gébelin was a young musician who frequented Lanza del Vasto in Marseille and became his disciple. He renamed her *Chanterelle* (little singer).

and the Ark is created from this encounter. The Ark's relations with the East are all too clear, as Gandhi is the inspiration and origin of them. East has always been a synonym of occult sciences, religious speculation and mystic wisdom. However, it is a lesson in external life and civic action that we have learned from the eastern Gandhi. So many threads are woven into our fabric¹⁵.

From that moment, the Community became a model for other similar ones that spread over the years in other nations, with thousands of followers. It was a type of community that incorporated a poor but self-sufficient lifestyle, dedicated to agricultural and artisan craft work, committed to combating violence and upheld by well-defined principles that were based on the seven vows taken at the time of becoming a Companion, which represented the essence of thought and Lanza del Vasto's teachings: work, obedience, responsibility, purification, poverty, honesty and non-violence¹⁶. Members of the Community, whether men or women, single or married, and with or without offspring, worked the land to produce vegetarian food, also dedicating a large part of their time to manual work such as wood sculpting, pottery, cloth weaving and making the tools and equipment that the Ark's members needed to live. Work, therefore, also took a front-line role in the Community and *Shantidas* himself explained the reason to his followers:

Manual work does not just aim to obtain daily bread through pure means, but also to balance the body, mind and spirit of a person, as man becomes a man by doing. [...] In the Hard-working Order of the Western Gandhians, the first work is the work on ourselves. No person is non violent and charitable by birth and by nature. It is possible to become so by conversion, by favour and by will. However, conversion is never just a one time only matter. It is a task to be done over and over again, to maintain it. This is why daily practice is necessary to achieve self-control and detachment, and common prayer to ask God for the strength to love, serve, remain faithful and give thanks for what is granted to us¹⁷.

In addition to work at the Ark, there were of course also moments for meeting with the community and others, time for prayer, meditation, for nourishing the mind and body and also for fun (singing, dancing and theatre in particular).

Lanza del Vasto reserved an important role for school, a place of education but above all the centre of moral and spiritual education. Indeed, inside his book *L'Arca aveva una vigna per vela*, there is a specific chapter dedicated to the *Grande scuola libera dell'Arca* (the great free school of the Ark), with a detailed description of how it works and an explanation of the prime importance given to education and learning (solely primary) within the Community.

¹⁵ G.G. Lanza del Vasto, *L'Arca aveva una vigna per vela*, Milan, Jaca Book, 1979, p. 90.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 107-167.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 95-96.

The Great Free School of the Ark must be a school of Life and Non-violence. [...] Our only experience in this field is in primary school. Rather than dreaming and stirring up big ideas, it would be wise to say how this small school is run today. The small school wants to be separated as little as possible from the rest of life. It is not just a matter of nourishing the brain. Thought, reflection and knowledge must be proven in work and in everyday life. The small school community is an integral part of the large adult community. That is where it is rooted, it is nourished and blooms, as that is where it finds the living image of its desire for growth¹⁸.

A school for children, therefore, that was considered to be closely connected to the adult community, which, together with the teacher, was a fundamental part of the children's education.

Education is not just a task for the teacher, but for the entire community. The teacher coordinates the efforts of everyone involved, parents, friends and children, and anyone with a talent or with knowledge offers a few hours to the school. [...] The teacher, free also to do other types of work, can thus set an example of the value of manual work to his pupils¹⁹.

The pupils were thus the active part of the school, while the teacher was the coordinator of their actions and the person who ensured that there was harmony in the group. Lanza del Vasto believed that students – who also had to maintain the school, by cleaning the rooms, gardening in the summer and cutting wood for the winter should not have to endure the teacher, but instead were the creator of their learning, by building, writing and living in contact with nature. Pupils, therefore were not disciplined in any way, something that was «believed and wanted by each of them». This was the reason behind the weekly meetings at the Ark school, during which the children, encouraged to take responsibility in their role, could suggest ideas and give their thoughts about the correct way for the school to be run, while observing due respect for each other's thoughts.

Each week a meeting took place during which the children make their own comments about good intention, fairness, work, any difficulties encountered and improvements they would like. Criticisms are not to be directed at people, but at deeds, while it is fair and normal for a person to own up to their own shortcomings. Attention then turns to solutions, so that when not subsequently executed, a reprimand is the only thing necessary²⁰.

As mentioned, the teacher was mainly responsible for maintaining order and harmony by applying the principles of non-violence, and even using fasting as a tool to bring any disputes to an end. He also had to lend the same weight to intellectual work as manual work. Therefore, from the age of six, in

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 192.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 193.

addition to learning literacy and being taught a suitable level of knowledge, so that an «averagely intelligent child could acquire a level of knowledge at least equal to that of normal schools»²¹, all the students at the Community school also learned the basics of simple trades, such as cloth-weaving, basket-weaving or pottery. With regard to any specific subjects to be taught, after learning to read, write and do basic arithmetic, children were also taught about poetry and literature, and above all about dance, music and painting, «which formed the person and their interior side» and were thought to be ideal experiences for ensuring «a child's personal, free expression».

The Ark school also undertook to respect pupils' own rhythms, which were often inevitably very slow. The school also encouraged free initiative, categorically refusing any constraint, tantrum and competition.

There is no use of competition, of marks, awards, rewards and even less so of the threat of punishment. If a pupil is interested in his work and in the value of the topic being discussed, any external stimulation is pointless. The teacher does not forbid copying. To the contrary he encourages it, it is a legitimate practice: the more intelligent helping the weaker ones²².

The pupils' creativity and interest in the most diverse activities was encouraged in many different ways. The Ark school even had its own newspaper entitled «La Valle incantata», which all the children could contribute to by writing poetry, impressions, dreams, news about the home, descriptions of their classmates and portraits of their teacher. Also, every month, a day was scheduled during which the class went out to gather and study flowers, insects, pebbles and fossils, and also to visit museums and monuments in the city. Religious festivals, which Lanza del Vasto was particularly fond of, were a moment for «reflection», but were also an opportunity to give free rein to the pupil's creativity, which could consist of «decorating, dressing up, singing, reciting or acting out scenes» that helped to «represent the mysteries and symbols (of religiousness)»²³.

In light of this educational project created by Lanza del Vasto, a personality with many focuses, it is undeniable that at the end of their time at school, the child educated at the *Grande scuola libera dell'Arca* would be a man «equipped and educated to serve their neighbour, and for this very reason more suited to understanding the madness of the century, to finding solutions to conflicts around the world in simple means»²⁴. Moreover, a thorough preparation in this sense would have been essential given that over the years, the members of the Community of the Ark, with Lanza del Vasto as their leader, would

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 194.

²² *Ibid.*

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 193.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 194.

face several pacifist events and hunger strikes to protest against war, torture, militarisation of lands, abuse of power, oppression and exploitation of nuclear energy, in the name of what Mauro Laeng called a true «education of non-violence»²⁵, based on the need, as Gandhi stated, to eradicate violence in ourselves first of all, to then eliminate it from the world.

²⁵ M. Laeng (ed.), *Lanza del Vasto*, in Id., *Appendice A-Z (1994-2002)*, *Enciclopedia Pedagogica*, Brescia, La Scuola, 2003, pp. 841-842.

How Traditional Chinese Elementary Schools Organized Time: Investigating Entry Age, Annual Cycle, and Daily Schedule Through School Rules*

Xiaowei Wu
School of Education
Shanghai Normal University (China)
wuxiaowei@shnu.edu.cn

ABSTRACT: Elementary school rules reflect the evolution of traditional Chinese elementary education and embody rich educational insights regarding childhood learning. Initially established at eight years during the Qin and Han periods, the school entry age was gradually reduced to five or six in some Ming and Qing dynasty elementary school rules. The annual cycle of traditional Chinese elementary education was primarily based on the lunar calendar, and its holiday schedule reflected two key characteristics: breaks during major lunar festivals and adherence to the customary ten-day monthly break system. During the Ming and Qing period, each school day was typically divided into four sessions: early morning reading, forenoon study, afternoon recitation or review, and a relatively short study period before dismissal, with the majority of time devoted to reading, reciting, and writing.

EET/TEE KEYWORDS: Elementary School Rules; Time Arrangement; Traditional Chinese Elementary School; Children Education; XVII Century.

In traditional Chinese society, the educational philosophy of «nourish the correct nature in childhood» [蒙以养正], which originates from *Books of Changes*[周易], a pre-Qin canonical text, played an instrumental role in shaping approaches to childhood education. Under the guidance of this traditional educational philosophy, Chinese children's education – whether in familial

* This work was supported by Shanghai Planning Office of Philosophy and Social Science [Grant Number: A2024009].

or elementary school settings – prioritized the cultivation of moral conduct alongside foundational knowledge acquisition. Regarding the emphasis on elementary education, adults have established certain rules for children's learning and daily behavior. Especially during the Song, Yuan, Ming and Qing periods, with the development of the traditional school management system, many schools and academies worked on the precepts for pupils' learning and the rules for daily management. Many elementary schools also implemented some rules governing both instructional practices and student management, called elementary school rules[蒙学规].

From the perspective of educational history, current research on elementary school rules in ancient China primarily focuses on two dimensions: the historical evolution and substantive content of these rules¹, as well as prominent examples such as *Pupils' Duties*[弟子职], *What Children Must Know*[童蒙须知], *The Contract of Teaching*[教约], and *Teaching Rules for Community Schools*[社学教条]. Building upon these studies, we may categorize the content of traditional Chinese elementary school rules into three core components: behavioral cultivation of pupils, instructional organization, and institutional administration². One scholar has further proposed that the disciplinary rules in elementary schools during the Ming and Qing dynasties can be categorized into three domains, which are physical training, social etiquette cultivation, and academic discipline³. Regarding children's learning and institutional management in traditional elementary education, the organization of daily, monthly, and annual schedule – what we might now term the «school calendar» – has been insufficiently analyzed in existing research. More significantly, the temporal structures of elementary education, as designed by both teachers and famous educators, embodied pedagogically significant experiential knowledge. These institutionalized schedules require systematic hermeneutic analysis to uncover their underlying cultural values and educational ideologies regarding children education.

The pre-Qin period was the birth period of elementary education in Ancient China. There has been growing discussion among adults about the optimal age for children to enter elementary school and the appropriate learning content for various developmental phases. From the Qin and Han Dynasties, the Wei, Jin, Northern and Southern Dynasties to the Tang and Song Dynasties, it was the development period of elementary education. Zhu Xi's[朱熹] thoughts on children's education during the Song Dynasty and his practice of

¹ X.W. Wu, *On the Rules of Private Schools and Influences upon the Children of Ming and Qing*, «Journal of Hebei Normal University (Educational Science)», n. 5, 2011, pp. 32-34.

² X.W. Wu, *Three Types of Hsiueh-Kuei Tradition in Ancient Chinese Schools*, «University Education Science», n. 1, 2013, pp. 79-84.

³ Q.Z. Liang, *Stability in Change: Enlightenment Education, Charity and Poverty Alleviation from the Ming and Qing Dynasties to Modern China*, Shanghai, Shanghai People's Publishing House, 2017, p. 16.

establishing educational rules for children exerted profound influence. After the Yuan Dynasty government ordered the establishment of the community schools, an elementary education institution, elementary education in ancient China flourished during the Ming and Qing dynasties. Elementary school rules during the Ming and Qing periods systematically established enrollment age, annual academic cycle, and daily schedule. These rules and regulations not only standardized elementary education but also embodied sophisticated pedagogical philosophies regarding child development.

1. *The enrollment age of traditional Chinese elementary education*

Already in the pre-Qin period, the Guan Zi[管子] has a chapter called *Pupils' Duties*[弟子职], which illustrates the duties and study and especially the ritual of respecting teachers. This chapter was considered one of the earliest school rules in ancient China⁴. At the same time, more systematic consideration was given to children's schooling ages and learning stages. The *Records of Ritual Matters by Dai the Elder*[大戴礼记], in which there is a chapter called Bao Fu [保傅], records that during the Shang and Zhou dynasties, the children from royal families started elementary school at the age of eight, where they learnt reading, arithmetic and other skills, as well as some of the etiquette of dealing with people and things. *The Book of Han* [汉书] confirms the view that Children start elementary school, called the Elementary Learning [小学], at the age of eight and move on to the stage of Great Learning [大学], at the age of fifteen. Bangu [班固], the author of *The Book of Han* [汉书], explained the reason for the children's school age in terms of both physical and intelligence in *Comprehensive Discussions in the White Tiger Hall* [白虎通]: children begin to replace their milk teeth at the age of eight and are also capable of truly autonomous behaviour and especially learning; slightly older children at the age of fifteen often have clear ambitions to enter the stage of Great Learning and study the Confucian classics⁵.

According to the agricultural book *The Lunar Months for the Four Types of People* [四民月令], written by Cui Shi [崔寔] during the late Eastern Han dynasty, young children between the ages of nine and fourteen go to elementary schools. Older children and even adults aged between fifteen and twenty moved on to the next stage, where they studied *The Five Classics* [五经]. Some

⁴ M.R. Guo, *The Complete Works of Guo Moruo: Historical Compilation*, 8 vols., Beijing, People's Press, 1982, Vol. 7, 387.

⁵ S.J. Huang, *History of Chinese Education*, Fuzhou, Fujian Education Press, 2011, p. 70.

were fortunate enough to study at the Imperial Academy⁶. At the same time, it was common for teenagers and even adults to be educated in village elementary schools during the slack agricultural season.

During the Wei and Jin dynasties, in order to ensure that their lineage did not diminish, the aristocracy usually established family schools to educate their children, while the children of the common people were generally taught in elementary schools by the educated in the townships. In the subsequent Sui and Tang dynasties, with the development of education, especially the imperial examination system, elementary schools such as town schools [乡学], village schools [村学] and folk family schools [家塾] flourished, and more children were given the opportunity to go to school. By the time of the Song Dynasty, the improvement of the imperial examination system, in which no family background was required to take or pass the imperial examination, further contributed to the educational prosperity. Farmers, craftsmen and businessmen all encouraged their children to study, as studying the Confucian classics was the most likely way for children to pass the imperial examination and become government officials when they grew up.

With the development of elementary education, the elementary school rules are constantly being improved. In the Northern Song dynasty, an official rule for the elementary school, which we can now see in its full text, was called *The Elementary School Rule of Jingzhao Fu* [京兆府小学规] and also applied to children over the age of fifteen, enumerated the admission procedures for pupils, the selection and responsibilities of senior pupils, teaching content, three types of learning requirements and standards of pupils behaviour⁷. Most importantly, Zhuxi [朱熹], the famous philosopher and educator of the Southern Song Dynasty, summarized the children's educational thoughts of previous dynasties and proposed the systematic theory of children's education. In accordance with the division between the Great Learning [大学] and the Elementary Learning [小学] stages based on ages eight and fifteen, he clearly outlined the learning content and objectives for these two stages. The aim of the Elementary Learning [小学] stage is to teach children how to do the things of life and society politely, and then to understand the reasons and principles of things during the Great Learning [大学] stage. In order to achieve these aims, he wrote the famous rule called *What Children Must Know* [童蒙须知] for elementary schools and even for every child.

Zhu Xi [朱熹] generalized the outline at the beginning of the rule: «children's education is acquired successively from the knowledge of clothes, hats, shoes, speaking, walking, sanitation, hygiene, reading, handwriting, and many trifles.

⁶ (Han) S. Cui, *Editing and interpreting the Lunar Months for the Four Types of People*, Beijing, Agricultural Press, 1981, p. 2.

⁷ Xi'an Beilin Museum, *The Elementary School Rule of Jingzhao Fu*, <<https://www.beilin-museum.com/INDEX.PHP?m=home&c=View&a=index&aid=3417>> (last access: 12.06.2025).

All these things are listed one by one as follows, which is called *What Children Must Know*»⁸. He then illustrated that in the initial stage of elementary school and even children education, attention should be paid to these details of life. The first reason is to make it easier for children to understand and act, which is in accordance with the laws of children's physical and mental development. The second is to take the training of behaviour and etiquette in everyday life as the basis for the cultivation of moral qualities, which has long been the guiding principle and important content of many elementary school rules⁹ in ancient China and the child education ideas that have influenced modern Chinese society. Since then, the aim and content of the Elementary Learning stage, which includes elementary education, and the interface with the next stage of the Great Learning, have been clearly defined. As Wei Xiao [魏校], one of the education commissioners of Guangdong district in the Ming dynasty, wrote in the rule for community schools, which were a type of elementary school from the Yuan to the Qing dynasties: «in ancient times, when children entered elementary school at the age of eight, they would first learn the habits of moral behavior, then learn to read and write, and after being imbued with ritual and music, they would firmly believe in Confucian ethics and morals and be able to put them into practice. When they moved on to the next stage of the Great Learning, they were often expected to become a moral person»¹⁰.

It should be noted that from the Tang and Song dynasties onward, when more people became eligible to take the imperial examinations – including children who could participate in the Child Scholar Examination¹¹ – most families placed greater emphasis on their children's literacy and even mastery of Confucian classics. This led to an earlier start to children's elementary education. As one historian of Chinese childhood has observed, the average age for instructing children in foundational knowledge and skills, such as numeracy, literacy, or agricultural training, demonstrated a secular trend of decreasing by approximately one year per century. An educational activity typically

⁸ (Song) X. Zhu, *What Children Must Know*, in Id. *The Complete Works of Zhu Zi (Revised)*, 27 vols., Shanghai, Shanghai Classics Publishing House, Hefei, Anhui Education Publishing House, 2002, Vol. 13, p. 371.

⁹ Such as *Rules of the Thatched Hall* 草堂学则, written by Zhang Yue 张岳; *Emphasis on The Rules of Community Schools* 申明社学条谕, written by Wei Xiao 魏校; *Convention of Yixue* 义学约, written by Shen Li 沈鲤; *The Essentials for Community Schools* 社学要略, written by Lü Kun 吕坤; *The Rules for Home Schools* 家塾规, written by Liu Zongzhou 刘宗周, in M.Y. Gu (ed.), *Chinese Education Compilation: Educational Systems of All Dynasties*, 2 vols., Wuhan, Hubei Education Press, 2015, Vol. 2, pp. 1224-1235.

¹⁰ (Ming) X. Wei, *Emphasis on The Rules of Community Schools*, in M.Y. Gu (ed.), *Chinese Education Compilation: Educational Systems of All Dynasties*, 2 vols., Wuhan, Hubei Education Press, 2015, Vol. 2, p. 1229.

¹¹ See Y.K. Jin, *The Children's Section of the Imperial Examination and Children's Education in the Tang Dynasty and the Five Dynasties*, «Journal of Northwest Normal University (Social Sciences)», n. 4, 2002, pp. 39-46. S.D. Wang, *The Imperial Examination of Childhood in the Song Dynasty*, «Journal of Literacy, History and Philosophy», n. 6, 2002, pp. 114-118.

undertaken by nine-year-olds during the Song period might become standard for seven-year-olds in the Yuan, six-year-olds in the Ming, and surprisingly, four-to-five-year-olds by the Qing era¹².

Lu Shiyi [陆世仪], who lived during the transition from the Ming to the Qing dynasties, believed that children could receive outside guidance and elementary education as early as the age of five or six, according to their mental and physical development, as opposed to children in the pre-Qin period who entered elementary school at the age of eight¹³. Typically, in the 17th century in the Jiangnan region, a new technique for teaching young children to read emerged: individual characters were written on blocks of wood or paper, and young children of three or four years of age were expected to recognise them. «This method advanced the beginning age for children to learn to read by approximately two years»¹⁴. In *The Method of Good Guidance by Parents and Teachers* [父师善诱法], Tang Biao [唐彪] suggested that parents could use the technique to teach Chinese characters at home to children as young as three or four, when their speech is clear and their minds are beginning to develop. If intelligent children can recognise one or two thousand Chinese characters within a year, they can enter elementary school at the age of five or six¹⁵. Li Xin'an [李新庵] and Chen Yi [陈彝] developed a more detailed elementary learning plan in *Re-establishing Good Rules for Learning* [重订训学良规]: when children are four or five years old, they are first taught Chinese characters, with a maximum of three thousand and a minimum of two thousand. When they are a little older, they are taught the *Three-Character Classic* [三字经], *Standards for Being a Good Student and Child* [弟子规] and *Elementary Learning in Rhyme* [小学韵语]. They are taught the flat and slant tones of Chinese and how to write couplets at the age of seven or eight. In this way, within a period of three to five years, one can gain a simple understanding of poetry, prose and the Confucian classics with textual explanations¹⁶.

As one history researcher commented: «early enrolment is probably a possible choice for those children with better subjective and objective conditions, whose families have a high level of education, whose parents pay attention to

¹² See B.Z. Xiong, *A Tender Voyage: Children and Childhood in Late Imperial China*, Stanford, California, Stanford University Press, 2005, p. 82; B.Z. Xiong, *Paediatrics and Enlightenment: The Path of Continuity in Modern Chinese Society*, Guilin, Guangxi Normal University Press, 2021, p. 258.

¹³ (Ming) S.Y. Lu, *A compilation of Lu Futing's Speculative Records*, Beijing, The Commercial Press, 1936, p. 1.

¹⁴ Y. Li, *Character Recognition: A New Method of Learning to Read in Late Imperial China*, «Late Imperial China», n. 2, 2012, pp. 1-39.

¹⁵ (Qing) B. Tang, *The Method of Good Guidance by Parents and Teachers*, in Z. Xu, X.M. Wang (edd.), *The Essential for Elementary Learning*, Taiyuan, Shanxi Education Press, 1991, p. 203.

¹⁶ (Qing) X.A. Li, Y. Chen, *Re-establishing Good Rules for Learning*, in Z. Xu, X.M. Wang (edd.), *The Essential for Elementary Learning*, Taiyuan, Shanxi Education Press, 1991, p. 119.

education and whose children themselves are intelligent»¹⁷. And most interestingly, there is another explanation for the age at which children start school that some researchers have not noticed. Tang Biao [唐彪] went on to say in *The Method of Good Guidance by Parents and Teachers* [父师善诱法] that «people are often influenced by the custom that seven and eight are two numbers associated with doing things incoherently when children get old [七颠八倒], and have recently made the mistake of waiting until children are nine years old before sending them to elementary school». This Han Chinese child-rearing custom, which was prevalent in some areas, affects the age at which children enter in elementary school, with children starting school at five or six rather than seven or eight¹⁸. It was at least under the dual influence of educational development and childrearing custom that the school age was brought forward to five or six in Ming and Qing society.

2. *The annual cycle of traditional Chinese elementary education*

In modern education systems, the «academic calendar» is a familiar and taken-for-granted concept. However, this term is not entirely applicable to elementary schooling in ancient China. Except for a few children from royal families, the nobility, and wealthy households often attended elementary school for most of the year. «The establishment of elementary schools was largely unstandardized, resulting in highly flexible operational arrangements»¹⁹.

The lunar calendar is used for all aspects of traditional Chinese social life. It corresponds to the 24 solar terms relating to farming and is also used in elementary school education. During the Eastern Han dynasty, children of commoners aged nine to fourteen were enrolled in elementary school in the first month of the lunar year, before the farming season started and the inkstone water no longer froze. This is mentioned in the agricultural book *The Lunar Months for the Four Types of People* [四民月令]. Children can learn to read, write and count, and then read *The Classic of Filial Piety* [孝经] and *The Analects of Confucius* [论语]. They also started elementary school in the eleventh month of the lunar year, after the farming season had ended. Interestingly, when it gets cold, the water in the inkstone can freeze, affecting the way children use ink to write Chinese characters. This means that they can

¹⁷ H.T. Wang, *Early Education, Parallel Couplets, and the Formation of the Literati Personality in the Ming and Qing Dynasties*, «The Bulletin of the Institute of History and Philology», n. 2, 2023, pp. 369-427.

¹⁸ D.B. Ye, B.A. Wu (edd.), *Dictionary of Chinese Customs*, Shanghai, Shanghai Lexicographic Publishing House, 1990, p. 203.

¹⁹ X.F. Chi, *Study on Elementary Education in Ancient China*, Shanghai, Shanghai Education Press, 1998, p. 342.

read *The Classic of Filial Piety* [孝经], *The Analects of Confucius* [论语], pithy formula for calculation and primers over and over again²⁰. The fact that most children started elementary school during the off-farming season is reflected in the name of a particular type of elementary school: «winter school». During the Southern Song dynasty, Luyou [陆游] wrote a poem mentioning rural families sending their children to winter school to learn literacy textbooks such as rhyming verses and *The Hundred Family Surnames* [百家姓] in the tenth month of the lunar calendar when farming work was not in season²¹.

For rural children, starting elementary school at a time when there is no farm work does not affect the family and prevents idleness. By the Yuan Dynasty, the government ordered the establishment of community schools, enabling rural children to attend school when there was no farm work to be done. The rules of town schools and community schools during the Ming Dynasty show that a three-month study period was very popular in rural areas. For instance, Huang Zuo [黄佐], Guangxi provincial education commissioner in the Ming dynasty, instituted a set of rules and etiquette standards for town schools. It is mentioned that town schools operated between the tenth and twelfth lunar months to coincide with the farming off-season, preventing labor shortages in rural families²². As Lü Kun [吕坤] wrote in *The Essentials for Community Schools* [社学要略]: Local officials should inform the public that children should be sent to community schools once they reach school age. If a family is poor or busy, their children can attend school for three months from the tenth month of the lunar calendar and then return home. If they persist in this way for three years, even if they cannot take the imperial examination, they can still pursue various occupations in the future and become individuals who adhere to Confucian ethics. This is also the main reason why community schools are established in rural areas²³.

The length of the school year and how semesters are arranged are important indicators of the persistence and standardisation of elementary education. The Ming and Qing dynasties are considered to have been the most developed period for elementary education in ancient China²⁴. Examining the school

²⁰ (Han) S. Cui, *Editing and interpreting the Lunar Months for the Four Types of People*, cit., p. 2, p. 104.

²¹ Z.L. Qian, Y.Z. Ma (edd.), *Commentary and Annotation of the Complete Works of Lu You 4: An Annotated Edition of Jiannan's Poetry Manuscripts*, 13 vols., Hangzhou, Zhejiang Education Press, 2011, Vol. 4, p. 9.

²² (Ming) Z. Huang, *The Taiquan Guide to Village Rituals*, Vol. III, *Community Schools*, in H.S. Lou (ed.), *A collection of Admonitions for Clans in Ancient China 4 (The Ming Dynasty)*, 12 vols., Hangzhou, Zhejiang Ancient Books Publishing House, 2017, Vol. 2, pp. 2057-2058.

²³ (Ming) K. Lv, *The Essentials for Community Schools*, in M.Y. Gu (ed.), *Chinese Education Compilation: Educational Systems of All Dynasties*, 2 vols., Wuhan, Hubei Education Press, 2015, Vol. 2, p. 1233.

²⁴ D.C. Zhou, *Research on the History of Chinese Education (The Ming and Qing Dynasties)*, Shanghai, East China Normal University Press, 1995, p. 188.

rules from that period reveals that a study period of almost a year was also common in some elementary schools during the Ming dynasty. This trend became even more prevalent during the Qing dynasty. As Wei Xiao [魏校] mentioned in *Emphasis on The Rules of Community Schools* [申明社学条谕] for the Guangdong district, school starts after the 15th day of the first lunar month each year and ends at the close of the lunar year. On the fifth, twelfth, twentieth and twenty-seventh days of the lunar month, children can practise archery before noon²⁵. Shen Li [沈鲤], a Ming dynasty official and Neo-Confucian scholar who lived a little later than Wei Xiao [魏校], wrote a rule for charitable schools [义学], a traditional Chinese school offering free education to children²⁶. In *The Charitable School Contract* [义学约], the first and fifth days of the lunar month are the days for month examination and grading, while the fifth day of the twelfth lunar month is reserved for the annual examination. Tuition fees are paid four times a year. The second month of each quarter, that is, the second, fifth, eighth and eleventh lunar months, teachers receive their tuition fees on the fifteenth day of these four months²⁷. The time arrangement for the start and end of the charitable schools and community schools, the monthly learning content and examination schedule, and the time for paying tuition fees of the charitable school, all these indicate the institutional design of elementary schools in the Ming Dynasty.

Some of the rules for elementary schools in the Qing Dynasty were more detailed and flexible, particularly with regard to the arrangement of holiday. The yearly schedule of elementary schools was also closely linked to traditional agricultural life and the lunar calendar. In the early days of the Qing Dynasty, an elementary school teacher named Chen Fangsheng [陈芳生] wrote in *The Rules for Moralization and Enlightenment* [训蒙条例]: «The school year starts on the 15th day of the first lunar month and there is a holiday on the 25th day of the twelfth lunar month. Worshipping the ancestors, sweeping the graves and paying the land tax with the family takes about ten days. There are 11 months of school and 10 months of classes every year»²⁸. He went on

²⁵ (Ming) X. Wei, *Emphasis on The Rules of Community Schools*, cit., Vol. 2, pp. 1229-1231.

²⁶ In many Qing dynasty documents, the terms ‘community school’ and ‘charitable school’ were used interchangeably, with the former referring to Ming-era elementary institutions and the latter to Qing-era institutions. However, this oversimplification obscures fundamental differences in their institutional nature. Unlike the state-sponsored community schools, charitable schools were both more genuinely local in character and fundamentally philanthropic in purpose. See Q.Z. Liang, *Elementary Education in the Lower Yangtze Region in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries*, in E.A. Benjamin, A. Woodside (edd.), *Education and Society in Late Imperial China, 1600-1900*, Beijing, Jiuzou Press, 2023, p. 352, p. 372.

²⁷ (Ming) L. Shen, *The Charitable School Contract*, in M.Y. Gu (ed.), *Chinese Education Compilation: Educational Systems of All Dynasties*, 2 vols., Wuhan, Hubei Education Press, 2015, Vol. 2, p. 1233.

²⁸ (Qing) F.S. Chen, *The Rules for Moralization and Enlightenment*, in M.Y. Gu (ed.), *Chi-*

to explain: «due to their lively nature, children can easily become restless and unable to sit quietly and read after a few days if they go to festivals and other events outside of school with family and friends for a day. This is why it is important to arrange an almost uninterrupted learning process for children»²⁹. This rule clearly defines the duration of semesters and holidays, emphasising the importance of minimising learning interruptions based on children's psychological characteristics.

In the 19th century, Yang Wending [杨文鼎] wrote a rule for free elementary schools in the Luanzhou district which included a more detailed arrangement of holidays. The school year begins on the twentieth day of the first lunar month and ends on the fifth day of the twelfth lunar month. According to tradition, the Qingming, Zhongyuan and Hanyi festivals each have a one-day holiday. The Dragon Boat and Mid-Autumn festivals each have a five-day holiday. The City God's birthday and the temple fair each have a three-day holiday. The hottest days of the sixth lunar month, known as the "canicular days", are a five-day holiday. However, there are no holidays when the days of Chinese opera performances or other recreational activities are held³⁰. Moreover, according to a rule for free elementary schools in eastern Guangdong during the Qing dynasty, teachers' working hours are from 7 a.m. to 5 p.m. each day, as is the time when children attend school. The school has three days off per month, based on the ancient practice of people having a day of rest and bathing³¹ every ten days³². At Zongwen Free School in Hangzhou, as well as the three days off each month, there is an additional day off each year for the Qingming Festival, the beginning of summer, the Dragon Boat Festival, the Mid-Autumn Festival, the Hanyi Festival, and the winter solstice. It should also be noted that pupils can be requested to grant leave for important matters as appropriate³³.

Chen Weiyan [陈惟彦], a late Qing dynasty statesman whose life bridged late imperial and early republican China, emphasized the pedagogical neces-

nese Education Compilation: Educational Systems of All Dynasties, 2 vols., Wuhan, Hubei Education Press, 2015, Vol. 2, p. 1502.

²⁹ (Qing) F.S. Chen, *The Rules for Moralization and Enlightenment*, cit., Vol. 2, p. 1502.

³⁰ W.D. Yang, *The Regular Rules for Free Schools*, in X.F. Chi, *Study on Elementary Education in Ancient China*, Shanghai, Shanghai Education Press, 1998, p. 345.

³¹ This is the ancient Chinese system for officials' holidays. In the Han Dynasty, there was a five-day break for bathing and rest, which was changed to a ten-day break in the Tang Dynasty, commonly known as the ten-day monthly break. See Y. Jinding (ed.), *Dictionary of Chinese Cultural History*, Hangzhou, Zhejiang Ancient Books Publishing House, 1987, p. 455.

³² *Rules on Establishing Charitable School for Children in Eastern Guangdong*, in M.Y. Gu(ed.), *Chinese Education Compilation: Educational Systems of All Dynasties*, 2 vols., Wuhan, Hubei Education Press, 2015, Vol. 2, p. 1474.

³³ *Rules of the Zongwen Charitable School*, in M.Y. Gu(ed.), *Chinese Education Compilation: Educational Systems of All Dynasties*, 2 vols., Wuhan, Hubei Education Press, 2015, Vol. 2, p. 1476.

sity of periodic rest in *Elementary School Rule* [幼学规]: «*Record on the Subject of Education* from *The Book of Rites* [礼记·学记] emphasizes that learning should be balanced with rest, just as a bowstring cannot remain constantly taut without relaxation. Effective learning requires proper temporal regulation and avoidance of exhaustion»³⁴. Of particular interest is his mention of Sunday rest as a cross-occupational institution in Western societies. Chen Weiyan [陈惟彦] uniquely witnessed the interchange between Eastern and Western social traditions. His comparative observations revealed that both systems – whether China's rhythmically-structured school breaks or the West's institutionalized vacation periods – shared fundamental commitments to sustaining individuals' physiological and psychological well-being.

3. *The daily schedule of traditional Chinese elementary education*

Drawing from the previous dynasty's educational theories and practices, scholars and teachers refined the sequence of learning content and even established daily schedule for children during the Ming and Qing dynasties. A historian summarised the learning content of the community schools during the Ming Dynasty: «textual learning done right led to morality, if ritual was taught. The three components were almost always present, but the emphasis shifted»³⁵. Another historian divided the day at an elementary school in Ming and Qing China into four parts: morning reading before breakfast, a pre-meridian period, a post-meridian period and a relatively short study period before dismissal³⁶. By combining the dimensions of timing and learning content to analyze elementary school rules, we can more clearly observe the daily timetable structure and are inspired to consider why and how these learning contents are arranged.

One of the most famous elementary school rules, as far-reaching as Zhu Xi's *What Children Must Know* [童蒙须知], is *The Contract of Teaching* [教约], written by Wang Shouren [王守仁], an important ideologist in the history of Chinese education. In 1518, He served as an official in Nangan and issued the rule for all community schools, which generalised the learning contents of a school day: the teacher first asks about the pupils' moral practice in the family and outside of school, then the pupil reads and recites a book, followed

³⁴ Y.H. Jun, Y.H. Jiao, *Essentials of Traditional Chinese Education: Teaching Methods*, 3 vols., Beijing, Democracy and Construction Press, 2015, Vol. 2, p. 473.

³⁵ S. Schneewind, *Community Schools and the State in Ming China*, Stanford, California, Stanford University Press, 2006, p. 96.

³⁶ Q.Z. Liang, *Stability in Change: Enlightenment Education, Charity and Poverty Alleviation from the Ming and Qing Dynasties to Modern China*, Shanghai, Shanghai People's Publishing House, 2017, p. 24.

by ritual practice or schoolwork, then the pupil reads the book repeatedly and the teacher explains the book, and finally the pupil reads a poem with expression. It is worth noting that he has used almost the same length of article to illustrate the requirements for the learning contents. From an educator's perspective, it can be seen that reading, explaining, and reciting books, practicing rituals, and reading poetry are equally important for a child. As mentioned above, from the Song dynasty onwards, reciting and understanding the Confucian classics became increasingly important if one wanted to take the imperial examination. Nevertheless, Wang Shouren [王守仁] emphasised the principle of gradual progress in children's learning. As he pointed in *The Contract of Teaching* [教约], «considering the pupil's capacity, if they can comprehend two hundred Chinese characters, give them only one hundred. This ensures their mental energy remains ample, sparing them the weariness of overload and fostering the joy of genuine understanding»³⁷. Teachers do not require a fast-learning pace from pupils, but rather that pupils do not feel bored and have enough energy to master the classics and gain meaningful insights. As for practicing ritual and reading poetry, they can preserve the innocent nature of children, so that they love to learn without getting tired and having no leisure time to spend on unorthodox things. «Intellectual discipline was not as harsh as one might think»³⁸. Poems and stories can enrich children's learning and, most importantly, the daily pace of study is not stressful for children if the principles of progressive teaching and learning are followed.

Wei Xiao 魏校 and Huang Zuo 黄佐, mentioned above, both referred to the children's specific daily schedule in the rules they had written for the elementary schools. A rural school day divided into three learning periods by Huang Zuo 黄佐: reading in the morning, writing, math or poetry in the pre-meridian, and revision and ritual in the post-meridian.³⁹ As Table 1 shows, Wei Xiao 魏校 also mentioned the elementary primers, specific learning contents even the frequency in *Emphasis on The Rules of Community Schools* 申明社学条谕, which corresponded to the daily schedule of the three learning periods in the rural schools of Guangxi district.

³⁷ (Ming) S.R. Wang, *The Contract of Teaching*, in X.C. Meng (ed.), *Selected Writings on Education in Ancient China*, Beijing, People's Education Press, 2003, p. 288.

³⁸ Q.Z. Liang, *Stability in Change : Enlightenment Education, Charity and Poverty Alleviation from the Ming and Qing Dynasties to Modern China*, Shanghai, Shanghai People's Publishing House, 2017, p. 22.

³⁹ (Ming) Z. Huang, *The Taiquan Guide to Village Rituals*, Vol. III, *Community Schools*, cit., pp. 2057-2058.

Ta. 1. The learning period and content in the community schools of Guangdong District⁴⁰.

Learning Period	Learning Content
Morning	– Ritual practice – Reading books
Pre-meridian	– Explain <i>Xiaoxue</i>小学, <i>Jinsilu</i>近思录 and <i>the Four Books</i>四书 – Write <i>Book of Poetry</i>诗经 and other regulated verse and quatrains, including reading aloud or singing with expression
Post-meridian	– Six Types of Chinese Characters六书 – The Nine Chapters (on the Mathematical Art) 九数 – Ritual practice – Playing The Chinese Zither

In *The Charitable School Contract* [义学约] written by Shen Li [沈鲤], the first part sets out detailed learning content and methods, as can be seen in Table 2, while the second part deals with the management of the school, including class duty, regular examination, reward and punishment standards, and tuition fees. The children arrive at school in the early hours of the morning and spend the majority of the day reading and writing, which includes reading and reciting Confucian classics, practicing calligraphy, learning to write couplets and eight-legged essays. Under this approach, children can learn at their own pace, progressing from elementary primers to profound Confucian classics. However, this learning approach also reflects an essential characteristic of traditional Chinese educational thought – the emphasis on learning rather than teaching⁴¹. Traditional Chinese elementary education focused primarily on children's relatively independent reading, memorization, and writing. When children of different ages, but all under the age of 15, studied in the same space with only one teacher, the teachers' role in explicating the classics and fostering interaction was often overlooked.

⁴⁰ (Ming) X. Wei, *Rules for Teachers and Pupils in Lingnan District*; (Ming) X. Wei, *Emphasis on The Rules of Community Schools*, in M.Y. Gu (ed.), *Chinese Education Compilation: Educational Systems of All Dynasties*, 2 vols., Wuhan, Hubei Education Press, 2015, Vol. 2, pp. 1228-1230.

⁴¹ C.X. Du, *The Discourse System of Education with 'Learning (Xue)' at Its Core: Revisiting the Phenomena of Prioritizing 'Learning' in Traditional Chinese Educational Thought from a Linguistic Perspective*, «Journal of East China Normal University (Educational Sciences)», n. 3, 2010, pp. 75-80.

Tab. 2. The elementary learning period and content in the charitable schools⁴².

Learning Period	Learning Content
Before the breakfast	– Ritual practice – Explain a part of a book and correct characters and pronunciation – Explain an item in <i>Xiaoxue</i> 小学 – Read out the part of a book that the pupils have just learnt
Pre-meridian and post-meridian	– Calligraphy practice using the calligraphy works of <i>The One Thousand Character Primer</i> 千字文 – Couplets writing and Eight-part Essay – Recitation of part of a book from today's lesson
Before after school	– Tell one story about loyalty, filial piety, and hard study – Read poem with feeling three times (appreciate and recite on the second day)

At the end of the Ming dynasty, Liu Zongzhou [刘宗周], a Confucian master, also wrote a more explicit timetable for pupils in *The Elementary School Contract* [小学约]. From Table 2 and Table 3 we can tell that a relatively short period of study before after school, during which the children can listen to moral stories and read poetry, has become a regular routine. The choice of this time and such a short period of time takes into account the relatively tired state of most children after a day of study, and their psychological state of expecting the lesson to be over as soon as possible. In addition, both moral stories and poetry reading, these relatively interesting learning contents, can preserve the innocent nature of children, as Wang Shouren [王守仁] stated in *The Contract of Teaching* [教约]⁴³. Reading poetry, in particular, can help children to expend the energy they usually spend in jumping or shouting, and release the pent-up emotions and unhappiness, as Wang Shouren [王守仁] pointed out in another famous article focusing on children's education, called *General Principles for Teaching Children: Advices to Liu Bosong and Other Instructors* [训蒙大意示教读刘伯颂等]⁴⁴.

⁴² (Ming) L. Shen, *The Charitable School Contract*, cit., Vol. 2, pp. 1232-1233.

⁴³ (Ming) S.R. Wang, *The Contract of Teaching*, cit., p. 288.

⁴⁴ (Ming) S.R. Wang, *General Principles for Teaching Children: Advices to Liu Bosong and Other Instructors*, in X.C. Meng (ed.), *Selected Writings on Education in Ancient China*, Beijing, People's Education Press, 2003, p. 286.

Tab. 3. Timetable of elementary schools in *The Elementary School Contract*⁴⁵.

Learning Period	Learning Content
Arrival at school in the morning	– Recite the books studied yesterday and recently – Read the part of the book to be studied today 20 to 30 times
After Breakfast	– Read thoroughly the part of the book to be studied today
From 9 a.m. to 11 a.m	– Pupil take turns to explain the part of the book they are studying today. If they come across something they do not understand, the teacher will explain it.
After the explaining of the book	– Calligraphy practice
After the noon	– Recite the books studied recently
Afternoon	– Recite the books studied today – Read the part of the book to be studied tomorrow 20 times
At dusk	– Tell two stories about loyalty, filial piety, and hard study

Based on the four aforementioned Ming dynasty elementary school rules, the daily schedule of elementary school become more clearly discernible. Except for the morning, when pupils have a relatively clear time slot for book explanations, other periods are vaguely referred to as “noon”, “afternoon”, “dusk” and so on. This imprecise time arrangement stems partly from the fact that pupils of different ages are grouped together in the school, but it also reflects adults’ attitudes toward the daily learning process. As one scholar astutely observed: «In traditional agrarian societies, where time had not yet undergone full socialization, people’s habits of time usage, measurement, and observance remained relatively fluid and imprecise»⁴⁶. This phenomenon manifested in daily scheduling of elementary education, yet such temporal fluidity embodied positive pedagogical significance. Time subtly regulated and harmonized childrens’ learning process and life pace. The unhurried rhythm of school life aligned with children’s developmental needs. «Children’s instruction should not be forced or rushed, but cultivated through sustained practice – day upon day, month upon month, year upon year. Neither squandering time nor rushing impatiently, true understanding emerges from steady perseverance, thus awakening the child’s wisdom and vitality»⁴⁷. The organization

⁴⁵ (Ming) Z.Z. Liu, *The Elementary School Contract*, in W.X. Chen, *Chronology of the Imperial Examination System and Literature in the Ming Dynasty*, 3 vols., Wuhan, Wuhan University Press, 2009, Vol. 2, p. 3057.

⁴⁶ T.W. Wang, S.M. Wang, *Cultural Differences and the Conflict of Time Perception*, «Academic Research», n. 7, 2008, pp. 36-40.

⁴⁷ (Qing) X.G. Cui, *The Instruction for Children*, in X.G. Qu, *Compilation of Historical*

of elementary learning, including the learning period and content, had a direct influence on elementary schools in the Qing dynasty, until “world time”⁴⁸, such as the Western school week system and class schedule⁴⁹, was introduced in late imperial China.

Conclusion

As early as the Qin and Han periods, people established the school enrollment age for children at eight years old and divided learning stages into ages eight and fifteen. This reflects people’s basic observations of children’s physical and mental development. Under multiple influences, including the expansion of elementary education institutions, growing accessibility of the imperial examinations, advancements in literacy teaching methods, and the influence of folk customs, the typical school entry age was gradually lowered to five or six in some elementary school rules. When conditions allowed, some children even began receiving literacy instruction at home as early as three or four years old. Children from different families have varying learning foundations, particularly in literacy levels, and their educational goals usually differ accordingly. By age 15, some would advance higher studies to continue mastering the Confucian classics, while others would prepare to enter various occupations to earn a living. And the earlier enrollment age, to a certain extent, reflects how social changes – particularly the imperial examinations – influenced life rhythms, especially the timing of when one begins formal education.

How to choose appropriate times and how to use time effectively are issues that educators must consider seriously. In traditional China, the annual cycle of elementary education was closely synchronized with agricultural cycle and cultural tradition. During the Ming and Qing dynasties, with the exception of winter schools that operated on three-month terms, most elementary schools maintained an eleven-month instructional year. Schools structured their holiday periods around major lunar festivals and the customary monthly ten-day break system, which was close to an “agricultural time”.

Zhu Xi’s *What Children Must Know* [童蒙须知] and Wang Shouren’s *The*

Materials on Modern Chinese Education: Education During the Opium War Period, Shanghai, Shanghai Education press, 2007, p. 390.

⁴⁸ ‘World time’ means a popular time modality that China has to accept, even though it does not initially belong to China. See J.L. Huang, *History, Body and the State: The Formation of Body in Modern China, 1875-1937*, Beijing, New Star Press, 2006, p. 148.

⁴⁹ See L. Y. Zhang, *The Change of Timetable in Schools*, Master Thesis, Department of Pedagogy (Supervisor: J.J. Wang), Shanghai, East China Normal University, a.a. 2005-2008. L.Y. Zhang, *The History of the Formation of School Week System in Modern China*, «Peking University Education Review», n. 4, 2022, pp. 140-158.

Contract of Teaching [教约] remain two of the most influential elementary school rules from traditional China. Zhu Xi [朱熹] established detailed regulations for children's daily life, studies, moral conduct, and etiquette, providing a model for the content of many subsequent primary school rules. From a temporal perspective, Wang Shouren [王守仁] organized both the learning content and sequence for children's daily schedule in elementary school. To address the issue of people focusing primarily on children's recitation and memorization of Confucian classics under the imperial examination system's influence, Wang Shouren emphasized that poetry, ritual practice, and reading Confucian classics were equally important. Drawing on another well-known elementary education guideline, *General Principles for Teaching Children: Advices to Liu Bosong and Other Instructors* [训蒙大意示教读刘伯颂等], he argued that both teaching and learning should follow a progressive principle, stressing that elementary education should align with children's nature and nurture their aspirations.

The elementary school rule makers established a sequential and progressive learning process for children, progressing from literacy and elementary primers to Confucian classics, and from cultivating daily behavioral habits to developing moral character. In many subsequent elementary school rules during the Ming and Qing dynasties, children of different ages followed similar annual cycles and daily schedules. Each school day was typically divided into four sessions: early morning reading, forenoon study, afternoon recitation or review, and a relatively short study period before dismissal. Comparing the learning content across these four periods reveals that children spent most of their time reading, reciting, and writing. This not only reflects how the content and methods of imperial examinations influenced elementary school daily schedules but also demonstrates the characteristic teaching approach of traditional Chinese elementary education, which emphasized mainly children's memorization and recitation rather than teachers' explanations. «The reading stages of a child, the sequence of studying Confucian classics, and daily lessons often exhibit significant flexibility depending on regional, social class, and familial differences. Moreover, they are heavily influenced by various unpredictable factors, such as the elementary school teachers' competence, peer influence, and family changes»⁵⁰. In the annual, monthly, and daily schedules outlined in elementary school rules, children could progress at a "personalized pace". However, this approach posed challenges to their learning foundation, motivation, and particularly their self-directed learning abilities.

⁵⁰ Y. Lu, *From "Recitation" to "Lecture"? "Lesenrevolution" in Late Qing China*, «The Qing History Journal», n. 4, 2018, pp. 102-122.

The “New” Civic Education in Czechoslovakia between Pedagogical Autonomy, Political Instrumentalization, Educational Sciences and the Soviet Model (1945-1953/1960) – Transfer Analysis*

Dana Kasperová
Institute of Education and Psychology
Technical University of Liberec (Czech Rep)
dana.kasperova@tul.cz

Tomáš Kasper
Institute of Education
Technical University of Liberec (Czech Rep)
tomas.kasper@tul.cz

ABSTRACT: The article focuses on the development of a “new” model of civic education as one of the results of the “new” educational sciences in Czechoslovakia after 1945 and especially after 1948, when political power was concentrated in the hands of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia. Civic education played a fundamental role in the task of building the “new” communist man and the socialist mind of man. The article reconstructs the transformations of the concept of civic education in the years 1945-1953 (the subject of civic education was part of compulsory school education) and contextualizes it with regard to the socio-political changes after 1948 and the “model” discussion of civic education in the Soviet Union. The article analyzes the discourse and practices of civic education actors in 1945-1953 on the basis of primary sources – journals, scientific

* This study was supported by the GACR project no. 25-16883S: For a New Model of Educational Sciences – Totalitarianism, Ideology and Political Instrumentalization in Educational Sciences in the Communist Period.

publications. Through the optic of pedagogical transfer, policy borrowing, and cross-national analysis, the processes of Sovietization of civic education in the former Czechoslovakia are discussed, including with regard to the Sovietization of educational sciences of the time.

EET/TEE KEYWORDS: Civic education; Marxism; New Soviet Man; Policy Borrowing; Czechoslovakia; XX Century.

Introduction

After 1945, Czechoslovakia embarked on a “new path” in politics, culture, science and, naturally, education. The years 1945–1948 were primarily shaped by the response to the Second World War and the search for a socio-political model that would continue the modernisation of society while addressing social issues “better” than the interwar parliamentary democracy¹. On one hand, the actors sought to build upon pre-war debate. On the other hand, it was impossible to simply resume debate from where it had been interrupted in 1939. In particular, communist representatives in post-1945 Czechoslovakia fostered a critical perspective on the interwar model of liberal (*bourgeois*) democracy, which they deemed a failure, and promoted a “new model” of «people’s democracy». This system was presented as the key to resolving Czechoslovakia’s political, social and educational challenges «for the benefit of all people». At the same time, even weakened democratic political figures sought change in socio-political and social life – though not in the way of a «necessary curtailment» of democracy.

When the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, with Soviet support and in the context of the emerging Cold War, seized full political control in February 1948, science, culture and (both school and out-of-school) education were subordinated to the creation of a communist society and socialist consciousness². The education of citizens was to become the foundation for shaping the “new man” – a person who thinks, feels, understands and, above all, acts in accordance with communist ideals, serving the “construction” and “victory” of communist society³. Attention was given to reforming both school and out-

¹ R. Krakovský, *State and society in communist Czechoslovakia: transforming the everyday from World War II to the fall of the Berlin Wall*, London, I.B. Tauris, 2018; K. McDermott, *Communist Czechoslovakia, 1945-89: a political and social history*, London, Palgrave, 2015. and J. Korbel, *The communist subversion of Czechoslovakia, 1938-1948: the failure of coexistence*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 2015.

² M. Devátá, M. *Marxismus jako projekt nové společnosti*, Praha, AV ČR, 2014; M. Devátá, D. Olšáková, *Vědní koncepce KSČ a její institucionalizace po roce 1948*, Praha, AV ČR, 2011.

³ J. Cuhra *et alii*, *Pojetí a prosazování komunistické výchovy v Československu 1948-89*, Praha, AV ČR, 2020.

of-school education, preparing teachers for the “challenges” of building a communist society, ensuring their ideological commitment and “correct” political beliefs⁴. In addition to undermining and weakening the interwar educational tradition, post-1948 efforts focused on strengthening “new” educational models based on the Soviet model. The new type of intellectual was envisioned as someone educated in a polytechnic fashion⁵, i.e. with comprehensive technical and scientific knowledge. Alongside this polytechnic education, the “victory” of communism was to be guaranteed by a strong ideological-political education embedded in the “newly” conceived civic education. This article explores civic education as a school subject between 1945 and 1953, as seen through the perspectives of teachers and educational policy. The year 1945 marked the beginning of a “new era” for civic education as a subject, yet in 1953, unexpectedly, it was abolished in both basic and upper secondary education.

1. *Questions, sources and methodological framework*

The reconstruction and analysis of transformation in civic learning between 1945 and 1953 from the perspective of the actors is based on the concept of educational knowledge transfer⁶ and employs a discourse-analytical approach⁷. The article analyses texts published in the key journal for civic education teachers, namely *Politická výchova* («Political Education», 1945–1946), later renamed *Občanská výchova* («Civic Education», 1946–1948),

⁴ Regarding the topic of teachers in socialist Czechoslovakia see: J. Zounek, M. Šimáně, D. Knotová, “*You have betrayed us for a little dirty money!*”: the Prague Spring as seen by primary school teachers, «*Paedagogica Historica*», vol. 54, n. 3, 2018, pp. 320–337. About the “own identity” of educational sciences in socialist Czechoslovakia see T. Kasper, D. Kasperová, *Tauwetter im Kalten Krieg und in der Pädagogik*, in C. Bach, E. Berner, S. Engelmann, V. Gräbe (edd.), *Krieg und Frieden*, Bad Heilbrunn, Klinkhardt, 2024, pp. 38–61. For similar analysis of teacher re-education in Soviet Latvia on the topic of “voluntary and compulsory” reception of the Soviet model see A. Rahi-Tamm, I. Salēniece, *Re-educating teachers: ways and consequences of Sovietization in Estonia and Latvia (1940–1960) from the biographical perspective*, «*Journal of Baltic Studies*», vol. 47, n. 4, 2016, pp. 451–472.

⁵ The polytechnically trained man, as opposed to the vocationally trained man, was not to be a “slave” to one discipline, as capitalist industry and production was to “dictate”. The polytechnically trained man was to be able to guarantee the economic development of the socialist state-planned economy and was to be the guarantee of the economic dominance of the East over the West.

⁶ J. Schriewer, “*Problemdimensionen sozialwissenschaftlicher Komparistik*”, in J. Schriewer, H. Kaelble, *Vergleich und Transfer. Komparistik in den Geschichts-, Sozial- und Kulturwissenschaften*, Frankfurt am Main, New York, Campus, 2003, pp. 9–54.

⁷ P. Sarasin, *Diskursanalyse*, in M. Sommer, S. Müller-Wille, C. Reinhardt, *Handbuch Wissensgeschichte*, Stuttgart, Metzler Verlag, 2017, pp. 45–55; R. Keller, K. Hornidge, J.W. Schünnemann, *The sociology of knowledge approach to discourse*, New York, Routledge, 2018 and R. Keller, *Diskursforschung*, Wiesbaden, VS Verlag, 2011.

and its successor *Společenské nauky ve škole* («Social Sciences in Schools», 1948–1953). This is a considerable corpus of articles by the educational policy makers of the time, politicians themselves, as well as reflections and reports by teachers on teaching civic education (but also history and geography). Civic education as a school subject was only one component of a broader concept of civic learning. Particularly after 1948, communist-oriented civic learning became the aim of the entire schooling system rather than being confined to a single subject. The formation of an «all-round socialist personality» (intellectually, emotionally, morally and physically) gained importance, not only within the classroom but also through out-of-school activities, celebrations, competitions, academic Olympiads and school-community collaborations (pupil visits to socialist model enterprises, mines, construction sites and agricultural cooperatives, as well as work activities, etc.). The question is how this broader framework of civic learning influenced the conception of civic education as a subject between 1948 and 1953, or even after 1945.

We acknowledge the limitations of using journal sources, as articles published after 1948 were subject to ideological and political control by the totalitarian regime. In this sense, teachers' journals from the post-1948 period largely functioned as a «staged» platform for presenting pedagogical practice and theory. Although they do not provide a free and authentic perspective, but often a controlled view dictated by the totalitarian educational policy, imposed on and demanded of teachers, these journals – alongside curricula, official educational documents and biographical memoirs – remain valuable sources for reconstructing teachers' and professional pedagogical debate.

We approach the corpus of texts on civic education in Czechoslovakia between 1945 and 1953 as part of a body of knowledge that is shaped, transformed and transferred⁸. The following analysis examines to what extent civic learning in Czechoslovakia was part of the «educational and cultural import»⁹ from the Soviet Union, i.e. the processes of Sovietisation of the Czechoslovak education system¹⁰. However, we do not view the transformation of civic learning as a «direct imprint» of Soviet influence and power. Instead, within

⁸ B. Behm, T. Drope, E. Glaser, S. Reh, *Wissen machen*, «Zeitschrift für Pädagogik», vol. 63, n. 1, 2017, pp. 7-15.

⁹ On the import of the Soviet image of the body and mind of the new Soviet man see: I. Kestere, B. Kalke, *Controlling the image of the teacher's body under authoritarianism: the case of Soviet Latvia (1953–1984)*, «Paedagogica Historica», vol. 54, n. 1-2, 2018, pp. 184-203. On the interest medium of «cultural import» by pen pals as part of the so-called socialist internationalism see I. Stonkuvienė, I. Ivanavičė, «Looking for pen pals»: *internationalist upbringing in a school of the Lithuanian SSR in the late Soviet era*, «Paedagogica Historica», vol. 60, n. 6, 2024, pp. 972-991.

¹⁰ An analysis of the «Americanization» of German education and German science can be used as inspiration for the reconstruction of the Sovietization of education in the «Eastern Bloc». The transfer of American experiences, positions and values in science and education is analysed in a very inspiring way in S. Wedde, *Kulturtransfer und Wissenszirkulation in den*

the framework of transfer analysis, we consider the actions of the actors in the educational sphere as they either followed or rejected reference examples ("models"). We approach civic education and civic learning in Czechoslovakia from the perspective of knowledge circulation¹¹ within the countries of the Eastern Bloc at that time¹². With regard to the concepts of policy lending and policy borrowing¹³, it turns out that in the processes of transfer (reflection, perception, reception, selection), acculturation and the search for a new "identity", it is impossible to simply determine a "code and procedure" without taking into account the specificity of tradition, the "logic" of who reads, why, what and how. We assume that, despite all the "imperial" Soviet cultural and scientific efforts to unify and unite «across the Eastern Bloc» (cross-national view¹⁴), the transfer of civic learning in Czechoslovakia (as in other countries of the communist world¹⁵) was a specific and "unique" elaboration of Soviet "best practices". For the reconstruction and understanding of the meanings that shape perception/selection and acceptance/resistance, the role of both continuity and discontinuity is crucial¹⁶. These factors determine by whom (the actors and their practices) and how the "imported" models from the "home country" will be defined and further developed¹⁷. At the same time, it is clear that it was not possible to negate, reject or delegitimise the Soviet model. The

langen 1960er Jahren : das deutsch-amerikanische Fulbright-Programm für Lehrer:innen, Bad Heilbrunn, Verlag Julius Klinkhardt, 2023.

¹¹ M. Caruso *et alii*, *Zirkulation und Transformation: pädagogische Grenzüberschreitungen in historischer Perspektive*, Köln, Weimar, Wien, Böhlau, 2014.

¹² R. Applebaum, *Empire of Friends: Soviet Power and Socialist Internationalism in Cold War Czechoslovakia*, New York, Cornell University Press, 2019. and G. Steiner-Khamsi, *The Development Turn in Comparative Education*, «European Education», vol. 38, n. 3, 2006, pp. 19-47.

¹³ G. Steiner Khamsi, *Understanding Policy Borrowing and Lending*, in G. Steiner Khamsi, F. Waldow (edd.), *World Yearbook of Education*, New York, Routledge, 2012, pp. 3-17; G. Steiner Khamsi, *Cross-national policy borrowing: Understanding reception and translation*, «Asia Pacific Journal of Education», vol. 34, n. 2, 2014, pp. 153-167; D. Philipps, K. Ochs, *Process of Policy Borrowing in Education: some Explanatory and Analytical Devices*, «Comparative Education», vol. 39, n. 4, 2003, pp. 451-461.

¹⁴ E. Fuchs, E. Roldan (edd.), *The Transnational in the History of Education*, Cham, Palgrave Macmillan, 2019.

¹⁵ J. Connelly, *Captive University: The Sovietization of East German, Czech, and Polish Higher Education, 1945–1956*, Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 2000. On the specific reception and rejection of the polytechnic education model in Hungary see L. Somogyvári, *Political decision-making in socialist education: a Hungarian case study (1958–1960)*, «History of Education», vol. 48, n. 5, 2019, pp. 664-681. On the Sovietization of Slovak education see B. Kudláčová (ed.), *Two Sides of the Same Coin. Examples of Free and Unfree Education in Slovakia during the Period of Socialism*, Berlin, Trnava, Peter Lang, 2023.

¹⁶ On the limits of implementation and rejection within the transnational transfer of the communist model of education and training, see M.E. Mincu, *Communist education as modernisation strategy? The swings of the globalisation pendulum in Eastern Europe (1947–1989)*, «History of Education», vol. 45, n. 3, 2016, pp. 319-334, in partic. pp. 325-329.

¹⁷ M. Caruso, F. Waldow, *Historisch-vergleichende Bildungsforschung. Transnationa-*

“autonomy” of adoption within transfer was always constrained by the force of political power. Even in cases where acceptance was merely formal and did not internally alter the knowledge system, the “new model” could not be officially refused. This is why our case does not represent a classic example of policy borrowing¹⁸, but rather a hybrid of partially instrumental and partially voluntary borrowing. The dominance of power is further evident in the “sudden” abolition of civic education as a compulsory subject in 1953, following the Soviet model. This prompts us to ask why and how this decision was made and what implications it had for the next phase of “new” civic learning in the Czechoslovak socialist schooling system.

2. *Political or civic education? The debate between 1945 and 1948*

Following the liberation of Czechoslovakia in May 1945 (partly by Allied forces but primarily by the Red Army), the new school year began in September 1945. This was a time deeply shaped by the traumatic experience of war, as well as the lingering bitterness over the dissolution of Czechoslovakia, the failure of allied treaties, and the signing of the Munich Agreement in 1938. These political experiences often led to the questioning and weakening of interwar liberal democratic values in pedagogical publications. After 1945, liberal democracy was widely perceived as flawed, having failed to address key social challenges, having been «unable to defend itself» against the threat of fascism, and having ultimately led to the loss of national sovereignty (the breakup of the state). It is important to highlight and explain this perspective, as it was dominant in the newly established journal «Politická výchova» [«Political Education»] during the 1945/46 school year, legitimising the demand for a “new beginning” – one that was both partially voluntarily chosen and partially politically instrumentalised.

lisierung/Transnationalität, in G. Kluchert, K.P. Horn, C. Groppe, M. Caruso, *Historische Bildungsforschung*, Bad Heilbrunn, Verlag Julius Klinkhardt, 2021, pp. 79-89, in partic. 84-85.

¹⁸ D. Philipps, K. Ochs, *Researching Policy Borrowing: Some Methodological Challenges in Comparative Education*, «British Educational Research Journal», vol. 36, n. 6, 2004, pp. 773-784, in partic. 776.

2.1. Political education – curricular definition

We do not want to continue where we left off in 1939; we want to build the state on new foundations. Our return will not be a return to the past. We must understand the new facts¹⁹.

These new facts were to lead to a new worldview and thorough political education²⁰, through which «the people were to overcome their individualism and fulfil the gigantic tasks of the time»²¹. The leading proponent of this “new” political approach to civic education, teacher and later university professor Karel Angelis, spoke in early 1946 as follows:

It was clear that the principle of politicisation in schools meant exploring and drawing connections, evaluating all phenomena and facts in relation to the needs of our working people (...). Regarding the content of political education, there was and remains a shared conviction that the new ‘political education’ must differ from the former ‘civic studies and education’, which lacked this unified people’s democratic political orientation and did not have a single, consistent perspective and starting point for evaluating all aspects of our economic, political, social and cultural life. (...) Pre-war liberal democracy was, at times, remarkably deaf to these needs²².

Political education was introduced as a subject in all years of both lower and upper secondary schools²³. The interim curriculum from late 1945 defined its objective as follows:

A conscious and active attitude of young people to the construction of a new people’s democratic society and state, an awareness of national unity, a sense of kinship with all Slavic brothers and solidarity with other nations, a cooperative spirit in work and in sharing its fruits, and good social habits among pupils are strengthened through systematic instruction on social life and social structures, on the institutions and structures of people’s power, and through the organised life and work of pupils both in and outside school in the spirit of people’s democracy²⁴.

To support the establishment and further development of political education as a subject, a dedicated department was created within the newly founded Research Institute of Pedagogy at the Ministry of Education (established

¹⁹ B. Uher, *Základem politické výchovy je vědění*, «Politická výchova», vol. 1, n. 1, 1946, pp. 3-4, in partic. p. 4.

²⁰ O. Chlup, *O politické výchově mládeže*, «Politická výchova», vol. 1, n. 1, 1946, p. 3.

²¹ K. Angelis, *Úvodem*, «Politická výchova», vol. 1, n. 1, 1946, pp. 1-3, in partic. p. 3.

²² K. Angelis, *Občanská a politická výchova do nového školního roku*, «Politická výchova», vol. 2, n. 1, 1946, pp. 2-4, in partic. p. 3.

²³ *Přechodné učební osnovy pro školy obecné, měšťanské a střední na školní rok 1945/46: výnos MŠO z 30.XI.1945, č. 10584*, Praha, Státní nakladatelství, 1946, p. 5, p. 23, p. 50.

²⁴ *Přechodné učební osnovy pro školy obecné, měšťanské a střední na školní rok 1945/46: výn. MŠO z 30.XI.1945, č. 10584*, Praha, Státní nakladatelství, 1946, p. 29.

in 1946, the department for political and moral education and later for civic education), which was mainly responsible for the creation of curricula, as well as textbooks and other aids.

From the 1945/46 school year onwards, the goal of the new political education (which replaced interwar civic education) was to cultivate individuals with a unified worldview, political awareness, a collective and work-oriented moral code, and firm habits and beliefs for life in a people's democracy²⁵. This goal was not to be undermined by liberalism, individualism, or what was referred to as moralising, which had allegedly been prevalent in interwar civic education²⁶. A key issue was the fulfilment and implementation of political education. Should it exist as a standalone subject, or should it be a principle integrated across all subjects (particularly in the "new" history²⁷, geography, and Czech and Russian language classes)? Both approaches were to be pursued: political education as a standalone subject and political and ideological consciousness embedded in other subjects. History was to highlight the nation, the new world order, the historical role of the USSR and the history of the USSR. Geography, beyond its economic aspects, was to emphasise the transformation of landscapes through socialist construction projects²⁸. The world and history were to be shaped through human constructive labour²⁹. Historical and geographical topics were to be interpreted through the lens of contemporary political education requirements, acquiring an explicitly political significance. Similarly, literature and the Czech language were expected to highlight national traditions and the solidarity of Slavic nations³⁰.

The connection between school-based political education and events in the outside world was to be achieved through the appropriate didactic approach to the subject. Lessons were to feature presentations, discussions, current affairs updates, reviews of weekly or monthly events (both domestic and international), conversations, readings of selected texts, as well as newspapers, magazines, etc. While grading was introduced in political education, formal examinations and written assignments were not required, and assessment was to be approached with caution³¹. With no curriculum or textbooks available for the new subject, the journal «Politická výchova» [«Political Education»] played

²⁵ *Přechodné učební osnovy pro školy obecné, měšťanské a střední na školní rok 1945/46: výn. MŠO z 30.XI.1945, č. 10584, Praha, Státní nakladatelství, 1946, p. 3.*

²⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁷ O. Fidrmuc, *Dějepis a politická výchova*, «Politická výchova», vol. 1, n. 2-3, 1946, pp. 5-6.

²⁸ M. Drástová, K. Angelis, *Zeměpis a politická výchova*, «Politická výchova», vol. 1, n. 2-3, 1946, pp. 6-8.

²⁹ M. Drástová, K. Angelis, *Zeměpis a politická výchova*, «Politická výchova», vol. 1, n. 2-3, 1946, pp. 6-8, here p. 7.

³⁰ J.V. Bečka, *Občanská výchova a čeština*, «Politická výchova», vol. 3, n. 1, 1947, pp. 5-6.

³¹ J. Baxová, *Politická výchova na školách 2. stupně*, «Politická výchova», vol. 1, n. 4, 1946, p. 4.

an important conceptual-pedagogical role (formulation of objectives, definition of curricular content), but also a didactic role (how the subject should be taught, what methods, procedures and means should be used, how pupils should be communicated with, what tools should be used, what the role of the teacher should be, how the school and the broader social environment should be connected within the subject, how pupil and school self-government should be conceived and implemented).

Teachers' notes on the curriculum for the lower secondary level reveal that the subject matter, grounded in pupils' personal experiences within their family, local community and region (economic and cultural life), extended to political life in the state – people's democracy, security, socialist patriotism, the economic and cultural life of the Czechoslovak Republic and the USSR, and the emergence of the workers' movement. The subject was intended to instil awareness of Slavic unity and emphasise the USSR's significance as the only state that had successfully addressed social issues and that had not only liberated Czechoslovakia but also defeated fascism with the greatest sacrifice and loss of lives. In addition, the new concept of work, the relationship of pupils to work, and the importance of work for society were brought to the fore³². The aim was to cultivate a relationship to the collective. Pupils were to be taught about new forms of economic life – the importance of planned and nationalised economies, and the potential of cooperative ownership. The journal also gave prominence to the importance of science and a scientific worldview, expressing a highly sceptical stance towards faith and the role of church institutions in both society and individual life.

At the upper secondary level, the curriculum was given a proper theoretical foundation. Topics included the nature of slavery, feudalism, capitalism and the emergence of socialism. Attention was also devoted to socialist theorists and leaders (Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels, Vladimir Lenin and Joseph Stalin), as well as to the roots of imperialism, Nazism and fascism³³.

2.2. *The dispute over the politicisation of school and education – autonomy and heteronomy / continuities and discontinuities in civic learning*

The first volume of *Politická výchova* (Political Education) was marked by a certain «ideological and professional inconsistency». Readers were confronted with a broad spectrum of perspectives, from the writings of President

³² See *Themata občanské výchovy*, «Politická výchova», vol. 1, n. 5, 1946, pp. 2-15; *Themata občanské výchovy-pokračování*, «Politická výchova», vol. 12, n. 1, 1946, pp. 5-46.

³³ *Přechodné učební osnovy pro školy obecné, měšťanské a střední na školní rok 1945/46: výn. MŠO z 30.XI.1945, č. 10584, Praha, Státní nakladatelství, 1946, pp 63-64.*

Edvard Beneš, who sought to position Czechoslovakia as a political bridge between the East and the West, to the works of the “new classics” – Joseph Stalin and Vladimir Lenin. Discussions also included the humanist and democratic ideas of interwar President Tomáš Garrigue Masaryk, the pedagogical concepts of John Amos Comenius, and the goals and principles of the Scouting movement³⁴ (which had symbolised interwar pedagogical life). The journal reported on students participating in hop-picking («helping the people and the economy»), and on the way back, stopping at the grave of President Masaryk, reflecting on the idea that only now could his vision of a «social revolution»³⁵ truly be realised. Similarly, other articles referenced the legacy of the interwar Sokol physical education society while simultaneously emphasising the importance of a unified physical education association for the health and security of citizens in the people’s democratic republic and for shaping the people’s democratic army³⁶.

How should we assess the “breadth” of views and opinions that were presented for the development of political education and also for finding the grounding of this subject? Was it an unclear profile of political education? It is hard to assume that. Or was it a reflection of the “transition” (requiring a bridging of familiar names and meanings) of Czechoslovakia from the values of the interwar liberal democracy to the order of «people’s democracy» and the values of socialism? Or can we see behind this strategy a deliberate approach and tactic of gradually “rewriting” the meanings and “legacy” of interwar authorities of civic learning, by positioning their goals alongside the goals of socialist citizenship and the “leaders” of socialism, as illustrated by the appeal of the theorist of the “new” civic learning, Karel Angelis:

The new patriotism, the new conception of Slavic identity, the new concrete conception of humanity and Masaryk’s ‘being human’ and the conception of a new humanism of socialising people’s democracy and socialism appear to us as a conscious synthesis of all the best that our people and our nation have been striving for (...) for which it fought with its social struggles against the exploitation of man by man, for the eradication of this slavery and exploitation and for the rights of the working people, for the real rule of the ‘common people’, for people’s democracy³⁷.

The diversity of published texts partly reflected the dispute over the politicisation of education and school. A part of the teaching, professional and political community disagreed with the name of the subject. These teachers con-

³⁴ M. Trapl, *Politická výchova ve vyšších třídách škol středních*, «Politická výchova», vol. 1, n. 2-3, 1946, pp. 1-3, in partic. p. 3.

³⁵ K. Angelis, *Škola pomáhá republice a republika škole*, «Politická výchova», vol. 2, n. 10, 1947, pp. 1-3, in partic. p. 3.

³⁶ R. Plajner, *Junácká výchova*, «Politická výchova», vol. 2, n. 9, 1947, pp. 2-4.

³⁷ K. Angelis, *Mravňí výchova v nových osnovách*, «Politická výchova», vol. 2, n. 5, 1947, pp. 1-3, in partic. p. 2.

tinued to speak of civic education and downplayed the significance of political education in schools, or even questioned this task. This group of teachers emphasised the ideals of interwar civic learning, which upheld values of individual freedom and social solidarity, the ideas of cosmopolitanism, tolerance and openness, national identity and supranational, universal humanity. Opposed to them was another group of teachers, supported in the years 1945–1946 by the Minister of Education Zdeněk Nejedlý (1878–1962), a member of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and a former member of the Czechoslovak exile in Moscow. This group viewed political education as the foundation for «defence and protection», ensuring that the national catastrophe would not be repeated and that the values of life in socialism, people's democracy and friendship with the USSR would be "definitively" supported.

By 1947, the dispute had somewhat subsided (or at least was no longer as sharply debated in the journal as it had been in 1946). This shift coincided with the appointment of a new Minister of Education, Jaroslav Stránský (1884–1973), a representative of the democratic Czechoslovak National Socialist Party. Stránský encouraged professional pedagogical discussions within the Research Institute of Pedagogy³⁸ and at the Ministry of Education³⁹, aiming to reduce the politicisation of education within the curriculum⁴⁰. He advocated for abandoning the term Political Education and reinstating Civic Education as the subject's official name from the 1946/47 school year⁴¹. The journal was also renamed «Občanská výchova» [«Civic Education»] from the 1946/47 school year, shifting its focus away from political-ideological articles and towards more didactic texts. Although there were fewer contributions that explicitly challenged the politicisation of civic education, they carried significant weight, as they were authored by state figures such as President Edvard Beneš:

I perceive all world events as a whole, synthetically, seeking their historical and philosophical meaning. Just as Masaryk did, I have always emphasised that we must align ourselves with the spirit of European and global politics. We must strive to embed our Czechoslovak identity within the broader currents of world history. We must strive to understand where

³⁸ *Usnesení pléna konference OPS konané v Praze 8.-9. listopadu 1947 o občanské výchově*, «Politická výchova», vol. 3, n. 4, 1947, pp. 141-142.

³⁹ *Učitelům občanské nauky*, «Politická výchova», vol. 3, n. 4, 1947, pp. 98-100. A survey of the Ministry of Education included representatives of ministries headed by Communist and non-Communist politicians, experts supporting both the "new direction" of civic education and supporters highlighting the need to save schools from direct political orders.

⁴⁰ *Přechodné učební plány z roku 1946 a výnos z 25-7. 1947 č. A 162.332-III.*

⁴¹ Civic education became the basis already at the primary level (especially in the context of the national history in the fourth and fifth grades), then in the grades of the communal school at the lower secondary level, also at the lower and upper secondary high schools and at the secondary vocational schools and training colleges. The relevance of civic education in terms of the introduction of a compulsory subject at various types of school has increased significantly in comparison with the interwar period.

the world is headed and what it desires, and adjust our course accordingly, guided by truth and justice, by universal morality, and by a correctly understood and correctly determined philosophy of world history⁴².

Even more resolutely opposed to the politicisation of education in schools and the “new” direction of civic education was the Minister of Education Stránský:

In our democratic Czechoslovakia, there will be no imposed, so to speak, standardised unity in the interpretation of political principles or the assessment of political practice. Our Constitution allows, and will continue to allow, opposition politics⁴³.

Despite the political change in the position of Minister of Education, the expert discussions at the Research Institute of Pedagogy and the Ministry of Education, and the reintroduction of the subject name as Civic Education, the voice of some “revolutionary” teachers was not easily diminished. Bohumil Kujal, who would later become the director of the Research Institute of Pedagogy and a member of the J.A. Comenius Institute of Pedagogy at the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences, actively published and spoke in favour of «civic education that enhances the people’s democratic consciousness of the youth, for youth participation in the building of the republic and for supporting their work ethic»⁴⁴. Similarly, Karel Angelis, a teacher who rapidly advanced his career to become an associate professor of pedagogy at the Faculty of Arts at Charles University in Prague, “agitated” for the idea that the “new” civic education should lead to «political consciousness on a scientific basis»⁴⁵. The same principle was to apply to history⁴⁶ and geography⁴⁷. History lessons about the nation’s past were to lead to an awareness of current historical tasks. Geography lessons, too, were to help students understand the current distribution of power in the world and the necessity of the economic and social transformation of the postwar world. Similar positions and orientations towards civic learning were also held by another prominent figure of the journal, Bohumil Uher⁴⁸, originally a teacher and very soon also a university lecturer.

⁴² E. Beneš, *O politické výchově*, «Politická výchova», vol. 2, n. 1, 1946, pp. 1-2.

⁴³ J. Stránský, *O občanské výchově*, «Politická výchova», vol. 3, n. 2, 1947, pp. 33-34, in partic. p. 34.

⁴⁴ B. Kujal, *Třetí rok občanské výchovy na školách*, «Politická výchova», vol. 3, n. 2, 1947, pp. 34-37, in partic. p. 35.

⁴⁵ K. Angelis, *Občanská výchova ve škole a časopis Občanská výchova*, «Politická výchova», vol. 3, n. 1, 1947, pp. 1-3, in partic. p. 2.

⁴⁶ O. Fídmuc, *Vztah občanské výchovy k dějepisné látce*, «Politická výchova», vol. 2, n. 3, 1946, pp. 1-2.

⁴⁷ M. Drástová, *Hospodářská a politická základna učební látky nového zeměpisu*, «Politická výchova», vol. 2, n. 3, 1946, pp. 3-5.

⁴⁸ K. Konečný, *Sonda do zakladatelského období pedagogické fakulty Masarykovy univerzity. “Případ” profesorky Růženy Tesařové*, «Dějiny a dějepis», vol. 37, n. 1-2, pp. 80-93.

Uher focused not only on the goals but also on the means and methods of civic education, especially the "new" school self-government.

The curriculum of civic education after 1946 indicates that both the goals and content of the subject were largely similar to those of the earlier political education⁴⁹. The fundamental goal of civic education remained the same – to educate and inform about the nature of people's democracy, the close relationship with Slavic nations, especially the USSR, the value of work for the collective, and patriotism in a people's democratic state⁵⁰. Other points in the curriculum included education on national economy matters (the significance of a state-controlled economy, cooperatives)⁵¹, the development of society (slavery, feudalism, capitalism, socialism)⁵², security and the state, and the governance of the municipality, region and state. This is evidenced both by the civic education curriculum itself and by published analyses of the educational content on the pages of the renamed journal *Občanská výchova* (Civic Education) in 1946/47. In the recommended contents, which were further analysed in detail in the journal alongside the curriculum, the image of the national catastrophe caused by the Munich Agreement, the "rescue" through liberation by the Red Army, and the new security provided by the "protection" of the USSR were presented. According to the journal, the Czechoslovak resistance in Moscow was to be presented in more depth than the resistance in the UK. The role of President Edvard Beneš during the war was thematised in the journal mainly in connection with his trip to the USSR and the signing of the peace treaty with the USSR in 1943.

The educational contents mentioned were also intended to play a role within pupil self-government. Pupils were to thematise significant moments in «national history», important figures of the "national culture" and the role of the liberation of Czechoslovakia by the Soviet Union during celebrations, discussions, interviews, school assemblies, reading groups, school clubs, trips and walks, as well as through school magazines or school radio programmes. Members of cooperatives were to be invited and state-controlled enterprises were to be visited⁵³. News was to be focused on developments in the USSR and Slavic countries politically aligned with the USSR – Bulgaria, Poland, and possibly Yugoslavia. Pupils' own work, learning and sports were to be seen as contributions to the people's democratic republic.

⁴⁹ *Osnovy občanské výchovy*, «Politická výchova», vol. 2, n. 1, 1946, pp. 10-47.

⁵⁰ *Státní zřízení lidově demokratické republiky Československé*, «Politická výchova», vol. 2, n. 5, 1947, pp. 20-30.

⁵¹ *Themata občanské výchovy*, «Politická výchova», vol. 2, n. 2, 1947, pp. 2-28, in partic. p. 3.

⁵² J. Vlček, *Národní hospodářství v občanské výchově*, «Politická výchova», vol. 3, n. 1, 1947, pp. 3-5, in partic. p. 4.

⁵³ *Návrh prozatímního řádu žákovské samosprávy pro školy II. stupně*, «Politická výchova», vol. 3, n. 1, 1947, pp. 24-27.

Civic education was to be taught in an active and engaging manner, utilising discussion, induction and deduction – not merely through dictation, rote memorisation or self-directed learning. Instead, a heuristic, experiential approach was preferred (emphasising the role of personal stories, visual imagery and narrative)⁵⁴. Articles on the subject provided guidance on structuring lessons, setting lesson objectives, managing time within the lesson, and selecting methods that would ensure active pupil and student participation. This included incorporating current events, pupil presentations, discussions with pupils on contemporary issues, discussions related to presentations, as well as direct instruction, the importance of the teacher's summary of the topic, and the final consolidation of key takeaways from each lesson⁵⁵.

The role of the “new” civic education teacher was also given particular attention. This teacher was expected to have a firm grasp of the contents and their importance in guiding pupils towards the values of the people's democratic republic. More than that, the teacher was to serve as a model of the “new” citizen through their own life. They were required to study the works of Karl Marx, Vladimir Lenin, Joseph Stalin, as well as Edvard Beneš and Tomáš Garrigue Masaryk⁵⁶. Additionally, they were to be devoted friends of the USSR, well-versed in Soviet life and culture. Their political commitment, personal beliefs and moral character were emphasised, along with the necessity of independent study in line with the principles of the people's democratic society⁵⁷. These ideological expectations were also to become fundamental to university-level teacher education after the establishment of faculties of education at universities in 1946⁵⁸.

2.3. *The exemplary role of the Soviet model for the “new” civic education*

The promotion of the “new” and politically conscious direction of civic learning in the journal was to be supported by Soviet authorities. In 1947, work was underway on translations of excerpts from the texts of the Soviet academic and educator Ivan A. Kairov (1893-1978) for publication in the journal. His texts on the political tasks of education were published in November 1947 and were evidently intended to serve multiple functions. The first text, which was relatively general and theoretical, framed the debate on

⁵⁴ V. Hýl, *Metoda občanské výchovy*, «Politická výchova», vol. 3, n. 1, 1947, pp. 6-7.

⁵⁵ *Praxe občanské výchovy*, «Politická výchova», vol. 3, n. 2, 1947, pp. 36-47.

⁵⁶ V. Hýl, *Politická sebevýchova*, «Politická výchova», vol. 2, n. 2, 1946, pp. 1-2.

⁵⁷ J. Macháček, *Kvalifikace učitele občanské výchovy na škole III. stupně*, «Politická výchova», vol. 3, n. 1, 1947, pp. 7-9.

⁵⁸ K. Galla, *Občanská výchova jako studijní obor na pedagogické fakultě*, «Politická výchova», vol. 3, n. 6, 1948, pp. 117-118.

the importance of political education while also providing its foundation, justification, significance and purpose⁵⁹. In addition, another text by Kairov offered insights into the procedures and methods for conceiving civic learning in a politically and ideologically driven manner, rooted in Marxist principles and applied systematically⁶⁰. Kairov's text emphasised the necessity of teaching civic education in line with clearly defined goals, with thoroughness and consistency, based on the principle of unified pedagogical influence (where the teacher was to serve as a steadfast role model and a "correctly" thinking citizen). Furthermore, his text advocated for the «unity of content and form» in teaching civic education, where strong ideological commitment to Marxism-Leninism was to be instilled not only through instruction but also through the cultivation of willpower and strong character. The text by a Soviet authority on pedagogy marked a shift in the Czechoslovak debate on civic learning. Previously, references to the Soviet model had relied on secondary rather than primary sources, providing indirect accounts of Soviet society and its civic and political education⁶¹. Now, for the first time, contributors to «Občanská výchova» [«Civic Education»] could directly cite Soviet sources and use them as authoritative references⁶². Moreover, the Soviet texts published before the Communist seizure of power in Czechoslovakia (February 1948) made no effort to conceal their Marxist foundations or the political-ideological purpose of civic learning in securing the victory of communism. In this sense, Kairov's texts foreshadowed the imminent Communist takeover of February 1948⁶³.

The "new direction" of civic learning was further reinforced by statements from Soviet authorities during their "friendly visits" to Czechoslovakia. (The visit by the Moscow Academy of Sciences educator Ivan A. Kairov⁶⁴ took place in Prague in early 1948, meaning it was planned and carried out even before the «February victory of the working people»).

⁵⁹ J.A. Kairov, *Metody mravní výchovy*, «Politická výchova», vol. 3, n. 3, 1947, pp. 65-69.

⁶⁰ Id., *O ideově politické výchově na sovětské škole*, «Politická výchova», vol. 3, n. 3, 1947, p. 71.

⁶¹ Gonchar's fundamental work, *Pedagogika*, was translated into Czech and published in 1952. See N.K. Gončarov, *Pedagogika*, Praha, SPN, 1952. Other textbooks and books on Soviet educational sciences were published quite early in the 1950s, because one of the goals of the "new" Czechoslovak educational sciences was, among other things, to quickly introduce the ideas and nature of Soviet education to the wider educational community. See J.N. Medynskij, *Dějiny pedagogiky*, Praha, SPN, 1950; N.A. Konstantinov, J.N. Medynskij, M.F. Šabajeva, *Dějiny pedagogiky*, Praha, SPN, 1959.

⁶² K. Hanuš, *Politická výchova sovětské mládeže*, «Politická výchova», vol. 3, n. 3, 1947, pp. 69-71.

⁶³ K. Angelis, *Občanská a politická výchova po únorových událostech*, «Politická výchova», vol. 3, n. 9, 1948, pp. 273-276, in partic. p. 274.

⁶⁴ I.A. Kairov, *O výchově sovětské mládeže*, «Politická výchova», vol. 3, n. 8, 1948, pp. 245-246.

3. *Civic education fulfilling the ideals of communism and people's democracy in the Czechoslovak Republic – debate and practice in civic learning after 1948*

The first reports and enthusiasm surrounding the political transformation in Czechoslovakia – marked by the victory of communism and the working class – came both from the Minister of Education Zdeněk Nejedlý⁶⁵, who resumed his position after the communist takeover, and from the active proponents of the “new” politically oriented civic learning. The authors of fervently celebratory articles in March and April 1948 were primarily representatives of the “new” elite in pedagogical science (K. Angelis, B. Kujal and B. Uher)⁶⁶.

3.1. *Education of the communist-minded and conscious citizen*

The shift in political direction was swiftly reflected in the adoption of the new Education Act of 21 April 1948 (No. 95/1948), which introduced a unified model of education at the lower secondary level⁶⁷. This Act was accompanied by a newly approved curriculum⁶⁸, in which both the overall instructional and educational goals of schools, as well as the specific objectives and contents of compulsory civic education, were aligned with the ideals of the people's democratic republic and its alliance with the USSR. This applied not only to civic education (compulsory at both lower and upper secondary levels) but also to geography⁶⁹, history⁷⁰, Russian language, and natural sciences⁷¹. (The journal was renamed «Společenské nauky ve škole: časopis pro občanskou nauku,

⁶⁵ *Programový projev ministra školství a osvěty k pražskému učitelstvu*, «Politická výchova», vol. 3, n. 8, 1948, pp. 241- 242; B. Kujal, *Výchova sovětské mládeže*, «Politická výchova», vol. 3, n. 8, 1948, pp. 242-243.

⁶⁶ *Redakce časopisu Občanské výchovy k II. a III. ročníku*, «Politická výchova», vol. 3, n. 8, 1948, p. 241.

⁶⁷ Based on Law No. 95/1948, multi-year grammar schools were closed as a symbol of unequal access to education and a school system guaranteed the common education of pupils over eight years – at primary and lower secondary levels – was introduced.

⁶⁸ *Učební plán a učební osnovy pro školy národní*, Praha, SPN, 1948, pp. 8-11 and *Učební plán a učební osnovy pro školy střední*, Praha, SPN, 1948, p. 44.

⁶⁹ J. Pravdová, *K osnovám dějepisu na školní rok 1953-1954*, «Společenské nauky ve škole», vol. 8, n. 7, 1951, pp. 269-272 and also S. Mařan, *K osnovám zeměpisu v letošním školním roce*, «Společenské nauky ve škole», vol. 8, n. 7, 1951, pp. 286-288.

⁷⁰ A.V. Jefimov, *Úkoly ideově politické výchovy při vyučování dějepisu nové doby ve střední škole*, «Společenské nauky ve škole», vol. 4, n. 2, 1948, pp. 40-45 and E. Struška, *Vlastivěda v nových osnovách*, «Společenské nauky ve škole», vol. 4, n. 2, 1948, pp. 49-55.

⁷¹ Also, the curriculum contents and objectives of science courses were to promote the development of the economy and the “victory” of communism, the promotion of the scientific world point of view in explaining the facts of nature.

dějepis, zeměpis a vlastivědu» [«Social Sciences in Schools: A Journal for Civic Studies, History, Geography, and National History and Geography»]). Civic studies were to be further reinforced within school life through a new concept of work (pupil work activities), excursions to socialist enterprises and cooperatives, a number of well-thought-out and planned celebrations of holidays (marking significant events and figures as part of character education), various forms of collective education and a system of out-of-school communist education. Many of the aims and contents of civic education, as outlined in the 1948 curriculum, remained unchanged from the educational plans of 1945-1948. However, a new overarching goal was explicitly declared: the formation of the communist citizen, rooted in Marxist pedagogical principles and grounded in instruction on scientific communism and socialism.

The generally outlined curriculum was further elaborated through explanatory didactic texts published in the journal. These texts addressed topics such as the emergence of the working class, its struggle, the founding of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, the shortcomings of liberal democracy, the significance of the USSR for the global socialist order, the role of the USSR in the liberation of the Czechoslovak Republic, and the defeat of fascism and Nazism. Other key topics included the political and social nature of «people's democracy» – state power bodies⁷², national committees, the socialist constitution, socialist judiciary, the importance of nationalised economy and planned economy⁷³, the importance of heavy industry for post-war reconstruction and for the socialist economy⁷⁴, socialist culture, socialist physical education, health protection in socialism, strengthening scientific socialism⁷⁵, and materialist science as a “remedy” against idealist and spiritual views of the world. Between 1948 and 1953, these educational contents were presented as eternal, immutable, uniform, deeply embedded in the life of every individual – they explained the workings of the state (the socialist world), as well as everyday life in the family, school, community and region.

In civic education, concepts such as community and family were not presented as organic social structures into which a child is naturally integrated, providing them with acceptance and development. Instead, they were framed exclusively within the socialist worldview: not simply family, but socialist family⁷⁶; not community, but socialist community; not the importance of creative

⁷² *Občanská nauka*, «Společenské nauky ve škole», vol. 4, n. 3, 1948, pp. 102-105 and also *Občanská nauka*, «Společenské nauky ve škole», vol. 4, n. 4, 1949, pp. 152-159.

⁷³ K. Angelis, *Škola pětiletému plánu*, «Společenské nauky ve škole», vol. 4, n. 5, 1949, pp. 193-195 and also K. Angelis, *Pětiletý plán – naše cesta k socialismu*, «Společenské nauky ve škole», vol. 4, n. 5, 1949, pp. 196-199.

⁷⁴ *Občanská nauka*, «Společenské nauky ve škole», vol. 4, n. 6, 1949, pp. 252-264.

⁷⁵ *Občanská nauka*, «Společenské nauky ve škole», vol. 4, n. 8, 1949, pp. 361-376.

⁷⁶ B. Uher, *Společenské skupiny, rodina jako základní sociální jednotka. Rodina dříve a dnes*, «Společenské nauky ve škole», vol. 6, n. 1, 1950, pp. 1-7, in partic. p. 3.

work, but socialist work⁷⁷, etc. Both the contents and forms of work in civic education were “re-coloured” and guided by the logic of the socialist world order⁷⁸ and scientific worldview⁷⁹. Similarly, pupil self-government bodies were to be established to teach pupils about social life in line with socialist principles. The aim was not to instil habits of cleanliness, discipline and order for their own sake but to foster cleanliness for socialism, socialist discipline and socialist order⁸⁰. The school was not to support the moral development of the pupil, but to take care of the development of communist morality and socialist feeling and to emphasise collective goals⁸¹.

What changed in the debate on civic learning among teachers and in the educational policy requirements after 1948? The key changes were ideological rigidity and an uncompromising stance. It was no longer possible to question or debate the new political direction and the new direction of civic learning. The new course had to be unconditionally accepted, implemented and followed. As a result, the number of ideologically driven texts grew, occupying more than half of the journal's content. These texts were written by Soviet academics⁸², or, alternatively, by Czechoslovak representatives of the emerging “new” pedagogy. In addition, there was a rise in political articles celebrating political changes, commenting on current political events and recalling milestones on the path “to the victory” of socialism and communism in the USSR and Czechoslovakia. Political-proclamatory texts by the communist president Klement Gottwald were published, alongside works by Joseph Stalin⁸³, as well

⁷⁷ E. Struška, *Vlastivěda v nových osnovách*, «Společenské nauky ve škole», vol. 4, n. 1, 1948, pp. 37-39, in part. p. 38.

⁷⁸ I.A. Kairov, *Ideově politická výchova žactva*, «Společenské nauky ve škole», vol. 4, n. 3, 1948, pp. 97-100; I.A. Kairov, *Ideově politická výchova žactva – pokračování*, «Společenské nauky ve škole», vol. 4, n. 4, 1949, pp. 145-148 also see A.J. Zis, *O komunistické morálce*, «Společenské nauky ve škole», vol. 4, n. 3, 1948, pp. 100-102; A.J. Zis, *O komunistické morálce – pokračování*, «Společenské nauky ve škole», vol. 4, n. 4, 1949, pp. 149-152 and also N.K. Gončarov, *Výchova k marxisticko-leninskému světovému názoru*, «Společenské nauky ve škole», vol. 4, n. 9, 1949, pp. 387-392.

⁷⁹ L. Bakoš, *Svetový názor jako jednotný systém názorů o přírodě a společnosti, jako základ konání*, «Společenské nauky ve škole», vol. 5, n. 1, 1949, pp. 21-22.

⁸⁰ S. Eduard, *Vlastivěda – učební plán na měsíc září v nových osnovách*, «Společenské nauky ve škole», vol. 4, n. 1, 1948, pp. 39-47.

⁸¹ I.A. Kairov, *Některé problémy organizace dětského kolektivu*, «Společenské nauky ve škole», vol. 4, n. 6, 1949, pp. 241-248.

⁸² See texts by Soviet authors: M.N. Skatkin, P.I. Simakov, A.J. Jefimov, N.K. Gončarov, A.J. Zis, E.A. Kosminskij, I.A. Kairov.

⁸³ Although the XXth Congress of the CPSU in 1956 criticized the cult of personality of J.V. Stalin, this «political earthquake» did not have an immediate impact on the content and discussion of civic education in Czechoslovakia. In 1956, very soon after the congress, a publication was published which noted that in courses on the Constitution of the Czechoslovakia and the USSR, in the subjects of Psychology and Logic, the importance of the people, their achievements and their role in the formation of socialism should be emphasized at the upper secondary level over the importance of personality. However, there has been no fundamental rethinking of edu-

as Karl Marx and Vladimir Lenin. These writings demonstrated the theoretical depth and Marxist foundations of civic learning, emphasising that the interwar and immediate post-war period of "uncertainty", theoretical freedom, and inconsistency between pedagogical theory and practice had been overcome. The texts were intended to continuously and repeatedly legitimise the «victory of the new» political system, providing a clear explanation of why and how this victory had been achieved, and why it must be honoured and continued to be supported so that it could never be thwarted by anyone⁸⁴. Another change was the complete disappearance of references to and symbols or acknowledgements of the interwar period. If the period was mentioned at all, it was only as a time of political, social and cultural failure – one that had therefore been rightfully replaced by the "new" model of people's democracy and socialism.

After 1948, didactic texts in journals served as substitutes for the missing textbooks and workbooks that would have reflected the revolutionary and victorious spirit of February 1948⁸⁵. The texts were structured into subsections that effectively corresponded to the topics of individual lessons in subjects such as civic studies, history, geography, and national history and geography. In addition to explanatory content, the texts included summaries, questions and prescribed objectives to help teachers clearly understand their significance and immediately incorporate them into their lessons. The texts provided discussion prompts and guiding questions, formulated expected outcomes from class discussions and pupil activities within lessons, and included control questions. They were designed to aid in the planning and execution of lessons, ensuring that the prescribed ideological and political educational objectives were met. However, it must be noted that, in terms of conceptual complexity, these texts were often too difficult for lower secondary school pupils to fully grasp, and their direct application in the classroom was not always successful, as reflected in self-assessments published in the journal⁸⁶. Despite these challenges, the style of the articles remained largely unchanged⁸⁷. As a result, there was an

cational content, methods in civic education. Moreover, Czechoslovakia was very cautious about rejecting the cult of personality and was slow to open up criticism of the 1950s. See *Dějepis, Ústava ČSR a SSR, Psychologie*, Praha SPN, 1956, especially pp. 27-28.

⁸⁴ G. Bareš, *Naplňit školy novým životem*, «Společenské nauky ve škole», vol. 5, n. 6, 1950, pp. 241-243.

⁸⁵ K. Angelis, *Společenské nauky v nových osnovách*, «Společenské nauky ve škole», vol. 4, n. 1, 1948, pp. 2-4, in partic. p. 3.

⁸⁶ *O lepší práci v předmětech společenských nauk*, «Společenské nauky ve škole», vol. 5, n. 6, 1950, pp. 241-243.

⁸⁷ From the school year 1950/51 the curriculum was partially changed, when the "more complex curriculum" (conceptually more abstract and theoretical – Marxist foundations of social life, dialectics, national economic concepts), which the pupils could only partially understand, was made simpler and reduced. See *Občanská nauka ve školním roce 1950/51*, «Společenské nauky ve škole», vol. 6, n. 1, 1950, pp. 17-19.

urgent demand for the development of new textbooks to ensure that post-February civic studies were not dependent solely on journal publications⁸⁸.

3.2. *The “sudden” end of compulsory civic education*

The analysed first five years of the “new” civic studies ended in a completely different way than one might have expected, and contrary to the perspectives published by teachers and educational policy makers. The new Education Act n. 31 of 1953 aligned the Czechoslovak school system more closely with the Soviet model, and, in particular, the subsequent curriculum reform introduced a surprising change: the abolition of civic studies as a separate subject. Between 1953 and 1960 (until the adoption of the 1960 Education Act), the Czechoslovak school system operated without compulsory civic studies. Instead, following the Soviet model, the ideological and political objectives of education were to be embedded in the overall goal of the school, integrated across all subjects (whether social sciences, natural sciences or other subjects such as art, music and physical education)⁸⁹ and all out-of-school activities⁹⁰. Justifying such a fundamental and unexpected change required both political and academic explanations:

The social sciences play a crucial role in shaping new people, in developing patriotic and civil defence education. Therefore, in the new curriculum, following the Soviet model, the social sciences have been strengthened⁹¹.

That this was a political decision, made without prior consultation with teachers, is further evidenced by the fact that, after the law was passed, publications on this topic primarily consisted of translations of Soviet authors. These Soviet educators had extensive experience with this form of civic learning, experience that Czechoslovak teachers were now expected to acquire as well.

After 1953, civic learning remained compulsory only at the upper secondary level. In Year 9 of the «eleven-year unified secondary school», a subject called The Constitution of the Czechoslovak Republic and the USSR was introduced, mirroring a similar subject in the Soviet curriculum (The Constitu-

⁸⁸ *O lepší práci v předmětech společenských nauk*, «Společenské nauky ve škole», vol. 5, n. 6, 1950, pp. 241-243.

⁸⁹ K. Angelis, *Za zlepšení ideopolitické výchovy při vyučování předmětům společenských věd*, «Společenské nauky ve škole», vol. 8, n. 7, 1953, pp. 265-269.

⁹⁰ K. Angelis, *Nový školský zákon – nová etapa ve vývoji naší školy*, «Společenské nauky ve škole», vol. 8, n. 6, 1953, p. 264.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*

tion of the USSR). This subject was designed to educate pupils on the system of the people's democratic republic, the socialist system of government, and Czechoslovak-Soviet «friendship and cooperation»⁹². In Years 10 and 11 of the eleven-year secondary school, two additional subjects were introduced: Psychology (mainly the psychology of I.P. Pavlov and Russian reflexology) and Logic (which also included broader Marxist epistemological foundations and philosophical premises)⁹³. However, it is important to clarify that after Year 8 of general education in basic school, only a portion of pupils continued to the upper level of the eleven-year secondary school. The majority pursued education in secondary technical schools and vocational schools, where subjects such as The Constitution, Psychology and Logic were not included in the curriculum. As a result, the majority of pupils between 1953 and 1960 left the education system without having studied any subjects specifically focused on civic learning!

4. Civic learning in Czechoslovakia (1945–1953) from the perspective of pedagogical transfer

What does the case of civic learning in Czechoslovakia before and after the Communist Party took power (1945-1953) reveal? Pedagogical historiography often generalises the development of the school system and the transformation of pedagogical thinking and educational science in the cultural-political space of Central and Eastern Europe in the 1950s as a period of “adoption” of the Soviet model of education. The Soviet pedagogical model is typically presented as a cohesive and “homogeneous” system, rooted in Marxist-Leninist ideology and built upon a framework of educational goals, contents, methods, means and institutions – both in and outside of schools – for the education of the communist citizen. This model was to be uniformly and consistently “adopted” by the countries of Central and Eastern Europe, with the ultimate aim of securing the revolutionary victory of communism over capitalism and ensuring the dominance of the “East” over the West. However, the narrative of “adoption” only captures part of the reality of transformation in Central and Eastern Europe, because no process of cultural transmission occurs in a one-way, straightforward or unproblematic manner. An analysis of civic and political education after 1945 and 1948 in Czechoslovakia, from the perspective

⁹² A.M. Dostál, *K novým osnovám ústavy ČSR a SSSR*, «Společenské nauky ve škole», vol. 8, n. 7, 1953, pp. 272-274.

⁹³ K. Angelis, *Za zlepšení ideopolitické výchovy při vyučování předmětům společenských věd*, «Společenské nauky ve škole», vol. 8, n. 7, 1953, pp. 265-269; A.M. Dostál, *O výchově k socialistickému vlastenectví při vyučování ústavě ČSR a SSSR*, «Společenské nauky ve škole», vol. 8, n. 9, 1953, pp. 372-376.

of knowledge transfer and circulation, reveals a more complex process – one shaped by the actors involved, social change, cultural meanings, implementation strategies, dynamics and reception, etc.

The geographical space that the pedagogical culture of Marxism-Leninism sought to transform in Central and Eastern Europe after the Second World War (not to mention other parts of the world) was highly diverse in terms of traditions and the cultural and social “input” characteristics of the “receiving” countries. The question of why, how and to what extent each individual country would identify with the “global” concept of Marxism-Leninism depended on its reading (reflection) of its own historical tradition (particularly the experience of the Second World War), its interpretation of the processes of societal modernisation and social change, its economic and industrial strength, and its geopolitical role both within its immediate geographical region and on a global scale, i.e. on the cultural context of the “receiving space”. The path to the acceptance, implementation and legitimisation of the “new” worldview – the communist view of man and the world – was in many ways country-specific. Although debate on civic learning in Czechoslovakia portrayed the process of transfer as occurring uniformly across various countries (such as Poland, Bulgaria, Hungary and the GDR), differences existed in how each nation received the “grand narrative” of educating the communist citizen⁹⁴.

In the analysed debate on the transformation of civic education in the Czechoslovak Republic between 1945 and 1953, several levels of educational transfer can be identified (Phillips, Ochs 2003)⁹⁵ – cross-national impulses, decision, implementation and internalisation.

I. Impulses and decision

The example of civic education in Czechoslovakia illustrates that the “demand for a new” direction of civic education could only arise if society or individuals attributed “meaning” to the transformation of society and to changes in individual thinking, feeling and behaviour. The construction of this meaning was based on both personal historical experiences, familiar symbols, narratives and figures, as well as on the goals, rules and logic of the new system.

⁹⁴ Also, the real knowledge of the implementation of the communist model of civic and political education was only partial among the Soviet bloc countries. The discussion of civic education in Czechoslovakia called for more attention to the Slavic countries of the Soviet bloc. There was more discussion of Poland, Bulgaria, and even Yugoslavia at first, and less of the GDR or Hungary.

⁹⁵ D. Philipps, K. Ochs, *Process of Policy Borrowing in Education: some Explanatory and Analytical Devices*, «Comparative Education», vol. 39, n. 4, 2003, pp. 451-461.

Both continuity and discontinuity played a crucial role in the process of acculturating the "new" civic learning in Czechoslovakia.

Czech and Slovak teachers, along with the broader pedagogical community, began shaping a narrative immediately after 1945 that called for a "reconstruction" of the existing understanding of the purpose, significance and form of civic learning. In the analysed journals, teachers in the immediate post-war period and at the start of the 1945/46 school year emphasised the need to transform the concept of civic learning. Their arguments were largely based on Czechoslovakia's "new" historical, cultural and political experience – namely, the loss of national political independence and the "national" threat experienced during the Second World War. In these journals, both teachers and representatives of educational policy swiftly adapted the narrative of the "failure" of interwar liberal democracy to fit pedagogical needs, justifying its necessary replacement with the model of «people's democracy».

After 1945, an example was therefore sought that should serve as a model for the Czechoslovak concept of political and, subsequently, civic education. Its legitimisation in the debate among Czechoslovak teachers, as well as within parts of the academic and political community, was as early as 1945/46 based on the experience of fostering socialist consciousness following the Soviet model. Although in the immediate post-war years the Soviet model was ideologically and culturally distant for some Czechoslovak teachers, Soviet orientation in civic learning gradually strengthened after 1945, further reinforced by the increasingly polarised and heated debate on the politicisation of civic education in 1947/48. Following the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia's seizure of power in 1948, the Soviet model was positioned as the sole "correct" approach to civic learning in the Czechoslovak Republic.

II. *Implementation*

Although the aim was to implement a transnational transfer of the "global" pedagogical model of educating the «new Soviet citizen», it had to be appropriately adapted to Czechoslovak conditions and circumstances. It became the task of civic education and learning to ensure that this change was adequately explained, prepared and implemented. Consequently, the content and methods of civic learning were to break away from interwar traditions and align with the "new" socio-political reality. In the transfer, this did not mean entirely abandoning the meanings of civic learning that both teachers and pupils understood and had been socialised into. However, these meanings were subtly reshaped, rewritten, overlaid, and ultimately displaced and forgotten. This process of displacement and forgetting was a gradual fading-out and a well-prepared, continuously monitored and evaluated process of rewriting

values and meanings. Particularly after 1948, civic learning in Czechoslovakia was to greatly assist and play a key role in this process of forgetting and «rewriting meanings» – both within civic studies as a compulsory subject and as part of the broader educational framework of schools and out-of-school organisations.

After 1946, and even more markedly after 1948, the educational contents and teaching methods for civic education as a subject were developed, encompassing both the official curriculum and a range of supplementary didactic teaching materials. These were adapted to the domestic context while also aligning with the ideological foundations and political demands of educating citizens within the people's democratic system (1945–1948) and later within the communist society (from 1948 onwards). Although these contents and practices were continually adjusted and adapted to meet evolving political requirements during their implementation (acculturation), analysis suggests that the “new” civic education was built upon firmly established content and methodological foundations. Both the contents and teaching methods of this “new” civic learning underwent minimal changes between 1948 and 1953.

In this process, the key actors were both the new and old pedagogical authorities. Some members of the interwar pedagogical elite were deemed a threat to the process of acceptance and were therefore silenced. However, a part of the interwar pedagogical elite, along with active teachers, played a significant role both after 1946 and again after 1948, as they endorsed the “new order”, provided it with the aforementioned meaning, explained the necessity of change and justified its importance. These figures acted as «guarantors of change» and trusted authorities who bridged the old and new worlds. At the same time, they helped the emerging pedagogical elites, who were addressing teachers through the journal, establish themselves within the pedagogical debate and practice.

A crucial “player” and agent in this transfer was the voice of “export” – the Soviet authorities, who intervened in the debate particularly at moments when it was necessary to weaken the “democratic” side in the dispute over the new model of civic education and strengthen the side advocating for a political form of civic learning in line with the Soviet model of education of the communist citizen (at the turn of 1947/48). The role and influence of Soviet authorities were profound, approaching the power and function of myths. It is evident that domestic actors in the reception and implementation process could only construct the meaning and logic of the narrative, as well as its methods and strategies, to the extent that they did not threaten the fundamental power-political goal: the victory of the communist order through the acceptance of civic learning. Soviet authorities did not merely serve an informational function but also played a normative and controlling role in the discourse of civic learning in post-war and communist Czechoslovakia.

The Soviet voice held a privileged status; it originated from the very centre

of the new system, represented the system being implemented, and became the means through which the system itself was learning. The publication of Soviet texts on civic learning and political education in a communist society at the turn of 1947/48 thus represents a crucial milestone in the dynamics of the transfer of "new" civic learning. The texts of N. K. Goncharov and I. A. Kairov, followed by their personal visits and lectures in Czechoslovakia in early 1948, staged the significance of the Soviet patronage in the "reform" of civic learning. The Czechoslovak debate, as documented in the analysed journals, repeatedly referred back to Soviet voices, drawing on them as a key source of argumentation to legitimise the transformation of civic learning and to plan its implementation. Unfortunately, it is extremely difficult to reconstruct whether and how the experience of the transfer of the Soviet model to the Czechoslovak environment also influenced the very conception of the Soviet model of civic education in the Soviet debate.

III. *Internalisation*

It is important to highlight that the debate among Czech and Slovak teachers of civic studies between 1948 and 1953 repeatedly referred back to the Soviet theoretical and ideological-political foundations of civic learning. It appears that the promotion of the new model of civic education was not as easily accepted as the political authorities had hoped, and its implementation was not assessed as entirely successful. This "slowed down" the development of the "new" model of civic learning, as significant time and effort were devoted to legitimising it rather than advancing its further development. Another danger became evident in the arguments "justifying" the new direction of civic studies – namely, the risk of a formalistic adoption of "new" models and the threat of their "hollowing out". The "new" pedagogical elite seemed aware of this and, therefore, repeatedly emphasised the need for a "genuine" acceptance and understanding of the Marxist view of man, society, nature and history.

Conclusion

The story of civic education is an important part of the formation of communist society in Czechoslovakia during the analysed period of 1945/1948–1953/1960. The "new" civic learning was to weaken the foundations of the interwar education system and to facilitate, on a mental, cultural and political level, the promotion and acceptance of the ideals of communist citizen education and the "rapprochement" between the Soviet Union and Czechoslo-

vakia. We consider “new” civic learning within schooling in Czechoslovakia between 1945 and 1953, particularly from 1948 to 1953, as an example of a politically and ideologically motivated, politically driven pedagogical transfer rather than an instance of policy borrowing. It is an example of a transfer in which the implementation and internationalisation of the “new model” had to adapt both to the specific socio-cultural and political conditions of the target country after 1945 and to the pedagogical and social traditions that differed between the home and target countries.

The Sovietisation of civic learning in Czechoslovakia did not begin with the totalitarian seizure of power by the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia in 1948. The case of Czechoslovakia demonstrates that, to a considerable extent, the goals of civic learning after 1945 aligned with those after 1948. In many respects, the goals of civic education between 1945 and 1948 (the period of «political-social searching») were closer to those of the post-1948 period than they were to the interwar era. Although it is clear that the totalitarian communist system after 1948 instrumentalised civic education for ideological-political purposes, civic education had begun to move away from the direction of education based on the values that had formed the basis of civic education in both schools and out-of-school activities during the interwar period – namely the values of a liberal-democratic, tolerant, open, national and cosmopolitan-oriented society – in many respects during the period of 1945-1948. The politically motivated transfer of the Soviet model of civic learning did not “begin” in Czechoslovakia after 1948 but in 1945 at the latest, albeit not yet to the same extent or with the same intensity.

Although the communist authorities in Czechoslovakia expected a swift and successful transfer of Soviet best practices after 1948, the process was far more complex. Despite the fact that some teachers and education experts worked intensively – after 1948 at the latest – on defining and outlining the objectives, contents, methods and means of the “new” civic learning in line with the Soviet model, the reception and acceptance of this model within the reality of the Czechoslovak school system unfolded contrary to the plans of its proponents, influenced by numerous, often not entirely predictable factors. As a result, educational policy increasingly emphasised and reiterated the “new concept” of civic learning. Even though Czechoslovak pupils did not undergo compulsory civic education between 1953 and 1960, the official orientation and goals of civic learning, rooted in the education of the communist citizen, changed and “thawed” only very slowly during this period.

Curricular Reforms in the Italian University System: Humanities Faculties and the Training of Secondary School Teachers between the Nineteenth and the Twentieth Centuries

Sofia Montecchiani
Department of Philosophical,
Pedagogical and Social Sciences
University “G. d’Annunzio” of Chieti-
Pescara (Italy)
sofia.montecchiani@unich.it

ABSTRACT: Between the 19th and 20th centuries, the Italian school and university system underwent a series of profound changes, but above all it was entrusted with a new and significant responsibility – not merely cultural, but more broadly political, social and economic. In the aftermath of the process of national unification, the role of schools and the organisation of teacher training programmes became a central topic in educational and school debates. Concerning the latter issue, it is therefore interesting to link the “fate” of this training to the history of the university, notably in light of the structural changes it experienced. This paper aims to highlight the role played by the Humanities Faculties in the transformation of secondary school teacher training programmes. During this period, these faculties came to be regarded as key sites of disciplinary reconfiguration and as pivotal institutions in shaping the profile of the secondary school teacher. The history of the Faculty of Philosophy and Literature is closely intertwined with debates surrounding the education of the ruling class and the development of professional teaching competencies. A central issue concerns the quality of training programmes and the selection of content. These elements were intended not only to produce “good” teachers, but above all to educate citizens suited to and “useful” for the renewed national context.

EET/TEE KEYWORDS: History of University; Humanities Faculties; Secondary school teacher training; Italy; XIX-XX Centuries.

Introduction

Within the domain of educational historical research, reflections on the evolution of teacher training between the 19th and 20th centuries have consistently accorded significant attention to the development of primary school teachers. At a critical juncture in our country's history, the primary requirement was the construction of the nation as a whole. The broadening of access to culture, therefore, coupled with the considerable efforts of the political class in the post-unification period to combat illiteracy and launch a genuine process of modernization, has, in point of fact, precipitated decisive transformations in Italy's profile. This phenomenon was observed across a range of levels, including cultural, social and economic domains. Undeniably, a pivotal issue pertained to the substantiation of the significance of education, encompassing its instructional and civic functions, in addition to its formative capacities. In the aftermath of the establishment of the Kingdom of Italy, the imperative arose to «make Italians», or more precisely, in the wake of the geographical and political unification of Italy, to embark on the creation of a new generation that was authentically and unambiguously Italian. This generation possessed a common language, history, traditions, values and ideologies, spurred on by the fervor of the earlier Risorgimento movements and firmly committed to the affirmation of the new bourgeois principles¹.

From a historical and educational standpoint, the issue of secondary school teacher training appears to have been relegated to a secondary position. The reasons for this phenomenon can be traced back to two main factors. Firstly, there was a lack of systematic organization and attendance at secondary school – as we understand it today – until the second half of the twentieth century. Secondly, upper secondary education between the nineteenth and twentieth centuries was primarily the preserve of a specific social class, and therefore still closely linked to the training of the future ruling class.

Moreover, a range of other factors may be considered to fall under more purely cultural and scientific considerations. Between the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, several significant cultural movements emerged. The contrast between neo-idealism and positivism is a useful example of this phenomenon. These movements influenced both scientific and academic debate. It is noteworthy that concurrently, Italian universities underwent substantial transformations that extended beyond mere numerical growth in terms of uni-

¹ See for example: G. Chiosso, *Nazionalità ed educazione degli Italiani nel secondo Ottocento*, «Pedagogia e Vita», n. 4, 1987, pp. 421-440; S. Soldani, G. Turi (edd.), *Fare gli italiani. Scuola e cultura nell'Italia contemporanea*, 2 vols., Bologna, il Mulino, 1993; A. Ascenzi, *Tra educazione etico-civile e costruzione dell'identità nazionale*, Milan, Vita & Pensiero, 2004; R. Sani, *Sub specie educationis. Studi e ricerche su istruzione, istituzioni scolastiche e processi culturali e formativi nell'Italia contemporanea*, Macerata, eum, 2011; Id., *Education, school and cultural processes in contemporary Italy*, Macerata, eum, 2018.

versities and student population, or the tension between the themes of freedom and centralization. Concurrently, a gradual process of differentiation had commenced between hard science and soft science, between the humanities and the sciences. This, in turn, had given rise to questions regarding academic training, curricula, and the very definition of the role of universities².

Indeed, as the 19th and 20th centuries progressed, the necessity to educate and instruct professionals at all levels of education became increasingly evident. Italy required not only professional and well-trained teachers, but also individuals capable of providing guidance to the nation during a period of substantial and significant transitions. The establishment of a modern Italy was reliant upon the cultivation of a new generation, the implementation of political and social restructuring, and the advancement of processes of modernization and nationalization. Additionally, it was imperative to safeguard, conserve, and promote the nation's historical memory and its cultural and human heritage³.

1. *Legislative changes and the clash between different university paradigms in the aftermath of national unification*

If one wishes to investigate how and in what ways the training of secondary school teachers in Italy has undergone changes, with reference to the period of unification and the turning point of the 20th century, specific attention must necessarily also be paid to the academic sphere. Until then, the recruitment of teachers for both classical and technical schools had relied on methods that were not always conventional or systematic; this clearly had significant consequences for the quality of training and the standard of students' preparation.

As is well known, the first law that attempted to organize the educational and academic system of the new Kingdom of Italy was the Casati Law. Law No. 3725, initially enacted in 1859 in the Kingdom of Piedmont and Sardinia, was in fact extended to the whole of Italy in 1861 following the completion of unification.

The Casati Law devoted the entire Title II to higher education, specifying

² Please refer to the overview provided by U.M. Miozzi, *Lo sviluppo storico dell'università italiana*, Florence, Le Monnier, 1993.

³ It is worth mentioning heritage as a means of identity-building. See, for example D. Caroli, E. Patrizi (edd.), *«Educare alla bellezza la gioventù della nuova Italia». Scuola, beni culturali e costruzione dell'identità nazionale dall'Unità al secondo dopoguerra*, Milan, FrancoAngeli, 2017; F. Targhetta, *Un paese da scoprire una terra da amare: paesaggi educativi e formazione dell'identità nazionale nella prima metà del Novecento*, Milan, FrancoAngeli, 2020. As for the memory see J. Meda, L. Paciaroni, R. Sani (edd.), *The School and Its Many Pasts*, 4 vols., Macerata, eum, 2024.

its functions in the first instance. Article 47, in fact, explained that «The purpose of higher education is to guide young people, already equipped with the necessary general knowledge, towards careers in both the public and private sectors where specialized studies are required, and to maintain and enhance scientific and literary culture throughout the various parts of the State». Article 49 then specified the types of faculties envisaged, namely Theology, Law, Medicine, Physical, Mathematical and Natural Sciences, and Philosophy and Literature⁴.

Within the framework of the necessary reorganization of the educational system of the new Kingdom of Italy, the Faculty of Philosophy and Literature, in particular, was regarded as a sort of ideological “workshop” or “laboratory” useful for the formation of the nation. This Faculty was not merely a centre of learning or knowledge but was entrusted with a “new” and significant civic responsibility during this historical phase: it would train the teaching staff for secondary schools, but above all, it was essentially tasked with educating the country’s future ruling class.

What, then, was to be the function and purpose of a “purely” humanistic education within the renewed national political and social landscape? And, first and foremost, on what subject matter was such an education to be based? In this regard, it is worth referring once again to the Casati Law and, specifically, to Chapter II of the law. Here, in fact, one can find the subjects that were to be taught in the aforementioned faculties and, with specific reference to the Faculty of Arts and Philosophy, these were identified as: «1. Logic and Metaphysics; 2. Moral Philosophy; 3. History of Philosophy; 4. Pedagogy; 5. Philosophy of History; 6. Geography and Statistics; 7. Ancient and Modern History; 8. Archaeology; 9. Greek, Latin and Italian Literature (and French in the Faculty of Ciamberi); 10. Philology».

It was, therefore, a curriculum that appeared firmly rooted in philosophy, in which even pedagogy, though present, was very subordinate. The Faculty’s structure also revealed a lack of specialisation in teaching; it was essentially centred on classical culture, philological rigour and history, considered the foundations of knowledge and, above all, necessary for defining the country’s civic and political identity. The structure appeared rather rigid and purely didactic.

Article 52 then included a precise and useful clarification

These various subjects shall be taught, as far as possible, where the individual faculties exist. However, the teaching of the Faculty of Philosophy and Letters shall not be provid-

⁴ 1° Supplemento al n° 285 della Gazzetta Piemontese, Parte Ufficiale, Legge sul Riordinamento dell’Istruzione Pubblica, «Gazzetta Piemontese. Giornale Ufficiale del Regno», n. 285, 18 novembre 1859, now available at the link: <<https://archive.org/details/LeggeCasatiNumero3725/mode/2up>> (last access: 12.01.2026).

ed in full, nor shall the academic degrees to which it leads be conferred except at the University of Turin, the Accademia di Milano, and the University Institute of Ciamberi. In the other universities, the teaching of philosophy and literature shall be provided within the limits of a suitable support to the studies of the various faculties established there⁵.

Furthermore, Article 54 stated that

In the Faculty of Philosophy and Letters of the University of Turin and at the Accademia di Milano, courses in ancient and modern languages may also be offered, as well as special courses in Literature and Philosophy, and temporary courses relating to various branches of the Sciences to complement the other faculties⁶.

Despite the important role entrusted to the Faculty of Philosophy and Letters, the percentage of students enrolled in arts degree courses remained at minimal levels throughout the nineteenth century; it only began to grow more significantly in the first decade of the twentieth century⁷. Yet, it was precisely in the aftermath of national unification that the “fate” of the Faculty of Philosophy and Letters began to become increasingly linked to the training of secondary school teachers and to emerge in the Italian political debate. One of the crucial issues in this debate concerned, in particular, the need to transform these faculties into genuine specialized centres of great scientific value, and the question of whether or not to include specific teacher training courses within them.

In 1861, the philosopher Terenzio Mamiani – Casati’s successor – emphatically reiterated the separation between universities and teacher training programmes and advocated for the establishment of a «superior teacher training college», in which secondary school teachers could be adequately trained⁸.

In the same year and following on from the same theme, Francesco De Sanctis⁹, a leading figure in Italian culture and politics who had succeeded him at the Ministry of Education, decided to present a proposal to the Senate for the establishment of specific schools to train «excellent teachers», to be established, however, both within the Faculties of Philosophy and Arts and within

⁵ *Ibid.* It should be noted that all translations of the quotations in this paper have been conducted by the author.

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ Interesting information can be obtained and analysed from Istat’s database *Serie Storiche*. See in particular <https://seriestoriche.istat.it/index.php?id=1&no_cache=1&tx_usercento_centofe%5Bcategoria%5D=7&tx_usercento_centofe%5Baction%5D=show&tx_usercento_centofe%5Bcontroller%5D=Categoria&cHash=1b020e5419ca607971010a98271e3209> (last access: 14.01.2026).

⁸ Cf. M. Morandi, *La fucina dei professori. Storia della formazione docente dal Risorgimento ad oggi*, Brescia, Scholé, p. 50.

⁹ For a brief overview of De Sanctis, see the entry on him by Attilio Marinari in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, Rome, Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 1991, Vol. 39, <[https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/francesco-de-sanctis_\(Dizionario-Biografico\)/>](https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/francesco-de-sanctis_(Dizionario-Biografico)/>) (last access: 12.01.2026).

the Faculties of Physical and Mathematical Sciences, and thus within the universities rather than outside them. According to the minister, in fact, this was a necessity, as a sort of stalemate was now being felt in both the methods and the content of teaching. Ancient and classical culture had been blended with modern ideas, which, however, still appeared confused and unclear. Nevertheless, this situation could not be resolved merely by imposing methodologies or new teaching aids, or through the simple publication of new texts. The «sole remedy» was rather found in greater freedom of teaching and in the proper training of teachers, on whose intelligence and professional abilities one would then have to rely.

De Sanctis had already considered it appropriate at the time to emphasize that the training provided in the Faculties of Arts and Philosophy and of Physical and Mathematical Sciences was not sufficiently «practical»; if one wished to achieve more “robust”, more solid studies, one could not, in fact, limit oneself to theory alone. He saw in practical exercises, readings, seminars, group work, practical training and direct, authentic dialogue with professors the elements needed not only to strengthen the disciplines, but also to rekindle the scientific curiosity and spirit of initiative capable of heralding «the intellectual rebirth of nations»¹⁰.

De Sanctis's proposal, despite extensive discussion, came to nothing; yet it paved the way for a reflection on ‘knowledge’ that was revisited several times in the years that followed.

In reality, to understand the institutional architecture of the Faculty of Philosophy and Letters in post-unification Italy, one must also consider the dialectic that existed at that time between the Napoleonic model and the aspirations stemming instead from the Prussian paradigm¹¹.

The Casati Law, whilst formally adopting the Humboldtian model, had in some respects betrayed its spirit, remaining anchored to a bureaucratic and highly centralized structure.

The principles of the model proposed by Wilhelm von Humboldt¹² in the early nineteenth century, developed during his tenure as director of the section of the Prussian Ministry of the Interior responsible for religion and education,

¹⁰ M. Di Domizio, *L'Università italiana. Lineamenti storici*, Milan, AVE, 1952, pp. 213–214.

¹¹ With regard to the structure of the models established by European universities, please refer primarily to: P. Piovani, *Morte (e trasfigurazione?) dell'Università*, Naples, Guida, 1969; I. Porciani (ed.), *L'Università tra Otto e Novecento: i modelli europei e il caso italiano*, Naples, Jovine, 1994; and P. Prodi, *Università dentro e fuori*, Bologna, il Mulino, 2013.

¹² About von Humboldt, see in particular: W. von Humboldt, *Università e umanità*, ed. by F. Tessitore, Naples, Guida, 1971; T. Borsche *et alii*, *W. von Humboldt e il dissolvimento della filosofia nei “sapere positivi”*, Naples, Morano, 1993; and also <[https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/wilhelm-von-humboldt_\(Dizionario-di-filosofia\)/>](https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/wilhelm-von-humboldt_(Dizionario-di-filosofia)/>) (last access: 14.01.2026); the section edited by M.C. Pievatolo in <<https://btfp.sp.unipi.it/dida/humboldt/>> (last access: 14.01.2026).

can essentially be found in the fragment *Über die innere und äussere Organisation der höheren wissenschaftlichen Anstalten in Berlin* [*On the Internal and External Organisation of Higher Scientific Institutions in Berlin*], dated 1809-1810. However, this text only became known at the end of the nineteenth century, when it was rediscovered by the historian Bruno Gebhardt¹³; paradoxically, this was at the very time when the Prussian university system was undergoing a significant process of transformation towards a “capitalist” model.

Humboldt was an official of an absolute monarchy of the *ancien régime*, yet he espoused liberal ethical and cultural principles. He proposed a vision of the university as a *corpus*, as an institution capable of guaranteeing the nation's progress and the advancement of knowledge through the dissemination of science, whilst remaining firmly rooted in research and academic freedom. At the same time, the university was to ensure the certification of specific professional skills and the efficiency of the nation's public and productive systems. In this sense, the university functioned as a branch of the State yet endowed with its own distinct role and a form of “protected” autonomy. The university was linked externally to the State, but on the basis of an autonomy that the State itself had to respect and foster, justified by the very purpose for which the university was established, namely free scientific research and the moral and cultural education of the individual.

According to the Prussian model, therefore, universities were to be dedicated to the pursuit of science [*Wissenschaft*], understood in the deepest sense of the term. As a place where the nation's moral culture converges, they must then offer this science to spiritual and ethical education. In this way, it is possible to connect objective science and subjective education, but also formal schooling and study conducted according to one's own personal inclinations and intentions. The core of the model proposed by Humboldt remains, however, science¹⁴.

Inversely, the alternative model of reference was to be found in the French centralist-bureaucratic paradigm, of Napoleonic origin. According to this approach, the University was an extension of the State, albeit aimed at the legal certification of the skills useful and necessary for access to public careers. In this sense, the humanities faculties did not therefore represent autonomous entities, but rather a tool, or rather a technical body for the training of teachers

¹³ See B. Gebhardt, *Wilhelm von Humboldt als Staatsmann*, 2 vols., Stuttgart, J.C. Cotta, 1896-1899.

¹⁴ Cf. D. Venturelli, *L'idea humboldtiana di Università tra passato e futuro*, in R. Celeda Ballanti, L. Mauro (edd.), *L'idea di Università tra passato e futuro*, Genoa, De Ferrari editore, 2011, pp. 12-13.

and civil servants, which was regulated by uniform ministerial programmes designed to standardize the cultural identity of the State¹⁵.

In detail, the nature of the French university model was twofold: on the one hand, the faculties, and on the other, the *Grandes Écoles*, which differed in terms of recruitment, training and career prospects. The *Grandes Écoles* operated a highly selective system; attendance was compulsory, discipline was strict, and the curricula were very precise and well-defined; students who graduated from them went on to the highest echelons of civil, military or public administration. In a sense, they entered a protected market. The faculties, on the contrary, were in turn divided into two categories: firstly, the law and medical faculties, which essentially functioned as vocational training schools and were therefore often referred to as *écoles*; secondly, the faculties of arts and sciences, which were designed to fulfil limited social functions, mostly of a bureaucratic or cultural nature. It is no coincidence that, from an institutional point of view, they enjoyed little autonomy and often ended up being seen as appendages of the lycées, with a dual role: to certify the completion of secondary education and to train teachers¹⁶.

Despite increased resources and the attainment of a certain degree of autonomy, even by the end of the nineteenth century, the Faculties of Arts and Sciences continued to face the problem of a lack of regularly enrolled students. They needed “professional” students, an idea that was not actually new, originating from the *normaliens*, that is, the students of the *École normale supérieure*. This institution had already implemented a system of scholarships, more clearly defined academic requirements and favorable career prospects thanks to the opportunity to obtain the *agrégation*, necessary for teaching in secondary schools¹⁷.

Considering the above analysis, discussions regarding the reform of the Italian university system thus take on a renewed and broader significance. The university, in fact, was called upon to play a role of primary importance, as it represented the place where the ruling class was trained; this class had to be equipped with specific scientific and professional skills, as well as an awareness of the civic duty to which it was called.

Against this backdrop, Senator Matteucci sought to establish new rules: he wished to restore value and prestige to academic institutions that were by then in decline and attempted to dismantle the academic system of the time, which still allowed for too many compromises and too much room for manoeuvre.

¹⁵ For an overview of the history of the French university system, see: S. d'Irsay, *Histoire des universités françaises et étrangères des origines à nos jours. Tome 1: Moyen âge et Renaissance. Tome 2: Du XVIème siècle à 1860*, 2 vols., Paris, Auguste Picard, 1933; J. Verger, *Histoire des universités en France*, Toulouse, Privat, 1986.

¹⁶ Cf. V. Karady, *Le Facoltà di lettere e scienze in Francia*, in Porciani, *L'Università tra Otto e Novecento: i modelli europei e il caso italiano*, cit., pp. 63-66.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 87.

In his draft bill, presented in 1861, the senator clearly explained his point of view: he believed it necessary to establish a small number of comprehensive higher education institutions, far more useful than an excessive number of “imperfect” institutions or uncoordinated faculties¹⁸. Matteucci thus reiterated the need to standardize the various Italian academic institutions, and to establish faculties of arts and sciences in which to train secondary school teachers. To create a robust system, he also envisaged the establishment of two teacher training colleges where graduates in philosophy, philology and the natural sciences could prepare for teaching¹⁹.

At a time, steeped in patriotic rhetoric, Matteucci sought to highlight the need to establish an academic structure capable of genuinely advancing science; otherwise, Italian universities, despite their long cultural and scientific tradition, would not be able to compete with their foreign counterparts.

Following these considerations, Carlo Matteucci, Minister of Education during the Rattazzi government, proposed an initial reorganization of university and faculty regulations in 1862. These were approved by Royal Decree No. 842 dated 14 September²⁰. Regarding the Faculty of Arts and Philosophy specifically, the minister requested an increase in the number of academic positions, reflecting the advancements in philological and historical disciplines, as well as the evolving landscape of philosophical systems. He reiterated that the primary objective of this faculty was to educate «good teachers» for secondary schools.

2. From Minister Bonghi's proposal to the debate of the early 20th century

During such a pivotal period in the development of Italy's new educational and academic system, reforms – or at least attempts at reform – of the university system continued at pace in the years that followed, albeit amidst constant tension between the demands for centralization and those for autonomy.

In 1874, the Minister of Education, Ruggero Bonghi, referred to the problem of the uneven distribution of universities across Italy²¹ and reiterated the

¹⁸ See I. Porciani, *Lo Stato e la Questione dell'Università*, in Ead., *L'Università tra Otto e Novecento: i modelli europei e il caso italiano*, cit., pp. 135-144.

¹⁹ *Progetto di legge presentato al Senato dal senatore Matteucci preso in considerazione nella tornata del 14 agosto 1861*, in *Atti parlamentari, Documenti*, sess. 1861, v. II.

²⁰ R.D. 14 September 1862, n. 842, *Di approvazione del Regolamento universitario e di quelli delle Facoltà di giurisprudenza, di medica e chirurgia, di scienze fisiche, matematiche e naturali, e di filosofia e lettere*, «Gazzetta Ufficiale del Regno d'Italia», n. 232, 1862. Regulations attached to: *1° Supplemento ordinario al n. 239*, 9 October 1861, <<https://www.gazzettaufficiale.it/eli/gu/1862/10/09/239/so/239/sg/pdf>> (last access: 14.01.2026).

²¹ For more on this topic see the interesting paper by M. Moretti, *Sulla geografia accademica nell'Italia contemporanea (1859-1962)*, in L. Blanco, A. Giorgi, L. Mineo (edd.), *Costruire*

need to proceed “slowly” with reform, as the rules and guidelines needed to be “workable” in order to be respected. The Higher Council was also invited to propose new solutions, rather than leaving the entire structuring and administrative management to the faculties’ discretion²².

In accordance with the regulations that were issued during Bonghi’s tenure as Minister, to ensure the continued prioritization of humanities faculties, Chapter II of the *Ministry of Education’s Yearbook* (1873-1874) delineated specific criteria for the Faculty of Philosophy and Literature.

Admission to degree courses at the faculty required candidates to present a secondary school leaving certificate and pass an entrance examination covering Italian and Latin language and literature, Greek grammar, ancient history and geography, and the fundamentals of philosophy. The regulatory document stipulates that the Faculty’s courses are intended to train secondary school teachers and, more broadly, to promote philosophical and literary culture.

The curriculum is then described in detail. For the Philosophy degree course, the first year included Latin literature, ancient history, theoretical philosophy, anthropology and pedagogy; the second year included Greek literature, theoretical philosophy, the history of philosophy and modern history; the third year included Greek literature, moral or practical philosophy, the history of philosophy and theoretical philosophy; and the fourth year included moral or practical philosophy, the history of philosophy, comparative languages and literature, and the philosophy of history.

As for the degree in Letters, however, in the first year students studied Greek, Italian and Latin literature, ancient and modern geography, and ancient history; in the second year, they continued to study Greek, Italian and Latin literature, and ancient and modern history; in the third year, Greek, Italian and Latin literature, modern history, anthropology and pedagogy; finally, in the fourth year, Greek, Italian and Latin literature, archaeology, comparative languages and literatures, and the philosophy of history.

Separate guidelines were in place for the *Scuola Normale* institutions. Upon completing the course and passing all the required examinations, graduates were awarded a diploma qualifying them to teach in secondary schools. In the section of Philosophy and Literature, teaching was usually centred on «lectures and seminars» relating to Italian, Latin and Greek literature; ancient and modern history; geography; theoretical and moral philosophy; the history of philosophy; aesthetics; the history of the Church; pedagogy; and anthropology. Thus, the disciplinary content prescribed in the faculties was emphasized²³.

un’università. Le fonti documentarie per la storia dell’Università degli studi di Trento (1962-1972), Bologna, il Mulino, pp. 59-100.

²² Cf. «Bollettino Ufficiale del Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione» (from now on BUMPI), vol. I, 1874, p. 7.

²³ Cf. *Capo II. Ordinamento degli studi superiori – Disposizioni speciali concernenti i vari*

In this context, it is therefore worth noting that in 1875 Minister Bonghi decided to establish the so-called *Teacher Training Colleges* or *Schools of Education* [*Scuole di Magistero*] for the training of secondary school teachers. Their structure, which was partly the result of a comparative study of school legislation in the major European countries, provided for them to operate alongside the standard degree courses already offered within universities²⁴. These Schools were established within the Faculties of Arts and Philosophy and of Mathematical, Physical and Natural Sciences as genuine centres for the country's scientific and cultural development. Specifically, Schools for both disciplines were established in Turin, Padua, Pisa, Bologna, Rome and Naples, whilst in Pavia and Palermo only those for the teaching of scientific disciplines were created²⁵.

These schools, however, proved to be still too tied to a disciplinary focus, even though lectures, practical sessions, work placements and lesson simulations were included.

The following year, in 1876, Minister Coppino attempted to reorganize and clarify the aims of these *Schools*. He emphasized the importance of training future teachers who were to be «experts in the methods and limitations of teaching», whilst also being inclined towards and competent in the research and study of scientific doctrines. The aim, therefore, was to combine subject-specific knowledge, theoretical understanding and teaching skills²⁶.

Coppino's proposal, more streamlined than the previous one, called for an expansion of the teaching dimension and an assessment of the teaching aptitudes of future teachers, at the expense of the imbalance in favour of the theoretical dimension alone. However, very often the final dissertations discussed at the end of these courses bore similarities to university theses and were no less scientific.

As Villari effectively analyses²⁷, and as evidenced by the numerous subsequent reforms to the school systems – proposed by Ministers Boselli, Villari and Orlando – the critical issue remained the ability of teachers to combine

corsi universitari, in *Annuario della Istruzione Pubblica del Regno d'Italia per 1873-74*, Rome, Regia Tipografia, 1874, pp. 38-52.

²⁴ See: R.D. 11 October 1875, n. 2743 – *Regolamento della Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia*. These Regulations also stipulate that the Faculty may award two degrees: the licence and the bachelor's degree.

²⁵ BUMPI, vol. II, 1876. See also, M.C. Morandini, *Teaching or research? The training of secondary school teachers in Magisterium Schools (1875-1920)*, «Pedagogia oggi», vol. 20, n. 1, 2022, pp. 48-54 and for a more comprehensive overview of the process of establishing these schools, Morandi, *La fucina dei professori. Storia della formazione docente dal Risorgimento ad oggi*, cit.

²⁶ R.D. 8 October 1876, n. 3434 – *Regolamento Speciale per la Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia*.

²⁷ The reference is specifically to P. Villari, *Nuovi scritti pedagogici*, Firenze, Sansoni, 1891.

scientific commitment, cultural knowledge and teaching skills²⁸. Despite attempts to transform the training pathway for secondary school teachers, the main shortcomings were essentially found in teachers' teaching skills, in their ability to adapt lessons and teaching content to the knowledge and skills of their students.

From the 1880s onwards, with the rise of positivist culture, the specialist and more practical paradigm was, therefore, attempting to establish itself in Italy at the expense of the more traditionally and purely theoretical-cultural one, even within the field of teacher training. With the aim of bringing Italy into line with the major European powers and aligning it with the German university model, the attempt was made to adopt a system of seminars and practical exercises to "professionalize" the student, turning them into a research professional. A "technical" approach that primarily centred on mastery of sources and greater specialization within disciplines.

Clearly, this model was contrasted by that of neo-idealism, whose leading exponents included, among others, Benedetto Croce and Giovanni Gentile²⁹. This perspective rejected empirical specialization, whilst elevating culture and knowledge to a fundamentally philosophical and spiritual vision. It placed the role of culture and classical and humanistic education at the centre. Croce's absolute historicism identified historical understanding as the sole form of pure knowledge. For Benedetto Croce, history was the expression of the process of the spirit's realization in its various forms; consequently, its subject was the spirit itself, which resolves everything within itself. This also amounts to a history of freedom, which becomes humanity's moral ideal³⁰.

It was precisely during Croce's tenure as Minister of Education in the last Giolitti government that the system of *Teacher training Colleges or Schools of*

²⁸ The following regulatory measures must be highlighted: R.D. 30 December 1888, n. 5888 – *Regolamento per le Scuole di magistero annesse alle Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia*; R.D. 29 November 1891, n. 711 – *Regolamento per le Scuole di magistero presso la Facoltà di Filosofia e lettere e di Scienze matematiche e naturali*; R.D. 13 March 1902, n. 70 – *Regolamento speciale per la Scuola di Magistero annessa alla Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia*; R.D. 6 December 1903, n. 549 – *Regolamento delle Scuole di Magistero annesse alle Facoltà di filosofia e lettere e di Scienze fisiche, matematiche e naturali*. See also the analysis offered by Di Domizio, *L'Università italiana. Lineamenti storici*, cit., pp. 214-219; and G. Fioravanti, M. Moretti, I. Porciani (edd.), *Archivio centrale dello Stato. Fonti per la storia della scuola. V. L'istruzione universitaria (1859-1915)*, Rome, Ministero per i beni e le attività culturali, Ufficio centrale per i beni archivistici, 2000.

²⁹ Please refer to M. Lancellotti, *Croce e Gentile: la distinzione e l'unità dello spirito*, Rome, Studium, 1988; G. Cotroneo, *L'ingresso nella modernità. Momenti della filosofia italiana tra Ottocento e Novecento*, Naples, Morano, 1992; M. Ciliberto (ed.), *Croce e Gentile fra tradizione nazionale e filosofia europea*, Rome, Editori Riuniti, 1993.

³⁰ See B. Croce, *La storia come pensiero e come azione*, Bari, Laterza, 1939 and the more recent M. Maggi, *La formazione della classe dirigente. Studi sulla filosofia italiana del Novecento*, Rome, Edizioni di storia e letteratura, 2003.

Education was effectively abolished³¹. By Royal Decree No. 1546 of 8 October 1920, *practical training courses* were in fact established at universities and higher education institutions³². These courses, which were scientific, affirmed the connection between university education and the world of research. The proposal was certainly not accepted without controversy and protests, which came from supporters of Positivist culture and, more broadly, from those who upheld the importance of training teachers in teaching methodologies, and from those who opposed the principle that «those who know, also know how to teach well»³³.

3. *Gentile and Bottai: a renewed civic and cultural mission for the university*

With the subsequent enactment of the Gentile Reform in 1923, the neo-idealist model was firmly established within the context of university reorganization. Philosophy became the primary and essential tool for strengthening one's own culture, and it was only through the "internalization" of these two elements that one could become a competent and suitable teacher³⁴.

Consistent, therefore, with the tenets of this cultural and philosophical movement and with the fundamental principle of selection – reinforced also by the rigid examination system – the training of teachers from the 1920s onwards became exclusively subject-specific, the result of a university course aimed at obtaining a degree and oriented towards research.

Teaching became synonymous with a "creative" act in a certain sense: it could spring only from the teacher's profound culture. Teaching (or didactics) was not considered a technique or methodology to be learnt, since the action of teaching was a spiritual moment in which the teacher's culture merged with that of the pupil. In this sense, pedagogy was also rejected as a science of

³¹ On Croce's work as a minister see: G. Tognon, *Benedetto Croce alla Minerva. La politica scolastica italiana tra Caporetto e la marcia su Roma*, Brescia, La Scuola, 1990.

³² R.D. 8 October 1920, n. 1546 – *Che istituisce corsi di esercitazioni presso le Università e gli Istituti di istruzione superiore*, «Gazzetta Ufficiale del Regno d'Italia», n. 270, 1920, available at the link: <<https://www.gazzettaufficiale.it/eli/gu/1920/11/16/270/sg/pdf>> (last access: 20.01.2026).

³³ Cf. Morandi, *La fucina dei professori. Storia della formazione docente dal Risorgimento ad oggi*, cit., pp. 80-83.

³⁴ On Gentile's work see: G. Gentile, *Sommario di pedagogia come scienza filosofica*, 2 vols., Bari, Laterza & Figli, 1913-1914; Id., *Educazione e scuola laica*, Florence, Vallecchi, 1921; Id., *Discorsi parlamentari*, with an essay by F. Perfetti, Bologna, il Mulino, 2004; M.A. D'Arcangeli, G. Spadafora (edd.), *Giovanni Gentile. La pedagogia, la scuola*, Rome, Armando, 2023 (new edition); A. Mattone, M. Moretti, E. Signori (edd.), *La riforma Gentile e la sua eredità*, Bologna, il Mulino, 2023.

education; in its place, the centrality of an elitist spiritual preparation was established.

For Giovanni Gentile, secondary schools and universities had the task of building the new Italian ruling class, founded on humanistic and classical culture. For the Sicilian philosopher, the *Scuola Normale Superiore* in Pisa represented a likely model for resolving the problem of teacher training. In particular, Gentile appreciated the concept of the «scientific seminar» in Pisa, where high-level cultural training was conceived as the ethical foundation of teacher training. The teacher, as an educator, possessed the capacity to bring about change in schools and universities and, more broadly and by extension, to the entire political, cultural and social context of the Country³⁵.

Gentile had essentially reaffirmed the specifically scientific character and role of universities. Article 1 of Royal Decree No. 2102 of 30 September 1923, dedicated precisely to the organization of higher education, stated:

The purpose of higher education is to promote the advancement of science and to provide the scientific knowledge necessary for the exercise of public offices and professions. It is provided, for the purposes and effects set out in this decree: 1) in the Royal Universities and Royal Higher Institutes listed in the attached Tables A and B; 2) in private universities and higher institutes.

Universities and higher education institutions shall have legal personality and administrative, educational and disciplinary autonomy, within the limits established by this decree and under the supervision of the State exercised by the Minister of Education³⁶.

The tables attached to the decree prove very useful for reconstructing the geographical distribution of universities, but also that of faculties and thus of the main centres of research and education. Certainly, with Gentile at the Ministry of Education, the centrality of humanistic education was reaffirmed, seen as a fundamental element for national ideological growth. Furthermore, the Italian university was required to safeguard this humanistic and disciplinary character precisely because it was entrusted with the education of the elites; this also entailed a reflection on the relationship established between culture and politics and, above all, on the premise that the individual, through cultural education, can identify with the «ethical» State, to which they also entrust their personal freedoms.

The *Schools of Education* [*Istituti di Magistero*] had also been reorganized, but by Royal Decree No. 736 of 13 March 1923. Article 1 explicitly mentioned the *Higher Teacher Training Colleges* of Florence and Rome, which were

³⁵ Cf. R.A. Rossi, *La formazione superiore dei professionisti dell'educazione e della formazione: dal modello disciplinarista al focus sui contenuti core*, «Education Sciences & Society», n. 1, 2020, p. 384.

³⁶ R.D. 30 settembre 1923, n. 2102 – *Ordinamento della istruzione superiore*, «Gazzetta Ufficiale del Regno d'Italia», n. 239, 1923, available at the link <<https://www.gazzettaufficiale.it/eli/gu/1923/10/11/239/sg/pdf>> (last access: 20.01.2026).

equated with university institutions. Their task was to complete the training of those who had graduated from teacher training colleges and thus to prepare them to teach philosophy and pedagogy in teacher training colleges (secondary level) and literary subjects in secondary schools for boys and girls. These Schools also had the power to qualify teachers in state primary schools for the posts of headteacher and school inspector³⁷. Schools of Education could therefore award diplomas for the teaching of Italian and Latin in lower secondary schools, and of history and geography in both secondary schools and teacher training colleges. They also awarded diplomas for the teaching of pedagogy and philosophy in teacher training colleges and qualifications for educational inspectors in primary schools for educational management (Art. 2).

Article 3 is also of considerable interest, as it specified the subjects included in the curriculum, divided into core and supplementary subjects:

Core subjects are: philosophy and the history of philosophy; pedagogy; Italian language and literature; Latin language and literature; history; geography.

Complementary subjects are: French language and literature; German language and literature; English language and literature; public law and school legislation; school hygiene. The core subjects are taught through lectures and practical sessions³⁸.

With the advent and consolidation of fascism, Gentile's neo-idealist model, in which humanistic culture was seen as a spiritual act, was gradually superseded. The regime's totalitarian outlook sought to bend even universities and higher education to the needs of fascism³⁹. Over the course of the twenty-year period, lecturers, students, and all school and academic staff were called upon to become "militant" instruments of fascist culture.

In the decade preceding Italy's entry into the war, it is also worth noting two other legislative proposals which, in the 1930s, sought to intervene in the university structure and link the academic sphere with the country's needs.

The first reference is to Royal Decree No. 1592 of 31 August 1933. From an ideological perspective that had by then become fully totalitarian, the text entitled *Approval of the Consolidated Act on Higher Education* sought to reaffirm the validity of the previous framework already proposed by Gentile, but also to clarify details concerning regulations, university structures, and the organization of chairs and academic staff⁴⁰.

³⁷ R.D. 13 marzo 1923, n. 736 – *Norme per il riordinamento degli Istituti superiori di magistero*, «Gazzetta Ufficiale del Regno d'Italia», n. 88, 1923, available at the link <<https://www.gazzettaufficiale.it/eli/gu/1923/04/14/88/sg/pdf>> (last access: 13.01.2026).

³⁸ *Ibid.*

³⁹ See E. Signori, *Università e Fascismo*, in G.P. Brizzi, P. Dal Negro, A. Romano (edd.), *Storia delle Università in Italia*, Messina, Sicania, 2007, Vol. I, pp. 381-423.

⁴⁰ R.D. 31 August 1933, n. 1592 – *Approvazione del testo unico delle leggi sull'istruzione superiore*, «Gazzetta Ufficiale del Regno d'Italia», n. 283, 1933, available at the link <<https://www.gazzettaufficiale.it/eli/gu/1933/12/07/283/so/283/sg/pdf>> (last access: 14.01.2026).

Higher education continued to have as its primary aim the advancement of science and the task of providing the scientific knowledge necessary for the practice of professions and the exercise of public office. Although universities and higher education institutions continued to enjoy legal personality and administrative, educational and disciplinary autonomy, state supervision was clearly strengthened during this period, now exercised through the Ministry of National Education. Once again, moreover, the tables appended to the decree prove extremely useful for reconstructing the distribution of universities, faculties and chairs across Italy.

Article 172 reiterates that the degree titles and diplomas awarded by universities and higher education institutions are recognized as academic qualifications, whilst professional certificate is conferred solely through state examinations.

Also in the same Royal Decree, in Title II, dedicated to *Higher education institutions with special regulations*, reference is made to the regulations governing teacher training colleges. Teaching subjects continue to be divided into core and supplementary subjects (Art. 215). The core subjects included: philosophy, history of philosophy, pedagogy, Italian language and literature, Latin language and literature, history, and geography; whilst the supplementary subjects included: French language and literature, German language and literature, English language and literature, institutions of public law and school legislation, and also school hygiene. It was also specified that teaching was delivered through a system of lectures and practical sessions⁴¹.

The consolidation of the regime in the 1930s was accompanied by a gradual erosion of academic autonomy and a substantial levelling down of university regulations, culminating, in a sense, in Royal Decree-Law No. 1071 of 20 June 1935, issued by Minister De Vecchi.

The second point we wish to highlight here, however, concerns the draft *School Charter* [*Carta della Scuola*] proposed in 1939 by the Minister of National Education, Giuseppe Bottai⁴².

The Minister, who had previously also served as Undersecretary for Corporations, had already had occasion to express the “confidence” he placed in the role played by the Italian university system in the Italian renewal. For Bottai, universities were true cultural centres, places for training the future ruling class, responsible not only for guiding the country but also for creating a new fascist culture. Or rather, universities were to be the instrument through which the dichotomy between *fascism-action* and *fascism-culture* could finally be overcome. The universities, called upon to conform to the programmatic and

⁴¹ *Ibid.*

⁴² G. Bottai, *Carta della Scuola* (Riunione del Gran Consiglio del Fascismo, del 15 febbraio 1939-XVII), in <file:///C:/Users/UX431FL-AN059T/Downloads/Carta%20della%20scuola.pdf> (last access: 11.12.2025).

ideological lines of fascism, were therefore expected to generate a new way of doing science and understanding culture⁴³.

In the political programme set out in the *Carta della Scuola*, Bottai proposed a concrete solution for the reorganization of the Italian school and university system. He identified education and culture as the very pillars of the nation's strengthening. These two "forces" represented, in fact, the means to foster genuine human, civic and political growth among Italian citizens, through which to fully realize moral, ideological and identity-based unity within the Fascist State.

The primary responsibility of universities was to guide the spiritual development of the younger generations, rather than being exclusively focused on their scientific and cultural mission. The objective was to cultivate individuals who were active, responsible and passionate, capable of integrating into social and political organizations and of fulfilling the regime's ideological mission.

Bottai's position is that the academia must avoid the tendency to become isolated and must not remain mired in the stagnation and ineptitude that had often characterized it in the past. Instead, the system must assume the role of guiding the process of integration between science and technology⁴⁴, placing itself at the service of new contemporary productive, economic and political needs, promoting the expansion of studies and scientific research, and with the support of the school system, achieving the moral unity of the country⁴⁵. It is evident that a unifying force would serve to bind the Fascist state, the school, the family, the Corporations, and the Party together in an indissoluble bond.

4. *Final considerations on the identity of teachers*

The recent resurgence of interest in teacher training is likely to be associated with the implementation of recent reforms. These changes have resulted in a fundamental rethinking of the courses to secondary school teaching qualifications over the last few years⁴⁶.

Following the post-war period and the transition towards a democratic sys-

⁴³ For further information on the university reform proposed by Bottai, see in particular L. Pomante, *Giuseppe Bottai e il rinnovamento fascista dell'Università italiana (1936-1942)*, Milan, FrancoAngeli, 2018.

⁴⁴ On this subject see also S. Montecchiani, "La necessità e la possibilità di portare gli studi fino alla concretezza della realtà". *L'evoluzione della mission universitaria italiana e l'integrazione tra scienza e tecnica*, «Pedagogia oggi», vol. 23, n. 1, 2025, pp. 34-40.

⁴⁵ G. Ricuperati, *Per una storia dell'università italiana da Gentile a Bottai: appunti e discussioni*, in Porciani (ed.), *L'Università tra Otto e Novecento: i modelli europei e il caso italiano*, cit., pp. 311-377.

⁴⁶ The reference is primarily to the abolition of the SSIS, the reform of the TFA, and the 60/30-credit qualification programmes and those for special education teachers.

tem of government, Italy has unquestionably experienced a series of profound and multifaceted transformations, both structural and cultural in nature. The national school and university systems have undergone significant changes, and the profile of teachers has also evolved⁴⁷.

With regard to secondary school teachers, a significant transformation in their identity has become particularly evident. The transition from a primarily intellectual and scientific figure, characterized by a deep commitment to cultural and moral values, to a more professional and specialized role has been marked by a shift towards modernization. This transformation has given rise to the emergence of a teacher-as-professional, a figure who possesses not only an advanced understanding of educational sciences but also a technical expertise in teaching methodology. The professional is capable of combining theoretical knowledge with practical skills.

The long process of ontological redefinition undergone by pedagogy, the establishment of the scientific nature of the field, and the expansion of research avenues and applications within the educational sciences have contributed to the evolution of “purely” humanistic culture and education. These have moved away from being regarded as mere erudition and have asserted a renewed value and potential – civil, political, economic, as well as cultural.

It is noteworthy that, over the long period stretching from the mid-19th century through to the end of the 20th century, and then into the present day, the perception of the teacher as a mere civil servant or scholar has been abandoned, giving way to their recognition as a professional in training, teaching, education and the caring relationship, as well as an expert mediator.

For a considerable period, humanistic culture had been regarded as a near-sacred institution, serving as a pivotal instrument in the pursuit of the public ethical, civic, and political objectives. Secondary school teachers and university professors, precisely because they were responsible for the education of the elites, enjoyed high social prestige as well as widespread cultural recognition.

The advent of democratization and, above all, of mass society had severely undermined this model⁴⁸. The conventional authority of teachers had been

⁴⁷ On the University subject see G. Luzzatto, M. Michelini, M.T. Pieri (edd.), *Università e formazione degli insegnanti: non si parte da zero*, Udine, Forum, 2002; T. Colacicco, S. Salustri (edd.), *La difficile transizione. L'Università italiana tra fascismo e repubblica*, Bologna, il Mulino, 2022 and L. Pomante, *L'Università della Repubblica (1946-1980). Quarant'anni di Storia dell'istruzione superiore in Italia*, Bologna, il Mulino, 2022; on the changing role of teachers see also M. Morandi, *La scuola secondaria in Italia. Ordinamento e programmi dal 1859 ad oggi*, Milan, FrancoAngeli, 2014.

⁴⁸ In this regard, it seems interesting recall the contribution of L. Bianco, *Conflitti disciplinari: scienze politiche e scienze sociali nella rinascita repubblicana*, in D. Novarese, E. Pelleriti (edd.), *Università «contro»? Il ruolo degli Atenei negli ordinamenti in crisi*, Bologna, il Mulino, 2020.

contested by student protests⁴⁹, social renewal and the transformation – towards a more active approach – of the entire educational sector. In this sense, the teacher's identity has shifted towards a shared, collegial and collaborative dimension; they are no longer an intellectual holding a chair, but a professional called upon to engage with families, the local community, institutions and scientific centres.

The decline of humanistic hegemony has, however, paved the way for a model of education and learning now centred on transversal and orientational skills, in which culture also fulfils a social role.

In the complex contemporary landscape, where teachers are called upon to be highly specialized and flexible professionals, it therefore seems useful to reclaim that dimension of «magisteriality»⁵⁰ – as Bertagna defines it – which restores awareness and solidity to their teaching “mission”.

⁴⁹ See C. Betti, F. Cambi (edd.), *Il '68: una rivoluzione culturale tra pedagogia e scuola. Itinerari, modelli, frontiere*, Milano, Unicopli, 2011; M. Galfré, *La scuola è il nostro Vietnam. Il '68 e l'istruzione secondaria italiana*, Rome, Viella, 2019.

⁵⁰ G. Bertagna, «Magisterialità pedagogica», *abilitazione all'insegnamento e sviluppo della professionalità docente. Il passato, il presente, il futuro*, in G. Bertagna, F. Magni (edd.), *Lauree e abilitazione all'insegnamento. Analisi del presente, tracce del futuro*, Rome, Edizioni Studium, 2022, pp. 90-172.

The Journey of Identity in Taiwanese Bildungsroman

Shu-hui Lin
Department of Taiwan Culture,
Languages and Literature
National Taiwan Normal University
(NTNU)
Taipei (Taiwan)
siokhui103@gmail.com

ABSTRACT: Taiwanese juvenile fiction engages with cultural issues, and characters gradually construct their self-identity and grow through travel. This paper uses Joseph Campbell's *Hero's Journey* as a theoretical framework. The fiction mentions themes such as the sense of place constructed by adolescent characters through cycling and the formation of identity. Additionally, sea turtles serve as the narrative's protagonists to address environmental issues and anti-war narratives, in constructing the identity. These are the core aspects of identity, involving how one views oneself and understands the relationship between oneself and the world. Taiwanese fiction is frequently used for educational purposes. It not only aids in understanding oneself but also in observing the world from a cultural perspective.

EET/TEE KEYWORDS: Identity; Taiwan juvenile fiction; Travel narratives; Hero's journey; Sense of place; XX Century.

Introduction

In the bildungsroman, travel narrative is about the movement of characters through geographical space and spiritual growth. The creation of Taiwanese bildungsroman is related to the changes in educational history, reflecting educational goals, identity, and personal development in the different historical periods. Travel is one of the ways to understand oneself and the world. Travel writing is a ceremony of reproducing weaving, reorganization and re-memory. The sense of the world it presents is told in spatiality and temporality.

Scholars mentioned that since Martial Law was declared on May 20, 1949, Taiwan's Martial Law period had lasted for as long as 38 years, finally being

suspended on July 15, 1987. Aside from Martial Law, relevant laws were promulgated as well. From depriving people of freedom of assembly, association, and strikes to monitoring news, magazines, and almost all publications, the government restricted people's thoughts and behaviors severely. It was at this horrible time of suppression that many intellectual elites were arrested or interrogated by the ruling authorities for their suspicion of rebellion or being communist bandits. The period was known afterward as the so-called *White Terror*¹. The memory narratives in Taiwanese juvenile fiction, influenced by Taiwan's rich historical and cultural background, reveal many academic gaps in exploring the close relationship between Taiwanese juvenile fiction and culture.

Taiwan lifted martial law in 1987 and thus society has become more open and diverse, travel narratives in bildungsroman have begun to absorb more modern elements. In contemporary Taiwanese bildungsroman, travel becomes an important avenue for exploring personal identity, cultural exchange, and transnational experience. For example, travel plots in bildungsroman have an educational function, helping to build a broader perspective based on the flow of geography and culture. Through traveling, young characters will learn to overcome difficulties, enhance self-awareness, and even understand the situations of others, which is closely related to "growth education" in the history of education. As contemporary Taiwanese society gradually opens up from its repressed state, the themes of Taiwanese children's literature are diverse, presenting polyphonic symphony. Taiwanese bildungsroman engages with cultural issues, and characters gradually construct their self-identity and grow through travel and adventure. They learn self-exploration in real life, which includes the role of growth education. A comprehensive review of these texts shows that they have dimensions of cultural thinking and mostly involve identity-related topics, which deserve further interpretation and discussion through cross-disciplinary research.

Roberta Seelinger Trites sorted out the research context of Western children's literature and found that it was related to the research approaches of literary researchers². Reviewing Taiwan's juvenile fiction like Zhang Zizhang leads to observations and research reflections on the development and creation of youth literature. Wu Meiying uses critical theory to analyze juvenile fiction, focusing on the subject formation of children and adolescents in fiction texts, as well as the issues it involves such as gender, childhood innocence, local iden-

¹ S. Ruiqiang, *White Terror in Taiwan: The Handling of Political Cases in Postwar Taiwan*, New Taipei, Daoxiang Publishing House, 2014, pp. 64-66; L. Shuhui, *Complexity*, «Application of Taiwan's Human Rights-Themed Cultural Assets and Spatial Information», 2020, pp. 1-11; W. Chiarong, *Save the Children: Youth Narratives and Historical Learning in Three Taiwanese Horror Video Games*, «International Journal of Taiwan Studies», 2025, pp. 1-19.

² R. Seelinger Trites, *Mentalités of Theory in Children's Literature: 1972-2022*, «Children's Literature», vol. 50, 2022, pp. 49-62.

tity and (post)modern childhood discourse, which concern modern and contemporary literature and cultural studies. Through the guidance of theory, explore, develop and deepen the multiple perspectives and textual connotations of Taiwanese juvenile fiction³. Because the text provides a voice for exploring inner life through the narrative plot of moving experience. I select A-Guo's *Cycling on the Suva Road* by Zhang Youyu, Liao Dayu's *Solo Cycling Trip*, and Huang Yuwen's *Ocean Youngster* as research materials.

Although the "hero's journey" was originally a research field of mythology and folk literature, the three-stage model of the hero's adventure «Departure – Enlightenment – Return» organized in *The Hero with a Thousand Faces* can also be reflected in the results of fiction research. For example, Black and Sharon used Harry Potter as research material, applying Campbell's analysis of the common patterns of heroes in myths, folk tales and fairy tales around the world to explore how Harry Potter realized his extraordinary abilities from being in darkness to going to school or special environments. In this way, the fiction is linked to the development of traditional heroes, allowing young people to grasp the meaning and hope of victory⁴. The research results involve metaphors of real-life life situations contained in the growth of characters in the narrative, and provide *The Hero with a Thousand Faces* as a reference for the theoretical framework of studying juvenile bildungsroman. This article intends to apply the structure of the hero's journey, and the questions include: how to respond to the call of adventure, or how to cross the first threshold and start the journey? What trials have you gone through and what rescues have you faced? What themes of growth in travel narratives are implied in Return? Jung is quoted as saying that psychological development occurs through a process of individuation, ultimately producing a complete individual. This journey, as the developing people become heroes in their inner drama, progresses linearly and contains more content, dialogue, plot, imagery, and thematic development than the mythology presented in *The Hero with a Thousand Faces*⁵. This paper interprets the relationship between travel narrative and identity theme in Taiwanese bildungsroman from three aspects: the call of departure and movement route, trial and enlightenment, and the transformative significance of return.

³ W. Meiying, *Subject, Gender, Local Discourse and (Post)Modern Childhood Imagination: A Monograph on Postwar Taiwanese Juvenile Novels*, Tainan, National Cheng Kung University Press, 2017, pp. 5-10.

⁴ S. Black, *The Magic of Harry Potter: Symbols and Heroes of Fantasy*, «Children's Literature in Education», vol. 34, 2003, pp. 237-347.

⁵ L. Butchart, 'What Man Am I?' *The Hero's Journey, the Beginning of Individuation, and Taran Wanderer*, «Mythlore», vol. 38, n. 1, 2019, pp. 199-218.

2. *The Call to departure and the route of movement*

This paper refers to *The Hero with a Thousand Faces* published by American mythologist Joseph Campbell in 1949, to consider the writing strategy of plot arrangement in the fiction, as a theoretical framework for interpreting the text, and to analyze the theme of identity in juvenile fiction. This book points out that the narrative method of the story follows the pattern of ancient mythology: a hero enters the world of adventure from the ordinary world, obtains mythical power, and after winning a decisive victory, he returns from this mysterious adventure with some ability, sharing the benefits with his fellow citizens. The story narrative mode is mainly divided into three parts: separation or departure, the trial of enlightenment, and return to society and reintegration with it⁶. The Hero's Journey shows the story of a person/character's death at a certain level and rebirth as a new person. Changes are constant. The Hero's Journey is a microcosm of our lives, a model that reveals that we can survive life/life changes, face our own failures, and then move on.

Broadly speaking, «travel» means moving across time and space, and the experience of leaving home. «Narrative» is to narrate events and give them a plot, so that independent events are connected and become a meaningful whole. The connection between «travel» and «narrative» focuses on how to weave and reorganize travel memories, and reflect on self-identity and future practices. Travel narratives give memory the power of initiative. Through on-site experience and empathy, they trigger connections between memory and the present and the future, and offer opportunities to explore the meaning of travel. Since this paper focuses on travel narratives, it uses travel-related bildungsroman as research material, and by analyzing the narrative plots of mobile experience, it provides an exploration of the relationship between travel narratives and the theme of growth.

To explore the rites of passage contained in travel narratives in the bildungsroman, the plot or characters in each stage are explored as the driving force for the protagonist's self-awakening or transformation in this journey. The first is the departure, which includes the events and specific characters encountered in daily life before the adventure begins, symbolizing a kind of self-awakening and the impending choice. They have to leave their original lives and embark on an adventurous journey, and need help to face the impending dangers. For example, how does the protagonist face the call of adventure? How do you cross the first threshold and start the journey? How can we experience the crisis of the «belly of the whale»? Campbell calls the «hero's journey» a «monomyth» that explains the myths of the world and reduces them to a main model, which is consistent with Jung's representation of

⁶ J. Campbell, *The Hero with a Thousand Faces 70th-anniversary new commemorative edition of the classic*, Trans. Zhu Kanru, Taipei, Wanderer Culture, 2020, pp. 44-48.

the collective unconscious archetype, the underlying structure of personality formed by the interaction of human experience accumulation and culture, and the hero as the archetypal image. The archetypal experiences and archetypal characters such as the wise old man in the fiction often apply the core concepts of Jungian analytical psychology. The hero archetype appeals to the readers' collective subconsciousness, which allows readers to identify and empathize with the hero. The guide archetype can be seen in all three fictions, providing information that helps accomplish the task at the beginning of the journey.

In *A-Guo's Cycling on the Suva Road*, after Ah Guo fell and was injured at the start of the journey, did he hesitate to ride forward or turn back? Even though he thought about going back downhill, and he was having an internal struggle after transferring trains and returning home, he still continued to face the call of bicycle travel. Covering the trauma of the soul with physical fatigue, the two exchanged each other's unknown secrets hidden at the bottom of their souls during the arduous ride, and used sweat to wash away the dirt accumulated in their hearts about the past. Cycling not only brings riders closer to the natural scenery, but also brings people closer to each other and to the land. Along the way, they can listen to the beating of the pulse of the land and the stories of life on this land, connecting the intimate relationship between nature and humanity. Cycling tour is driven by the labor of the rider. As mentioned in the bildungsroman Ah Guo, cycling uphill is a great test of physical fitness and the rider feels great pain. However, each uphill represents the next downhill. When the rider reaches the top of the slope, he will be greeted by the pleasant feeling of going downhill⁷. This leads to the image of the bicycle as a metaphor for life. The journey of life is like riding a bicycle, with suffering and joy. Each suffering is a training, and it also indicates that the next joy will eventually come.

Cycling is also used as the main narrative axis in *Solo Cycling Trip*. This fiction describes how the protagonist Lu Jiasheng lost her father in a car accident and then embarked on a bicycle trip due to a mistaken kidnapping incident. How to build a positive self-image? In the preface, the author mentioned that in the face of an increasingly complex world, he advocated the following actions: «Instead of protecting our children, it is better to remind them to remind them to believe in themselves, to believe that they have the superpower to educate themselves». The source of the core value of establishing a positive self-image is self-transformation and growth, while spiritual precipitation is the indirect result. These results are formed due to the attributes of longer riding time. Cycling for long periods of time gives the protagonists in juvenile fictions time to think about the future, adjust the direction of their goals and efforts, and even change their thinking about life, thereby re-adjusting their

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 151.

mentality. In addition, the courage cultivated during the cycling tour prompted themselves to change, thus creating a new outlook on life and promoting inner transformation and growth. In addition to Lu Jiasheng's life experience, in the book the kidnapper Ah Yi is arranged to face his own inner demons while getting along with Lu Jiasheng, and after meeting his good friend Dawei, he learns the need to face the future.

A-Guo's Cycling on the Suva Road and *Solo Cycling Trip* both use bicycle travel as the main narrative axis. A cycling trip is driven by the rider's labor and moves to different spaces. As mentioned by Ah Guo in the fiction, cycling uphill is a great test of physical fitness, so the rider will feel great pain. However, each uphill ushers in the next downhill. When the rider reaches the top of the slope, he will be greeted by the pleasant feeling of going downhill. This shapes the image of the bicycle as a metaphor for life. The journey of life is like riding a bicycle, with suffering and joy. Each suffering is a training, and it also indicates that the following joy will eventually come. These two fictions use the island of Taiwan as the scope of the mobile narrative, revealing a sense of place.

Ocean Youngster expands the spatial perspective in the Pacific Ocean and describes the travel process from the first-person perspective of the sea turtle. Author Yueman said that he moved to Hualien with his father at the age of twelve. The experience of facing and staying with the Pacific Ocean at day and night made him always have a mysterious fantasy and awe of the sea⁸. Through *Ocean Youngster*, he conveyed: «While wandering and wandering, enrich yourself, pursue the beautiful ideal, grow up bravely, and live on. How precious the existence of life is!»⁹. *Ocean Youngster* presents the narrative structure of Campbell's *Hero's Journey*. The sea turtle travels and takes risks across the ocean from birth to running away, and gets to know sunfish, dolphins, whale sharks, sperm whales and old fishermen, gradually becoming enlightened and learning life issues such as survival and loneliness. This juvenile fiction not only explores the narrative of life issues, but also incorporates ocean knowledge, environmental protection, history and other issues close to the author's heart. The journey of the ocean is an inevitable journey in the life of a sea turtle, and the title of the fiction clearly presents the theme of experience and growth.

According to Campbell, when heroes are about to go into danger, they will be protected and guided by supernatural aids. These figures appear in the roles of old women, fairy godmothers, wizards, hermits, shepherds, blacksmiths, or even guides, teachers, or ferrymen to provide talismans or advice to the heroes. Regarding the growth ritual of travel in the juvenile fiction, departure includes encountering events and specific characters in daily life before embarking on

⁸ H. Yuwen, *Ocean Youngster*, Tainan, Taiwan Literature Museum, 2018, p. 1.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 2.

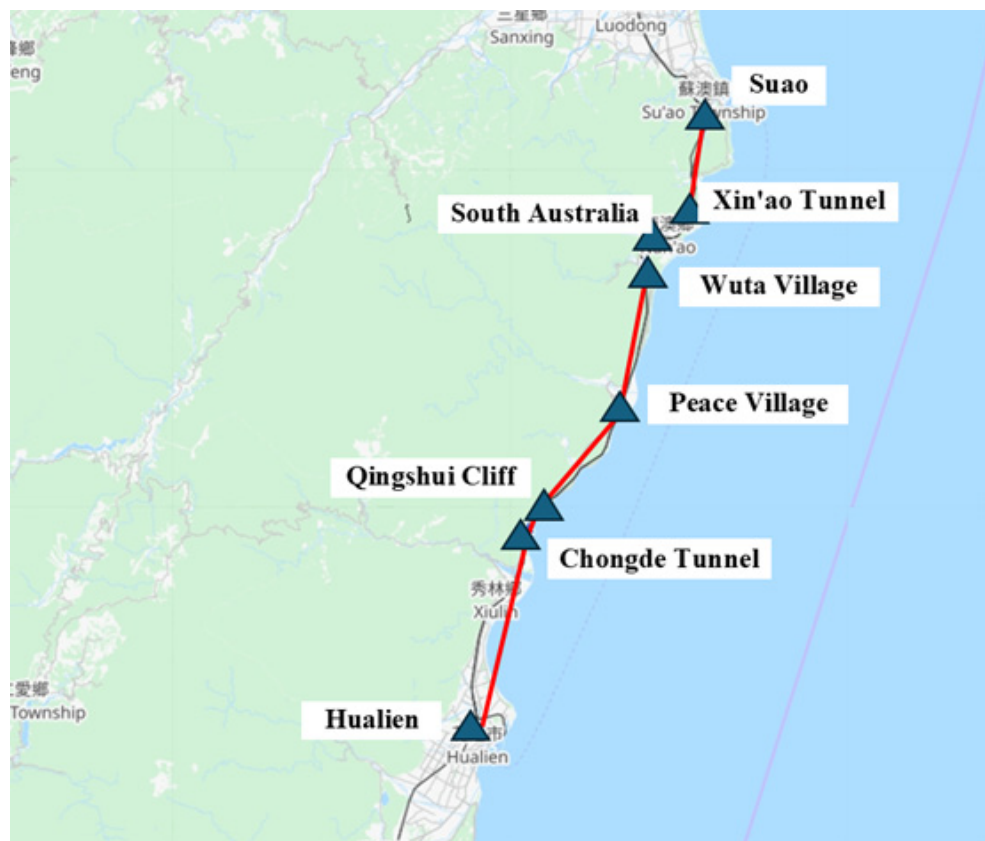
an adventure, symbolizing a kind of self awakening, and thus you are about to face a choice. In this journey, the protagonist gradually completes the journey under the guidance of the instructor. The guide in the fiction is usually a wise old man who provides the hero with information tools to help them complete their mission at the beginning of the journey, or a group of companions to help them complete their mission. The wise old man, such as the retired teacher represents the power of kindness and protection in destiny. On *Solo Cycling Trip*, Ah Yi's grandma helped him successfully obtain a bicycle and a reflective vest, and was able to start the journey. *Ocean Youngster* depicts Yueman's first encounter with a tornado after going out to sea. He was reminded by a half-length fish/sunfish before he dived to escape the danger¹⁰. Under the guidance of sunfish, he established the destination of the journey – *South China Sea Paradise* and learned about the ocean for the first time. Rules for survival were learned on the road.

In *A-Guo's Cycling on the Suva Road*, Ah Guo's riding route is mainly on the Suhua road. It is speculated from the fiction that he started from Suao and passed through the Xinao Tunnel to Nanao. Then proceed to Wuta Village and pass by Heping Village. Then go to Qingshui Cliff, Chongde Tunnel, all the way south, and finally returns to Kaohsiung. Lu Jiasheng in *Solo Cycling Trip* was kidnapped to Changhua. With the help of Ah Yi's grandma, she set off from Changhua and learned from the supermarket manager's fax information: first ride a bicycle to Bagua Mountain, and then go to Taichung, Daya. And with Angel's help, she headed to Dongfeng Green Corridor, passing Shigang Dam on the way. Through the fax letter, Lu Jiasheng was described all the way to Dahu to pick strawberries, and then to Longtan and Beipu. Then transfer to Shimen Reservoir, then go to Yingge to eat Grandma's sushi, and finally return to Taipei to participate in a speech contest. In *Ocean Youngster*, Yueman set out from the uninhabited island south of Midway Island in the Pacific. She wandered for ten years and met Wanglai Ge by chance. The meeting place with Wanglai Ge is in the northeast of New Guinea Island and about 200 kilometers north of New Britain Island at sea. Then it goes to the Marshall Islands atolls, then turns to the Mathewro Atoll, and then to the Kuyejuenin Atoll. At the end of the fiction, Yueman and Wanglai Ge arrive at La Grande Island.

From the main scenery related to *Ah Guo's Cycling on the Suva Road* and the plot of Ah Guo's movement, a schematic diagram is drawn with DocuGIS in Picture 1.

As shown in Picture 1, the cycling route of *Ah Guo's Cycling on the Suva Road* is mainly based on the Suhua Highway, and the plot description focuses on Su'ao passing through the Xin'ao Tunnel, to Nan'ao, and then to Wuta Vil-

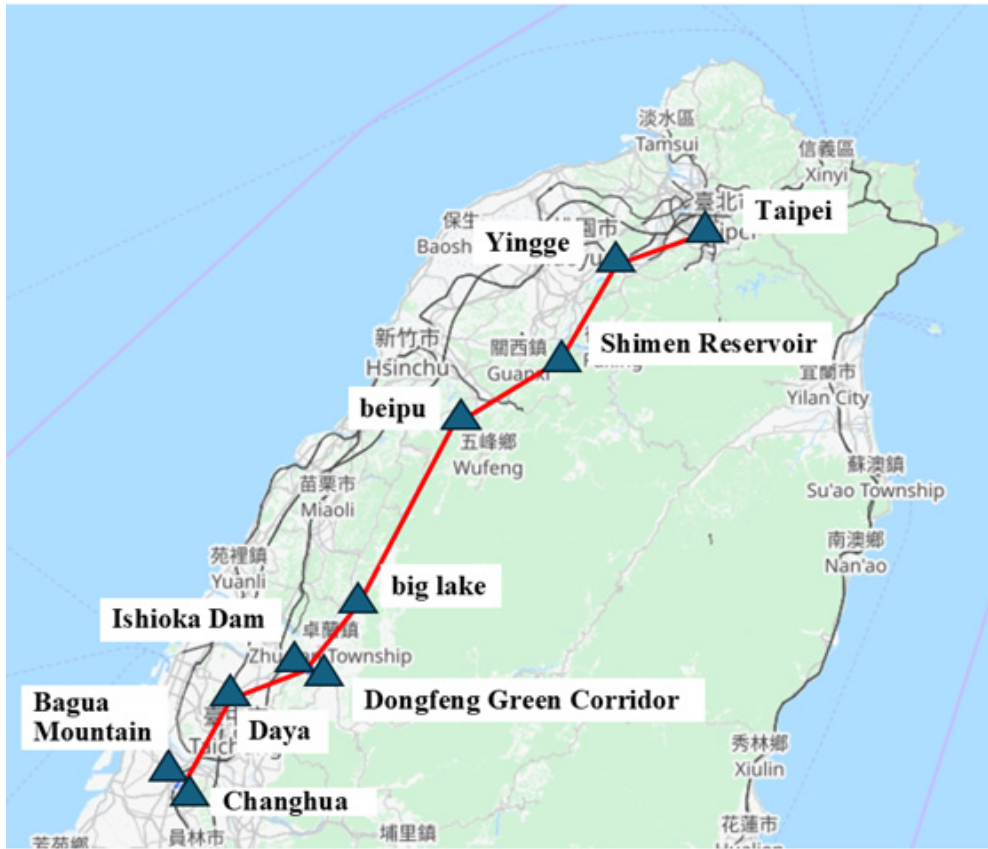
¹⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 13-18.



Pic. 1. Schematic diagram of the main path of *Ah Guo's Cycling on the Suva Road*. Source: Drawn by DocuGIS, the author compiled the results of *Ah Guo's Cycling on the Suva Road*.

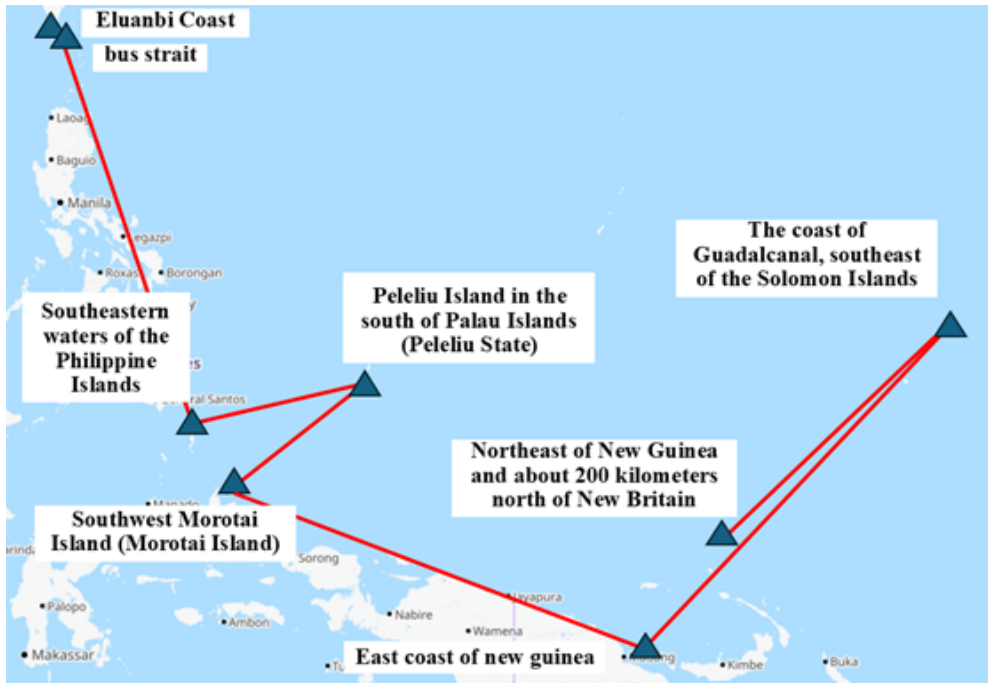
lage. Then pass through Qingshui Cliff and Chongde Tunnel, and finally arrive in Hualien. After leaving the Suhua Highway, continue riding south, and finally return to his home in Kaohsiung. During this period, he fell down and was injured on the Suhua Highway, and was sometimes threatened by large trucks. He regretted impulsive decision to ride a bicycle to this adventure, and cried bitterly thinking about past experiences. He also narrowly encountered a car thief in Heping Village. While chasing the robber, he understood the survival plight of the eastern villages and re-examined his original living environment. He reflected on his life situation when he and Lin Zhengyi encountered an accident on the Suhua Highway and almost died. The two also felt the energy of the eastern coast and the ocean on the Suhua Highway, and the bicycle trip to the natural ecology healed the injured young mind.

In order to infer the landscape and main routes related to Liao Dayu's *The Solo Cycling Trip*, DocuGIS was used to draw a schematic diagram in Picture 2.



Pic. 2. Schematic diagram of the main path of *The Solo Cycling Trip*. Source: Drawn by DocuGIS, compiled by the author from *The Solo Cycling Trip*.

Lu Jiasheng in *The Solo Cycling Trip* was kidnapped to Changhua and set off from Changhua with the help of Ah Yi's grandma. The fax information comes from the store manager: At first ride a bicycle to Bagua Mountain, and then go to Daya, Taichung. With Angel's help, she headed to Dongfeng Green Corridor and passed Ishigang Dam on the way. The fax letter described Lu Jiasheng to Dahu to pick strawberries, and then to Longtan and Beipu. Then she moved to Shimen Reservoir, then to Yingge to eat an older woman's sushi, and finally returned to Taipei to participate in a speech contest. When she climbed the Shimen Mountain hiking trail, the noisy crowds were gradually replaced by the humming of insects, while the forest revealed its original look. When the woods on both sides of the trail suddenly disappear, the view is endless, and she sees the blue light and shadow of the reservoir. These two fictions use Taiwan as the scope of mobile narrative, revealing a sense of place. It not only connects the human and geographical landscape of Taiwan through mo-



Pic. 3. Schematic diagram of the main path of *Ocean Youngster*. Source: Drawn by DocuGIS, the author compiled the results of *Ocean Youngster*.

ble narratives, but also deepens the identity of the characters in the bildungsroman and the dialectics of their own life situations.

The scenery described in *Ocean Youngster* is not a fictional island, but is based on the geographical location of the real world to lay out the ocean journey of the protagonist of the juvenile fiction. According to the narrative of the fiction Yueman and Wanglai, a schematic diagram is drawn using DocuGIS in Picture 3.

As shown in Picture 3, Wanglai recounted that he was born on the coast of Eluanbi, swam through the Bashi Strait, then headed to the southeastern waters of the Philippines, heading to Peleliu in the south of the Palau Islands, then south to Morotai, then southeast to the east coast of New Guinea, then north to Guadalcanal, and met the full moon on the southern way. Yueman was born on an uninhabited island south of Midway in the Pacific Ocean and wandered for ten years. The meeting place with Wanglai is northeast of New Guinea and about 200 kilometers north of New Britain. Then it goes to the atolls of the Marshall Islands, then turns to the Majuro atoll, and then to the Kwajalein atoll. At the end of the fiction, Yueman and Wanglai arrive at Rongelap Island. Bikini Island next to La Grande Island is the island that the fisherman in the fiction said was destroyed by human weapons. Due to their

different experiences, Wanglai who had been to Guadalnacan Island, became not only a companion, but also a guide, leading Yueman to pursue the *South China Sea Paradise* in his mind. The South China Sea refers to the natural ecology of the South Pacific and symbolizes the ideal marine environment:

Scattered in the South Pacific, there are thousands of small volcanic islands and archipelagos composed of coral reefs. They all have beautiful scenery, transparent sea water, fresh air and no pollution. There are no human disputes or wars. Those islands can be said to be the *South China Sea Paradise*, La Shangri on the sea! What a paradise on earth!¹¹ This space is used to create an image of a paradise on the sea, which is also the motivation to summon Yueman and Wanglai Ge to go on an adventure.

Whether it is the protagonist of a bildungsroman across the sea or the mountains, it is because of the movement of spaces that allows oneself to undergo trials and return the experience from this place to that place, allows the character to grow, and then construct self-identity. Fan Mingru points out there are three types of “lines” in the fiction. There are two types of stories that use lines as narratives, emphasizing the risks, dangers, and risks that may be encountered on the road, and even applying the road experience to metaphorize the road of life. These bildungsroman characters all experienced difficulties during the journey, and were also helped by companions and guides to break through the bottleneck, and finally returned to become more sound. This bildungsroman uses sea turtles returning to their birthplace due to traveling far away, which is like passing through a transitional ritual of growth, presenting contemporary issues of species and marine ecology. The moving route is the narrative main goal of the characters from the journey to the return process, not only outlines the fictional scenes in the narrative, but also visualizes the geographical space of the real world. This article uses DocuGIS to draw the moving trajectory of fiction characters, turning the text narrative into actual spatial diagrams, and providing a reference form that focuses on spatial narrative.

3. *The Trial and Initiation*

After the narrative protagonist crosses the threshold of his journey, he will embark on an adventure, and he will experience the adventures during this journey. Camber believes that these heroes will feel the power of goodness at this stage and support them to cope with many dangers.¹² What plots does

¹¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 29-40.

¹² J. Campbell, *The Hero with a Thousand Faces*, Princeton, NJ, Princeton University Press, 2004, p. 89.

the writer arrange as a trial for the protagonist's growth? When the protagonist at this stage is facing difficulties or goes deep into danger, he will pass through the various tests of travel through the guidance of the guide, and meet a trustworthy wise man to impart wisdom and help for him to clearly understand the meaning of this journey. Teacher Fu in A-Guo's *Cycling on the Suva Road* represents the power of goodness and protection in destiny. Before Lin Zhengyi came to court for inquiries after illegally following the housing agency, he saw a cyclist traveling around the island jumping into the river of love to save people, and decided to ride a bicycle in the future. The bildungsroman *The Solo Cycling Trip*, Lu Jiasheng met many people during the trip, and therefore sensed the preciousness of life and family affection, rejected the impulse to sink, and developed positive values. She started her bicycle journey by chance and met all kinds of people from all walks of life: grandma who recycles resources, supermarket clerks, police officers riding bicycles, etc. She doesn't have the chance to meet these persons in her daily life, but they lend a helping hand in time during her journey so that she can complete the agreement with her father.

Peter Adey explores how the tactile and multi-sensory dimensions of mobility constitute diverse mobile experiences and processes in addition to visions, involving feelings and emotions¹³. For travelers, in addition to what they see visually, what is more important is what they experience during the journey, as well as the establishment and exchange of interpersonal relationships. The dynamic feelings and emotions continue to play a role in giving birth to their own cultural mobility experience. As a subject of juvenile fiction, travel forms the backbone of the narrative with movement, and many narrative developments overlap with the trajectories or processes of the characters. The author carefully records the motivation for the task, the path taken to complete it, leaving home, and the events encountered in the process¹⁴. Take cycling trip as an example. During the process of a cycling trip, the willpower required by the rider and the scenery along the way give the rider a sense of self-identity and identification with the country/place¹⁵. Kaltenborn, Williams, Patterson, Roggenbuck, and Watson et al. proposed the concept of place identity, the emotional connection between identification and a sense of place belonging, and discussed the significance of psychological attachment¹⁶. Bricker and Ker-

¹³ P. Adey, *Mobility*, London, Routledge, 2017, p. 18.

¹⁴ W. Zhensheng, Ye Weizhong, *Introduction, Narratology, Stylistics*, Taipei, Cultural Development Committee, Executive Yuan, 2010, p. 63.

¹⁵ H. Changyuan, You Zhilong, Huang Shuqin, Lai Yingxiao, *The value of cycling around the platform: a class analysis of value-based motivations*, «Journal of College Physical Education», vol. 17, n. 4, 2015, pp. 388-391.

¹⁶ B.P. Kaltenborn, *Nature of Place Attachment: A Study Among Recreation Homeowners in Southern Norway*, «Leisure Science», vol. 19, n. 3, 1997, pp. 175-189; D.R. Williams, M.E. Patterson, J.W. Roggenbuck, A.E. Watson, *Beyond the Commodity Metaphor: Examin-*

stetter regard place identity as an attitude, value, thought, belief, meaning, behavioral intention towards a particular place, and a sense of belonging to a particular place¹⁷. The activity of a cycling trip makes the teenagers identify more with the land where they grew up and thus enhances their sense of belonging to Taiwan. This kind of exercise requires the personal experience of a long-term endurance test. In the process, one looks forward to the future by thinking about one's past and past life experiences. The specific exercise of a cycling trip helps to stimulate personal psychological transformation through such a ritual.

In *The Solo Cycling Trip* Lu Jia sheng meets many people during the journey, and through this, she sees the preciousness of life and family, the courage to refuse to sink, and the positive values. Cycling trip is associated with self-transformation and growth, a sense of accomplishment, building a positive self-image, and self-actualization. Because it takes a lot of energy to move forward by pedaling on a bicycle, the activity is difficult and not easy to complete. After the activity, she did not believe that she could achieve her goal. She had the courage and optimistic attitude to break through the bottlenecks in her life. She was more confident in herself and could face various challenges in life in the future. And then she built a positive self-image.

The prototype character of the wise old man, Mr. Fu, in *A-Guo's Cycling on the Suva Road* provides advice and inspiration as a guide, and shapes the kind power of supporting Ah Guo's adventure. During the ride on Suhua Highway, Ah Guo and Lin Zhengyi demonstrated the role of riding a bicycle to heal the trauma of teenagers' lives. During the bicycle journey, for the two teenagers who made mistakes, the hardships of their bodies and minds, heal themselves through the scenery of mountains and seas. The fiction depicts passing through tunnels, from dimness, loud noises, black holes, and other images to finally riding out of the tunnel entrance and seeing a round light. It is like a metaphor of moving towards the light and hope after getting out of the dark corners in life. When both of them passed an uphill section and saw the ocean, they exclaimed the mind is stretched out. The vastness of the ocean stimulates the visual experience of young people who feel depressed by making mistakes and encountering difficulties in life. This experience comes from the outside. Go deep into the heart of a young man and soothe his soul. The trial and enlightenment themes in the bildungsroman allow characters to grow through spatial and tourism narratives, presenting non-daily perceptual experiences.

Hero's Journey proposes the term «purifying oneself», believing that only

ing Emotional and Symbolic Attachment to Place, «Leisure Sciences», vol. 14, n. 1, 1992, pp. 29-46.

¹⁷ K.S. Bricker, D.L. Kerstetter, *Level of Specialization and Place Attachment: An Exploratory Study of Whitewater Recreationists*, «Leisure Sciences», vol. 22, 2000, pp. 233-257.

by experiencing dangers can the protagonist reflect on the portrayal of the current life situation and find ways to rescue themselves¹⁸. When adventure enters a new stage, transforming from familiar things to inconsistent environments, only by crossing these thresholds and escaping traps can we enter a completely new field of experience. The level of enlightenment involves facing several tests, which may be a series of obstacles or failures, during which one learns to use tools and work with partners. You must pass a series of trials, which are the darkest moments in your life for the struggle for survival and you need to slow down to adjust your thoughts/views and figure out the meaning of your changes. How do teenagers face bereavement and life crises? When Lu Jia Sheng, the protagonist of *The Solo Cycling Trip* faces a difficult situation, how does she calm down and clarify the situation? Whether it is a crisis or emotion, she must understand the external and internal situation before she can actively deal with it, ruminate on these processes and thrive. Lu Jia Sheng said, «I am not traveling alone, for my father has always been with me»¹⁹. This unexpected journey prompted by kidnapping is the way for the protagonist to overcome bereavement and life crises. The author designed the convenience store as a very important rest stop for cyclists. The convenience store becomes a guardian angel during the girl's journey. Lu Jia sheng in the fiction is trying to realize the dream of *Cycling Trip* with her father. Many people support her in time during the journey. Although this juvenile fiction does not delve deeply into the flow of inner consciousness when it comes to the emotional transitions of the characters, it cleverly uses convenience stores throughout Taiwanese society to connect the warmth of various places and convey the possibility of love and cohesion by fax. Such creative literary imagination not only makes the characters more emotionally full but also presents the Taiwan's mutual aid energy.

Educational psychology research points out that for bereavement, maintaining a connection with the deceased can help adapt to the feeling of loss of bereavement. The deceased may become a spiritual virtual existence for the bereaved, and there will also be a chance to allow the bereaved to resolve unresolved emotional entanglements with the deceased. The bildungsroman presents the truth that the heroine will fulfill her agreement with her father by chance – riding a bicycle from Changhua to head north, thereby realizing the connection between the bereaved and the deceased²⁰. Through this journey, the heroine is able to face her father's dead traumatic experience, reflecting

¹⁸ J. Campbell, *The Hero with a Thousand Faces*, Princeton, NJ, Princeton University Press, 2004, pp. 92-93.

¹⁹ L. Dayu, *The Whispers Between Me and Guaguai, A Bicycle Trip Alone*, Taipei, Xiaobing, 2018, p. 82.

²⁰ L. Yaoming, *Research on the transformation of the relationship between the bereaved and the deceased and grief adjustment: taking dialogue activities with the deceased as an example*, «Journal of Educational Psychology», vol. 53, n. 1, 2021, pp. 87-89.

the value of Taiwanese bildungsroman in life education. The fiction plot designs the space of the convenience store, which is a very important rest stop for cyclists, and the convenience store has also become the guardian angel in the girl's journey. Everyone has their own reasons for cycling. Lu Jiasheng, the protagonist in the bildungsroman, is to fulfill his engagement with his father. This book also conveys the ethical values of profession that are not distinguished from the high and low, but are good at heart. Although this bildungsroman rarely penetrates the inner consciousness in the emotional twists of the characters, it cleverly uses the convenience stores in Taiwan society that are spread throughout the townships and cities, connecting the warmth of various places and conveying the possible love through fax. Such creative literary imagination not only makes the characters more emotional, but also presents the realistic nature of Taiwan's folk mutual aid energy.

When Kobi Cohen-Hattab and Jenny Kerber discussed the way of tourist's observation, they mentioned that literary works such as propaganda create and strengthen tourists' identity and identification with the place; fictional literature strengthens or challenges the falsehood of these tourist attraction narratives. The particularity of tourism makes it often used as a metaphor. The travel itself is the narrator's spatial movement experience, and is meanwhile influenced by the books and literature he has read, revealing his existing imagination and views on the scenic spots along the way. *The Solo Cycling Trip* shows Lu Jiasheng going to a supermarket to read books about tourist attractions, and then plan for his journey to the north. The Taichung Shigang Dam, Yingge Grandma Sushi, etc. mentioned in the fiction were all information obtained by Lu Jiasheng from travel books. These tourist attractions became the basis for the author to construct the spatial trajectory of the fiction, which implies the intertextuality between tourism promotion and fictional travel narratives. The imagination of places presented in travel narrative works is limited to specific symbols. Although it is beneficial to the promotion of Taiwan's tourism industry, it may lose the opportunity to present local heterogeneity.

Another kind of a hero's journey is a learning journey of animals in different growth environments, with movement as the key to growth. Take Yueman's journey, for example. Yueman is proficient in swimming quickly in the sea, turning over and rolling or holding his breath in the water, and constantly learns the knowledge of ocean life. Yueman has awakened and no longer envy others for having wings. Yueman meets many marine creatures in the fiction, such as sunfish, and whale sharks. These characters are like guides in the "hero's journey". For example, the whale shark said, «You are still young; you must have confidence in your future and live bravely»²¹. Such a guide gives Yueman the confidence to survive in the real world.

²¹ H. Yuwen, *Ocean Youngster*, Tainan, Taiwan Literature Museum, 2018, p. 29.

The imagination and recognition of marine culture are important to marine education. By ocean space emotions, people can retain their imagination about the ocean and then build a specific ocean culture. This will make people care more about the ocean and thus protect it²². *Ocean Youngster* is a juvenile fiction that attempts to draw readers' attention to environmental protection and natural ecological issues. The author Huang Yu wen made arrangements for Yueman to witness the *Black Devil* oil slick crisis. The black oil clumps leaked from the stranded ship and the cracked bottom of the ship. Seabirds, sea animals, and fish and shellfish were unfortunately stuck in the sticky black oil slick, unable to move, and suffocated to death. The full moon has developed a very rhythmic and efficient diving method. Situational narratives about environmental issues, such as groups of large and small fishing boats, relying on sophisticated fish detectors to detect the location of fish migration, and casting fishing nets with very fine mesh to catch both big and small fish. As a result, the fish in the sea are getting smaller and smaller, and the catch is decreasing year by year. In the future, the days when no fish will be caught will come. Or describe the specific fact that hundreds of rivers on land flow into the ocean with dirty factory wastewater, carrying oil slicks and garbage, polluting the clean ocean. «You should be extra careful when eating plankton. For plastic bags are like floating jellyfish, which are eaten into the stomach; plastic bags will not be digested in your intestines and stomach, and will block the intestines and stomach. If they are not excreted, the stomach will burst»²³. It interestingly conveys information about marine environmental protection to readers, and from the perspective of fellow "marine creatures", readers can empathize with marine creatures facing a large amount of marine debris. Through the eyes of Yueman, readers perceive the beauty of the ocean and the destruction of the ocean caused by human factors. In addition, Yueman and Wanglai Ge went to the Solomon Islands and discovered that the seabed around the Solomon Islands is rich in coral reef ecology, with various fish and shellfish, and rich resources. However, it is also full of shipwrecks that have sunk for many years and have become rusty and dilapidated. There are even many abandoned cannons and tanks stranded on the coasts of various islands. The author of the juvenile fiction reminds readers that life is not just about joy and fantasy, and reality is often not beautiful.

Yueman and Wanglai Ge met an old fisherman at Kuyejuning Atoll. With the old fisherman's explanation, they discovered why there were so many scrap metals in the Solomon Islands. The old fisherman mentioned: «You see many shipwrecks on the bottom of the Solomon Islands, as well as the cannon scraps on the islands. You don't know their origins. I know that those large

²² G. Daxuan, *Cultural Thinking in Marine Education: A Human Geography Perspective*, «Journal of Marine Culture», vol. 9, 2010, pp. 61-63.

²³ H. Yuwen, *Ocean Youngster*, Tainan, Taiwan Literature Museum, 2018, p. 16.

weapon scraps are leftovers from the tragic Pacific War. At the end of the war, the U.S. Air Force dropped atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, Japan, and thus Abanzai finally surrendered. Unfortunately, the Pacific was not peaceful anymore, and the most miserable people were those living on the South Pacific islands»²⁴. War not only destroys human society but also destroys marine ecology. As the old fisherman continued to talk about his life experience, he mentioned that after World War II, to test the power of the new atomic bomb, the U.S. government forced the aborigines of Bikini Island to relocate to Rongelap Island and Kuyejuning Island. The test explosion on Bikini Island on March 1, 1954, was so powerful that the hot winds generated by the explosion blew through the ocean causing an extremely painful disaster. The heat wave destroyed many buildings on the island and even scalded residents. As the blasting dust fell, black rain fell from the sky, and there were bursts of white death soot. Many residents and marine life were poisoned to death by the products of the explosion. And this is the family legend that Whale Shark mentioned. A big explosion occurred on a small island in the South Pacific, causing the surrounding ocean to become a dangerous place spread by words among the dolphin family²⁵. The ocean, which was originally regarded as a beautiful paradise, has turned into a hellish scene under the haze of human war. The clear image reminds readers of the damage caused by humans to the ocean.

In Huang Yuwen's *Ocean Youngster*, the plot of the whale shark roundup is described in detail. Whale sharks swim very slowly. Once discovered by islanders, they are rounded up by fishing boats and die. He also used this criticism: «Whale sharks are reproduced very slowly and are constantly being hunted in the world's oceans. Shortly, they may disappear from the oceans. There are still a few countries in the world that do not comply with the international convention prohibiting the killing of whales. They went all the way to the Antarctic Sea on the pretext of studying the ecology of whales, but they were killing whales there to make money». Compare this to another space: «There are thousands of small volcanic islands scattered in the South Pacific, islands composed of coral reefs, all with beautiful scenery, transparent water, fresh air, and no pollution, without human disputes and wars. Those islands can be said to be the 'South China Sea Paradise', a paradise on earth!²⁶». The space creates an image of a paradise like a peach blossom garden. Regarding ecological issues, it is the interaction between species²⁷. This juvenile fiction depicts sea turtles returning to their birthplace after traveling far away, as if

²⁴ H. Yuwen, *Ocean Youngster*, Tainan, Taiwan Literature Museum, 2018, p. 54.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 24-28.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 29-40.

²⁷ L. Shuhui, *Reflections on Taiwan's Natural Ecology Education – Taking the Subject Matter of Children's Books as an Example*, «Taiwan Humanities», vol. 3, 1998, pp. 227-261.

going through a transitional ritual of growth, presenting contemporary issues on species and marine ecology.

Human overfishing will also cause harm to the ocean. Under the influence of artificial development, overfishing, industrial pollution, climate change, etc., the global ocean has undergone tremendous changes in marine ecology, and wild fish stocks have rapidly declined. Instead, the rise of aquaculture fisheries demonstrates the disastrous consequences humans have had on marine life²⁸. *Ocean Youngster* uses whale sharks to tell the terrifying narrative of the southern Coral Sea being filled with human fishermen fishing for marine life, or the sunfish to talk about the overfishing of fisheries, as well as the environmental pollution and industrial harm caused by humans. Wanglai Ge mentioned that “sea bugs” use fishing nets to plunder coral trees on rocks, and attack marine life with homemade bombs and even poisons, easily catching fish but disregarding the ecological balance. After Yueman arrived at his dream paradise for the first time, Mathiu Luo Atoll unexpectedly saw that Mathiu Luo Atoll was submerged by the rising tide. The islanders had already fled here. The *South China Sea Paradise* that Yueman longed for did not bring happiness. The scenery welcomed her, leaving only a scene of disillusionment. Later, Yueman realized that the reason why Mathewro Atoll was submerged in seawater resulted from global warming. The sea ice at the Earth’s poles and the snow on the mountains melt and flow into the sea, causing the Earth’s sea level to rise²⁹. Through the words of others, the fiction uses the full moon’s first-person perspective to lead readers to understand the harm of World War II and the negative impact of human-made weapons on the environment and human society.

4. *The Meaning of the Metamorphosis of Return*

Jung mentioned that there are similar primitive forms in the process of forming the collective subconscious of human communities. Self-nature is the prototype of inner integrity, constantly promoting the life rhythm of inner psychology or external life, and self-nature summons the inner voice at any time³⁰. The *Hero’s Journey* finally goes through a long period of psychological training, letting go of all attachments to personal limitations, traits, hopes and fears, no longer resisting the self-destruction required for the rebirth of under-

²⁸ L. Xinyi, *Introduction: Taiwan’s fisheries and aquaculture under environmental changes*, «Chinese Food Culture», vol. 15, n. 2, 2019, p. 1.

²⁹ H. Yuwen, *Ocean Youngster*, Tainan, Taiwan Literature Museum, 2018, pp. 46-59.

³⁰ M. Stein, translated by Zhu Kanru, *Jung’s Map of the Soul*, New Taipei, Lixu, 1999, pp. 193-220.

standing the truth, and finally matures and becomes united with all things, and thus can live freely³¹. The story shows a character's death in a certain perspective and rebirth into a new life, where changes are constant. Such a journey is a microcosm of life, a model that reveals how to face the transitional changes of life and continue to move forward after failure.

The *Hero's Journey* originates from the depths of the human heart and is the deeper collective unconsciousness of mankind; because it is universal, it easily moves people's hearts. The *Hero's Journey* is not only about an "outward" journey such as adventure in a maze, forest, or cave, but it can also be an introspective journey that allows the protagonist of the story to deeply explore his soul and grow and transform in the process. The contents are from despair to hope, from vulnerability to strength. These "journeys" of psychological changes and emotional transitions are also the "hero's journey". Although the diverse cultures and abilities displayed by various heroes are different, they complete the hero's journey in the same way. Under the prototype, adjust it with your own culture and creative intentions to resonate with readers. He faced up to the aspects that held him back and discovered his changes. He grew into a more capable person, recovered from the pain, and then fought on his own. This is the stage in the hero's journey when he reaches a higher perspective. It is often represented by the death of the hero's "former self" and is the climax of the narrative. This stage is usually what drives the hero to final victory, the key thing that drives the hero's motivation, and leads all characters on this journey³². The hero in the narrative plot does not just escape from the place where he was born. Heroes are those who can understand, accept, and overcome challenges. They left their stable daily lives and set out to find what was missing in the original world, and were inspired in the process. Finally, they returned to the original world with a more mature body and mind and started a new life.

Why does the hero need to return to the "original world"? For most people, hometown is the center of the world. It is precisely because of this recognition that hometown has become a special place difficult to be replaced in space and mind. Hometown is the center in the entire space system that is used to confirm and determine direction³³. The hero runs away, undergoes adventure and enlightenment, and finally abandons his past self and returns to his hometown and eventually completes the hero's journey. The process of returning to hometown is "return", which not only contains the travel narrative logic of depar-

³¹ J. Campbell, *The Hero with a Thousand Faces*, Princeton, NJ, Princeton University Press, 2004, p. 220.

³² J. Campbell, *The Hero with a Thousand Faces 70th-anniversary new commemorative edition of the classic*, Trans. Zhu Kanru, Taipei, Wanderer Culture, 2020, pp. 162-183.

³³ T. Yifu, translated by Pan Chenggui, *Space and Place in Empirical Perspective*, Taipei, National Translation and Translation Center, 1998, p. 113.

ture and return, but also emphasizes the hero's growth between departure and return, establishing hometown as the starting point of the whole narrative.

Campbell extended Jung's "individuation" process. The heroic myth represents the process and story of each person's continuous pursuit of the truth and meaning of life as one grows older³⁴. The hero's journey is not a departure without return, but a process of leaving home and returning home, allowing the characters to experience trials and enlightenment before they can grow and finally return to complete the hero's journey. Zhang Youyu, the author of *A-Guo's Bicycles on the Suhua Highway* mentioned that the writing process was that the fiction was born first and was later adapted into a movie; the movie script came out before the fiction and won the Best Screenplay Award granted by the Information Bureau. In her *Preface*, she mentioned that this book also included her court observation experience. The author attempts to criticize through juvenile fictions: «Privately labeling characters, and extending these previous labels from the past to today, never paying attention to whether this person is no longer what he used to be?». In the *Postscript* of this book, she earnestly mentions that teenagers who are still quite flexible in the face of room for growth should abandon the established old impressions and treat them with the present. This is why some countries will destroy the criminal records of minors based on the protection of juveniles. The characters in the fiction travel together, exchanging stories with each other along the way, but they also hate and look down on each other. Until they encounter another current crime that is repeating their "previous" crime, and this current crime allows them to see their "previous" self.

In *Ah Guo's Cycling on the Suva Road* and *Solo Cycling Trip*, Lin Zhengyi believes: «But things like criminal records can never become the past, so it will accompany you throughout your life. Moreover, everyone must pay for the mistakes made one second ago»³⁵. Hating past mistakes is a test for Lin Zhengyi's heroic path. However, when he nearly died in a landslide, he reflected: «When the sand and gravel poured down, I thought of the word 'cover up'. It means that we can cover up bad things with stronger and better memories»³⁶. The possibility of death forced Lin Zhengyi to face his life situation and also allowed him to overcome the entanglement of past mistakes. And Ah Guo also found a way to continue living during this journey. When Ah Guo's friend Ah Ji laughed at him that riding a bicycle was not as good as riding a motorcycle, Ah Guo told him the reason why he was willing to ride a bicycle.

³⁴ L. Xinhua, *Exploring the symbolic meaning of the Russian folk tale "Beautiful Vasilisa" and the Japanese animation "The Hidden Girl" from a psychoanalytic perspective*, «Cultural Transgression», vol. 2, n. 2, 2016, pp. 21-42.

³⁵ Z. Youyu, *A-Guo's Cycling on the Su-Hua Highway*, Taipei, Xiaolu Culture, 2004, p. 139.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 141.

Each climb was difficult, but on the way up, he knew he was about to face a welcome descent. At the end of the fiction, Ah Guo tells Mr. Fu that he will embark on a journey again and face the next cycling trip with his teammates on the cycling team. The death threats faced during the journey, as well as the scenery on the east coast of Taiwan, allowed Ah Guo and Lin Zhengyi to break through the tests during the journey. When the two returned to their hometown from the Suhua Highway, the moment was not only a spatial return for them, but also a spiritual “hero’s return”.

Liao Dayu, the author of *A Bicycle Trip Alone*, mentioned in his preface that in the face of an increasingly complex world, he advocated action: «Instead of protecting our children, it is better to remind them – remind them to believe in themselves, believe that they have the superpower to ‘educate themselves’, and believe that they can refuse to become bad!»³⁷. Psychologist John Welwood believes that “self-image” originates from traumatic experiences in childhood. Under traumatic experiences, in order to defend and affirm themselves, children will use imagination and feelings to shape a stable form of self-existence in order to position their identity³⁸. The author arranged for the group of people to go to Shimen Reservoir. Ah Yi met his childhood friend Dawei during the bicycle trip. If he had not been strongly encouraged to steal, perhaps Ah Yi would not have gone astray and become a kidnapper. Dawei came to Shimen Reservoir and wanted to commit suicide, but gave up this suicide attempt after hearing the story of the high-tech youth. The man told how his good friend fell ill due to overwork. This friend finally failed to survive and passed away. The man said: «I miss my friends. I know that everything has a chance to come back, except life»³⁹. The interpretation of the journey of life made Dawei decide to regain hope in life, and it also made Ah Yi face up to what he had done. Later in the fiction, Lu Jiasheng, Ah Yi and others encounter bandits on the way. Ah Yi snatched away the schoolbag that Lu Jiasheng regarded as her life. When Ah Yi grabs her schoolbag, the author narrates it from Lu Jiasheng’s perspective. In her eyes, it was as if she was forced to see the scene when her father passed away. However, no one died this time, Ah Yi and Lu Jiasheng eventually returned to Taipei escorted by the police. When Ah Yi fought with the robbers to retrieve his schoolbag, he did not die. However, at that moment, Ah Yi’s “old self” died, and the reformed boy became the hero of the story. This plot also became a wedge for Lu Jiasheng to bid farewell to her father’s death. At the end of the fiction, Lu Jiasheng mentioned in her

³⁷ L. Dayu, *The Whispers Between Me and Guaguai, A Bicycle Trip Alone*, Taipei, Xiaobing, 2018, p. 12.

³⁸ J. Welwood, translated by D. Bochen, *Awakening Wind: The Meeting of the Souls of the East and the West*, Taipei, Soul Workshop, 2009, pp. 48-49.

³⁹ L. Dayu, *The Whispers Between Me and Guaguai, A Bicycle Trip Alone*, Taipei, Xiaobing, 2018, p. 181.

speech: «Don't give up!»⁴⁰. She finally fulfilled the agreement with her father, and Ah Yi and Dawei also found their way in life.

Cycling travel can be seen as the process of isolation, transition/conversion, and return of the characters in the fiction, and the growth and changes brought about by travel are also accompanied by it. For the protagonist, this activity allows him to recreate himself and ultimately gain a new self⁴¹. Cycling tours are associated with self-transformation and growth, a sense of accomplishment, building a positive self-image, and self-actualization. At the end of *Solo Cycling Trip*, Lu Jiasheng mentioned in his speech: «I pay thanks to all the people who helped me along the way, boosting me to complete this trip. Just like one of the people who helped me said: 'Things will always turn around, don't give up!'». Lu Jiasheng finally completed the agreement with his father setting off from Changhua to circle the island to Taipei, and Ah Yi and Dawei also found their ways in life. Because it takes a lot of energy to ride a bicycle on ones own, by participating in activities, one can exercise one's physical strength, perseverance and willpower, overcome obstacles, and develop one's tolerance for setbacks.

Fan Mingru mentioned the relationship between home and place in the fiction: home is a social domain that is an extension of the original space⁴². If a family is in crisis or disintegrates, it becomes a microcosm of the literary allusion to the existential crisis of the entire place. Home is where the characters in the fiction establish their sense of place. The protagonists Lu Jiasheng and Ah Yi in *Solo Cycling Trip* face changes in their family. Lu Jiasheng's father passed away, and her mother was busy with work and neglected the responsibility of taking care of her daughter. Ah Yi was raised by her grandmother, but was not properly cared for due to financial problems. A single-parent or multi-generational family brings the two of them onto the path of adventure. Ah Yi leads a misguided and criminal lifestyle; after being kidnapped, Lu Jiasheng decides to ride a bicycle north to fulfill the promise she made with her father during the lifetime. The end of the fiction lays out the meaning of Ah Yi regaining his identity as a grandson, and Lu Jiasheng finally returns to school in time to participate in the speech contest and share her experience with her mother. The fiction begins with a family accident triggering the girl's departure, and ends with her returning home. Through departure and return, we experience the scenery and specialties of western Taiwan, reveal a sense of place, and bring out the characters' process of overcoming life difficulties and

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 201.

⁴¹ L. Meiru, *Multiple Appearances of Island Traveling in Taiwan – Shifting Fields of Body, Time and Space*, «Leisure and Health Care», vol. 6, 2011, pp. 55-64. Chen Shiru, *Traveler on the Pedal: An Analysis of Cycling Travel Notes in Taiwan*, «Taiwan Academic Journal», vol. 13, 2016, pp. 49-70.

⁴² F. Mingru, *The "Local" in Local Novels of the 1970s*, [Literary Geography: Spatial Reading of Taiwanese Novels], Taipei, Maitian, 2008, pp. 356-357.

finding hope. This is the transformation brought about by departure, adventure, and even return.

Solo Cycling Trip and *A-Guo's Cycling on the Suva Road* use bicycles as the main plot of the narrative, which involves the movement of space, especially between the city and the countryside in Taiwan. As stated by He Changyuan and others, cycling around the island helps riders build a sense of identity with the land of Taiwan⁴³. We also refer to Fan Mingru's discussion of the co-constructive relationship between home and place to explore how juvenile fiction can rely on metaphors. The protagonist of the juvenile fiction travels between different towns and between towns and villages through his efforts and this is a mobile subject. Wu Meiying believes that children have an inter-mediating function in fiction. They are not only the mediator between the past and the present but also shuttle between the "traditional/rural" (the provincial) and "the modern/urban" (the modern). This flow is not only reflected in time and space but also subject identity, highlighting the complexity and uncertainty of teenagers⁴⁴. During the journey, Lu Jiasheng continued to identify the meaning of her existence in the world after her father's death; during the journey, Ah Yi reflected on his "wrong path" in his childhood and determined to change himself. Ah Guo and Lin Zhengyi climbed mountains one after another on the East Coast and experienced life-and-death situations. On the coast of the Pacific Ocean, they thought about where to go in the future. The movement of these spaces brings trials and growth to the characters in the fiction, allowing them to construct his own identity between leaving and returning to home and place.

At the return, they rely on extraordinary faith and sometimes have to use external forces to get out of the valley of the shadow of death. This does not mean that they can easily return to the original world. After finally getting rid of the chaos and disturbance of the outside world, they returned to their hometown. It was different from the past and it was difficult to adapt to the original world. They experienced a period similar to a trauma syndrome. They learned a lot during the journey and thus grew stronger and more determined after returning home. After the sea turtles in *Ocean Youngster* conquer the unusual ocean world after their epic journey, they can swim in the sea where they were born in real life. Adventure gives people deep insights, life becomes richer and more complete, and life becomes more comfortable and leisurely.

⁴³ H. Changyuan, Y. Zhilong, H. Shuqin, L. Yingxiao, *The value of cycling around the platform: a class analysis of value-based motivations*, «Journal of College Physical Education», vol. 17, n. 4, 2015, pp. 388-391; Z. Jiayu, *A preliminary study on the connection between the coming-of-age ritual of cycling around the island and resilience*, «Leisure and Social Research», n. 5, 2012, pp. 85-91.

⁴⁴ W. Meiying, *Subject, Gender, Local Discourse and (Post) Modern Childhood Imagination: A Monograph on Postwar Taiwanese Juvenile Novels*, Tainan, National Cheng Kung University Press, 2017, pp. 158-159.

Turtle Yueman was born on an island and wandered in the ocean trying to find his dream paradise. During the process, he kept asking other marine creatures what is the purpose of survival? It is an inquiry into one's own identity and a search for the meaning of life. At the beginning of the fiction, Yueman hears a voice from the sky, telling her that the fate of sea turtles is to live alone⁴⁵. After he completed his journey to the ocean, Yueman said to Brother Wanglai: «The mother sea turtle lays eggs. Since ancient times, mother sea turtles have climbed the dunes by the sea alone in the middle of the night, dug sand pits, laid eggs, and buried them before returning to the sea. This means no one can violate the eternal laws of nature, and I must abide by them»⁴⁶. Yueman finally went through all kinds of difficulties but decided to say goodbye to his partner Wanglai Ge and live a lonely life. The ending may seem sad, but it implies the protagonist of the juvenile fiction has the power to confirm his life value. It establishes its purpose of existence and understands the path to take in the future. Huang Yuwen pointed out the gender of Turtle Moon in the fiction and gave it a destiny of independent choice. It was not affected by the surrounding environment or others and walked its way. The metaphors of gender consciousness and identity contained in it are self-evident.

From Ah Guo, Lu Jiasheng to Yueman, different juvenile fictions all use different forms of travel and adventure to portray the protagonist's growth narrative. This narrative structure is consistent with Campbell's Hero's Journey theory. Campbell proposed the theory when analyzing myths. He believed that the structural process and interpretation of narratives: the legend of heroes embarking on a journey is a process of finding and proving themselves, reflecting the collective consciousness and thinking prototype of a specific culture. *The Hero with a Thousand Faces* integrates and analyzes myths from around the world, derives the psychological universal archetypes of heroic myth motifs behind cross-cultural myths, and deciphers the common mysteries of symbols and metaphors in these stories. There are similarities between different civilizations and cultures in the world. Regardless of their different backgrounds or appearances, the characters all go through a journey of «departure → enlightenment → return», realizing and transcending themselves in the process. The basic pattern of the story is an "archetype" involving the questions: who am I? Where do I come from? Where to go after death? What is good and evil? These concepts deeply rooted in mythology are the fundamental core issues of life and help to understand the problems encountered by human beings. They not only provide personal growth and spiritual development but also become an important model for the authors to attract readers.

⁴⁵ H. Yuwen, *Ocean Youngster*, Tainan, Taiwan Literature Museum, 2018, p. 10.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 60.

Conclusion

The travel narrative of the juvenile fiction involves encountering multiple disasters during the journey, meeting like-minded partners and the guidance of a wise old man, and finally returning after the disaster, bidding farewell to the “old self” and completing the heroic journey. This article is based on Joseph Campbell’s Hero’s Journey, which is used as a theoretical framework to interpret the three juvenile fiction *A-Guo’s Cycling on the Suva Road*, *Solo Cycling Trip* and *Ocean Youngster*. Different protagonists in the fiction have different characters due to various reasons. Go on your journey/adventure. Encountering multiple disasters during the journey, they also met like-minded partners and the guidance of a wise old man. Finally, after the disaster, they returned to bid farewell to their “old self” and completed the hero’s journey. However, although the three narrative structures all conform to the narrative structure of the hero’s journey, they also differ due to differences in subject matter and the concerns of the writers. In order to explore the growth theme and narrative structure of Taiwanese fictions, this article analyzes the plot and the initiation ritual symbolized by the adventures and challenges of the protagonist during the journey, and narrates the emotional attachment that the characters in the bicycle-riding juvenile fiction have to the local subjectivity during spatial movement.

A-Guo’s Cycling on the Suva Road not only depicts how Ah Guo and Lin Zhengyi regained their life energy in the natural landscape of the eastern coast; it also highlights the process of Lin Zhengyi’s trial in court and the story of young Ah Guo based on the author’s own observation experience. It refers to the experience of making mistakes. The fiction arranges for Ah Guo and Lin Zhengyi to ride bicycles to travel to the east. On the one hand, it records the beauty of Taiwan’s eastern coast and uses it as a medium to influence them. On the other hand, it also uses the undulating terrain of the eastern coast as a metaphor for the bumps in the road of life. Insurmountable obstacles. Ah Yi in *Solo Cycling Trip* is also an ex-convict, and he finds the meaning of a new life after running away. Both Zhang Youyu and Liao Dayu tried to convey through their fiction the spirit that mistakes can be corrected and that there is much to be done if one corrects oneself. Through Campbell’s theory, we can see how the protagonist of the juvenile fiction abandons his “old self” and returns from the disaster to shape a new life.

Lu Jia sheng in *Solo Cycling Trip* experienced the pain of losing his father. After a journey/adventure, he gradually said goodbye to the haze of death. As she mentioned to her mother at the end of the fiction, everything is turning around. At the beginning of the fiction, Lu Jiasheng’s father proposes a bicycle trip to Changhua. With his father’s death, this agreement became an impossible task. By some mistakes, Lu Jia sheng completed the bicycle trip from Changhua back to Taipei, allowing him to complete the goal that his

father had not achieved. By using the agreement as a basis, the bereaved can complete the emotional connection with the deceased and accept the reality of the death of their loved ones. The fiction therefore has the significance of life education. The authors of the two fictions, Zhang Youyu and Liao Dayu, both tried to convey through the text the spirit that mistakes can be corrected and that there is much to be done if one corrects oneself.

Ocean Youngster is written from the perspective of Turtle Yueman and is written in an anthropomorphic way. Compared with the two fictions that revolve around bicycles, Huang Yuwen touches on the issue of teenagers learning how to get used to “loneliness”. *Ocean Youngster* revolves around the difficulties of survival in the ocean, or themes related to disasters caused by human wars, fishing, and hunting. Starting from the perspective of marine life, encountering different types of marine life enriches readers’ imagination and identification with marine culture, and uses the disasters seen in the ocean to guide readers to reflect on the disasters caused by humans to the ocean.

This paper uses three juvenile fictions as examples to explain how the themes of cycling around Taiwan and sea turtles echo the hero’s journey of mythologists. To analyze the structure of the three stages of departure, enlightenment, and return, let’s start with the discussion of departure: how they chose themes and developed narratives? and then the reasons are pointed out why the protagonists of juvenile fiction ran away. Then use the people, things, and things encountered in the fiction to elicit how the guide and various trials in the Hero’s Journey enlighten the protagonist. Finally, it discusses how the protagonist breaks through the test of the trial and brings spiritual rebirth with the return to space. In addition to analyzing the identity construction of a juvenile fiction, this article also discusses the protagonist’s cultural identity, that is, an individual’s sense of identification with a certain social group. This is a core point of personal identity, involving how one sees oneself and how one understands one’s relationship to the world. Juvenile fiction also has an educational function, not only allowing readers to understand themselves but also to observe the world from a cultural perspective.

Who was Nicolaus Copernicus? The Copernican narrative in contemporary Polish-language children's literature

Barbara Sapała
Faculty of Humanities
University of Warmia and Mazury
Olsztyn (Poland)
barbara.sapala@uwm.edu.pl

Małgorzata Sławińska
Department of Didactics and Early
Education
University of Warmia and Mazury
Olsztyn (Poland)
malgorzata.slawinska@uwm.edu.pl

ABSTRACT: The aim of this study was to examine the portrayal of Nicolaus Copernicus in Polish-language children's literature and to identify the elements of the literary narrative that shape young readers' memory about Copernicus. Twelve children's books about Copernicus, published after the political transformation of 1989, were analyzed. Five elements that contribute to Copernicus' portrayal as a site of memory were identified: nationality, accomplishments, life in an era of discovery, imagined childhood, and characteristics of a superhero. The results of the analysis suggest that the national discourse which dominated the Copernican narrative in the 19th and 20th centuries is being replaced by a discussion about the astronomer's real achievements and personality traits as values that should be embraced by young people. As a result, the centuries-old portrayal of Copernicus as a Polish and German site of memory is being transformed into an "open", pan-European site of memory.

EET/TEE KEYWORDS: Nicolaus Copernicus; Children's literature; Collective memory; Place-based education; XIX-XX Centuries.

Introduction

The year 2023 marked the 550th birth anniversary and the 480th death anniversary of Nicolaus Copernicus (1473-1543). To commemorate this event, the Senate of the Republic of Poland adopted a resolution proclaiming the year 2023 the Copernicus Year¹. In addition to an exhibition and a scientific conference dedicated to the astronomer, the central feature of the jubilee framework program involved the World Copernican Congress with a rich program. The Polish Senate also turned to universities, schools, social organizations, and the media with a request to popularize Nicolaus Copernicus², and this appeal gave rise to a series of initiatives dedicated to or inspired by the astronomer. The appeal also led to the publication of several books about Copernicus for children of various ages.

Nicolaus Copernicus was born in Toruń (Thorn) in the Crown of the Kingdom of Poland, and he remains a hugely symbolic figure for Polish national identity. According to Elisabeth Ritter, the anniversaries of Copernicus' birth and death were moments that crystallized the cultural memory³ about the astronomer. This article attempts to analyze Polish-language children's books about Copernicus from this perspective. The study involved twelve books published between 2009 and 2023. The article focuses on books that were published after the political transformation of 1989, a year that marked the beginning of a new chapter in all areas of Polish life. The aim of the study was to examine the portrayal of Nicolaus Copernicus in Polish-language children's literature and to identify the elements of the literary narrative that shape young readers' memory about Copernicus.

1. *Nicolaus Copernicus as a site of memory*

The analysis of the Copernican narrative in children's books was conducted in the spirit of research on cultural memory. This research perspective focuses on the process of reinforcing historical facts in collective memory, rather than on reconstructing past events. This shared pool of memories makes a specific reference to the identity⁴ of a society or a social group. Therefore, the «sites

¹ Polish Monitor, «Official Journal of the Republic of Poland», 28.11.2022, <<https://isap.sejm.gov.pl/isap.nsf/download.xsp/WMP20220001120/O/M20221120.pdf>> (last access: 14.12.2023).

² *Ibid.*

³ E. Ritter, *Mikołaj Kopernik. O obrotach narodowych dziełem wielkiego astronoma*, in R. Traba, H.H. Hahn (edd.), *Polsko – niemieckie miejsca pamięci*, Warszawa, Wydawnictwo Naukowe Scholar, 2015, Vol. I, p. 571.

⁴ J. Assmann, *Das kulturelle Gedächtnis Schrift, Erinnerung und politische Identität*

of memory» became the focal point in the research on national remembrance. The term «site of memory» [*lieu de memoire*] was coined by Pierre Nora and – in line with his expectations – it quickly evolved into a research concept⁵ that not only gave rise to an astounding number of publications examining sites of memory in national, regional, and European history⁶, but also, as Waldemar Czachur notes⁷, has been elevated to the status of one of the most important programs in the human sciences in recent decades. In view of the above, instead of making even the most casual reference to the scientific discourse on cultural memory, this article analyzes the definition of a memory site proposed by Hans-Henning Hahn and Robert Traba, the initiators of the research project entitled *Polish-German Realms of Memory*. The project makes a reference to *German Sites of Memory* by Etienne Francois and Hagen Schulze, who defined memory sites as points at which collective memory and identity are crystallized and play a permanent and constitutive role for many generations, represent social, cultural, and political habits, and evolve with changes in the perception, adoption, use, and transfer of these concepts⁸.

Hahn and Traba examined sites of memory in the context of the research done by Klaus Zernack, a precursor of the transcultural history of mutual interactions. In this approach, sites of memory can be defined as both real-world and imagined historical phenomena, including events, topographic locations, characters (real and imagined), artifacts, and symbols. The extent to which the presence of past events in the contemporary world affects the evolution and stabilization of identity is analyzed because research on memory sites investigates the complex history of memory, rather than the cultural memory that exists here and now⁹.

Traba and Hahn accentuate the polyphonic character of memory sites:

Therefore, it is not surprising that many sites of memory in a given society, where society is defined as a national discourse community, can be also encountered in neighboring communities, despite certain differences in their meaning, emotional connotations,

in frühen Hochkulturen, C.H. Beck, 1992; Polish translation: *Pamięć kulturowa. Pismo, zapamiętywanie i polityczna tożsamość w cywilizacjach starożytnych*, Warszawa, Wydawnictwo UW, 2008, p. 55.

⁵ See P. Nora, *Zwischen Geschichte und Gedächtnis*, Berlin, Verlag Klaus Wagenbach, 1990, p. 85.

⁶ See K. Kończal, *Miejsca pamięci. O niebywalej karierze pewnej koncepcji badawczej*, in R. Traba, H.H. Hahn (edd.), *Polsko – niemieckie miejsca pamięci*, Warszawa, Wydawnictwo Naukowe Scholar, 2013, Vol. IV, p. 77.

⁷ W. Czachur, *Lingwistyka pamięci. Założenia, zakres badań i metody analizy*, in W. Czachur (ed.), *Pamięć w ujęciu lingwistycznym. Zagadnienia teoretyczne i metodyczne*, Warszawa, Wydawnictwa UW, 2018, p. 7.

⁸ E. Francois, H. Schulze, *Einleitung*, in *Deutsche Erinnerungsorte*, München, 2001, Vol. I, pp. 9-24, in partic. p. 18.

⁹ R. Traba, H.H. Hahn, *O czym (nie)opowiadają polsko-niemieckie miejsca pamięci*, in Traba, Hahn (edd.), *Polsko – niemieckie miejsca pamięci*, cit., pp. 9-44, in partic. p. 18.

or influence on identity¹⁰. The above applies particularly to interrupted countries¹¹, namely areas that had experienced territorial disruptions in the past, as was the case in the shared history of Poland and Germany.

Nicolaus Copernicus constitutes a polyphonic site of memory that is shared by Poland and Germany¹². The first volume of Traba's and Hahn's work (suggestively entitled *Shared/Separate*) deals with Copernicus. In a chapter dedicated to Copernicus, Elisabeth Ritter examined the processes by which collective memory about the famous astronomer was shaped (in parallel) in both countries. She noted that these memories differed among the Catholics and the Protestants¹³, but she focused mainly on the shared representation of Copernicus that defined the national identity:

At the national level, Copernicus became an identity-building figure in Germany and in Poland during the partitions of Poland and the Polish struggle for independence in the second half of the 19th century. The quest for asserting the astronomer's national identity became radicalized in the 20th century¹⁴.

Both sides focused their efforts on proving that Copernicus was "entirely Polish" or "entirely German" by cherry picking biographical elements that fit their narratives and reinforcing these constructs in the collective memory of both nations. Polish and German historians attempted to undermine the opponent's arguments in the ongoing dispute, which incidentally contributed to the discovery of valuable source materials¹⁵. The national discourse dominated the remembrance of Copernicus and pushed the significance of his scientific accomplishments into the background. Copernicus was "owned" at the national, regional, and local level, and partly reduced to the role of a political tool. The astronomer became «a site of memory by largely contributing to the process of building [...] the political identity»¹⁶. Ritter analyzed this phenomenon in a bilateral approach and concluded that Poland and Germany «invented parallel traditions» of remembering Copernicus, where Polish traditions were laden with symbolic acts (in terms of their number, diversity, and emotional

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹ M. Maleszka, *Nostalgia bez pamięci. Spojrzenie na przestrzeń kulturową Warmii i Mazur*, «Studia Etnologiczne i Antropologiczne», n. 12, 2001, pp. 94-113, <<https://cejsh.icm.edu.pl/cejsh/element/bwmeta1.element.ojs-issn-2353-9860-year-2012-volume-12-article-9062/c/9062-7020.pdf>> (last access: 15.12.2023).

¹² E. Grotek, *Miejsca pamięci a toruńska tożsamość zbiorowa w XIX wieku. Przypadek Kopernika*, in Czachur (ed.), *Pamięć w ujęciu lingwistycznym. Zagadnienia teoretyczne i metodyczne*, cit., pp. 159-187.

¹³ Ritter, *Mikołaj Kopernik. O obrotach narodowych dziełem wielkiego astronoma*, cit., p. 568.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 569.

¹⁵ W. Thimm, *Rezensionen*, «Zeitschrift für die geschichte und Altertumskunde Ermlands», n. 36, 1972, pp. 123-134, p. 126.

¹⁶ Nora, *Zwischen Geschichte und Gedächtnis*, cit., p. 7.

charge)¹⁷. The political transformation of 1989 brought a notable change in this respect. The nationalist discourse on Copernicus became politically incorrect in the face of political changes and Poland's aspirations to join the European Union. Efforts were made to Europeanize Copernicus by naming international¹⁸ or national interdisciplinary scientific projects after the great astronomer (such as the Copernicus Science Center in Warsaw). According to Ritter, the official attempts to turn Copernicus into a «great European» aimed at by-passing the apparent dilemma concerning his nationality¹⁹, but they blurred the complexity of the relations. The extent to which these measures were successful in permanently modifying the memory of Copernicus in Polish and German societies is difficult to determine, but it appears doubtful. Ritter argued that in both Germany and Poland, certain groups are unable to deal with Copernicus' nationality without delving into a heated emotional debate. She cited the example of the former European Commissioner Günter Verheugen who sparked outrage in Poland by adopting the German spelling of the astronomer's name in the EU's Kopernikus project in 2008²⁰. The national discourse on Copernicus has been partly revived since the establishment of Poland's right-wing government. This trend culminated in Polish Senate's resolution proclaiming the year 2023 the Copernicus Year:

This resolution has been adopted by the Senate of the Republic of Poland on the 550th birth anniversary of this **Great Pole** [bold font introduced by the authors] to commemorate his work and achievements that have become a permanent feature of our collective consciousness. This act of remembrance aims to highlight Poland's and Poles' global contributions to science [...] ²¹.

The news that the dispute surrounding Copernicus' nationality had been ultimately resolved by Krzysztof Mikulski, a history professor, was widely promulgated in the media in June 2023. Citing Mikulski's research, the author of one of the articles (published on the website of a Polish public television channel) asserted that Nicolaus Copernicus clearly identified as a Pole despite the fact that his mother had been born in a family that relocated to Toruń from Germany, and his father's family originated from the region of Nysa²².

¹⁷ Ritter, *Mikołaj Kopernik*, cit., pp. 570-573.

¹⁸ Such as the *Copernicus Group*, a Polish-German expert forum created in 2000, or the Copernicus award of the Foundation for Polish Science and its German counterpart, Forschungsgemeinschaft.

¹⁹ Ritter, *Mikołaj Kopernik*, cit., p. 581.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 568.

²¹ <<https://isap.sejm.gov.pl/isap.nsf/DocDetails.xsp?id=WMP20220001120>> (last access: 29.12.2023).

²² M.R.K., *Mikołaj Kopernik – wielki astronom i patriota dumny ze swojego pochodzenia*, <<https://polonia.tvp.pl/70871618/mikolaj-kopernik-wielki-astronom-i-patriota-dumny-ze-swojego-pochodzenia>> (last access: 29.12.2023).

2. *The educational potential of sites of memory*

According to the concept of place-based education, the unique features of a particular place play an educational role, can be associated with the pedagogical process, and incorporated into experiential learning²³. The “pedagogical” character of a place is manifested in the process of creating local actors in a community. Humans have a dialectic relationship with places by providing them with meaning, and these places create communities²⁴. The educators recognize the value of places in which and through which education takes place. A place can «seduce» and offer «limitless educational opportunities»²⁵, but it can also be «dangerous». The real fight is about places, «and places become occupied and owned [...]»²⁶. Places can be used as a currency in that fight, «and they can be both gained and lost [...]». The educational potential of sites of memory lies in the values they carry. These ideas, norms, and behavior patterns play an important role in the local community, and they can be used as a reference to a community’s past²⁷. Despite the fact that sites of memory are applied mainly in historical and civic education²⁸, these complex and multi-dimensional constructs can catalyze both formal, non-formal, and informal education addressed to all age groups²⁹. In a world where historical memory is shaped mainly by propaganda, education based upon sites of memory poses an ethical challenge and imposes a certain obligation on educators. The educators are expected to develop a dialogue with students and encourage students to express their ideas and self-reflect on the learning process³⁰. Sites of memory should be regarded as platforms for presenting the interpretations offered by members of various social groups, and representatives of different generations and nationalities. Diverse opinions can provide individuals with a better understanding of the heterogeneous and context-based nature of reality; they can encourage community members to verify the information they receive

²³ M. Mendel, *Pedagogika miejsca i animacja na miejsca wrażliwa*, in Id. (ed.), *Pedagogika miejsca*, Wrocław, Wydawnictwa Naukowe DSWE TWP, 2006, pp. 21-37, p. 26.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 32.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 26.

²⁶ M. Mendel, *Wstęp*, in Id., *Pedagogika miejsca*, Wrocław, Wydawnictwa Naukowe DSWE TWP, 2006, pp. 9-18, p. 10.

²⁷ A. Szpociński, *Miejsca pamięci [Lieux de memoire]*, «Teksty Drugie», n. 4, 2008, pp. 11-20, in partic. p. 15.

²⁸ K. Majchrzak, *Miejsca pamięci w edukacji obywatelskiej*, «Studia Edukacyjne», n. 42, 2016, pp. 251-262.

²⁹ Id., *Od miejsc pamięci narodowej do miejsc żywej pamięci – implikacje dla andragogiki*, «Rocznik Andragogiczny», 2013, pp. 301-312.

³⁰ M. Małowski, *Od nauczania do uczenia się. O paradygmatycznej zmianie w andragogice*, Wrocław, Wydawnictwa Naukowe DSWE TWP, 2010.

and acquire information from various sources – these achievements are the current goals of education³¹.

3. *Sites of memory in the literature*

The links between sites of memory, as the focal point of the research on cultural memory, and literature were studied by German researchers Astrid Erll and Ansgar Nunning³². They identified three possible associations between literature and memory: the memory of literature, memory in literature, and literature as a medium of memory. The present article makes a reference to the latter category, and it focuses on literature as a formative medium within cultural memory. The first research question analyzes the ways in which the existing concepts, including intertextuality, rhetoric, genre conventions, literary canons, and literary representation of memory, can increase the effectiveness of literature as a formative medium within cultural memory³³. This line of thought was further developed by the Polish researcher Elżbieta Rybicka who analyzed the contribution of literature to the creation of sites of memory. Rybicka concluded that literature is not only a carrier, but also an activator of collective memory. By describing, interpreting, reconstructing, fabricating, or mythologizing sites of memory, both fictitious and real, literary works not only act as topographical representations of history, but they also initiate a discussion with the past, present, and future³⁴.

In this article, children's books about Copernicus published after 1989 were analyzed to define the framework for reconceptualizing the astronomer's legacy as a site of memory in reference to Ritter's arguments.

³¹ D. Barwińska, *Kształcenie w miejscach pamięci a społeczeństwo wiedzy. Pedagogika miejsc pamięci (Gedenkstättenpädagogik)*, in W. Horyń, J. Maciejewski (edd.), *Nauczyciel andragog w społeczeństwie wiedzy*, Wrocław, Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego, 2007, pp. 260-267, in partic. p. 261.

³² A. Erll, A. Nunning, *Cultural Memory Studies: An International and Interdisciplinary Handbook*, Berlin, De Gruyter, 2005.

³³ J. Kałużny, *Kategoria pamięci zbiorowej w badaniach literaturoznawczych*, «Kultura Współczesna», n. 3, 2007, pp. 85-103, in partic. pp. 88-89.

³⁴ E. Rybicka, *Miejsce, pamięć, literatura (w perspektywie geopoetyki)*, «Teksty Drugie», n. 1/2, 2008, pp. 19-32, in partic. p. 23.

4. Book description and formal analysis

The analyzed books belong to different literary genres and are addressed to different age groups. Most of them are informative, rather than fictional, but some rely on literary devices to communicate scientific facts³⁵. In two books, Copernicus is one of the characters on the list of famous Poles. These books are *To właśnie Polacy* [*These Are Poles*] by Dorota Skwark and *12 wyjątkowych postaci* [*12 Extraordinary People*] by Agnieszka Frączek. Katarzyna Vanevska's short poem about Copernicus' achievements entitled *Kto to puka? Nauka* [*Knock knock. Who's there? Science*] is dedicated to famous scientists in the world. Agata Grzegorzczuk-Wosiek's *Spacer Pana Kopernika* [*Mr. Copernicus' Walk*] and Anna Czerwińska-Rydel's *Planety Pana Mikołaja* [*Mr. Nicolaus' Planets*] are also short books for younger readers. The first is a rhymed story about Copernicus who takes a stroll down the streets of contemporary Olsztyn, whereas the second book has been designed as reading material for 5- to 7-year-olds, and it highlights the words associated with the astronomer's life and achievements. In Grzegorzczuk-Wosiek's second book, entitled *365. Co się stało z kalendarzem?* [*365. What Happened to the Calendar?*], Copernicus appears under the name of *Mikoko* and participates in the calendar reform. Marcin Przewoźniak's books with nearly identical textual layers – *Mikołaj Kopernik. Chłopak, który sięgnął gwiazd* [*Nicolaus Copernicus. The Boy Who Reached for the Stars*] and *Mikołaj Kopernik. Geniusz, który wstrzymał Słońce* [*Nicolaus Copernicus. The Genius Who Stopped the Sun*] – present the astronomer against the rich historical background of Medieval Europe. Błażej Kusztelski's and Bogusław Orliński's *Nazywam się Mikołaj Kopernik* [*My Name Is Nicolaus Copernicus*] was published as part of the *Nazywam się...* [*My Name Is...*] series which, according to the publisher, was designed to present children and adolescents with the biographies of famous people from various parts of the world who significantly advanced the progress of civilization³⁶. Justyna Styszyńska's *Idol. Mikołaj Kopernik* [*Idol. Nicolaus Copernicus*] also belongs to a series of books that familiarize readers with great men and women who made valuable contributions to the world of science³⁷. In turn, *Droga do gwiazd. Opowieść o Mikołaju Koperniku* [*The Road to the Stars. A Story About Nicolaus Copernicus*] is a work of biographical fiction. In the longest of the analyzed books, *Mikołaj i dziewczyna z gwiazd* [*Nicolaus and the Girl from the Stars*] by Sergiusz Pinkwart, Copernicus is a background character who becomes involved in the adventures of two contemporary teenagers.

³⁵ K. Rybak *et alii*, *Dziecięca książka informacyjna w Polsce. Wybrane problemy*, «Filoteknos», vol. 12, 2022, pp. 363-382.

³⁶ <<https://www.mediarodzina.pl/seria/nazywam-sie/>> (last access: 29.12.2023).

³⁷ J. Styszyńska, *Idol. Mikołaj Kopernik*, Piaseczno, Widnokrąg, 2018, cover.

Most of the analyzed books are richly illustrated. Marcin Przewoźniak's books are particularly abundant in graphic content, including colorful illustrations representing various artistic styles, maps (such as a map of 16th-century Poland), plans (the Teutonic castle in Malbork and Medieval Toruń), diagrams (Copernicus' heliocentric model, an engineering diagram of a telescope), and photographs (historical figures, manuscripts, cities, works of art, architectural objects, museum exhibits). Some books feature interactive elements that "force" young readers to undertake other types of activities and expand their knowledge of the topic. Styszyńska's book contains a "spot the difference" exercise in which the readers have to compare two portraits of Copernicus, a maze activity in which children have to map Copernicus' path to a horse standing on the opposite side of the river, a drawing of a tenement house in Toruń for coloring in, an exercise in which the readers have to draw the defenders of the Olsztyn castle in an empty battle field with Teutonic knights, and many activities where colorful stickers have to be placed on designated areas to complete the picture. *Nicolaus Copernicus. The Boy Who Reached for the Stars* ends with a Copernican quiz which tests the readers' knowledge about Copernicus' astronomical discoveries and astronomy. *Mr. Nicolas' Planets* contains reading comprehension questions, and children receive colorful stickers for reading the text independently and giving the correct answers. *Mr. Copernicus' Walk* features black and white illustrations that can be colored in based on the templates presented on the cover. Therefore, the reviewed books contain both reproducible and creative activities which have been designed to unleash the readers' curiosity, focus their attention, facilitate memorization, and consolidate the acquired knowledge.

The print runs and marketing of books about Copernicus play an important role in the popularization of the astronomer's achievements among Polish children. According to publisher data, the analyzed books had a print run of 3000 to 12,500 copies³⁸. Five books were first published before 2023, and new editions were released around 2023. Three books were published in 2022, i.e. directly before Copernicus' 550th birth anniversary, which suggests that they were written specifically for the occasion. *Idol. Nicolaus Copernicus* was co-financed by the Ministry of Culture and National Heritage, whereas *365. What Happened to the Calendar?* was published as part of the Ministry's scholarship program, and it was co-financed and widely promoted by the Olsztyn City Office. The author received an award from the Marshal of the Voivodeship of Warmia and Mazury for promoting Nicolaus Copernicus. Public readings of the book by the members of local cultural, scientific, artistic, and political communities were organized under the honorary patronage

³⁸ *Droga do gwiazd* had the largest print run of 12,500 copies, whereas *Kto to puka? Nauka* had the smallest print run of 3000 copies in two editions. Not all publishers responded to our request to provide print run data for the analyzed books.

of the Voivodeship Marshal and during a promotional campaign in Radio Olsztyn; workshop meetings with the author, Agata Grzegorzczuk-Wosiek, were also held. *The Road to the Stars* received the honorary patronage of the presidents of “Copernican” towns – Toruń and Olsztyn. Books dedicated entirely to Copernicus are popularized during promotional and educational campaigns (meetings with the authors, public readings, workshops, competitions) held mainly in schools, kindergartens, and children’s libraries.

5. *Nicolaus Copernicus – a Pole or a German?*

Six of the twelve analyzed books do not mention Copernicus’ nationality. A reference to the dispute can be found in three books. In two of these (with a nearly identical content), *Nicolaus Copernicus. The Genius Who Stopped the Sun* and *Nicolaus Copernicus. The Boy Who Reached for the Stars*, an entire chapter (*The War for Toruń and Copernicus*) is dedicated to the dispute about Copernicus’ nationality. The author resorts to an interesting tactic by alleging that Polish and German scientists waged a dispute about the astronomer’s nationality during a great conference dedicated to Copernicus. Scientific arguments backing the assertion that Copernicus was Polish/German are presented in the form of paratext. On the one hand, the author establishes a dialogue with the readers by encouraging them to resolve the dispute on their own. On the other hand, in the main text, the author subtly reinforces the arguments that Copernicus was a Pole: «In addition, our hero dedicated all of his scientific works to the Polish king. European scientists who knew Copernicus also regarded him as a Polish astronomer»³⁹. In the older of the two books (*Nicolaus Copernicus. The Boy Who Reached for the Stars*), Przewoźniak provides additional information about historical perceptions of nationality by giving examples of outstanding figures whose nationality has not been fully resolved (Wit Stwos, Arend Dickmann, Jan Matejko). A similar approach was used by Katarzyna Ziemnicka and Paweł Ziemnicki in *The Road to the Stars. A Story About Nicolaus Copernicus*:

The controversy over whether Nicolaus Copernicus was Polish or German has persisted for many years. In Copernicus’ times, nationality was defined in completely different terms. The late Middle Ages were a period of urban migration. According to the law, people who moved to a different territory were placed under the jurisdiction of the local ruler and had to acquire local citizenship. Nicolaus was loyal to Polish rulers all his life. He was born in Toruń, a city that had been a part of the Polish Royal Prussia for nineteen

³⁹ M. Przewoźniak, *Mikołaj Kopernik. Chłopak, który sięgnął do gwiazd*, Kraków, Wydawnictwo Zielona Sowa, 2010, p. 8.

years, which is why he is usually referred to as Nicolaus Copernicus – a resident of Toruń, a Prussian, or a German-speaking Pole⁴⁰.

Four of the examined books (*Nicolaus Copernicus. The Boy Who Reached for the Stars*; *Nicolaus Copernicus. The Genius Who Stopped the Sun*; *These Are Poles*; *Idol. Nicolaus Copernicus*) cite the famous couplet: «He stopped the Sun and moved the Earth; a Polish tribe was the place of his birth»⁴¹. Styszyńska (*Idol. Nicolaus Copernicus*) and Kuztelski and Orliński (*My Name Is Nicolaus Copernicus*) also make a reference to the poem, but do not quote the second verse which alleges that Copernicus was Polish. Perhaps they regard Copernicus as a cosmopolitan figure and, similarly to the cited authors, they believe that the dispute cannot be resolved by relying on the contemporary definition of nationality. The couplet was immensely popular in Poland after World War II, and it remains unknown whether the full quote, without any additional explanations, was provided to emphasize Copernicus' nationality or merely to indicate that the astronomer has been ever-present in Polish culture.

Four books directly portray Nicolaus Copernicus as a Pole. His nationality is implied in the title (*These Are Poles*), or Poland is indicated as the astronomer's place of birth without additional explanations (*Knock, Knock. Who's There? Science*). Copernicus is described as a famous Pole in the introductory chapter of *12 Extraordinary People*, but his name is mentioned on the list of the world's most famous people on the cover of the book, which could be an attempt to "internationalize" the astronomer. In the last book in this group (*My Name Is Nicolaus Copernicus*), Copernicus makes a reference to his nationality by describing his place of birth: «During my childhood, Toruń was one of the largest Polish cities»⁴². However, the book also informs the reader that Toruń was annexed to Poland in 1454-1466. Without entering a debate about the astronomer's nationality, the author explains why Copernicus spoke German: «Latin was the official spoken and written language of educated people, wealthy burghers, and the nobility. [...]. German was also widely spoken, whereas Polish was the language of... commoners, people of low birth rank. Therefore, I have been speaking German since I was a little child, but I had an equally good command of the Polish language»⁴³.

⁴⁰ K. Ziemnicka, P. Ziemnicki, *Droga do Gwiazd. Opowieść o Mikołaju Koperniku*, Łódź, Wydawnictwo Literatura, 2021, p. 21.

⁴¹ In *These Are Poles*, Dorota Skwark writes that the couplet was popularized by an unknown author after Copernicus had presented the heliocentric theory (p. 8). However, we know that the couplet was written by Jan Nepomucen Kamiński and published in 1828 (see: E. Sternik, *Popularny dwuwiersz o Koperniku i jego zapomniany autor*, «Notatki Płockie. Kwartalnik Towarzystwa Naukowego Płockiego», vol. 18, n. 2 (71), 1973, pp. 34-35.

⁴² B. Kuztelski, B. Orliński, *Nazywam się ... Mikołaj Kopernik*, Poznań, Media Rodzina, 2022, p. 8.

⁴³ *Ibid.*

6. Copernicus' accomplishments – a Renaissance man

In the analyzed books, Copernicus is portrayed mainly through his scientific accomplishments. In addition to the book by Grzegorz Wosiek⁴⁴, other books also extensively discuss the astronomer's achievements, and separate parts of the text are dedicated to his expertise in different scientific fields. Justyna Styszyńska's *Idol. Nicolas Copernicus* features extensive descriptions of Copernicus' knowledge of medicine, economy, cartography, astronomy, and his «military skills». Marcin Przewoźniak portrays Copernicus as a medic, mathematician, economist, astronomer, cartographer, administrator, diplomat, poet, translator, and calendar reformer. Other books highlight Copernicus' linguistic and legal skills, as well as his church career (*Knock, Knock. Who's There? Science; My Name Is Nicolaus Copernicus*).

Due to his versatile interests and skills, Copernicus is depicted as a Renaissance man in some of the evaluated books (*Idol. Nicolaus Copernicus; Nicolaus Copernicus. The Genius Who Stopped the Sun; Nicolaus Copernicus. The Boy Who Reached for the Stars*). Marcin Przewoźniak provides the following definition of a Renaissance man:

A Renaissance man not only had an interest in science, but he believed that knowledge and experience should, above all, serve mankind. Knowledge should improve mankind and make people stronger and happier [...]. Today, we use the term 'Renaissance man' to describe a person who has many interests and extensive knowledge in many areas. The same definition was used 500 years ago⁴⁵.

In several books, the narrative about Copernicus as a (future) scientist focuses solely on his interest in astronomy. Interestingly, this approach is found in books where Copernicus is depicted as a child. In the chapter entitled *Nicolaus Copernicus – How to Stop the Sun* in Agnieszka Frączek's *12 Extraordinary People*, little Nicolas looks up to the clouds and dreams about stopping the Sun. «This was only a child's dream, and as an adult, Copernicus would probably have admitted that it was a childish dream, but that dream triggered a series of events that changed the world»⁴⁶. In Pinkwart's *Nicolaus and the Girl from the Stars*, young Niko (Copernicus) discusses the laws of the universe with a traveler from the future, the teenage Wika, who convinces Copernicus that the Earth is not flat and is not the center of the universe. In Anna Czerwińska-Rydel's *Mr. Copernicus' Planets*, young Copernicus is fascinated

⁴⁴ *Mr. Copernicus' Walk* is a rhymed story in which where the astronomer takes the reader on a tour of contemporary Olsztyn. In turn, in *What Happened to the Calendar?*, Copernicus is portrayed only as one of the scientists who participated in the calendar reform.

⁴⁵ Przewoźniak, *Mikołaj Kopernik. Chłopak, który sięgnął do gwiazd*, cit., p. 18.

⁴⁶ A. Frączek, *Mikołaj Kopernik, czyli jak zatrzymać Słońce*, in A. Belter (ed.), *12 wyjątkowych postaci*, Poznań, Publicat, 2020, p. 10.

with the sky and has an interest in astronomy. The readers learn new words describing Copernicus' heliocentric theory (the Sun, revolve, theory, science, center).

In most books, *On the Revolutions of the Heavenly Spheres* is presented as Copernicus' greatest achievement. The authors dedicate more space and time to Copernicus' heliocentric theory than to his other accomplishments. Copernicus is portrayed as an astronomer already in the titles of the examined books, including *The Road to the Stars. A Story About Nicolaus Copernicus*, *Mr. Nicolaus' Planets*, and *Nicolaus Copernicus. The Genius Who Stopped the Sun*. The books by Przewoźniak, Styszyńska, Ziemnicki and Ziemnicka, Kuztelski and Orliński present the main tenets of the heliocentric theory and provide diagrams and illustrations to facilitate its understanding. The history and fate of Copernicus' seminal work are described in detail, and its importance is emphasized through the use of terms such as the *Copernican revolution*, *breakthrough*, *scientific revolution*, and *truth*. The significance of the heliocentric theory in Copernicus' career is reinforced by additional information and materials, including illustrated descriptions of scientific instruments and previous theories about the structure of the universe. References are also made to Copernicus' successors who developed his theory (Brache, Galileo, Kepler, Newton). The poem by Grzegorzczyk-Wosiek does not make a direct reference to Copernicus, but one of the stanzas emphasizes the groundbreaking character of his discovery:

Glass houses?!
Marble houses?
This is purely outrageous.

And they said
That the theory
Of planetary motion
Was too courageous!⁴⁷

7. Copernicus as a witness to history

In most of the examined books, the descriptions of Nicolaus Copernicus' life and achievements are accompanied by more or less extensive information about the period in which he lived. The only exceptions are *Mr. Nicolaus' Planets*, which has been designed mainly as a reading aid, and Grzegorzczyk-Wosiek's 365. *What Happened to the Calendar?*, which is based on

⁴⁷ A. Grzegorzczyk-Wosiek, *Spacer pana Kopernika*, Olsztyn, Pracownia Wydawnicza ElSet, 2009.

a fairy tale. *These Are Poles* and the short story about young Copernicus' dreams in *12 Extraordinary People* do not provide additional information about the Renaissance period, either. Some of the analyzed books give only a brief account of the era and places associated with the astronomer. In *Knock, Knock. Who's There? Science*, the only thing that the readers learn about Toruń is that the city is famous for its gingerbread cookies. *The Road to the Stars. A Story About Nicolaus Copernicus* is a piece of biographical fiction that contains only the most cursory information about Toruń and other cities where Copernicus lived and worked, such as Chełmno, Cracow, and Rome. In the book by Agata Grzegorzczak-Wosiek, *Mr. Copernicus* is a guide who takes the readers on a tour of contemporary and historical Olsztyn. Nicolaus Copernicus decides to leave his statue, and during his stroll, he compares Olsztyn's Old Town with his memories of the time when he resided in the Olsztyn castle. Pinkwart's book not only describes the topography of Medieval Toruń, but also provides extensive information about the role of the Church and social norms in the Middle Ages. The readers can learn about the daily life of burgher families in 15th-century Toruń. The book describes cultural and social phenomena, such as the witch hunt, as well as culinary traditions in burgher households. In the remaining books, Copernicus and his accomplishments are intentionally discussed in a broad historical context. *My Name Is Nicolaus Copernicus* opens with the following paragraph: «I was born in the beautiful city of Toruń, and I lived in an era of great discoveries. Columbus reached America (...), Magellan sailed around the Earth and proved that the Earth is round, and I discovered... the Solar System»⁴⁸. The timeline of Copernicus' life and a list of historical events, scientific discoveries, and artistic achievements in the Copernican era (divided into years) are presented in a table at the end of the book.

In Styszyńska's and Przewoźniak's books, the educational content is even more apparent, and Copernicus' life and work are presented in the context of his era, both in a local and a global approach. *Idol. Nicolaus Copernicus* describes buildings and households in Toruń, the history of universities where Copernicus studied, local payments, old handwriting styles, and the invention of the printing press in Europe. Similar information can be also found in Przewoźniak's books which contain detailed descriptions of local customs, wealthy households, children's games, and hygiene practices in Toruń. The readers also learn about fashion, table manners, modes of transport, history of Toruń, its population structure, and entertainment in the city. Przewoźniak introduces and explains difficult concepts such as city rights. His books also describe Poland's status on the political map of Europe, as well as the development of the arts and education during the Renaissance period in Poland. In

⁴⁸ Kuszelski, Orliński, *Nazywam się... Mikołaj Kopernik*, cit., p. 3.

the middle of the book, the section entitled *A Witness to History* presents a timeline of Copernicus' life together with the most important global events, including Columbus' and Magellan's discoveries, and Martin Luther's teachings. By learning about the major events in Copernicus' life, the readers gain a better insight into his era.

8. *Nicolaus Copernicus as a child*

The analyzed books are addressed to children, which is why most of the authors have decided to reconstruct Copernicus' childhood by basing their narrative largely on supposition and fictitious events. This approach is particularly evident in Agnieszka Frączek's book which is dedicated in its entirety to «little people who became Great (...). Before rising to fame, these great Poles were children, just like the readers of this book»⁴⁹. The remaining books (with a few exceptions) begin by describing Copernicus' childhood in an attempt to give a human face to the world-renowned scientist. Copernicus' relations with his parents, uncle, siblings, and school friends are often presented in a humorous way. His favorite games, clothes, foods, and school subjects are presented through stories and numerous illustrations (*Nicolaus Copernicus – How to Stop the Sun; The Road to the Stars. A Story About Nicolaus Copernicus; Mr. Nicolas' Planets; Nicolas and the Girl from the Stars; My Name Is Nicolaus Copernicus; Nicolaus Copernicus. The Boy Who Reached for the Stars; Nicolaus Copernicus. The Genius Who Stopped the Sun*). To promote a better understanding of the changes that had taken place in the key areas of children's lives since the Middle Ages, Przewoźniak describes the furniture in young Nicolas' room, the appearance of his classroom, the teaching methods applied at the time, the contents of a Medieval school bag, and a school timetable in both Polish and Latin. The introduction to *12 Extraordinary People* explains why Copernicus was depicted as a child:

Even the most famous people in the world were once children. The crumbs of childhood dreams helped to realize childhood plans, to pursue goals, to be invincible.

Dear adults! Pay attention to children's dreams, encourage children to talk about their dreams, and wisely support dreamers.

Dear children! Your dreams are important!⁵⁰

⁴⁹ A. Belter, *Wstęp*, in Id. (ed.), *12 wyjątkowych postaci*, cit., p. 3.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

9. *Nicolaus Copernicus – a superhero and a childhood idol*

Some authors invite young readers to look at Copernicus in an unconventional way, given the era in which he lived. This approach is motivated by a desire to present the astronomer as an interesting character, rather than a boring scientist from a bygone era. In the introductory chapters to his books, Przewoźniak writes:

We know that Nicolaus Copernicus was an astronomer, looked at the stars, and discovered that the Earth revolved around the Sun, and not the other way round, nearly five hundred years ago. Students yawn in boredom when they hear this story, and the famous scholar looks at them with a silent reproach from the portraits hanging in nearly every school⁵¹.

This silent reproach is a reaction to the fact that Copernicus' achievements in many fields of science have been often underestimated. The author addresses this issue by focusing on the astronomer's versatility, rather than presenting a dry list of events in his life. To make his character more attractive for the reader, Przewoźniak refers to him as a superhero already in the titles of the introductory chapters to both of his books. The concept of a superhero originated in pop culture, and it is associated by children mainly with Marvel characters who are endowed with extraordinary skills and powers and who lead the fight against evil for the good of mankind. Przewoźniak writes: «In the early 16th century, the idea that the Earth is not the navel of the universe, but rotates politely around the Sun was considered heretical and was even punishable by death»⁵². The title of the introductory chapter, *The man who was to become a merchant, but became a SUPERHERO* also suggests that uniqueness is not written in one's birth certificate, but evolves with time as a result of hard work on personal growth and self-improvement.

The title of Styszyńska's book *Idol. Nicolaus Copernicus* follows a similar train of thought. The book does not elaborate on the superhero concept, but as previously mentioned, it focuses on Copernicus' extraordinary versatility. The story ends by pointing to the direct link between the brilliant scientist's achievements and the modern options of studying the universe, and it concludes with the following paragraph: «You might want to think about Nicolaus Copernicus when gazing into the starry night sky. Think about Copernicus as a unique and versatile character and remember just how much we owe to his extraordinary talents, diligence and courage»⁵³.

⁵¹ Przewoźniak, *Mikołaj Kopernik. Chłopak, który sięgnął do gwiazd*, cit., p. 3; M. Przewoźniak, *Mikołaj Kopernik. Geniusz, który wstrzymał Słońce*, Warszawa, Wydawnictwo Zielona Sowa, 2023, p. 4.

⁵² Przewoźniak, *Mikołaj Kopernik. Chłopak, który sięgnął do gwiazd*, cit., p. 3.

⁵³ Styszyńska, *Idol. Mikołaj Kopernik*, cit., p. 28.

Conclusions

The aim of the formal analysis and the content analysis of the reviewed books was to identify the ways in which Nicolaus Copernicus is portrayed in Polish-language children's literature. It was assumed that the most prominent elements of the portrayed image build a memory of Copernicus in young readers. Prominence does not imply the frequency with which certain motifs appear in the analyzed publications, but it characterizes the volume and complexity of the text, as well as the emotional connotations, which together constitute a tool for consolidating certain facts and perceptions related to the astronomer in the collective memory. Copernicus' nationality is one of the such "hot" topics in the reviewed books. Nearly half of the examined books ignore this issue, which could be largely attributed to the Copernicus Year campaign promoting the astronomer as the great Polish scientist, hence his nationality is seen as a given. This assumption is corroborated by the results of a public opinion survey entitled *Poles' attitudes towards Nicolas Copernicus*, which was conducted by the Center for Public Opinion Research (CBOS) at the beginning of 2023. In the question concerning Copernicus' nationality, 76% of the respondents asserted that he was Polish⁵⁴. Based on an analysis of the books in which the astronomer is portrayed unequivocally as Pole, it can be concluded that Copernicus continues to play an important role in the process of stabilizing Polish national identity because he underscores the significance of «Poland's and Poles' worldwide contributions to science». Several authors examine the dispute over Copernicus' nationality in detail, without resolving it. In doing so, they point out (using scientific arguments adapted to the age of the reader) that this controversy is unfounded, which can be interpreted as a successful attempt to help children understand the context-based nature of reality. These efforts follow the trend observed by Ritter, namely that Copernicus is being Europeanized without avoiding a sensitive discussion about his nationality. This approach to portraying the astronomer is also manifested by placing Copernicus among prominent figures of international stature, such as Columbus, Magellan and Luther. By "mapping" European cities where the astronomer lived and worked, the authors contribute to the image of Copernicus as a «citizen of the world». However, the reviewed publications give greatest attention to Polish cities, in particular Toruń, where Copernicus spent his childhood. To make the astronomer a less monumental and distant figure, the authors invent a childhood world of Nicolaus that corresponds to the experiences of contemporary children. Facts are supplemented with hypotheses, imagined concepts, and fictionalized events to portray Copernicus in a manner that is more cognitively and emotionally accessible for children. This approach is consistent with

⁵⁴ <https://www.cbos.pl/SPISKOM.POL/2023/K_017_23.PDF> (last access: 29.12.2023).

the principles of place-based education which «aims to immerse an individual in a familiar environment and provide the context for identity-building, provided that such an identity is not coherent or unique»⁵⁵.

Copernicus' versatility and love of science are also promoted as significant elements in the process of building collective memory. Although most books focus on his achievements in astronomy, they also list the multitude of scientific disciplines in which Copernicus scored significant success. The authors argue that the persistent pursuit of knowledge, constant drive for self-improvement, and the courage to follow dreams are the traits that elevated Copernicus to greatness. By emphasizing the scientist's lonely and "heroic" struggle against misconceptions about the nature of the universe, some authors equate Copernicus with pop culture superheroes and present him as a role model for children. The presented analysis of children's books suggests that the national discourse which dominated the Copernican narrative in the 19th and 20th centuries is being replaced by a discussion about the astronomer's real achievements and personality traits as values that should be embraced by young people. As a result, the centuries-old portrayal of Copernicus as a Polish and German site of memory is being transformed into an "open", pan-European site of memory.

At the same time, the analyzed elements indicate that the reviewed books have considerable educational potential because they not only teach facts in an attractive way (in terms of content and graphics), but also promote universal values. The attempts to offer different interpretations of Copernicus and his era (and such attempts have been made by many generations and nations) are particularly valuable because they promote the understanding that reality is context-based and make it possible for young readers to discover the contextuality of the world. However, to encourage children to personalize the content of books and to confront them with different interpretations, teachers and other adults should adopt an open, sensitive, and uncompromising approach and should be able to recognize and skillfully use a book's potential.

To accentuate the polyphonic character of Copernicus as a site of memory, the authors initially attempted to analyze also German-language children's books published in the same period and to compare the meanings and descriptions associated with the astronomer in the context of identity-building. However, the library search did not bring satisfactory results. The authors were unable to find contemporary German children's books about Copernicus; therefore, a comparative analysis of Copernicus as a subject that crystallizes collective memory and national identity was abandoned. Further research

⁵⁵ I. Copik, *Pedagogika miejsca – kultura lokalna a kształtowanie się tożsamości współczesnego człowieka*, «Prace Naukowe Akademii im. Jana Długosza w Częstochowie», vol. XXII, 2013, pp. 179-189, in partic. p. 184.

is therefore needed to validate the hypothesis concerning the polyphonic character of Copernicus as a site of memory.

The analysis of children's literature revealed that interactive books play a particularly important role as carriers of collective memory about Copernicus. Interactive books are more attractive for the reader; they contribute to interdisciplinary education (astronomy, geography, history, and social sciences) in areas associated with Copernicus, and increase the impact of literature on cultural memory.

Prepararsi al concorso magistrale in Italia (1945-1980): testi e guide per gli aspiranti maestri degli istituti magistrali

Piera Caocci
Department of Philosophical,
Pedagogical and Social Sciences
University “G. d’Annunzio” of Chieti-
Pescara (Italy)
piera.caocci@unifg.it

Preparing for the teacher training school entrance examination in Italy (1945-1980): textbooks and guides for prospective teachers at teacher training schools

ABSTRACT: This article explores the educational tools used to prepare Italian teacher candidates for qualification exams in Italy between 1945-1980, focusing on study guides, exam aids, and textbooks designed to support aspiring primary school teacher. These resources, ranging from theoretical treatises to practical “cram books”, reflect educational priorities, exam expectations, and evolving views on teacher professionalism. The analysis also highlights tensions between theoretical depth and practical utility, as well as critiques of overly encyclopedic knowledge required by exams and the marginalization of classical authors in favor of didactic methodology.

EET/TEE KEYWORDS: Pedagogy and Philosophy; Didactic; Teacher training; Italy; XX Century.

Introduzione

Il presente contributo analizza un ampio corpus di guide e manuali per la preparazione ai concorsi magistrali pubblicati in Italia tra gli anni Cinquanta e Ottanta del Novecento. Si tratta di opere di natura divulgativa, articolate in compendi, riassunti, raccolte di temi svolti, corsi sintetici e questionari. Pur essendo concepite come strumenti pratici per facilitare il superamento del concorso – condizione imprescindibile per l’assunzione a tempo indeterminato nella scuola statale – queste pubblicazioni veicolavano anche un messaggio culturale e pedagogico: definivano i tratti della professionalità docente, i valori

e i doveri del maestro. L'analisi delle guide consente dunque di mettere in luce non solo contenuti e metodi di preparazione ma anche le concezioni educative che hanno accompagnato la selezione e la formazione dei futuri insegnanti. Tali fonti permettono, inoltre, di cogliere la distanza progressiva tra i programmi degli Istituti magistrali e i requisiti richiesti dai concorsi, un divario che si accentuò a partire dagli anni Sessanta a causa dell'immobilismo dei curricula magistrali (rimasti pressoché invariati dal 1952 fino alla loro soppressione negli anni Novanta).

L'interesse per queste fonti è legato anche alla loro ampia diffusione, favorita dal crescente numero di candidati ai concorsi¹. Com'è noto, il problema, già avvertito alla fine degli anni Trenta², si aggravò durante la guerra – sia per la proliferazione degli istituti magistrali privati, sia per la maggiore tolleranza negli esami di abilitazione – fino ad assumere caratteri di vera emergenza negli anni della ricostruzione. Alla fine degli anni Quaranta si stimava un fabbisogno medio annuo di circa 6.000 maestri, a fronte di un'offerta di circa 10.000 diplomati l'anno³. Nel concorso del 1947, bandito per 25.000 posti, si presentarono ben 87.000 candidati: una «enorme carovana di disoccupati di cui appena un'ala riuscirà a passare all'altra riva, mentre il 'grosso' sarà ricacciato nel deserto della sua desolazione»⁴. Il fenomeno non accennò a ridursi nei lustri successivi. Alla fine degli anni Sessanta, due terzi dei neo-maestri non riuscivano a trovare occupazione stabile⁵; nel concorso del 1969 si registrarono 194.000 aspiranti per 16.000 posti (circa dodici candidati per posto), mentre negli stessi anni gli abilitati superarono le 35.000 unità all'anno a fronte di un fabbisogno annuo di soli 6-7.000 insegnanti⁶. Nemmeno il *baby boom* e l'espansione della scuola elementare riuscirono, dunque, a colmare il divario tra domanda e offerta⁷. In questo contesto, superare il concorso magistrale era tutt'altro che semplice, e il mercato delle guide e dei manuali

¹ Sull'annoso problema della disoccupazione della classe magistrale italiana si veda: A.L. Fadiga Zanatta, *Il sistema scolastico italiano*, Bologna, il Mulino, 1971, pp. 155-163; M. Barbagli, *Disoccupazione intellettuale e sistema scolastico in Italia*, Bologna, il Mulino, 1974; A. Santoni Rugiu, *Maestre e maestri: la difficile storia degli insegnanti elementari*, Roma, Carocci, 2006.

² Si veda per questi dati G. Bottai, *La carta della scuola*, Milano, Mondadori, 1941.

³ Cfr. C. Ramacciotti, *Il lavoro degli intellettuali*, «Orientamenti sociali», n. 7-8, 1950.

⁴ A. Tona, *Al di là del concorso magistrale*, «I diritti della scuola», 30 novembre 1947.

⁵ La tabella (n. 6.12) dello studio di Barbagli può dare un'idea dello squilibrio, cfr. Barbagli, *Disoccupazione intellettuale*, cit., p. 247.

⁶ Cfr. G. Petracchi, *Il maestro nella scuola e nella società d'oggi*, Brescia, La Scuola, 1972, pp. 313-314.

⁷ «I risultati di un'inchiesta condotta dall'istituto di pedagogia di Bologna sui partecipanti al concorso magistrale del 1970 – ancora non pubblicati – ci danno un quadro più preciso delle dimensioni paurose assunte dal fenomeno della disoccupazione magistrale. Solo due su dieci concorrenti partecipavano al concorso per essere trasferiti o avevano comunque un impiego. Ma tutti gli altri erano disoccupati, manifesti o nascosti, o svolgevano qualche lavoro precario. Un quarto dei concorrenti avevano oltre 25 anni. Se a ciò si aggiunge che un concorrente su tre era al terzo, al quarto, o al quinto concorso e se si tiene conto che questi ultimi hanno luogo ogni due

conobbe un notevole sviluppo, come vedremo più avanti, trasformandoli in strumenti centrali per la formazione di intere generazioni di insegnanti.

1. *Come si diventa maestri elementari: i programmi dei concorsi magistrali*

Pur concentrando il nostro studio nel periodo compreso tra il secondo dopoguerra e gli anni Ottanta, in questa sede risulta utile considerare anche la fase precedente, al fine di mettere in evidenza l'evoluzione dei contenuti e lumeggiare le differenze e analogie tra i programmi ministeriali.

La Riforma Gentile del 1923, che ridisegnò in modo organico la normativa della scuola italiana, stabilì che il reclutamento degli insegnanti elementari statali dovesse avvenire per concorso. Alla prova erano ammessi soltanto i candidati in possesso del titolo di abilitazione all'insegnamento conseguito al termine dell'Istituto magistrale⁸. Tale esame di abilitazione – successivamente definito anche «diploma di maturità» – si teneva presso una commissione istituita nelle sedi di Provveditorato⁹.

I contenuti della prova di abilitazione, così come quelli dei concorsi per il passaggio in ruolo, furono fortemente segnati dall'indirizzo neoidealista (ad esempio, il candidato era valutato sulle nozioni che possedeva per diretta lettura dei classici, perciò era vivamente consigliato uno studio approfondito e personale delle opere, studio che necessitava di un'adeguata preparazione intellettuale e storica per affrontare testi complessi).

anni, ci si può rendere conto di quanto siano lunghi, per i diplomati degli istituti magistrali, i tempi di attesa di occupazione», Barbagli, *Disoccupazione intellettuale*, cit., pp. 345-346.

⁸ Cfr. R.D. 31 dicembre 1925, n. 2473, *Programmi di esame di ammissione, di licenza, di maturità, di abilitazione per gli istituti medi d'istruzione*. Sulla riforma Gentile e il nuovo Istituto magistrale si vedano: Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione, *La scuola italiana dal 1946 al 1953*, Roma, Istituto Poligrafico dello Stato, 1953; R. Fornaca, *I problemi della scuola italiana dal 1943 alla Costituente*, Roma, Armando, 1972; E. Bosna, G. Genovesi (edd.), *L'istruzione secondaria superiore in Italia da Casati ai giorni nostri*, Atti del IV Convegno Nazionale (Bari, 5-7 novembre 1986), Bari, Cacucci, 1988; R.S. Di Pol, *Cultura pedagogica e professionalità nella formazione del maestro italiano. Da Risorgimento ai giorni nostri*, Torino, Sintagma, 1998, pp. 174-198; G. Cives (ed.), *La scuola italiana dall'Unità ai nostri giorni*, Firenze, La Nuova Italia, 1990; Santoni Rugiu, *Maestre e maestri*, cit.; R.S. Di Pol, *La scuola per tutti gli italiani. L'istruzione di base tra Stato e società dal primo Ottocento ad oggi*, Milano, Mondadori, 2016; P. Caocci, *La formazione magistrale nel secondo dopoguerra e i manuali scolastici di pedagogia (1945-1968)*, «History of Education & Children's Literature», vol. XIX, n.1, giugno 2024, pp. 573-591.

⁹ Le commissioni erano formate da professori di Istituti magistrali di altra provincia, da un direttore didattico ed erano presiedute da un professore universitario. La presenza del direttore didattico nella commissione d'esame venne eliminata nel 1927 con il R.D. 5 maggio 1927, n. 740, *Modificazioni alle norme del R. D. 6 maggio 1923, n. 1054, circa gli esami delle scuole medie*. Sugli esami di abilitazione si veda l'art. 71 del R.D. 6 maggio 1923, n. 1054, relativo all'*Ordinamento della istruzione media e dei Convitti nazionali*.

Per quanto riguarda l'esame di abilitazione all'insegnamento elementare, nei programmi del 1923 era prevista una prova orale per verificare non solo le conoscenze di filosofia e pedagogia, fuochi principali dell'Istituto, ma anche quelle relative alla letteratura per l'infanzia e alla storia delle istituzioni scolastiche. Sul problema estetico e la didattica dell'arte il candidato doveva mostrare di conoscere almeno un'opera tra *La Repubblica* di Platone, la *Poetica* di Aristotele, la *Scienza nuova* di Vico, la *Critica del giudizio* di Kant, il *Breviario di Estetica* di Benedetto Croce. Per il Problema religioso e la didattica della religione si indicavano opere e autori quali l'*Eutifrone* di Platone, la *Metafisica* di Aristotele, il *De Natura deorum* di Marco Tullio Cicerone, le *Lettere* di Paolo di Tarso, la *Scienza nuova* di Gian Battista Vico, le *Idee religiose* di Giuseppe Mazzini, Vincenzo Gioberti e la sua *Riforma cattolica* e infine *Il problema del Cristianesimo* di Josiah Royce. Sul problema della conoscenza e la didattica della scienza abbiamo l'*Organon* di Aristotele, Cartesio e i *Principi di filosofia*, il *Saggio sull'intelletto* di John Locke, i *Nuovi saggi* di Gottfried Wilhelm von Leibniz, la *Critica della Ragion Pura* e *Prolegomeni ad ogni futura Metafisica* di Immanuel Kant, estratti dal *Saggio* di Pasquale Galluppi, la *Esposizione del suo sistema* di Antonio Rosmini, *Logica e Metafisica* di Bertrando Spaventa. Il problema morale e l'educazione morale dovevano essere trattati almeno con una delle seguenti opere: l'*Etica a Nicomaco* di Aristotele, il *Nuovo Testamento*, l'*Etica* di Spinoza, la *Critica della Ragion Pratica* e la *Metafisica dei costumi* di Kant, *Principi di scienza morale* e *Storia dei sistemi* di Rosmini.

Si passava poi all'esposizione di un'opera classica di pedagogia scelta tra la *Didactica Magna* e la *Ratio studiorum* di Comenio, i *Pensieri sull'educazione* e *Guida dell'intelligenza e scritti minori* di Locke, la *Relazione ai filantropi* di Johann Bernhard Basedow, *De nostri temporis studiorum ratione* di Vico, l'*Emilio* di Jean-Jacques Rousseau, la *Pedagogia* di Kant, *Pagine scelte* di Vincenzo Cuoco, *Scritti scelti* di Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi, *L'educazione dell'uomo e scritti scelti* di Friedrich Fröbel, la *Pedagogia generale* di Johann Friedrich Herbart, *Sulla missione del dotto e i Discorsi alla nazione tedesca* di Johann Gottlieb Fichte, *Lezioni sull'insegnamento accademico* di Friedrich Schelling, *Educazione progressiva* di Albertine Necker de Saussure, *Levana* di Gian Paolo Richter, *Del principio supremo* di Rosmini.

Infine, era prevista l'esposizione di un'opera moderna e contemporanea di pedagogia. Tra gli autori raccomandati erano annoverati Gino Capponi, Raffaello Lambruschini, Vincenzo Gioberti, Giuseppe Mazzini, Francesco De Sanctis, Aristide Gabelli, Roberto Ardigò, William James, Edward Caird, Thomas Arnold, Lucien Laberthonnière, Émile Boutroux, ecc. La durata dell'esame era di 30 minuti¹⁰.

¹⁰ R.D. 14 ottobre 1923, n. 2.345, *Orari e programmi per le Regie scuole medie*.

Un passaggio significativo avvenne nel 1925, con un'Ordinanza voluta dal ministro Fedele¹¹: l'approccio alla filosofia e alla pedagogia fu ristretto a tre opere di classici della filosofia e a due opere di pedagogisti, escludendo gli autori greci e altri precedentemente inclusi (tra cui Fichte, Gioberti e Necker de Saussure). Si trattò di una semplificazione sul versante culturale non fatta a beneficio della preparazione didattica e metodologica, che continuò ad essere sottodimensionata. Al contrario, venne data una maggiore attenzione alla letteratura per l'infanzia e la gioventù¹². Vengono aggiunti, tra le opere di autori contemporanei, *L'educazione cristiana dei figliuoli* di Silvio Antoniano, *La pedagogica* di Ausonio Franchi e il *Metodo educativo* di Don Bosco (segno di una maggiore vicinanza alla cultura cattolica). Tra gli autori suggeriti contemporanei fu inserito anche lo stesso Gentile. Questi programmi restarono sostanzialmente invariati per tutto il periodo fascista, salvo piccoli ritocchi agli elenchi di opere e autori.

In questa prima fase, dunque, nonostante le facilitazioni di cui si è detto, i contenuti dei concorsi continuarono a ricalcare da vicino l'impostazione culturalista dell'Istituto magistrale voluta da Gentile.

L'organizzazione dei concorsi magistrali fu modificata dal Regio Decreto n. 577 del 5 febbraio 1928¹³. L'articolo 121 prevedeva una prova scritta – un tema sui programmi della scuola elementare e sui fondamenti dottrinali dell'educazione secondo la concezione fascista – seguita da una prova orale. A quest'ultima, secondo il regio decreto aggiornato ad aprile, erano ammessi soltanto i candidati che avessero ottenuto almeno trenta cinquantesimi allo scritto¹⁴. La commissione era composta da un professore universitario o capo d'istituto di istruzione media, un insegnante di lettere, un professore di pedagogia o filosofia, un ispettore scolastico e un direttore didattico¹⁵. La prova scritta, della durata di cinque ore¹⁶, era affiancata da una prova orale su italiano, pedagogia, storia e geografia, scienze naturali, fisiche e matemati-

¹¹ R.D. 31 dicembre 1925, n. 2.473, *Programmi di esame di ammissione, di licenza, di maturità e di abilitazione per gli istituti medi d'istruzione*.

¹² Nei programmi si precisava che il candidato indicasse alcuni scrittori da lui studiati con maggiore predilezione, tra i più antichi libri della letteratura italiana (per esempio: *Il Novellino*, *I fatti di Enea*) ed altri non contemporanei, ma ancora «freschi e vivi» (Gozzi, Pignotti, ecc.). Furono suggeriti vari autori italiani (Parravicini A. Vecchi, Thouar, De Amicis, Taverna, Capuana, Cordelia, Stoppani, Collodi, Bisi Albini, Baccini, Vamba, Vertua Gentile, per citarne alcuni), dando la facoltà al candidato di indicare alla Commissione scrittori più recenti, di particolare importanza per l'educazione, ed autori stranieri (La Fontaine, i fratelli Grimm, Schmidt, Fenelon, Smyles, Twain, Perrault, Dickens, Kipling, De Foe, Verne, Foerster, Becher-Stowe, Alcott).

¹³ R.D. 5 febbraio 1928, n. 577, *Approvazione del testo unico delle leggi e delle norme giuridiche, emanate in virtù dell'art. 1, n. 3, della legge 31 gennaio 1926, n. 100, sulla istruzione elementare, post-elementare, e sulle sue opere di integrazione*, art. 121.

¹⁴ R.D. 26 aprile 1928, n. 1297, *Approvazione del regolamento generale sui servizi dell'istruzione elementare*, art. 280.

¹⁵ R.D. 26 aprile 1928, *Approvazione del regolamento*, cit., art. 271.

¹⁶ R.D. 26 aprile 1928, *Approvazione del regolamento*, cit., art. 276.

ca¹⁷. Sia la prova orale che la scritta valevano 10 punti ciascuna. I programmi furono rivisti nel 1935¹⁸, ma senza sostanziali cambiamenti.

Con il D.M. del 28 febbraio 1946 il ministro Enrico Molè stabilì che l'esame scritto dei concorsi magistrali consisteva «nello svolgimento di un tema su un argomento attinente ai programmi di studio e ai problemi della scuola elementare»¹⁹. L'esame orale invece prevedeva una prova di cultura e una prova di idoneità professionale. La prova di cultura verteva sulle seguenti discipline: pedagogia (esposizione critica del pensiero e delle principali opere di almeno due pedagogisti di cui uno straniero, scelti dal candidato); italiano (conoscenza diretta e valutazione critica delle principali opere di almeno due classici della letteratura italiana scelti dal candidato); ordinamento dello stato italiano e della scuola elementare e stato giuridico dei maestri.

La prova di idoneità tendeva ad accertare nel candidato: la conoscenza dei programmi della scuola elementare e, per ciascuna materia di essi, il sicuro possesso delle nozioni necessarie per impartirne consapevolmente l'insegnamento; la conoscenza dei principali scrittori italiani e stranieri per l'infanzia e delle principali opere di divulgazione scientifica in quanto possano occorrere per la costituzione della bibliotechina di classe; l'attitudine all'insegnamento dimostrata mediante una conversazione su di un concreto argomento di lezione o la discussione di quesiti relativi a difficoltà di ordine didattico.

Nella circolare di luglio del 1947 si legge che a seguito del Decreto Legge del 21 aprile 1947, «è ora possibile lo svolgimento dei concorsi magistrali»²⁰. La prova scritta valeva 50 punti (durata 5 ore), così come quella orale; 75 punti venivano assegnati ai titoli. Nella circolare di dicembre venne rettificato quanto stabilito il 28 febbraio 1946, ma alla prova orale si aggiunse la conoscenza dei programmi della scuola elementare²¹. Negli anni successivi vennero apportate alcune modifiche all'esame orale. Il ministro Guido Gonella, con un decreto del 1° luglio 1950, lasciò invariato l'esame scritto ma semplificò la prova orale, eliminando quella di idoneità professionale e quindi la verifica sulla letteratura per l'infanzia (modifica che rimase in vigore solo due anni: risultò infatti evidente che una prova esclusivamente teorica non consentiva di valutare la preparazione professionale dei candidati); si stabilì inoltre che venissero esaminati anche i programmi della scuola elementare e i criteri didattici che il candidato intendeva seguire nella loro applicazione²².

¹⁷ R.D. 26 aprile 1928, *Approvazione del regolamento*, cit., art. 280.

¹⁸ R.D. 20 giugno 1935-XIII, n. 1196, *Denominazione delle pubbliche Scuole elementari e limite di età per l'ammissione ai concorsi magistrali*.

¹⁹ D.M. 28 febbraio 1946, *Prove di esame dei concorsi magistrali*; Circolare 5 marzo 1946, n. 29, *Programmi per gli Istituti magistrali*.

²⁰ C. 8 luglio 1947, n. 16, *Concorsi magistrali*.

²¹ C. 16 dicembre 1947, n. 17, *Concorsi magistrali*.

²² D.M. 1° luglio 1950, *Programma delle prove d'esame dei concorsi magistrali*.

Le modifiche del ministro Segni del 1952²³ furono le più significative: come già annunciato, venne ripristinata la letteratura per l'infanzia nella prova orale, con la presentazione delle principali opere degli scrittori italiani e stranieri più significativi a scelta del candidato (motivandone la scelta); non era più obbligatorio ma era facoltà del candidato presentare opere o passi di opere di pedagogisti a sua scelta, relativi ai temi oggetto della prova d'esame: finalità e fattori dell'educazione; il rapporto maestro-scolaro; l'educazione sociale; l'educazione e il lavoro; la scuola ed i suoi rapporti con la famiglia, lo Stato e la Chiesa. Senza dubbio, una novità fu l'introduzione di una prova di *metodologia*, durante la quale il candidato doveva svolgere un'esposizione critica di almeno due esperimenti o metodi didattici italiani o stranieri contemporanei a scelta (il decreto indicava alcuni nomi a titolo esemplificativo: le sorelle Agazzi, Maria Montessori, Giuseppina Pizzigoni, Maria Boschetti Alberti, Ovide Decroly, Georg Kerschensteiner, il piano Dalton, quello di Winnetka, il metodo dei progetti). Un'altra modifica degna di nota fu l'integrazione della prova di didattica, verificata non solo attraverso la conoscenza dei programmi vigenti per le scuole elementari, ma anche con l'esame comparativo di due libri di testo (di lettura o sussidiari) sorteggiati dalla Commissione. Troviamo, infine, una parte dedicata alla legislazione scolastica e all'igiene.

Nel 1954, con il D.M. del 18 maggio²⁴, il ministro Gaetano Martino accentuò il peso delle materie professionalizzanti: i candidati erano *obbligati* a riferire sul pensiero di un solo pedagogista moderno, italiano o straniero, e il tema scritto fu trasformato da prova sui programmi a prova di pedagogia²⁵. A prima vista, queste modifiche sembravano segnare un progresso: dalla genericità enciclopedica si passava a un tentativo di caratterizzare professionalmente i concorsi; se consideriamo l'inserimento della prova di didattica sembra essere accentuato l'aspetto *pratico*, in particolare quando si chiede al candidato di esaminare, in due ore, il testo estratto a sorte in relazione ai programmi della classe ai quali si riferisce e ai criteri didattici seguiti dall'autore. Tuttavia, la tradizione neoidealista continuava a influenzare l'impostazione di base di queste selezioni, nella quale la conoscenza della pedagogia e della sua storia era ancora vista come condizione sufficiente per l'azione educativa, senza tenere conto del ruolo delle competenze pratiche e del contesto²⁶. Non fu infatti facile integrare un modello così radicato nelle scuole e nelle università, specie perché a tali cambiamenti previsti nei concorsi non corrispose un adeguamento dell'Istituto magistrale. Gli stessi candidati ai concorsi lamentavano (ne abbiamo traccia nelle rubriche delle riviste magistrali) di dover studiare per

²³ D.M. 22 aprile 1952, *Programma delle prove di esame dei concorsi magistrali*.

²⁴ D.M. 18 maggio 1954, *Approvazione dei programmi per le prove di esame nei concorsi magistrali*.

²⁵ Cfr. Petracchi, *Il maestro nella scuola*, cit.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 314-315.

il concorso contenuti e questioni metodologiche che non avevano affrontato durante gli anni del corso magistrale. Il problema che emergeva ai concorsi, dunque, metteva in evidenza una difformità nel sistema di preparazione dei maestri. Anche in un altro contesto, durante il Convegno della Consulta dei professori universitari di pedagogia svoltosi nel 1958 a Padova, emerse un giudizio negativo sul diploma di abilitazione magistrale – dato con «grave e singolare deficienza» – il quale non forniva agli abilitati la preparazione necessaria per presentarsi al concorso per la conquista d'una cattedra di scuola elementare²⁷.

2. *La decisa virata metodologica dei concorsi*

Com'è noto, negli anni del centrismo e del centro-sinistra la scuola elementare subì una serie di modifiche strutturali che, oltre a rinnovarne i contenuti (si pensi ai programmi del 1955), la trasformarono progressivamente in un percorso meno selettivo e più inclusivo.

Rispetto alla norma del 1954, novità furono introdotte nel 1971²⁸, stabilendo che i concorsi sarebbero stati banditi ad anni alterni; il punteggio della prova scritta e orale rimase invariato (50 punti ciascuna).

Sul tema intervennero poi i decreti delegati del 1974, i quali stabilirono delle norme generali sullo svolgimento dei concorsi per il personale docente, ad esempio i 40 punti alla prova scritta e 40 alla prova orale²⁹.

Nel percorso di rinnovamento della selezione magistrale, segnarono una svolta i nuovi programmi previsti dal decreto del 5 marzo 1975³⁰. Voluti dal ministro Malfatti, modificarono profondamente la struttura delle prove orali.

I nuovi programmi dei concorsi delineavano un profilo professionale nuovo, più articolato, introducendo temi di attualità quali l'intercultura, l'autonomia scolastica, l'organizzazione del tempo scuola e lo svantaggio socioculturale, quest'ultimo ancora poco approfondito nella pedagogia italiana. La preparazione al concorso doveva fondarsi su tre criteri: storicizzazione dei problemi, documentazione scientifica e attenzione all'applicazione pratica e professionale. La prova scritta consisteva sempre nello svolgimento di un tema

²⁷ *Convegno della Consulta dei professori universitari di Pedagogia, Padova, 4-6 gennaio, 1958, «Rassegna di pedagogia», aprile-giugno 1958, anno XVI, pp. 129-223.*

²⁸ L. 24 settembre 1971, n. 820, *Norme sull'ordinamento della scuola elementare e sulla immissione in ruolo degli insegnanti della scuola elementare e della scuola materna statale.*

²⁹ D.P.R. 31 maggio 1974, n. 417, *Norme sullo stato giuridico del personale docente, direttivo ed ispettivo della scuola materna, elementare, secondaria ed artistica dello Stato.*

³⁰ D.M. 5 marzo 1975, 6 marzo 1975, 7 marzo 1975, *Programma delle prove di esame, tabella per la valutazione dei titoli e preliminari modalità di attuazione dei corsi quadrimestrali, relativamente ai concorsi magistrali per esami e titoli.*

sui problemi dell'educazione e su esperienze della scuola contemporanea, con riferimento all'opera educativa della scuola primaria. La lettura delle opere fondamentali della storia del pensiero pedagogico non fu più considerata elemento imprescindibile per la formazione critica dei futuri maestri e lo spazio ad essa riservato si ridusse progressivamente. La prova orale infatti era più rivolta ad accertare nel candidato il grado di formazione professionale e le attitudini alla funzione docente. Gli argomenti erano stati scelti in virtù delle recenti conquiste delle scienze dell'educazione; vari erano i riferimenti alla psicologia dell'età evolutiva, alla sociologia dell'educazione, alla metodologia didattica, al diritto scolastico. La prova orale fu suddivisa in tre aree tematiche: i problemi relativi all'alunno, quelli legati alla vita e alla funzione della scuola, e quelli connessi all'integrazione fra alunno e scuola; in modo più approfondito doveva scegliere due o più problemi tra quelli indicati nei paragrafi e per ciascuna area il candidato doveva riferirsi a una o più opere specifiche, dimostrando inoltre un'«adeguata conoscenza» del pensiero di almeno un pedagogista moderno. Da questo momento in poi i candidati furono chiamati a muoversi con maggiore sicurezza nell'ambito delle scienze dell'educazione. Per i più giovani divenne necessario costruire una base di formazione interdisciplinare e strumenti di aggiornamento costante, poiché, come accennato, tali abilità non erano sviluppate nella formazione degli Istituti Magistrali, rimasti fermi al 1945.

Con l'ordinanza ministeriale del 3 settembre del 1982³¹, firmato dal ministro Bodrato, si riorganizzarono nuovamente i contenuti d'esame, eliminando definitivamente il pensiero dei grandi pedagogisti ed educatori. La prova scritta doveva consentire di accertare la maturità del candidato sotto l'aspetto della conoscenza e della capacità di riflessione in ordine ai problemi culturali, pedagogici, metodologico-didattici, organizzativi e giuridico-istituzionali della scuola, con particolare riguardo a quelli pertinenti la scuola elementare. Quella orale, similmente a quanto stabilito nel '75, verteva sui seguenti argomenti: le problematiche educative e didattiche; il contenuto dei programmi di studio della scuola elementare e le problematiche connesse; e, infine, l'ordinamento della scuola elementare con particolare riferimento ai decreti 416, 417 e 419 del 31 maggio 1974.

La vera novità di questi programmi stava nell'approccio: i problemi scolastici venivano collocati all'interno di un'analisi della società contemporanea, nei suoi aspetti politici, sociali ed economici. Le discipline filosofiche e umanistiche iniziarono a perdere terreno a favore delle scienze sociali, della psicologia e della didattica, che apparivano più adatte a rispondere alle esigenze della scuola di massa; l'attenzione era più concentrata sulle problematiche

³¹ O.M. 3 settembre 1982, n. 269, *Concorso magistrale ordinario per esami e titoli*.

psicodidattiche, a scapito dell'approfondimento critico delle grandi questioni pedagogiche.

Il processo di marginalizzazione dei classici dalla riflessione educativa non venne invertito e, di lì in poi, la tradizione storico pedagogica mantenne un ruolo accessorio. Si tratta di una scelta che, certo in reazione all'eccesso opposto, sbilanciò la selezione degli insegnanti sulla dimensione pratica, sacrificando il confronto con i grandi classici. Tale operazione non fu ben accettata dall'intero mondo pedagogico, suscitando diverse reazioni contrarie, tra cui quelle degli storici dell'educazione. Ancora nel 1997, il tema trovò spazio durante il congresso del CIRSE (Centro Italiano per la Ricerca Storica Educativa) tenutosi a Cassino. Durante i lavori, Furio Pesci metteva in luce come la struttura delle prove di abilitazione e di concorso aveva favorito, tra gli anni Venti e gli anni Sessanta, la lettura diretta dei grandi pedagogisti. In questa direzione, lo stesso mercato editoriale si era profuso nel predisporre e aggiornare collane editoriali volte a presentare al pubblico degli studenti e degli insegnanti le opere principali degli autori maggiori (come vedremo nel paragrafo successivo). Si tratta di iniziative che iniziarono ad entrare in crisi proprio con la svolta di cui si è parlata. L'inversione di rotta dagli anni Settanta – orientata a sostituire lo studio dei classici con un'attenzione quasi esclusiva ai temi pedagogici-didattici, fu dunque interpretata da Pesci come una deriva pericolosa: essa avrebbe prodotto una formazione più superficiale sul piano della riflessione pedagogica, incline a ridursi a un insieme di tecnicismi poco fondati³². Anche Giorgio Chiosso, alcuni anni prima, aveva evidenziato come il taglio storico dei programmi dei concorsi, sino almeno agli anni Settanta, aveva contribuito a mantenere attivo questo mercato editoriale, le cui ultime edizioni aggiornate risalivano agli anni Cinquanta e Sessanta quando la domanda era più forte³³.

Gli ultimi decenni esaminati appaiono così segnati da una crescente scomparsa della dimensione storica e della lettura dei classici del pensiero pedagogico nella formazione dei maestri, quei classici che, come ricordava Pesci, rimaneva un terreno insostituibile per costruire un sapere critico e una consapevolezza profonda dei problemi educativi³⁴. L'emarginazione delle prospettive storico-pedagogiche, a vantaggio degli approcci psico-socio-pedagogici e metodologico-organizzativi, rappresenta una delle principali svolte non solo nella formazione degli insegnanti ma nella stessa disciplina pedagogica, impegnata negli stessi anni a ridefinire il proprio statuto epistemologico³⁵.

³² F. Pesci, *Lo studio dei classici della pedagogia nei programmi dei concorsi magistrali 1923-1982*, in G. Cives, G. Genovesi, P. Russo (edd.), *I classici della pedagogia: atti del Seminario del CIRSE, Cassino, 3-4 dicembre 1997*, Milano, FrancoAngeli, 1999, pp. 125-133.

³³ G. Chiosso, *I cattolici e la scuola dalla Costituente al centro-sinistra*, Torino, La Scuola, 1988, p. 19.

³⁴ *Ibid.*

³⁵ Cfr. G. Zago, *I testi di storia della pedagogia*, in P. Bianchini (ed.), *Le origini delle materie. Discipline, programmi e manuali scolastici in Italia*, Torino, SEI, 2010, pp. 76-103.

3. *Guide e manuali di preparazione*

Il graduale scollamento tra i programmi degli Istituti magistrali (1945-1952) con quelli dei concorsi magistrali sopra ricostruito fa emergere con maggiore chiarezza il ruolo sempre più importante che le guide e i testi di preparazione a tali prove assunsero per i candidati. Abilitati all'insegnamento, le guide offrivano allo studente ciò che le scuole non potevano ancora offrire.

Come accennato, i testi per i concorsi magistrali erano concepiti come strumenti di supporto al candidato nel periodo di preparazione agli esami. Era frequente trovare riportato per intero il testo dei programmi ministeriali, corredato dalle informazioni sulle modalità di svolgimento delle prove³⁶, così da consentire al candidato di avere sempre a disposizione i riferimenti ufficiali.

Gli autori non pretendevano di esaurire l'ampio ventaglio disciplinare richiesto dalle prove – anzi, spesso ne dichiaravano esplicitamente l'inadeguatezza nelle prefazioni – ma puntavano soprattutto a fornire un aiuto pratico: consigli per affrontare le prove, indicazioni stilistiche per lo scritto, sintesi e schemi, riflessioni su problemi pedagogici, esercitazioni guidate e talvolta piccoli “dizionari” di termini filosofici e pedagogici. Questi testi, come già sottolineato, non intendevano sostituire l'alunno dallo studio diretto dei classici pedagogici, un rischio possibile se si considerano i riscontri dati da chi ha avuto un'esperienza negli esami, secondo i quali la preparazione dei giovani si riduceva spesso «all'apprendimento del quasi inutile ‘inquadramento storico’ del classico, spesso non letto o non seguito durante la lettura e studiato in qualche compiacente e famigerato sunterello»³⁷. Come si legge in prefazione ad un manuale: «La difficoltà maggiore nei concorsi è senza dubbio la preparazione alla prova scritta, nella quale si rivelano la chiarezza delle idee e la sicurezza e la correttezza dell'espressione [...] la preparazione alla prova scritta richiede una larga e profonda conoscenza dei problemi della scuola, i quali non si trovano organicamente collegati in una sola opera»³⁸.

L'editoria dedicata alla preparazione ai concorsi e agli esami di abilitazione era estremamente varia, per impostazione, contenuti e finalità. Questa eterogeneità rifletteva la non sempre chiara formulazione dei programmi ministeriali, che lasciava spazio a diverse interpretazioni. Non a caso, di fronte alle discrepanze nei criteri di valutazione delle commissioni, il Ministero si trovò più volte costretto a emanare circolari per richiamare all'uniformità di giudizio³⁹. In questo quadro, i candidati si trovavano spesso spaesati di fronte

³⁶ Cfr. D. Francesco, *Novissimo Manuale per la prova scritta e orale dei concorsi magistrali*, *Temi di pedagogia*, Roma, Virbio, 1950, 4° ed.

³⁷ M.F. Sciacca, *Pagine di pedagogia e didattica*, Milano, Marzorati editore, 1972, p. 153.

³⁸ C. Polizzi, *Manuale di preparazione ai concorsi magistrali secondo i programmi d'esame vigenti* (D. M. 22-4-1952). Vol. I (*Preparazione alla prova scritta*) *Pedagogia, metodologia, Didattica*, Torino, SEI, 1953, pp. 4-5.

³⁹ Un esempio significativo è la Circolare di Gabinetto n. 3670/77 del 13 settembre emanata

a un'offerta che oscillava tra trattati di notevole spessore teorico ed edizioni riduttive e di facile consumo. Lo conferma lo stesso autore di un manuale per il concorso magistrale, osservando:

Conosco la letteratura della preparazione al concorso, abbondante e dotta. Esistono dei veri trattati di pedagogia dal punto di vista filosofico: ottimi senza dubbio, ma utili soltanto per una preparazione remota. Vi sono libri che potremmo chiamare i "Bignami" del Concorso: raccolte di temi svolti, che sembrano i più empiricamente utili, ma solo nell'ipotesi che la traccia svolta coincida col tema effettivamente assegnato in esame (anche allora però guai se la medesima raccolta sarà capitata in più mani!). Altri libri sono dei commentari ai programmi di studio delle scuole elementari; di essi, mancando uno schema quadrato di esposizione, il candidato non può ricordare nulla sul momento del bisogno, a meno che non abbia davanti almeno il testo dei programmi⁴⁰.

Non solo il Ruta, ma tanti altri autori cercavano di immedesimarsi con il giovane studente in procinto di affrontare la prova d'esame. Nel volume di Dionisi si legge:

Specialmente per te che già sai le asprezze della vita è compilato il mio opuscolo. Ascoltalo: è la voce affettuosa e fraterna di un vero amico, che vuole aiutarti a conquistare un posto tanto nobile quanto deprezzato, dal conseguimento del quale ti attendi forse una modica tranquillità economica ed il mezzo per continuare ad ascendere con le tue sole forze verso più alte vette. A te, giovane fratello, cui guardo con profonda simpatia, giunga il mio fervido augurio di vittoria. Nell'ora ardua della prova ti sia confortevole compagno e guida amorosa questo libretto che ho scritto con grande passione unita a severa meditazione, trattando «tutti» gli argomenti sui quali può vertere il tema d'esame. Nella vita che è continua lotta, fa' tuo il motto: «Per aspera ad astra»⁴¹.

Non di rado, nelle prefazioni, gli autori si ritagliavano un *cantuccio lirico* per esprimere opinioni personali non solo sui concorsi, ma anche sul ruolo del maestro e sulla funzione educativa. Un esempio significativo è il manuale curato da vari autori, tra cui Pasquale Soccio, maestro elementare poi docente di filosofia e storia. Nella prefazione il maestro invitava i candidati a presen-

in occasione del concorso magistrale del 1954: «I vecchi programmi sancivano come oggetto della prova scritta 'i programmi di studio e i problemi della scuola elementare'. Evidentemente tale norma, interpretata in senso restrittivo, non metteva nel giusto rilievo la preparazione prettamente pedagogica. Noi non fummo persuasi di ciò e ci discostammo dalla interpretazione comune, in quanto ritenemmo che per svolgere con completezza qualunque degli innumerevoli argomenti attinenti ai problemi dell'educazione e della scuola, i candidati dovevano possedere una sufficiente informazione dei problemi generali di pedagogia e di didattica», *Prefazione*, in P. Feola, G. De Ruggiero (edd.), *Corso di preparazione ai concorsi magistrali*, Vol. II, *preparazione alle prove orali con antologia pedagogica integrativa dell'esame scritto*, Roma, Istituto editoriale del Mezzogiorno, 1953.

⁴⁰ S. Ruta, *Per l'esame scritto del concorso magistrale, terza edizione completamente rifatta e aggiornata, con 10 saggi di composizione*, Milano, La caravella, 1946, p. 6.

⁴¹ *Prefazione*, in F. Dionisi, *Manuale per la prova scritta ed orale dei concorsi magistrali*, Roma, Supergrafiche S. Abete, 1947, p. 5.

tarsi agli esami di concorso «non con una preparazione vaga, approssimata o improvvisata, tanto meno ignara dei problemi vivi e attuali dell'educazione e delle cognizioni tecniche e didattiche che lo Stato esige da lui». Poi aggiunse: «Non è un male certo che alla retorica di ieri, dell'apostolato e della missione educativa, si sia oggi sostituita l'esigenza di una preparazione, vorremmo dire più che professionale, squisitamente tecnica, in un mondo che sempre più pretende la specializzazione della stessa mano d'opera»⁴².

Il dibattito si concentrava così sul contrasto tra due modelli formativi: da un lato, chi difendeva una cultura di pura sostanza umanistica, in linea con la tradizione idealistica; dall'altro, chi sosteneva la necessità di una preparazione tecnica, specifica, fondata su basi psicologiche e sociologiche. La proposta di un compromesso, osservava Soccio, è «stolida, fuori luogo, esteriore; e perciò disorienta il giovane maestro. Il segreto sta nella vigile attenzione dello stesso maestro, nel suo fiuto, nella sua capacità intuitiva, nel suo incipiente senso critico, nel saper utilizzare la lettura di un qualsiasi libro, facendone strumento utile e valido di accrescimento della propria personalità». Il maestro, intelligentemente, capirà anche che una guida per i concorsi magistrali non è sufficiente alla preparazione dei concorsi (anche se il testo in questione è lungo quasi 600 pagine); «Il resto, il molto resto, dovrà farlo da sé o con l'aiuto di una persona esperta»⁴³.

Tra le numerose pubblicazioni dedicate alla prova orale⁴⁴, meritano attenzione i volumi dell'editore e autore Luigi Macrì, che fu anche esaminatore ai concorsi. Nel primo volume della sua *Guida ai concorsi magistrali*⁴⁵ (circa duecento pagine) analizzava, dopo aver illustrato i programmi elementari del 1945, i principali temi richiesti agli esami (rapporti tra scuola e famiglia, in-

⁴² *Per riuscire nei concorsi magistrali*, Roma, edizione associata a I diritti della scuola, 1959, p. 7.

⁴³ *Ibid.*

⁴⁴ N. Cotugno, *Guida alla preparazione per i concorsi magistrali*, Ascoli Piceno, Soc. Tipolitografica Editrice, 1947; M. Goretti, *Guida del candidato al concorso magistrale secondo i nuovi programmi. Preparazione agli esami di pedagogia, Metodologia, Didattica, Letteratura infantile, con schemi e proposte di esercitazioni scritte di Pedagogia*, Firenze, Le Monnier, 1952; C. Polizzi, *Manuale di preparazione ai concorsi magistrali secondo i programmi d'esame vigenti (D. M. 22-4-1952). Vol. I (Preparazione alla prova scritta) Pedagogia, metodologia, Didattica*, Torino, SEI, 1953; C. Polizzi, *Manuale di preparazione ai concorsi magistrali secondo i programmi d'esame vigenti (D. M. 22-4-1952). Vol. II (preparazione alla prova orale) Letteratura per l'infanzia – Legislazione scolastica – Igiene della scuola*, Torino, SEI, 1953; Feola, de Ruggiero (edd.), *Corso di preparazione ai concorsi magistrali, Vol. II, preparazione alle prove orali con antologia pedagogica integrativa dell'esame scritto*, cit.; M. Goretti, *Guida all'esame scritto e orale del concorso Magistrale, secondo i programmi del 1954 con schemi e proposte di esercitazioni scritte: Pedagogia, metodologia, Didattica, letteratura infantile (commento critico di Andersen, Collodi, de Amicis, Kipling)*, 3° edizione notevolmente aumentata, Firenze, Le Monnier, 1954.

⁴⁵ L. Macrì, *Guida ai concorsi magistrali, Guida agli esami scritti, argomenti di pedagogia teorica e pratica*, Firenze, L. Macrì Editore, 1947, Vol. I.

segnamento dell'italiano, ecc.). Nel secondo volume⁴⁶, invece, si concentrava sui classici della pedagogia, presentando e commentando testi quali *Come Gertrude istruisce i suoi figli* di Pestalozzi o *Madre e figlio* di Necker de Saussure, oltre a opere di Giovanni Bosco e Aristide Gabelli. A questi seguivano una sintesi di circa quaranta pagine sulla letteratura per l'infanzia e un'appendice di legislazione scolastica e ordinamento della scuola elementare. Altri manuali consigliavano ulteriori letture fondamentali, come *Fondamenti della pedagogia come filosofia applicata* di Sergej Hessen, le *Lezioni di pedagogia generale* e le *Lezioni di didattica* di Giuseppe Lombardo Radice o *La scuola attiva* di Adolphe Ferrière⁴⁷.

Un'attenzione particolare era dedicata alla letteratura per l'infanzia, come accennato ambito attorno a cui gli abilitati sarebbero stati valutati. In un manuale intitolato *L'esame orale del concorso magistrale: letteratura italiana e letteratura per l'infanzia con esame specifico degli autori e delle opere*⁴⁸, oltre trecento pagine analizzavano testi considerati essenziali per la formazione della «bibliotechina di classe»: le *Fiabe* di Andersen, *Robinson Crusoe*, la *Capanna dello Zio Tom*, *Piccoli uomini*, il *Garibaldi* di Errera, *Il Bel Paese* di Stoppani, *I ragazzi della via Pál*, *Le Avventure di Pinocchio*, *Cuore* di De Amicis e la *Storia Sacra* di don Bosco. In appendice erano riportati l'ordinamento dello Stato italiano, la struttura della scuola elementare e lo stato giuridico dei maestri.

Un altro manuale⁴⁹, più aggiornato, offriva invece una sintesi della storia della letteratura per l'infanzia privilegiando i maggiori autori italiani e stranieri e riportando un riassunto dettagliato di dieci opere ritenute particolarmente adatte ai bambini.

Per la prova scritta, un caso di grande interesse è il manuale di circa trecento pagine di Rosario Caffo⁵⁰. L'autore proponeva testi accessibili e stimolanti di grandi pedagogisti, con l'obiettivo di sollecitare nei candidati una riflessione autentica sui problemi educativi. L'opera nasceva infatti come risposta a una lamentela diffusa: troppo spesso i manuali per i concorsi apparivano «anemici, poveri di idee, frammentari, senza un vivo legame, [...] privi infine di quella

⁴⁶ L. Macrì, *Guida ai concorsi magistrali, Guida agli esami scritti, argomenti di pedagogia teorica e pratica*, Firenze, L. Macrì Editore, 1947, Vol. II.

⁴⁷ Cfr. F. Dionisi, *Le prove orali del concorso Magistrale. Pedagogia e guida all'esame critico dei testi scolastici*, Roma, Ed. Galilei, 1954.

⁴⁸ S. Ruta, *L'esame orale del concorso magistrale: letteratura italiana e letteratura per l'infanzia con esame specifico degli autori e delle opere*, Milano, La Caravella, 1946.

⁴⁹ S. Ruta, A. Caracciolo, *Letteratura italiana e letteratura per l'infanzia con esame specifico degli autori e delle opere: per gli istituti magistrali e per gli esami di concorso e di abilitazione magistrale*, Milano, Editore Renon, 1951.

⁵⁰ R. Caffo, *I problemi fondamentali dell'educazione, attraverso le pagine dei maestri della pedagogia moderna*, Torino, Paravia, 1960.

problematicità che rivela sempre ricerca personale e diretta conoscenza di questioni teoriche e di realizzazioni pratiche»⁵¹.

Un'autrice molto attiva nella pubblicazione di guide fu Maria Goretti, allieva di Eustachio Paolo Lamanna. Goretti, sia individualmente sia in collaborazione con altri autori, aggiornò costantemente i suoi testi alla luce dei nuovi programmi e delle modifiche ai concorsi. Nel 1950 pubblicò una guida corposa, di circa cinquecento pagine⁵², che sarebbe stata più volte aggiornata fino agli anni Settanta con la casa editrice Le Monnier, specializzata in opere destinate ai candidati ai concorsi magistrali. Tali volumi vennero anche raccolti e segnalati nella *Guida bibliografica Le Monnier per i candidati al concorso magistrale*, disponibile presso tutte le principali librerie e inviata gratuitamente a chi ne faceva richiesta. L'autrice stessa dichiarò che il favore incontrato dalla sua guida l'aveva incoraggiata a proseguire con nuove edizioni: «la guida non è un manuale, ma vuole essere una vera e propria guida, e cioè offrire non un sapere bell'e fatto, non formule, non soluzioni drammatiche, ma viceversa essere strumento di lavoro, e quindi stimolo alla ricerca ed alla elaborazione personali, spunto di riflessione, esortazione al lavoro non solo nell'intento economico di superare un esame impegnativo com'è quello del Concorso, ma nella speranza di accendere entusiasmo e fede nella nobile professione del maestro»⁵³.

Un'altra pubblicazione significativa è quella di Feola e Ruggiero (oltre quat-

⁵¹ Avvertenza, in R. Caffo, *I problemi fondamentali dell'educazione, attraverso le pagine dei maestri della pedagogia moderna*, Torino, Paravia, 1960, p. 1.

⁵² M. Goretti, R. Belvederi, *Guida al concorso Magistrale*, Padova, Radar, 1950; M. Goretti, *Guida all'esame scritto e orale del concorso magistrale: secondo i programmi del 1961: con schemi e proposte di esercitazioni scritte: pedagogia, metodologia, didattica (commento analitico ai vigenti programmi didattici), letteratura infantile (commento critico di Andersen, Collodi, De Amicis, Kipling)*, Firenze, Le Monnier, 1961; Ead., *Guida all'esame scritto e orale del concorso magistrale: secondo i programmi del 1963, con schemi e proposte di esercitazioni scritte: pedagogia, metodologia, didattica (commento analitico ai vigenti programmi didattici), letteratura infantile (commento critico di Andersen, De Amicis, Kipling)*, Firenze, Le Monnier, 1963; Ead., *Nuova guida al concorso magistrale (esame scritto e orale) Secondo i programmi del 1965 con schemi e proposte di esercitazioni scritte (205): pedagogia, metodologia, didattica (commento analitico ai vigenti programmi didattici) letteratura per l'infanzia (commento critico di Andersen, De Amicis, Kipling)*, Firenze, Le Monnier, 1965; Ead., *Colloqui di pedagogia e filosofia: per gli esami di abilitazione degli istituti magistrali e delle scuole magistrali di metodo*, Firenze, Le Monnier, 1967; Ead., *Nuova guida al concorso magistrale (esame scritto e orale) secondo i programmi dell'ordinanza 31 luglio 1966 con schemi e proposte di esercitazioni scritte (205), Pedagogia, metodologia, didattica (commento analitico ai vigenti programmi didattici) letteratura per l'infanzia (commento critico di Andersen, De Amicis, Kipling)*, seconda edizione, Firenze, Le Monnier, 1968.

⁵³ Avvertenza, in M. Goretti, *Nuova guida al concorso magistrale (esame scritto e orale) Secondo i programmi del 1965 con schemi e proposte di esercitazioni scritte (205): pedagogia, metodologia, didattica (commento analitico ai vigenti programmi didattici) letteratura per l'infanzia (commento critico di Andersen, De Amicis, Kipling)*, Firenze, Le Monnier, 1965, p. 6.

trocento pagine)⁵⁴. La prima parte, in linea con i programmi, è dedicata ai *Problemi di pedagogia e di didattica generale*: il rapporto tra educazione, famiglia, scuola e Stato; la storia della scuola elementare e dell'obbligo scolastico in Italia; il problema dell'analfabetismo; la scuola popolare e l'assistenza scolastica; il rapporto natura-educazione; il nesso tra scuola e ambiente; i temi di pedagogia e metodologia didattica. Seguono riflessioni sulla figura del maestro, sull'educando e sulla classe: la cultura e l'esperienza del maestro, l'unità del processo formativo, la gestione della disciplina, il rapporto tra autorità e libertà. La seconda parte è intitolata *Analisi della funzione didattica e programmi di insegnamento*. Qualche anno dopo, gli stessi autori pubblicarono un *Corso di preparazione alla prova scritta*⁵⁵, più sintetico, che toccava i principali aspetti storici dell'educazione (dalla Grecia all'età contemporanea) e i problemi fondamentali della pedagogia, illustrati attraverso i maggiori pedagogisti italiani e stranieri. Ad esempio, sul rapporto autorità-libertà venivano citati Kilpatrick, Laberthonnière, Hessen e Corallo. Una sezione era dedicata alla didattica e all'analisi dei libri di testo, con particolare attenzione al loro valore educativo; la parte metodologica trattava le scuole nuove e la scuola attiva, con riferimenti a Dewey e a Pizzigoni. Non mancavano capitoli sulla letteratura per l'infanzia e sull'ordinamento dello Stato italiano.

Tra gli autori attivi nella pubblicazione di guide per i concorsi, si distinse Marco Agosti, uomo di punta del circolo pedagogico cattolico bresciano, impegnato, sin dagli anni Trenta, nella formazione magistrale⁵⁶. I suoi fortunati lavori continuarono ad essere pubblicati sino all'inizio degli anni Settanta⁵⁷. Insieme a Chizzolini partecipò alla commissione incaricata di elaborare i programmi per la scuola elementare del 1955. Nell'introduzione a un suo testo sull'esame scritto del concorso magistrale del 1959 esprime il suo giudizio sul nuovo ordinamento didattico, che a suo avviso offriva «al maestro un'ottima occasione per un aggiornamento culturale, destinato ad innalzare la sua dignità professionale. Si tratta di una conquista della famiglia magistrale italiana, per altri motivi già postulata e avviata, che ora entra nella sfera di un preciso dovere e nella luce dell'ideale dell'elevazione del popolo italiano»⁵⁸.

Un altro autore che dedicò particolare attenzione alla formazione degli insegnanti fu Luigi Volpicelli, professore universitario, che nel 1961 pubblicò una guida allo studio per i concorsi magistrali. L'opera si proponeva come

⁵⁴ P. Feola, G. de Ruggiero, *Corso di preparazione ai concorsi magistrali*, Napoli, Ed. Conte, 1950.

⁵⁵ Idd., *Corso di preparazione alla prova scritta*, Roma, Istituto editoriale del mezzogiorno, 1953, Vol. 1.

⁵⁶ E. Scaglia, *Marco Agosti*, Brescia, La Scuola, 2016, pp. 90-134.

⁵⁷ M. Agosti, *L'esame scritto. Temi, schemi e fonti*, Brescia, La Scuola, 1954; Id., *L'esame di pedagogia dei concorsi magistrali*, Brescia, La Scuola, 1958; Id., *Maturità magistrale*, Brescia, La Scuola, 1959.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 12.

«un'apertura di un orizzonte che consenta di poter scegliere sennatamente autori e libri; come messa in guardia contro gli imbrogli e gli imbroglianti; infine, come disciplina dello scrivere ed educazione al pensare»⁵⁹. Volpicelli criticava esplicitamente il modo in cui i candidati venivano preparati, nonché l'organizzazione della materia nei manuali più diffusi. Analizzava i concorsi in maniera puntuale, evidenziando gli errori da evitare, e in appendice riportava esempi di temi non sufficienti (con votazioni inferiori a 30/50), frutto della sua esperienza diretta come commissario d'esame. In questo contesto denunciava il cosiddetto «tema mantello», «un tema capace di nascondere tutte le miserie sotto la sua presuntuosa apparenza. Il tema a cui preparano le guide». Interessante, inoltre, la testimonianza di un commissario che rilevava come «gli studenti che hanno studiato davvero sono pochi: la massa dà la prova di più o meno consumata abilità a rappezzare frammenti di idee con qualche filo di pensiero in proprio»⁶⁰.

Molti manuali dell'epoca presentavano raccolte ampie di temi per il concorso⁶¹. In genere erano divisi in due sezioni: la prima dedicata ai temi generali di pedagogia e scuola elementare (educazione della volontà, della mente, del corpo), la seconda ai programmi scolastici veri e propri. Tra i più noti si può citare il volumetto tascabile pubblicato da Salvatore Ruta nel 1947⁶², pensato per essere facilmente consultabile. Oltre che per i concorsi, era utile anche per l'esame di abilitazione magistrale, che prevedeva un tema di pedagogia. Tra le tracce dei temi riportati ne ricordiamo alcune sui problemi della scuola elementare: *Vittorino da Feltre e Pestalozzi; educazione privata o pubblica; autorità e libertà; educazione amorosa; conoscenza psicologica preliminare; premi e castighi; mestiere e missione; preparazione del maestro; sincerità e bugia; educazione naturale, metodo oggettivo*. Riguardo invece i *programmi di studio nelle scuole elementari* alcuni dei temi suggeriti riguardavano la formazione del carattere, l'unità d'insegnamento, la fraternità umana e nazionale, l'autogoverno, il carattere e la religione, l'educazione fisica, il tema del lavoro nella scuola, ma anche questioni metodologiche come la dettatura e l'insegnamento del calcolo mentale. In alcuni testi, come quello di Francesco Dionisi, erano presenti consigli pratici per la redazione dei temi scritti. Tra questi:

⁵⁹ L. Volpicelli, *Guida ai concorsi magistrali*, Roma, Armando Editore, 1961, p. 7.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 29.

⁶¹ S. Ruta, *Per l'esame scritto del concorso magistrale, terza edizione completamente rifatta e aggiornata, con 10 saggi di composizione*, Milano, La caravella, 1946; C. Camillucci, *Preparazione al concorso magistrale, Pedagogia - psicologia - metodologia*, Milano, Signorelli, 1953; C. Ciranna, S. Mandolfo, C. Scifo, F. Valastro, *L'esame scritto di pedagogia: raccolta di temi svolti secondo i programmi ciclici: per gli esami di abilitazione e di ammissione al magistero per i concorsi magistrali e direttivi*, Roma, Ciranna, 1960.

⁶² S. Ruta, *Temi svolti di pedagogia: per il concorso magistrale e l'abilitazione magistrale*, Milano, Editrice Renon, 1947, seconda ristampa.

- 1) Adopera la costruzione ipotattica o subordinata a preferenza della paratattica o coordinata.
 - 2) Sii conciso. Non diluire l'idea con ripetizioni inutili o con parole superflue.
 - 3) Il periodo non sia troppo lungo ed involuto, come il periodo latino di Cicerone oratore, né troppo breve e spezzettato alla maniera francese. Il periodare italiano risulta dal giusto temperamento dei due stili. È consigliabile non formare periodi che constino di più di quattro proposizioni.
 - 4) È essenziale la serrata concatenazione logica tra un periodo ed il successivo, affinché lo svolgimento abbia saldezza organica.
 - 5) I concetti siano espressi con chiarezza e con precisione di parole.
 - 6) È opportuno non superare le tre pagine di foglio protocollo per lo svolgimento del tema.
 - 7) Non copiare mai, in nessun caso!
 - 8) Le ultime impressioni son quelle che maggiormente restano nell'esaminatore: sappi usare come chiusa dello svolgimento qualche bell'epifonema o frasi piene di nobile sentimento.
 - 9) Ricorri alle tue reminiscenze storiche o letterarie per variare la materia.
 - 10) Non lasciarti prendere dalla mania di usare termini difficili, se non ne hai compreso perfettamente il significato. Usa invece un'espressione naturale, purché appropriata, e non pedestre.
- [...] Lo svolgimento del tema dev'essere come la vita: molteplicità nell'unità ed unità nella molteplicità⁶³.

Poi l'autore fornisce delle tracce di temi (a titolo di esempio: *In nessun momento del processo educativo l'autonomia dell'alunno può essere in disaccordo con l'autorità del maestro*), inserendo uno schema e lo svolgimento del tema stesso. Anni dopo pubblicherà un testo più aggiornato⁶⁴.

4. La svolta degli anni Settanta

Come accennato, i nuovi programmi per i concorsi voluti da Malfatti nel 1975 introdussero importanti novità, obbligando le case editrici e gli autori ad aggiornare le proprie guide.

Tra i protagonisti di questa nuova stagione dei manuali per i concorsi magistrali si distinse il pedagogista cattolico Mauro Laeng, che già nel 1970 pubblicò la *Guida alle esercitazioni didattiche di tirocinio magistrale*, destinata a grande successo⁶⁵. Con la riforma dei concorsi, il testo fu rinnovato e diffuso, nel 1978, con il titolo: *Lineamenti di didattica, nuova guida alle esercitazioni di tirocinio magistrale*. Nell'introdurre il volume, l'autore volle evidenziare

⁶³ F. Dionisi, *Manuale per la prova scritta ed orale dei concorsi magistrali*, Roma, Supergrafiche S. Abete, 1947, pp. 10-11.

⁶⁴ F. Dionisi, H. Felder, *Novissimi temi di pedagogia per la prova scritta e orale del concorso magistrale*, Roma, Ed. Galilei, 1953.

⁶⁵ M. Laeng, G. Laeng, *Guida alle esercitazioni didattiche di tirocinio magistrale*, Brescia, La Scuola, 1970.

l'importanza delle esercitazioni didattiche: «È un riconoscimento della dignità di una disciplina, che non si riduce al solo momento esercitativo, ed insieme un auspicio di trasformazione dell'attuale istituto magistrale, che si avvia a divenire indirizzo di scienze umane e sociali nell'ambito della scuola secondaria superiore rinnovata secondo un piano di riforma unitario e articolato». Troviamo ancora delle critiche all'Istituto magistrale in crisi: «sovraffollato al di là delle possibilità di assorbimento del numero di diplomati, prepara in definitiva più impiegati che maestri; nella stessa articolazione interna dei suoi programmi esso concede ben poco a quelle discipline (Psicologia, Pedagogia, Didattica) che pur dovrebbero caratterizzarlo, nei confronti di altri tipi di scuole, come Liceo Magistrale o Pedagogico»⁶⁶. La scelta di dedicare un intero manuale alle esercitazioni didattiche era dunque significativa: esse costituivano non solo un supporto concreto all'insegnamento della pedagogia, ma anche la prima occasione per i futuri docenti di confrontarsi con le problematiche che avrebbero incontrato nella pratica scolastica. Laeng sosteneva che le esercitazioni dovevano avere piena dignità di cattedra: il docente di pedagogia e filosofia, infatti, tendeva per formazione ad accentuare l'aspetto teorico, e proprio per questo doveva affiancarsi a specialisti in metodologia e didattica. Nel manuale, dopo aver illustrato le modalità di conduzione delle esercitazioni, l'autore commentava i programmi per la scuola elementare e proponeva schede di lettura di grandi autori come Montessori, Decroly, Claparède, Dewey, Piaget, Skinner, Bruner, Willmann, Dévaud, Tolstoj e Makarenko. L'ultima parte, di oltre trecento pagine, era interamente dedicata ai metodi didattici.

Tra le nuove uscite troviamo un testo di Danilo Baccini, intitolato *Temi di pedagogia con un avviamento alla composizione pedagogica*⁶⁷, indirizzato non solo agli istituti magistrali ma anche alla Facoltà di Filosofia e di Magistero; altri volumi su *Temi svolti di attualità, storia, letteratura, pedagogia (temi per la maturità magistrale) corredato di tracce di temi assegnati agli esami di abilitazione magistrale dal 1946 ad oggi*⁶⁸. In questi testi gli autori danno uno spazio maggiore all'organizzazione scolastica e alla programmazione del lavoro scolastico; troviamo capitoli dedicati alla didattica delle discipline e ai metodi e le tecniche per le attività di insegnamento, in alcuni anche ai sussidi didattici⁶⁹.

⁶⁶ Premessa, in Idd., *Lineamenti di didattica, nuova guida alle esercitazioni di tirocinio magistrale*, Brescia, La Scuola, 1978, pp. 5-6.

⁶⁷ D. Baccini, *Temi di pedagogia con un avviamento alla composizione pedagogica*, Roma, Le Muse, 1975.

⁶⁸ *Temi svolti di attualità, storia, letteratura, pedagogia (temi per la maturità magistrale) corredato di tracce di temi assegnati agli esami di abilitazione magistrale dal 1946 ad oggi*, Napoli, Editrice il Girasole, 1989.

⁶⁹ N. Vogogna, *La prova orale del concorso magistrale. Problematiche educative e didattiche*, Seregno, Editrice Ciranna & Ferrara, 1991; S. Moncada, *Il concorso magistrale: tutti gli argomenti della prova orale secondo il nuovo programma d'esame*, Rimini, Maggioli, 1994.

Uno dei pochi autori che diede ancora spazio all'aspetto filosofico della pedagogia è il professore Luigi Eufate che negli anni '70 pubblicò un testo di una cinquantina di pagine di appunti di pedagogia, con i principali pedagogisti e filosofi, da Socrate al piano Dalton. Nell'introduzione si nota un legame con il neoidealismo: «La filosofia è pedagogica se ha come oggetto il problema dell'educazione. La pedagogia non è solo parte della filosofia, ma è in stretto rapporto di dipendenza da essa. Infatti, quando il filosofo ha indicato il fine che ogni uomo deve raggiungere, dopo aver stabilito il significato della vita, la pedagogia determina le vie da percorrere perché ogni uomo si trovi nella migliore condizione per raggiungere il fine determinato»⁷⁰.

Conclusioni

Il percorso di formazione magistrale nell'Italia del secondo Novecento fu segnato da contraddizioni e spinte opposte che incisero profondamente sulla cultura della classe docente. Da un lato permaneva il modello dell'Istituto magistrale, ancorato a programmi di matrice neoidealista e culturalista; dall'altro emergeva la richiesta, sostenuta da ambienti pedagogici e da indirizzi ministeriali, di valorizzare maggiormente la didattica e la metodologia. La normativa sui concorsi magistrali riflette bene questa dinamica: se tali orientamenti non riuscirono a tradursi nei programmi delle scuole magistrali, a partire dagli anni Settanta trovarono invece spazio nei programmi dei concorsi, che iniziarono a richiedere contenuti e competenze sempre più lontani dalla preparazione impartita negli istituti.

In questo contesto, le guide magistrali analizzate in questo contributo si proposero, già dalla fine degli anni Quaranta, di colmare lo scarto tra formazione e realtà scolastica, rafforzando le competenze metodologiche dei candidati e fornendo strumenti di carattere pratico. L'analisi qualitativa di queste fonti, qui presentata, vuole rappresentare un primo passo nello studio di materiali finora poco considerati dalla storiografia, ma di grande interesse per il ruolo svolto nella formazione della classe magistrale italiana.

⁷⁰ L. Eufate, *Appunti di pedagogia per concorsi magistrali*, Napoli, De Frede, 1970, pp. 8-9.

Less than Human. A true-life portrait of child abuse in Matilde Serao's (1856-1927) short story *Canituccia* (1883)*

Stefania Carioli
Department of Humanities
Link Campus University
Rome (Italy)
s.carioli@unilink.it

ABSTRACT: In the short story *Canituccia* (1883), Matilde Serao denounces the conditions of solitude and violence endured by abandoned children in the harsh farmlands of late-nineteenth-century southern Italy. The raw prose with which Serao portrays reality from life becomes a precious historical testimony. In *Canituccia*, we also read the writer's subtle unveiling of stigmas, their implicit connections to deeply held beliefs, and the ominous alibis they offer for violence against those considered weaker and, as such, perfect, expendable victims. Violence that continues to torment children, even today, perpetrated by those who are supposed to care for them.

EET/TEE KEYWORDS: Child abuse; Children's and youth literature; Matilde Serao; Italy; XIX-XX Centuries.

1. *Sentiment and Testimony*

Canituccia is a short story from the collection *Piccole anime* [*Little souls*] (1883)¹, which focuses on the unifying theme of childhood. In this short story, Matilde Serao narrates the conditions of unprecedented violence – including emotional and psychological abuse, as well as physical mistreatment

* This article is a revised and expanded English version of the essay: S. Carioli, *Meno che umana. Ritratto 'dal vero' della violenza sull'infanzia nel racconto breve 'Canituccia' (1883) di Matilde Serao*, «Giornale di Storia», n. 47, 2025, <<https://www.giornaledistoria.net/saggi/articoli/meno-che-umana-ritratto-dal-vero-della-violenza-sullinfanzia-nel-racconto-breve-canituccia-1883-di-matilde-serao/>> (last access: 13.03.2026).

¹ M. Serao, *A un poeta*, in *Piccole anime*, Milano, Libreria Editrice Galli, 1883.

and brutal beatings – inflicted on an abandoned seven-year-old girl, Candida, nicknamed Canituccia, victim of Pasqualina, who keeps her in conditions of poverty and semi-slavery. This short story also demonstrates Matilde Serao's concern for the plight of lower-class children living in the urban and rural areas of Naples and its environs, a subject previously overlooked by most Italian writers². Serao writes in the preface to the collection *Piccole anime*:

This little book, written for adults, always speaks of children in its stories. They are real children: I didn't dream them; they appeared to me in their reality. They lived with me for a year, a minute, a day, or an hour, with gaunt little faces or rosy cheeks, skinny little bodies or plump ones, satin dresses or rags through which the skin showed – and they were creatures at turns naive and thoughtful, fantastical and brutal, sweet and bitter³.

Jon R. Snyder notes that the critic Antonia Arslan considered Canituccia's story to be «the equal of any short story of the era, of [any work by] Maupassant or Chekhov»⁴ due to its «meticulous veristic impassivity»⁵ and the masterful depiction of sordid and dark background environments from which «the author's maternal pity towards the disembodied female body emerges with strong drama»⁶. This story condenses within it «the seeds»⁷ of the later works and authorial genius of Matilde Serao, who was nominated for the *Nobel Prize for Literature* in 1926 but did not win it, possibly because she had published a novel titled *Mors tua ...* (1926)⁸, «which was deemed anti-fascist»⁹. Portraying reality from life, denouncing scandalous events of supreme social injustice, combining historical data and current events with narrative, without ever separating narration from human understanding of the weakest – these are the essence of Matilde Serao's poetic identity. This drove her to engage with current events, breaking the silence of shameful abuses – as in the case of primary school teacher Italia Donati, who committed suicide, suffocated by the irrevocable condemnation that everyone passed against her¹⁰. With this work, Serao inaugurated:

² F. Millefiorini, *Onomastica infantile nelle Piccole anime di Matilde Serao. Canituccia, Aloe e Rosso Malpelo: l'essere e l'apparire*, «Rivista di letteratura italiana», vol. XXV, n. 3, 2007, p. 179.

³ Serao, *A un poeta*, in *Piccole anime*, cit., pp. IV-V. Translated by the author.

⁴ J.R. Snyder, *Matilde Serao, 'Canituccia' (from 'Piccole anime', 1883)*, «California Italian Studies», vol. 10, n. 1, 2020, <<https://doi.org/10.5070/C3101051301>> (last access: 15.09.2025).

⁵ A. Arslan, *Un destino femminile. Matilde Serao tra genio, tenerezza e dissipazione*, introduction to M. Serao, *Il ventre di Napoli e altre storie*, «Repubblica», Rome, 2004, n.p., <<https://www.repubblica.it/speciale/2004/biblioteca/intro/serao.html>> (last access: 14.09.2025). Translated by the author.

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ P. Pancrazi (ed.), *Serao*, Milano, Garzanti, 1944, Vol. I, p. X.

⁸ M. Serao, *Mors tua ... Romanzo in tre giornate*, Torino, Fratelli Treves Editori, 1926.

⁹ U. Eco, *Carolina Invernizio, Matilde Serao, Liala*, Firenze, La nuova Italia, 1979, p. 93. Translated by the author.

¹⁰ E. Gianini Belotti, *Prima della quiete. Storia di Italia Donati*, Milano, Rizzoli, 2003.

a literary trend, that of short stories and novels dedicated to the stories of teachers and the vicissitudes of schools and public education in post-unification Italy, which would enjoy considerable success in the last fifteen years of the 19th century¹¹.

The value of sentiment, on the one hand, distinguishes Matilde Serao within the Verismo movement, to which the writer adheres alongside naturalism, as she liked to say¹², while, on the other, it links her to other contemporary Italian authors, writing in the aftermath of Italian unification¹³. A painful sense of compassion, observation «from life», and denunciation are elements that also emerge in her literary characters inspired by reality, as in the case of *Canituccia* or that of the little beggar girl in another story from *Piccole anime*, entitled *Una fioraia*¹⁴ [A Flower Girl], in which the writer reveals a marked influence from the fairy tale *The Little Match Girl* (1848)¹⁵, by Hans Christian Andersen, who when «plotted the storyline of his touching narratives, he started from an unavoidable and 'perceptible' data: the body of the little protagonists»¹⁶. Furthermore, *Dal vero* [From life] (1879)¹⁷ is Matilde Serao's first collection of short stories and sketches (then completely revised and republished), in which the Italian writer creates snapshot portraits of female figures¹⁸. In *Mosaico di fanciulle* [Mosaic of girls], a sketch from *Pagina Azzurra* (Blue Page) (1910)¹⁹, the reader is presented with a sequence of paintings depicting the profiles of girls from various social classes: «Apparite, o fanciulle, vive come vi ho viste un giorno, un'ora, un momento – e la vostra figurina si profili, si distacchi palpitante o immobile nelle mie parole»²⁰.

The text, despite its limited length, brings together portraits of nascent femininity in a comprehensive manner, including figures of commoners and lower middle-class women, including the description of a young duchess. This author's gaze on the entirety of society will remain one of Serao's distinctive traits in her subsequent works. [...]. Equally essential is the space in which they are placed: interior, exterior, dark and cold, or conversely,

¹¹ A. Ascenzi, *Letteratura ed esperienza magistrale femminile nell'Italia di fine Ottocento: la costruzione di una difficile identità in «Scuola Normale Femminile» di Matilde Serao (1885)*, «History of Education and Children's Literature», vol. V, n. 2, 2010, pp. 93-135. Translated by the author.

¹² P. Giannantonio, *Sulla scia dei meridionalisti*, in G. Infusino (ed.), *Matilde Serao tra giornalismo e letteratura*, Napoli, Guida Editore, 1981, p. 36.

¹³ Among them, Edmondo De Amicis, with whom Matilde Serao shared the Milanese publisher Treves.

¹⁴ Serao, *Una fioraia*, in *Piccole anime*, cit., pp. V-IX.

¹⁵ H.C. Andersen, *The Little Match Girl*, Copenhagen, SAGA Egmont, 1848.

¹⁶ L. Accone, *Fiabe di corpi narranti. La poetica pedagogica della differenza*, «MeTis-Mondi educativi. Temi, indagini, suggestioni», vol. 12, n. 2, 2022, p. 49.

¹⁷ M. Serao, *Dal vero*, Milano, Perussia & Quadrio, Casa editrice sociale, 1879.

¹⁸ Ead., *Per le fanciulle*, in *Dal vero*, cit., pp. 182-189.

¹⁹ M. Serao, *Pagina Azzurra*, «La Rinascenza del Libro, Casa Editrice Italiana», Como, Firenze, Napoli, 1910, pp. 44-49.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 45.

bright and airy. It may refer to their popular, bourgeois condition or to the great events of Neapolitan aristocratic social life²¹.

2. A classic of literature “about” children and “for” children



Pic. 1. Illustration from M. Serao, F. Negrin (illustr.), *Canituccia*, Rome, orecchio acerbo, 2017.

Although Matilde Serao explicitly addresses «grown-ups» in the preface to the collection *Piccole anime*, about childhood, *Canituccia* is also considered a classic of children’s literature²², recently republished by *orecchio acerbo* in a version illustrated by Fabian Negrin²³ (Fig. 1). This illustrated book is an example of careful literary work that poetically inhabits children’s literature and delves «into the truth of children’s feelings»²⁴. In narrative contexts where originality, startling honesty, integrity, and meticulous respect for the experiences of the kid characters are evident, the editorial quality and illustration selection reflect a vision of caring for the book that conveys concern for child readers²⁵. Matilde Serao has entered the catalogue of illustrated works of children’s literature that unreservedly narrates the incongruities, harshness, silences, discreet and private thoughts, and depths of childhood existence²⁶.

²¹ V. Mondini, ‘Chiusa come un baco da seta in un bozzolo filato’: la figurazione del femminile nella narrativa breve di Matilde Serao, Degree Thesis, Department of Linguistic and Literary Studies (Supervisor: P. Zambon), Padua, University of Padua, Academic Year 2016-2017, p. 12. Translated by the author.

²² Liberweb, *Classici. Almeno questi! Bibliografia di base della biblioteca per bambini e ragazzi*, «LI.B.E.R. Libri per Bambini e Ragazzi», 2020.

²³ M. Serao, F. Negrin (illustr.), *Canituccia*, Rome, orecchio acerbo, 2017.

²⁴ M. Bernardi, *La cura del lavoro letterario: può la letteratura per l’infanzia abitare poeticamente il mistero del sentire infantile?*. In *Sistemi educativi, Orientamento, Lavoro*, Lecce, Pensa Multimedia editore SRL, 2023, pp. 898-899. Translated by the author.

²⁵ *Ibid.*

²⁶ *Ibid.*

3. *An illegitimate offspring who inspires diffidence*

Matilde Serao's words clearly demonstrate how many and what abuses Canituccia suffers, defenseless as she is in the face of the harassment of a ferocious peasant woman, Pasqualina, who keeps her to exploit her but distrusts her. «As she sat there spinning, Pasqualina thought about Canituccia with a certain diffidence»²⁷. In fact, Canituccia is an illegitimate offspring, and therefore, it is even more likely that she is considered a «scellerata, assassina»²⁸ young girl. In other words, guilty of that “childish wickedness”, representing the anthropological assumption underlying dark pedagogy, aimed at instilling in children a sense of their own guilt and wickedness as early as possible²⁹.

Pasqualina stood on the threshold and called: – Canituccia! No one answered. Evening had come on this February day.

Pasqualina struggled to see in the darkness.

She called out again loud and long:

– Canituccia, Canituccia!

Mumbling curses, Pasqualina then went down the narrow walkway that, bisecting the vegetable garden, led from the door of the house to the front gate. [...].

“She must have dropped dead, that lousy girl”, Pasqualina muttered.

In reply, she heard a low lament. Canituccia was sitting on the step to the front gate; hunched over, with her head almost between her knees and her hands in her hair, moaning.

“Ah, so you're here, and you don't answer me when I call? Hang you for that! What? Why are you crying? Did they give you a thrashing? And where's Ciccotto?”

Canituccia [...] didn't answer, but moaned more loudly.

“Why'd you come back so late? And Ciccotto? Tell the truth: did you lose Ciccotto?”

The old peasant spinster's angry voice grew frightening.

Canituccia threw herself sobbing onto the ground face down, with her arms outspread. She had lost Ciccotto.

“Ah, you scamp, you murderer of what's mine, you're nothing but the daughter of a whore! You

lost Ciccotto? Take this. You lost Ciccotto? Take that. You lost Ciccotto? Here's some more”.

Pasqualina punched, kicked and slapped the little girl. Canituccia struggled to try to shield herself from the blows, shrieking without crying³⁰.

The detailed depiction of Canituccia's brutal beatings sheds light on a not isolated situation that, as the narrator remarks, was common in some contexts.

²⁷ Serao, *Piccole anime*, cit., p. XVIII. English translation by Snyder, *Matilde Serao*, cit.

²⁸ Serao, *Piccole anime*, cit., p. XVI.

²⁹ I. Filograsso, *Bambini in trappola. Pedagogia nera e letteratura per l'infanzia*, Milano, FrancoAngeli, 2012; A. Miller, *Il bambino inascoltato. Realtà infantile e dogma psicoanalitico*, Torino, Bollati Boringhieri, 2010.

³⁰ Serao, *Piccole anime*, cit., p. XVI. English translation by Snyder, *Matilde Serao*, cit.

Pasqualina was surely no greedier or fiercer than other peasant women, but she was not so well off herself and only ate a bit of meat on Sundays. Sometimes she beat Canituccia, but no more often than the other peasant women beat their own children³¹.

When Pasqualina grew tired, she gave the child a shove and said in a hoarse voice:

“Listen, you little good-for-nothing, I only let you live with me out of charity. If you don’t leave now and go look for Ciccotto in the countryside, and if you don’t bring him back home, remember that I’ll make you die on the street like the daughter of a bitch that you are”.

Canituccia, who was still shrieking from the beating she’d just been given, hoisted her ragged skirt – made out of red cloth – and set off barefoot toward the road for the church of the Blessed Virgin. As she walked, she looked to her left and right in the hedges and in the farmers’ fields, calling to Ciccotto in a low voice. She had lost him on the way home: she hadn’t realized that he wasn’t following her any longer. But in the dark of night, she couldn’t see anything. Canituccia walked on mechanically, stopping every so often to look around without being able to see. Her bare feet, which had turned a deep burgundy red in color from a whole winter’s worth of cold, no longer felt either the ground beneath them, which was growing icy cold, or the stones over which she stumbled. She was not afraid of the night or the lonely countryside: she just wanted to get Ciccotto back. All she could hear were Pasqualina’s threats not to feed her if she didn’t bring him home. She felt a gnawing, intense hunger that was twisting her stomach into knots. If she brought Ciccotto back, she’d eat: this was her one and only thought. So, she called and called to him, walking fast between the tall hedges, a tiny speck of motion in that nocturnal calm: “Here, Ciccotto! My darling Ciccotto, where are you? Come to your Canituccia! Ciccotto, Ciccotto, Ciccotto, come to Canituccia! If I don’t bring you home, mamma Pasqualina won’t give me anything to eat. O Ciccotto, o Ciccotto!” [...]. In the gloom of night, the road shone white, and the desolate child’s little shadow cast strange, distorted figures on the ground. Her voice grew weary. She began to run wildly now, calling to Ciccotto with all her might. Twice she sat down on the ground, defeated and in despair: and twice she got up and started to run again. Finally, [...], she heard something like a small grunt, then something like a little gallop, and Ciccotto came to brush up against her feet with his snout³².

4. *Less than human*

Canituccia, nickname of Candida – a name Matilde Serao uses to affirm this child’s innocence and purity of spirit, refuting the negative judgements held of her and providing a clue to her true nature³³ – seems born to atone. Forced by the primal need to eat to return home³⁴, to the one she innocently and despite everything calls *mamma Pasqualina*, the child ends up embodying

³¹ Serao, *Canituccia*, in *Piccole anime*, cit., p. XIX. English translation by Snyder, *Matilde Serao*, cit.

³² *Ibid.*, pp. XVI-XVII.

³³ Millefiorini, *Onomastica infantile nelle Piccole anime di Matilde Serao. Canituccia, Aloe e Rosso Malpelo: l’essere e l’apparire*, cit.

³⁴ Snyder, *Matilde Serao*, cit.

a denied, literally alienated childhood in a world both archaic and devoid of any kind of childhood feeling³⁵. Some passages show Pasqualina's inhuman insensitivity, accustomed to denying even the primary needs of the little girl, the «redhead's daughter» towards whom she unleashes all her anger and harshness, to the point where the narrator says that even «Don Ottaviano didn't want to give her communion because of the many sins she'd committed in her thoughts»³⁶. In the following extract, while Canituccia is literally suffering the pangs of hunger, Pasqualina appears indifferent and, again, with the rosary in her hands (as is also the case in the incipit of the story), devoted to a religion which, as Serao will also affirm in his other writings, has now become a «monotonous and heavy repetition of the same gestures, without character, and of the same words, without expression»³⁷, undoubtedly distant from that faith locked in the depths of the conscience, from which to draw «every good virtue»³⁸.

[Canituccia] soon reached Pasqualina and triumphantly handed the piglet over to her. In the darkness, Pasqualina grinned. They went back into the house and Ciccotto was put into his pen, where he ate and immediately fell asleep. Breathing heavily, Canituccia watched everything that Pasqualina did. The little girl too was hungry, like Ciccotto; she followed Pasqualina into the kitchen, looking at her with big wild eyes that were unable to ask. Then Canituccia sat down on the raised edge of the hearth, without saying a thing. The peasant woman had taken her place on the bench and returned to her rosary, praying in a passionless monotone. Canituccia, doubled over in order not to feel the spasms in her stomach, followed the prayer with her eyes. She was no longer able to think at all: she was just hungry. Only a half-hour later, when she had finished reciting the *Salve Regina*, did Pasqualina get up, open the cupboard, cut a piece of bread, put a few cold leftover beans on a little plate, and give Canituccia her supper³⁹.

While Canituccia's treatment appears to be cruel, unprovoked violence rather than a corrective measure, historical sources document that «fasting was widely used as an educational tool, indeed a corrective, for minor shortcomings»⁴⁰. This child's childhood, therefore, is without any rights: not to adequate nourishment, not to the affection of adults, not to interact with other children, much less to an education – a condition that was widespread in

³⁵ P. Ariès, *L'enfant et la vie familiale sous l'ancien regime*, Paris, Seuil, 1973 (trad. it.: *Padri e figli nell'Europa medievale e moderna*, Roma-Bari, Laterza, 1983).

³⁶ Serao, *Canituccia*, in *Piccole anime*, cit., p. XX. English translation by Snyder, *Matilde Serao*, cit.

³⁷ M. Serao, *Parla una donna: diario femminile di guerra, maggio 1915-marzo 1916*, Milano, Fratelli Treves, 1916, p. 1.

³⁸ *Ibid.*

³⁹ Ead., *Canituccia*, in *Piccole anime*, cit., pp. XVI-XVII. English translation by Snyder, *Matilde Serao*, cit.

⁴⁰ G. Di Bello, *Le bambine cattive, le punizioni. 10. Le bambine povere, le orfane e le trovatelle*, in S. Olivieri (ed.), *Le bambine nella storia dell'educazione*, Bari-Roma, Laterza, 1999, pp. 283-284. Translated by the author.

late-nineteenth-century Italy, especially in Southern Italy, but not only. Even for «the abandoned Tuscan girls and boys, in the majority of cases, schooling remained a fantasy, disregarding the provisions already established in the Casati law of 1859 [...] and the subsequent law on compulsory education of 1877»⁴¹. More broadly, studies on the history of education document the extremely slow spread of schooling, especially in Southern Italy; the material conditions of great poverty; and, in many cases, institutional absence, in which financial difficulties were combined with the hostility of the ruling classes and the mistrust of the population⁴².

Snyder's analysis of *Canituccia*'s story also emphasises the impact of a lack of education and beginning work at an early age:

Kept out of school and set to work at an early age, despite laws about *la scuola dell'obbligo* promulgated by the new Italian state, Canituccia is destined by her guardian for a life of illiteracy and poverty. Although Pasqualina attends weekly mass, recites the rosary every evening and sees herself as a devout Catholic, she displays no interest in providing Canituccia with even basic religious instruction, almost as if the latter were nothing more than an animal devoid of conscience, or a soul, or the need for morality and ethics. The ragamuffin is left entirely to her own devices in interpreting her world. When abruptly informed of her birth mother's death from typhoid fever, Canituccia has no intellectual or emotional means to process what is surely one of the greatest traumas that any child may endure. The little girl responds to the news blankly, without a word and without the least display of emotion: "Canituccia was told that her [birth] mother was dead, but the child didn't seem to grasp what was being said, as if she were deaf and dumb", or (we might add) almost as if she were somehow less than human⁴³.

5. *A perfect scapegoat*

Prejudice, superstition, resentment, and diffidence make Canituccia the perfect scapegoat, only a «little bastard» whose facial features are deemed by Pasqualina to be incontrovertible signs of her mother's sins. Therefore, her «small, white face, all spotted with freckles, with wiry hair, a little red, a little yellowish, a little dirty chestnut»⁴⁴ becomes a specious excuse for treating her less than lovingly:

[This] little servant was the illegitimate offspring of Maria "the Redhead", as she was known. With her flaming hair and carnation-red lips, Maria had first sinned with the cobbler Giambattista. But he had gone off to become a soldier, and Maria had become

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 288.

⁴² S. Santamaita, *Storia della scuola: dalla scuola al sistema formativo*, Milano, Mondadori, 1999, p. 23.

⁴³ Snyder, *Matilde Serao*, cit.

⁴⁴ Serao, *Canituccia*, in *Piccole anime*, cit., p. XVIII. Translated by the author.

the lover of Gasparre Rossi, a local gentleman. Then he too deserted Maria, although it was said that Candida – nicknamed Canituccia – was his daughter. There was no doubt that Maria, [...], had left Canituccia and gone off, [...] to work as a prostitute. Gasparre hadn't wanted to take care of the abandoned child, so she grew up in the household of Pasqualina and Crescenzo Zampa, who were sister and brother. But the girl's white face, all dotted with freckles, reminded Pasqualina of Maria the Redhead. Pasqualina – a thin and virginal spinster with bony red hands, yellow teeth, and coal-black eyes, who had never married because her brother had refused to give her a dowry – trembled with hysterical terror at the thought of Maria the Redhead's amorous follies, and didn't trust her little bastard child⁴⁵.

The red colour, recurring in Canituccia's rag skirt, hair, and freckles, suggests the subtle conditioning of prejudice that Matilde Serao intends to denounce. The Italian writer captures a somatic element—red—that throughout history has often been considered a stigma and interpreted as a sign of innate guilt. In Canituccia's case, red is the sign of being the daughter of a prostitute; it is the legacy left to her by her mother. This condition, combined with being a female child, makes Canituccia particularly dangerous, a being to be wary of, not only in the eyes of popular belief but also according to Lombrosian point of view, which considers children and women inferior and deceitful. The colour red, considered a symbol of evil and corruption, of lust and a pact with the devil, has justified mistreatment, oppression, and violence:

Seen negatively, fiery red is [...] associated with the flames of hell and the dragon of the Apocalypse, whose body is red like fire (Rev. 12:3-4). This red deceives and betrays, destroys and devastates, producing a light more disturbing than darkness, following the example of the infernal fire that burns without illuminating. By definition, this is the red of the Devil and his demons, who in miniatures and mural paintings of the Romanesque period often have heads of this colour. It will also be, a little later, the colour of traitors, who, in the image of Cain, Judas, or Renart, the hypocritical fox, will be equipped with red hair or a coat, as flaming and dangerous as fire⁴⁶.

The colour red is part of the primitive chromatic triad of the fairy-tale world, in which it symbolises danger⁴⁷. Then, it is present in much literature on and for children: think, for example, of *Poil de Carotte* (1894)⁴⁸ by Jules

⁴⁵ *Ibid.* English translation by Snyder, *Matilde Serao*, cit.

⁴⁶ M. Pastoreau, *Rosso, storia di un colore*, Milano, Ponte alle Grazie, 2021, p. 56. Translated by the author.

⁴⁷ M. Campagnaro, *Clothing the Child in Red: A Historical and Comparative Analysis of Italian Visual Retellings of the Grimms' Little Red Riding Hood*, «Strenæ. Recherches sur les livres et objets culturels de l'enfance», vol. 18, 2021, <<https://doi.org/10.4000/strenae.6423>> (last access: 14.09.2025).

⁴⁸ *Pel di carota* – a less than affectionate nickname given to the tormented protagonist of this novel – is one of the great classics of children's literature. It is also a milestone work because it allows us to reflect, through the vicissitudes of the protagonist, on human behavior, on the consequences that a lack of affection, cruelty, aridity of spirit inevitably bring with them, and

Renard and *Anne of Green Gables* (1908)⁴⁹ by Lucy Maud Montgomery, where the red hair takes on a stigmatising meaning. On the contrary, in *Pippi Longstocking* (1945), the red hair changes its meaning, helping to portray the protagonist's extraordinary nature and strangeness, similar to the protagonist of the American animated fantasy adventure film *Brave* (2012).

In the literary climate of Verismo, which breathes the positivist influence, the red colour becomes revealing of a character predisposition and a marked destiny, particularly evident in the physiognomic portrait of *Rosso Malpelo* (1880): «Malpelo was called that because he had red hair; and he had red hair because he was a mischievous and bad boy, who promised to turn out to be a real rascal»⁵⁰.

Returning to Canituccia's story, Pasqualina's prejudices, fuelled by dissatisfaction and personal frustrations, almost paradoxically reflect the profound connection between criminal anthropology, considered by Cesare Lombroso to be a "science" because it was based on direct observation and measurements⁵¹, and the proverbs and popular legends in which Lombroso enshrined the archaic "truths" of his research regarding evolutionary inferiority and weakness, which, he argued, were shared by women, boys, and girls, resulting in a tendency to lie and deceive:

Demonstrating how lying is habitual and almost physiological in women would be superfluous, so much so that it is even in popular legend. The proverbs that allude to it are innumerable and, in all languages⁵². [...] Overall, we can assert that in women, as in children, the moral sense is inferior⁵³.

It is worth noting that the positivist cultural context in which Lombroso's research activities emerged also served as the foundation for Maria Montes-

on the increasingly precious value of respect, understanding, and love (Colognola ai Colli (VR), Gribaudo, 2024. Note for readers, n. 6). Translated by the author.

⁴⁹ For Anne, red hair is a source of great displeasure – «People who don't have red hair don't know how difficult it is». The expression «red hair» also recurs in this novel with a ridiculing connotation. Translated by the author.

⁵⁰ G. Verga, *Rosso Malpelo in Vita dei campi*, Milano, Treves, 1880.

⁵¹ P. Guarnieri, *Un piccolo essere perverso. Il bambino nella cultura scientifica italiana tra Otto e Novecento*, «Contemporanea. Rivista di storia dell'800 e del '900», vol. 2, 2006, pp. 253-284; F. Borruso, *For a childhood story. Social representations, childhood memories and educational abuses Per una storia dell'infanzia. Rappresentazioni sociali, memorie bambine e abusi educativi*, «Education Sciences & Society», vol. 1, 2017, pp. 11-22.

⁵² C. Lombroso, G. Ferrero, *La donna delinquente, la prostituta e la donna normale*, Torino, Roux, 1893, p. 133.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, p. 156. Original Italian version: «CAPITOLO VI. Senso morale. I. Menzogna. Dimostrare come la menzogna sia abituale e quasi fisiologica nella donna sarebbe superfluo, tanto è perfino nella leggenda popolare. I proverbi che vi alludono sono innumerevoli ed in tutte le lingue 'Lagrima di donne, fontana di malizia' (Toscana). [...] «Finto come una donna» (Roma). [...] 'Nec mulieri, nec gremio credendum (prov. lat.)' [ecc.]», Lombroso, Ferrero, *La donna delinquente, la prostituta e la donna normale*, cit., p. 133. «Sintesi – In complesso possiamo asserire che nella donna, come nel fanciullo, il senso morale è inferiore», *ibid.*, p. 156.

sori's child-centered scientific and experimental education⁵⁴. Note that Montessori appreciated Cesare Lombroso's idea of saving minors from a criminal destiny through education⁵⁵ and that, more generally, Lombroso's theories and the positive school resonated as tools for eliminating or attenuating the causes that push minors to crime⁵⁶.

Montessori's child-centered pedagogy prioritizes children as the source of humanity's mysteries and directs scientific endeavours towards them. While maintaining the centrality of the scientific method and observation⁵⁷, Montessori gradually distances herself from positivism⁵⁸ from an excessively deterministic vision⁵⁹ and from the misunderstandings of the science applied to the school⁶⁰. She recognises the educability of children who were previously considered irrecoverable, psychically «abnormal» children, and thus the need to address the issue from a predominantly pedagogical point of view, rather than a predominantly medical one⁶¹.

Regarding child abuse, anticipating the findings of subsequent research, Maria Montessori condemned the use of punishment, which exposes children to public reprimands and the torture of pillorying. This constraint instills in them a mad and unreasonable fear of public opinion, even if unjust and erroneous. Such an approach leads to a sense of inferiority and to the creation of a state of self-distrust, which is then reflected in adults in the form of submissiveness and paves the way for a spirit of devotion. Education, thus understood,

⁵⁴ T. Pironi, *Da Ellen Key a Maria Montessori: la progettazione di nuovi spazi educativi per l'infanzia*, «Ricerche di pedagogia e didattica», vol. 5, n. 1, 2010, pp. 355-369.

⁵⁵ R. Raimondo, *La 'pedagogia riparatrice' secondo Maria Montessori: un ideale regolativo e educativo*, «Rivista di Storia dell'Educazione», vol. 1, 2016, p. 192. Maria Montessori writes: «[Alessandro Doria's reform] seems inspired by a marvellous breath of innovative power – which has a wholly Italian scent of genius: it springs like pure water from the mighty boulder of ancient penal law, avenging the sins that Cesare Lombroso had shattered», *Gli odierni riformatori pei minorenni corrigendi (La riforma Doria)*, «La vita», vol. 2, n. 156, 6 giugno 1906, p. 3.

⁵⁶ Original Italian version: «Studiamo, secondo le teorie lombrosiane, l'ambiente, muto d'ogni sapiente luce amorosa, dove si sviluppano i germi criminosi, preveniamo con tutti i mezzi di vigilanza, assistenza, custodia, come la scuola criminale positiva sostiene da tanti anni, eliminando od attenuandole cause, siano esse sociali che individuali, che spingono il minorenne al delitto, reprimendo poi, ma umanamente per non inaridire tutte le fonti di moralità». A. Segre, *La protezione dell'infanzia contro gli abusi della patria potestà*, Torino, S. Lattes & C. Librai-Editori/Firenze, Bemporad e Figlio, 1910, p. 131.

⁵⁷ Pironi, *Da Ellen Key a Maria Montessori: la progettazione di nuovi spazi educativi per l'infanzia*, cit.

⁵⁸ F. De Giorgi (ed.), *Nuova storia della pedagogia*, Brescia, Scholé, 2024.

⁵⁹ Raimondo, *La "pedagogia riparatrice" secondo Maria Montessori: un ideale regolativo e educativo*, cit., p. 192.

⁶⁰ M. Montessori, *Considerazioni critiche sulla scienza applicata alla scuola*, in *La scoperta del bambino* (1948), Norderstedt, Culturea Editions, 2022, pp. 9-29.

⁶¹ S. Polenghi, *Il diritto all'istruzione nell'evoluzione della scuola italiana*, in A. Lamberti (ed.), *Scuola, Università e Ricerca: Diritti, Doveri e Democrazia nello Stato di cultura*, Napoli, Editoriale Scientifica, 2024, pp. 417-433.

is equated by Montessori with a struggle between adult and child, a relentless war that embraces the living being at birth and accompanies it throughout its development. The child, defeated and subjugated, will perpetually carry with him the characteristics of that painful adaptation, which will have repercussions on deviations in moral character, on the admission of opposing moral principles, and on a justice that defends life and on that which destroys it.

6. *Loneliness and affection for the animal*

Considered less than human, placed below a slaughterhouse animal – «not surprisingly, the other protagonist of the short story is exactly that: the pig»⁶² – Canituccia is an unwitting, perfect, expendable victim. As Snyder notes, in the eyes of the poor rural society of Southern Italy, a little girl like Canituccia has much less value than a pig, whose body can be converted directly into money. It is noteworthy how the presence of Ciccotto in Matilde Serao's story takes on a completely different meaning than the real animals and fantastical creatures of much children's literature⁶³, including the contemporary *Le avventure di Pinocchio. Storia di un burattino* [The Adventures of Pinocchio: Story of a Puppet] (1883)⁶⁴. For this little girl, deprived of any human contact, Ciccotto becomes a constant and indispensable presence, lavishing all the affection she would reserve for the dearest being in the world. A deep, at times empathetic, attachment develops between Canituccia and Ciccotto, but it is interrupted by the animal's brutal sacrifice, bringing the theme of violence back to the centre of the narrative.

The unbreakable bond between the little girl and the pig stems from what emerges as the primary reason Canituccia was brought into their home by siblings Pasqualina and Crescenzo Zampa: to exploit her, making her do farm work, primarily herding the pig to fatten it up. Their bond is definitively sealed by the string with which Pasqualina ties «Ciccotto's foot on one end and Canituccia's life on the other, so that they would never be separated».

They spent the day together in the field [...]. Many times, Canituccia coaxed Ciccotto to a spot where she'd seen grass growing that he might like; [...]. They wandered together through the spring afternoon until dusk fell, and only separated when back at home, [...] Ciccotto had grown big and strong, while Canituccia was still skinny and weak. Sometimes Ciccotto ran too fast for the girl, and she felt herself being dragged along behind him over the cracked dry ground, worn out beneath the burning summer sun.

⁶² Snyder, *Matilde Serao*, cit.

⁶³ W. Grandi, *Draghi, fenici, cicale, formiche e altre meraviglie: gli animali fantastici nella letteratura per l'infanzia*, «Bibliomanie», vol. 57, n. 3, 2024, p. 1.

⁶⁴ C. Collodi, E. Mazzanti (illustr.), *Le avventure di Pinocchio. Storia di un burattino*, Firenze, Libreria Editrice Felice Paggi, 1883.

"Wait, Ciccotto, wait for me my dearest!" she would say, exhausted. [...]. By now there was no longer any need for the rope, because Ciccotto had become obedient. Canituccia had gotten a long stick with which to herd the pig and keep him from ending up under the wheels of the carts going along the main road. They would head back home in the evening, with Ciccotto coming along slowly and Canituccia a little ahead of him, driven by the insatiable hunger gnawing at her stomach. Once they tried to steal some bitter sorb fruit in Nicola Passaretti's field, but the sorbs were terribly bitter and Nicola thrashed her like a little thief. Even worse, Nicola told Pasqualina Zampa about it, and she too beat Canituccia. The girl went off through the fields with Ciccotto, weeping and saying to him: "Pasqualina beat me because I'm a thief". But Ciccotto shook his head and began to graze. Still, every so often, when an idea appeared in Canituccia's closed mind, she spoke about it to Ciccotto. When they were heading home, she told him: "Let's go home now, and Ciccotto will go to his pen and mamma Pasqualina will feed him dinner, and then she'll give Canituccia some soup, and I'll eat it all". And in the morning: "If Ciccotto doesn't run, and if he always stays near Canituccia, then Canituccia will take him up the mountainside, to our parish priest Don Ottaviano's little tree, where she will get him lots and lots of apples to eat, while Canituccia eats some bread". When autumn came, Ciccotto had become quite fat and hefty. Once he knocked the girl down with a blow of his head, but she got up, moved away from him, and showered him with stones. But that was the only time they quarreled⁶⁵.

Ciccotto's company offers great comfort to Canituccia, who hungers for excitement and security, as well as food. With no one else to talk to during the day, she addresses the pig as if he were a dear and trusted friend, often using affectionate terms like «Ciccotto aspetta bello mio»⁶⁶ and «Ciccotto di Canituccia tua»⁶⁷ – tender words no adult has ever used in her life⁶⁸. With a sharp touch of narrative irony, the story's conclusion leaves little doubt that their destinies have always been inextricably intertwined: neither children nor animals can survive for long in a world governed, above all, by the capitalist logic of exchange value that inexorably reduces beings to things⁶⁹.

That November, people in Ventaroli said that Maria the Redhead had died of typhoid fever [...]. Canituccia was told that her mother was dead, but the child didn't seem to grasp what was being said, as if she were deaf and dumb. [...] Ciccotto had become so big and so fat that he could no longer be taken to graze far from home: [...]. Canituccia called to him, but in vain: he no longer had enough strength to come. The first time that she left him at home to go for firewood in the mountains, she gathered a heap of acorns in the woods, [...], and brought them to him. [...] Upon her return, before entering the kitchen she would go to greet him again. It scared the girl a little to see him so big – and so much bigger than she was, for she was as thin as a broomstick. One December evening, [...] she found the parish priest, Don Ottavio, engaged in a lively discussion with Nicola Passaretti and Crescenzo: the three

⁶⁵ Serao, *Canituccia*, in *Piccole anime*, cit., p. XVIII. English translation by Snyder, in *Matilde Serao, 'Canituccia' (from 'Piccole anime', 1883)*, cit.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, p. XX.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p. XVII.

⁶⁸ Snyder, *Matilde Serao*, cit.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*

of them then went to have a look at Ciccotto [...]. Canituccia did not understand. The next evening, however, [...] there was great commotion [...] knives, cleavers, and funnels were laid out on the kitchen table: Pasqualina, Teresa and Rosaria had put on shorter skirts and white aprons. Sabatino came and went with an air of self-importance. Canituccia saw everything but understood nothing. In a low voice she asked Teresa: "What are we doing tonight?" "Christmas has come, Canitù. We're going to kill and butcher Ciccotto". Although feeling somewhat shaky on her feet, Canituccia then went to squat in a corner of the courtyard to watch Ciccotto be killed. In the flickering light she saw them drag him into the courtyard, [...]. She heard the pig's desperate squeals, because he didn't want to die [...]. She watched them cut the pig's head off by slicing through the neck all the way around, before laying it on a platter on a bed of fresh laurel leaves. [...]. She heard their cries of joy when the weight was announced [...]. They called her into the kitchen. Canituccia held back at the threshold, watching, but without entering [...]. Pasqualina, thinking that the child hadn't eaten all day and that it was a festive occasion, took a piece of black bread and put a little bit of fried blood on it, before saying to Canituccia: "Eat this". But the little girl said 'no' by simply shaking her head, even though she was dying of hunger⁷⁰.

Recently, the novel *Guarda dalla finestra* (2024)⁷¹ by the Slovenian writer Evald Flisar narrates the affection of the young protagonist, victim of an «unfortunate event», towards Porcello, his only friend and confidant, in a story in which the young protagonist's thoughts are intertwined with the great questions that build the fabric of relationships between different but universal worlds, cultures, and feelings. The two narrative events, *Canituccia* and *Guarda dalla finestra*, are linked by the horrific slaughter of the pig buddy in front of the young protagonists' terrified eyes, leaving them permanently traumatised. The terrible death of the pig, like in *Canituccia*, is followed by the serving of the dismembered animal buddy as food, all while the parents show heartless apathy and an inability to understand.

Despite their chronological and geographical differences, these two stories combine themes of deep wounds, vulnerability, loneliness, and the fundamental human desire for emotional relationships, as represented through a friendship with a cherished animal.

7. *The unspeakable severity of the issue of violence against children in our contemporary world*

As Snyder observes, «from today's perspective, Serao's short story is a tale of child abuse»⁷². Violence that, with changing circumstances, continues to

⁷⁰ Serao, *Canituccia*, in *Piccole anime*, cit., p. XXI. English translation by Snyder, in *Matilde Serao*, 'Canituccia' (from 'Piccole anime', 1883), cit.

⁷¹ E. Flisar, *Guarda dalla finestra*, Nardò (LE), Besa Muci, 2024.

⁷² Snyder, *Matilde Serao*, cit.

plague childhood even in our present, especially at the hands of those who should take care of them, such as the family⁷³ or the operators of educational and training institutions⁷⁴. Recent statistical data show that violence against minors is on the rise⁷⁵, while news reports denounce the increase in cases of minors in educational services who are victims of aggression from adults, physical and mental violence, coercive methods, and repeated acts of humiliation, as shown by the crude images from the videos of the investigations:

They would yell at the children, even using obscene language, or they would slam them to the floor to force them to sit down, or they would wake them up by lifting them abruptly by the hip demonstrating with undeniable clarity [...] a total lack of self-control, [as well as] carelessness, insensitivity, and contempt toward the children. Insults and “target shooting” against the children: the nursery school owner and five teachers were banned. The investigation into abuse at a facility in the Milan area: [...] denigrating behaviour toward the children, many of whom were learning to walk and would be pelted with small objects to watch them fall and then mocked⁷⁶.

Beatings, pinching, tugging, and threats: the images speak clearly and highlight what happened in the nursery school when the teacher was alone with the children⁷⁷.

However, there remains a substantial invisibility regarding violence against minors to a degree, if possible, greater than that of gender violence⁷⁸.

The hypothesis underlying this contribution is that, despite numerous changes, the stigmas and stereotypes about childhood highlighted by Matilde Serao in her literary portrait of Canituccia have continued to creep in overtime as latent historical-cultural legacies, supporting mechanisms of denial and providing pretexts that lend a gap between socially accepted ideals and observed behaviour⁷⁹. Indeed, child abuse is one of the most difficult topics

⁷³ S. Carioli, *Historical legacies and use of corporal punishment of children in the home, in Italy*, «Rivista Italiana di Educazione Familiare», vol. 16, n. 1, 2020, pp. 25-42, <<https://doi.org/10.13128/rief-7853>> (last access: 14.09.2025).

⁷⁴ 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 & insegnamento», vol. 16, n. 1, 2018, pp. 109-120.

⁷⁵ Autorità Garante per l'Infanzia e l'Adolescenza – AGIA, *III Indagine nazionale sul maltrattamento dei bambini e degli adolescenti in Italia*, 2025.

⁷⁶ *Bimbi 'derisi e sbattuti per terra', inchiesta in un asilo nido a Vanzago (Milano): sei misure cautelari contro le maestre*, «TGCOM24», 28 Jan. 2023, <https://www.tgcom24.mediaset.it/cronaca/lombardia/vanzago-milano-maltrattamenti-asilo-nido-maestre-sospese_60214300-202302k.shtml> (last access: 14-03-2026). Translated by the author.

⁷⁷ M. Campani, *Violenza e maltrattamenti in un asilo nido: sospesa la maestra, titolare della struttura*, «ValdarnoPost», 5 July 2019, <<https://valdarnopost.it/edizioni-locali/violenza-e-maltrattamenti-in-un-asilo-nido-sospesa-la-maestra-titolare-della-struttura/>> (last access 14-03-2026). Translated by the author.

⁷⁸ B. Polini, *Punire i bambini: confini e vie di accesso alla genitorialità*, Milano, Ledizioni, 2024, p. 123.

⁷⁹ K. Bauer, Brüche, *Widersprüche und Konflikte: Die verworrenen Wege der Emotionssozialisation*, «Anthropologie der Emotionen», Berlin, Dietrich Reimer Verlag, 2023.

to identify and discuss because it is socially unpleasant, contradicts agreed cultural norms, and is even considered unacceptable in much of the literary world. As a result, the issue of child abuse is frequently ignored. Even the *Canituccia*'s story may appear far from contemporary adult readers' aesthetic standards, interests, and sensitivities.

In contemporary children's literature and literature about children, child abuse appears taboo, precluding the possibility of approaching such a painful yet real-life topic. As Eliza Dresang observes, «Young people encounter [...] abuse or other personal attacks from within the family or community»⁸⁰. Perry Nodelman's description of the consequences of the traditional absence of sexuality in children's literature, Dresang continues, could be likened to the consequences of the absence of the theme of violence against children:

We produce a children's literature that is almost totally silent on [these] subject[s] [...]. In doing so, however, we make it difficult for children to speak to us about their [...] concerns: our silence on [these] subject[s] clearly asserts that we have no wish to hear about it⁸¹.

This type of censorship may be seen in Italian children's literature, which fails to translate and publish books that address the issue in its various current interpretations. Including works by well-known authors of children's literature. Maurice Sendak's picturebooks, such as *We Are All in the Dumps with Jack and Guy* (1993)⁸², which depict violence as huge rats stalking orphaned children left in poverty and homelessness by an inattentive society, have yet to be translated into Italian.

Canituccia's story, tinged with pity and indignation, not only represents a source that gives voice to the most invisible and derelict conditions of childhood in late-nineteenth-century Southern Italy but can also speak to adults, especially those involved in the educational relationship with children. Indeed, it is impossible not to be disturbed by the profound and sensitizing sense of realism, which arouses empathy for the young protagonist and can lead an adult reader to confront and reflect deeply on the existence of distorted conceptions of childhood and education at the root of violent behavior.

⁸⁰ E. Dresang, *The Resilient Child in Contemporary Children's Literature: Surviving Personal Violence*, «Children's Literature Association Quarterly», vol. 22, n. 3, 1997, p. 133, <<https://dx.doi.org/10.1353/chq.0.1091>> (last access: 14.09.2025).

⁸¹ P. Nodelman, *The other: Orientalism, colonialism, and children's literature*, «Children's Literature Association Quarterly», vol. 17, n. 1, 1992, p. 30.

⁸² M. Sendak, *We Are All in the Dumps with Jack and Guy*, New York, HarperCollins, 1993.

Antonietta Fantozzi: critica, docente, donna. Una microstoria tra educazione letteraria e spazio femminile nell'Italia del primo Novecento

Simone Marsi
Department of Humanities, Social
Sciences and Cultural Industries
University of Parma (Italy)
simone.marsi@unipr.it

Antonietta Fantozzi: critic, teacher, woman. A micro-history exploring literary education and women's space in early 20th-century Italy

ABSTRACT: In recent years, the study of school textbooks in Italy has encompassed the field of literary studies. Among the many approaches and purposes, the study of textbooks allows us to rediscover the pedagogical, educational, and cultural contributions of figures who are now largely forgotten, yet contributed to the education of many Italians. Within this framework, this essay aims to investigate the intellectual journey of Antonietta Fantozzi, a schoolteacher who published textbooks and actively contributed to the cultural debate of her time. Through a close reading of her textbooks and related writings, the study illuminates her positions on school and literary education in the early 20th century, gendered expectations during the First World War, and the conditions of women in Italian prisons.

EET/TEE KEYWORDS: Antonietta Fantozzi; Literary education; Gender expectations; Italy, XX Century.

Introduzione

In un testo che introduce agli studi di genere, e al contempo ne ridiscute alcune importanti linee di ricerca, Daniela Brogi scrive che per colmare le lacune in cui sono state sepolte scrittrici e intellettuali del passato, non serve «aggiungere nomi, capitoli a parte, o [...] ripescare a caso nella pattumiera della storia, ma [...] riconsiderare, studiare e raccontare presenze e mancanze

secondo una sintassi e una architettura diverse»¹. Si tratta di discernere tra il naturale oblio in cui il tempo relega parte del nostro passato, e quello decretato da dinamiche di forza e potere all'interno della comunità. Credo che un modo per raccontare i dimenticati contributi femminili alla cultura nazionale senza rufolare «nella pattumiera della storia», e senza costruire elenchi di autrici accomunate dal solo fatto di essere donne dimenticate, possa essere quello di intrecciare il racconto dei profili più peculiari con gli avvenimenti storici cui hanno partecipato. Si tratta, insomma, di scrivere una microstoria, che non si esaurisca nella semplice aggiunta di nomi, date, ed elenchi a canoni più o meno alternativi, ma che invece si offra come testimonianza perduta di ambizioni, posizioni intellettuali, relazioni, e attività culturali femminili dei secoli scorsi. A questo scopo, il presente articolo segue il percorso biografico e soprattutto intellettuale di Antonietta Fantozzi, una delle circa trecento autrici di manuali scolastici che hanno contribuito alla formazione degli italiani tra Otto e Novecento². Proprio i materiali scolastici sembrano essere fonti storiografiche privilegiati per questo tipo di indagini, collocandosi «au carrefour de la culture, de la pédagogie, de l'édition et de la société»³, e racchiudendo numerose informazioni sulla cultura, la scuola e gli italiani del passato⁴.

Ciò che rende interessante Antonietta Fantozzi sono il suo essere al tempo intrisa della retorica e della visione critica del tempo e il suo essere ribelle nei confronti di alcune storture dell'educazione nazionale. Leggere i suoi libri non ci permette però solo di recuperare alcuni dei suoi lavori dimenticati, ma, soprattutto, di entrare nel dibattito nazionale sul ruolo della letteratura nella formazione del cittadino, di capire la *forma mentis* che nel primo Novecento dominava la letteratura comparata e il rapporto tra letteratura e referente geografico, e di investigare il ruolo della donna. Fantozzi, infatti, oltre ad essere autrice di testi di critica e didattica, ha realizzato anche numerose conferenze,

¹ D. Brogi, *Lo spazio delle donne*, Torino, Einaudi, 2022, p. 23.

² A. Fantozzi, *Operai della penna. Donne, docenti e libri scolastici fra Ottocento e Novecento*, Canterano, Aracne, 2019, p. 21.

³ C. Stray, «*Quia nominor leo*»: *vers une sociologie historique du manuel*, «Histoire de l'éducation», n. 58, 1993, pp. 71-102, in partic. pp. 77-78.

⁴ Lo studio dei manuali, ancora in espansione in ambito letterario, è stato portato avanti soprattutto dagli storici dell'educazione. Alcuni studi fondamentali, soprattutto in ambito italiano: A. Choppin, *L'histoire des manuels scolaires. Un bilan bibliométrique de la recherche française*, «Histoire de l'éducation», n. 58, 1993, pp. 165-185; G. Genovesi (ed.), *L'immagine e l'idea di Europa nei manuali scolastici (1900-1945)*, Milano, FrancoAngeli, 2000; A. Ascenzi, *Tra educazione etico-civile e costruzione dell'identità nazionale. L'insegnamento della storia nelle scuole italiane dell'Ottocento*, Milano, Vita & Pensiero, 2004; P. Genovesi, *Il manuale di storia in Italia: dal fascismo alla Repubblica*, Milano, FrancoAngeli, 2009; 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. Per una ricostruzione dello studio dei manuali in ambito letterario si veda S. Marsi, *Il racconto del passato. La formazione del canone letterario italiano tra programmi ministeriali, manuali scolastici e storiografia letteraria (1861-1945)*, Torino, Loescher, 2024, pp. 13-20.

tre delle quali dedicate al ruolo della donna durante la Prima guerra mondiale e la sua posizione nel sistema carcerario italiano, che ci offrono l'occasione di comprendere quale fosse lo «spazio delle donne», reale e intellettuale, nell'Italia del Primo Novecento.

1. *Le prime pubblicazioni e il rapporto tra letteratura e realtà*

Antonietta Fantozzi è nata a Fabriano nel 1872, ed ha trascorso la maggior parte della sua vita in Umbria, regione alla quale ha dedicato i propri interessi intellettuali e, come vedremo, anche le proprie risorse.

La prima traccia di Antonietta Fantozzi deriva da una lettera manoscritta inedita oggi conservata alla Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze e rivolta ad Angelo De Gubernatis, al quale la giovane studiosa scrive:

Illustrissimo signore, so che il conte Gnoli, che m'onora della sua amicizia, le presentò nel febbraio scorso un mio lavoretto sui poeti del 'Clitunno', pregandola di inserirlo nella 'Vita italiana'. Mi si fece sperare che ella l'avrebbe accettato e che avrei avuto la bozza di stampa. Ma non vedendo ancora nulla e non osando importunare nuovamente lo Gnoli, mi permetto rivolgermi a Lei, certa che, nella sua cortesia, dirmi se realmente il mio lavoro potrà trovare posto nel suo giornale e quando; poiché mi occorrerebbe, se fosse possibile, pubblicarlo fra non molto. In caso la pregherei farmi avere le bozze. Mi perdoni la libertà e mi tenga sempre.

Spello (Umbria) 17 aprile 1896.

Antonietta Fantozzi⁵

In questa rete di relazioni che definisce il campo umanistico del tempo, tra i nodi più rilevanti dell'epoca vi erano, evidentemente, Angelo De Gubernatis, il destinatario della lettera che è stato un grande animatore culturale dell'epoca, dirigendo riviste e promuovendo pubblicazioni, e il conte Domenico Gnoli, cui la giovane Fantozzi si era rivolta, il quale aveva un'avviata carriera di critico, docente scolastico e universitario, accademico e direttore di biblioteche, tra le quali la Biblioteca nazionale centrale Vittorio Emanuele II di Roma. Si tratta, a ben vedere, una rete caratterizzata dalla prosa letteraria di maniera (come lo sono state le composizioni teatrali di De Gubernatis e le prose di Gnoli), e dalla ricostruzione erudita del passato della quale i due autori hanno dato prova dedicandosi alla letteratura romana, italiana, universale⁶.

A questo *humus* culturale corrisponde anche lo scritto citato da Antonietta Fantozzi nella sua lettera, che l'autrice sperava di veder pubblicato sulla rivi-

⁵ Fondo De Gubernatis, 50, 7.

⁶ Per Gnoli si ricordi anche il solo *G.G. Belli e i suoi scritti inediti*, Firenze, 1878. Gubernatis, che è stato un importante promotore di indologia, è invece autore di numerose biografie di scrittori italiani, nonché curatore di una *Storia universale della letteratura* in ventun volumi.

sta «Vita Italiana». Non sappiamo se la fretta di pubblicare sia riconducibile alla necessità di ottenere l'abilitazione per l'insegnamento, che poi arriverà successivamente, quando troveremo Fantozzi come docente alla Scuola Normale Femminile «Anna Morandi Manzolini» di Bologna e poi in altri istituti umbri. Ciò che sappiamo è che il testo menzionato nella missiva vedrà la luce su un'altra rivista, il «Fanfulla della domenica» del 10 e del 17 maggio, e poi come piccolo opuscolo presso lo Stabilimento tipografico dell'opinione, con il titolo *I poeti del Clitunno*.

In quest'opera, Antonietta Fantozzi raccoglie e commenta i testi letterari, italiani e stranieri, che citano il Clitunno, piccolo fiume umbro su cui sorge un tempio dal 2011 patrimonio dell'Umanità all'interno del vasto sito *Lombardi in Italia. I luoghi del potere (568 – 774 d.c.)*⁷. Il libro riporta i testi di Plinio il Giovane, Virgilio, Propertio, Silio Italico, Stazio, Giovenale, Claudiano, Sidonio Apollinare, Thomas Babington Macaulay (che lo ricorda nella sua opera *Orazio*), Byron (nel suo *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage*), il poeta polacco Łucyly Kłaczynski (*Una passeggiata alle sorgenti del Clitunno*), Alinda Bonacci Brunamonti (*Un ramicello galleggiante sul Clitunno*, che poi ha preso il titolo *Due cieli*, e poi ancora nel *Preludio agli idilli*, e in *Paesi Umbri*), e infine Carducci (l'ode *Alle fonti del Clitunno*, una delle sue *Odi barbare*). Un unico referente geografico, il Clitunno, e la sua rappresentazione attraverso secoli e prospettive letterarie diverse. Antonietta Fantozzi sembra presentare un procedimento critico che sarà poi codificato più di un secolo dopo dal teorico della letteratura Bertrand Westphal: «la multifocalizzazione degli sguardi su uno spazio di riferimento dato»⁸. Uno spazio comune, in questo caso un fiume, e la pluralità degli sguardi che lo hanno rappresentato. Perché allora il testo di Antonietta Fantozzi non è un classico della geocritica, considerata anche nella sua evoluzione geoematica, o nell'ampio territorio degli «spatial literary studies»⁹? Perché, insomma, Antonietta Fantozzi non è un'anticipatrice dello spatial turn? Può sembrare una domanda peregrina, ma in realtà la risposta ci permette di comprendere il cambio di paradigma che rende due approcci apparentemente sovrapponibili così diversi.

Il libro di Antonietta Fantozzi, infatti, è un libro di comparatistica profondamente legato alla comparatistica del tempo. Come scrive Remo Ceserani, commentando la riflessione di Benedetto Croce, gli studi dell'epoca erano «ridotti a pura erudizione positivista (a una specie di 'ragioneria' o di 'registro delle dogane' sull'import-export di temi, stili, generi, personaggi fra l'una

⁷ <<https://longobardinitalia.it/>> (ultimo accesso: 05.08.2025) e <<https://www.unesco.it/it/unesco-vicino-a-te/siti-patrimonio-mondiale/i-longobardi-in-italia-i-luoghi-del-potere/>> (ultimo accesso: 05.08.2025).

⁸ B. Westphal, *Geocritica. Reale finzione spazio*, Roma, Armando, 2009, p. 161.

⁹ Rispettivamente: G. Iacoli, *A verdi lettere. Idee e stili del paesaggio letterario*, Firenze, Franco Cesati, 2016; e R.T. Jr. Tally, *Spatial Literary Studies: Interdisciplinary Approaches to Space, Geography, and the Imagination*, New York, Palgrave Macmillan, 2021.

e l'altra letteratura, l'uno e l'altro grande autore, l'uno e l'altro movimento letterario)»¹⁰. Ma la comparatistica dell'epoca era dominata anche da un altro afflato: quello nazionalistico. Il bilancio delle fonti funzionava come una sorta di segnapunti europeo, che celebrava vittorie e sconfitte delle letterature nazionali nel corso dei secoli. Già nell'edizione del 1865 della fortunata *Storia della letteratura italiana* (la prima edizione era del 1825, continuamente ristampata e accresciuta), Giuseppe Maffei descriveva l'apparizione di Manzoni come una vittoria del romanzo storico italiano su quello inglese di Scott:

mancava ancora all'Italia un altro pregio che aggiungesse nuovo lustro ai fasti delle lettere italiane, la gloria cioè di recare a perfezione il romanzo storico, che tanta celebrità avea acquistato a Gualtiero Scott. [...] Quand'ecco sorse in Italia un ingegno di straordinario ardimento, il quale dando alla luce i Promessi sposi, assicurò alla sua nazione il vanto di prevalere anche nella letteratura moderna¹¹.

Simile concezione della comparatistica emerge non solo nei trionfi italiani, ma anche nei periodi di decadenza (o considerati tali), la cui colpa era spesso ricondotta all'influenza politica e letteraria straniera. Francesco Linguiti sacerdote e professore di letteratura al liceo Tasso di Salerno e autore di un manuale usato nei licei, scriveva che «della quasi generale dominazione forestiera nel Seicento e della oppressione e corruzione congiunte insieme, si sperimentarono i dolorosi effetti nel Settecento in una letteratura imbellettata, fiacca, frivola e bassamente lusinghiera»¹².

Questa visione agonistica ha prodotto una comparatistica molto diversa da quella cui siamo abituati oggi, una comparatistica più attenta a valorizzare una produzione culturale percepita come propria (gli aggettivi possessivi riferiti alla letteratura italiana accompagnano tutte le esposizioni degli autori dei manuali) piuttosto che interessata a comprendere le ibridazioni tra libri. Una comparatistica che, nelle storie letterarie nazionali, specie quelle pensate per la scuola, durerà per tutto il Regno d'Italia¹³. Su questa visione si fonda anche il libro di Antonietta Fantozzi dedicato ai poeti del Clitunno. Qui la ricostruzione critica è finalizzata a una celebrazione del suolo italiano attraverso le parole di tutti gli autori che lo hanno cantato, celebrazione direttamente proporzionale al peso degli autori. Il libro di Antonietta Fantozzi, infatti, si apre con queste parole: «A chi nel Clitunno non vede più che un piccolo fiume [...] sembrerà strano certamente che esista una schiera abbastanza numerosa

¹⁰ R. Ceserani, *La letteratura comparata in Italia, oggi*, «1616: Anuario de Literatura Comparada», n. 9, 1995, pp. 19-31, in partic. 24.

¹¹ G. Maffei, *Storia della letteratura italiana, dall'origine della lingua fino ai nostri giorni*, Venezia, Girolamo Tasso, 1865, p. 224.

¹² F. Linguiti, *Le lettere italiane considerate nella storia*, Salerno, Stab. Tip. Nazionale, 1875, Vol. II, p. 334.

¹³ Marsi, *Il racconto del passato*, cit., pp. 182-198.

di poeti italiani e stranieri, i quali abbiano saputo trarre da esso ispirazioni, qualche volta altamente geniali»¹⁴.

L'autrice si premura poi di commentare i componimenti di ogni scrittore, sottolineando l'importanza che il piccolo fiume umbro assume nella trasfigurazione poetica, dalla rappresentazione «maestosa»¹⁵ compiuta da Virgilio al «soggiorno ameno e pacifico»¹⁶ che vi scorgeva Byron. La sezione conclusiva è interamente dedicata a Carducci: «Ma passiamo ora al massimo fra i poeti del Clitunno, a quello che l'ha celebrato con un'ode di cui l'Umbria va orgogliosa»¹⁷. Questa frase è rivelatrice della ricerca condotta da Fantozzi, e di gran parte della comparatistica dell'epoca: la critica vede nella letteratura uno spazio agonistico in cui competere con le altre nazioni per celebrare il suolo natio. Per questo Antonietta Fantozzi non è una delle fondatrici della geocritica: perché il suo paradigma interpretativo è intimamente nazionalistico; le diverse parole della letteratura non servono per mostrare la costruzione di un luogo da plurime ed eterogenee prospettive, ma sono tutte unitamente appiattite sulla celebrazione di un unico spazio nazionale e regionale. Se la comparatistica, come scrive Eliot, significa «stare da entrambe le parti di uno specchio»¹⁸, Antonietta Fantozzi, come i suoi colleghi dell'epoca, rimane ben salda dal proprio lato, più interessata all'immagine riflessa che a sapere cosa si possa nascondere dietro¹⁹.

Nonostante Antonietta Fantozzi sia figlia della sua epoca, è pur vero che i suoi interessi la portarono spesso ad offrire una visione critica peculiare. Anche in un testo programmaticamente accessibile e celebrativo come la prolusione dedicata a Dante e tenutasi nella Sala del Consiglio comunale in Foligno il 21 ottobre 1921, per cura del Comitato per la commemorazione del sesto Centenario dantesco, emerge tutto l'amore di Fantozzi per la propria terra, fin dalle battute iniziali:

Ecco, io mi parto dalla mia Spello, dall'estremo declivio dell'alto monte che Dante vide e cantò; voi da questa opima pianura fulginate, ove pascolano i candidi buoi che Virgilio 'duca, signore e maestro' celebrò nelle sue Georgiche, e ove Federico Frezzi, epigono non indegno, immaginò il suo *Quadriregio*²⁰.

¹⁴ A. Fantozzi, *I poeti del Clitunno*, Roma, Stabilimento tipografico dell'Opinione, 1896, p. 3.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 7.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 10.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 18.

¹⁸ T.S. Eliot, citato da M. Fusillo, *Introduzione. Passato presente e futuro*, in F. De Cristofaro (ed.), *Letterature comparate*, Roma, Carocci, 2014, pp. 13-31, in partic. p. 13.

¹⁹ Per la geografia nella storiografia ottocentesca si veda S. Marsi, *Gli atlanti della letteratura Italiana dell'Ottocento. Una riflessione sul pensiero geografico nella storiografia letteraria italiana*, «Italian Studies», vol. 76, n. 4, 2021, pp. 479-495.

²⁰ A. Fantozzi, *L'ultimo asilo di Dante*, Siena, Tip. Ed. S. Bernardino, 1921, p. 3.

Inizia così un breve viaggio per l'Italia plasmata attraverso le parole di Dante, mettendo in relazione l'entità geografica e la rappresentazione estetica dantesca. Siamo lontani dalla consapevolezza che «il paesaggio è il modo di vedere il mondo»²¹, dall'idea che «l'artista si appropria del luogo, lo esplora con partecipazione attiva fuori dai tracciati consueti, lo decontestualizza, ne chiarifica le regole, ne inventa altre»²². La connessione tra letteratura e spazio geografico è meramente citazionista, erudita e soprattutto celebrativa: non si cerca il dato geografico nell'opera letteraria perché questa è in grado di narrrarlo in modo nuovo, ma perché la citazione di un dato geografico ne innalza la fama. La letteratura non è (ancora) uno strumento per analizzare la realtà, ma una tromba che ne celebra i nomi. Una controprova è la conferenza del 1924 dedicata a d'Annunzio, in cui Fantozzi critica aspramente la rappresentazione data dal vate in *Le città del silenzio*. Nell'opera, secondo la docente, «non vi è l'Umbria», non vi è il paesaggio, in «una terra che nel paesaggio [...] ha la nota più caratteristica e suggestiva», e Spello è «troppo classica»²³. Fantozzi non cerca di comprendere la rappresentazione dannunziana dello spazio umbro, ma ne critica, non senza un certo coraggio, la versione oscura e poco encomiastica, tanto da giudicare questi scritti come «l'allucinazione di un decadente»²⁴. La scelta di parole è rivelatrice: bollare l'opera come allucinazione significa segnare la distanza tra un orizzonte d'attesa celebrativo (segnato nei *Poeti del Clitunno*, citato anche in apertura) e la poesia cupa di d'Annunzio. Fantozzi non guarda lo spazio geografico come stratificazione di poetiche dissonanti, ma come cassa di risonanza di una bellezza consolidata e in attesa di riconoscimento.

2. L'attività di insegnamento e i contributi alla didattica e alla storiografia

Come abbiamo visto, lo stretto rapporto con l'Umbria ha influito profondamente nel lavoro di Antonietta Fantozzi, portandola su strade che oggi, alla luce dello *spatial turn*, guardiamo con interesse per l'intreccio costante tra letteratura e geografia, realtà e trasfigurazione retorica, nonostante l'innegabile distanza tra i modelli interpretativi che ci separano. Da questo interesse dell'autrice sembra nascere anche un'opera filologica, l'edizione di *Un canzoniere inedito del XV secolo*, che consiste in un commento linguistico, storico e

²¹ D.E. Cosgrove, *Realtà sociali e paesaggio simbolico*, Milano, Unicopli, 1990, p. 33.

²² M. De Fanis, *Geografie letterarie. Il senso del luogo nell'Alto Adriatico*, Roma, Meltemi, 2001, p. 36.

²³ A. Fantozzi, *L'Umbria ne 'Le città del silenzio'*, «Annuario del R. Istituto tecnico R. Bonghi», a. II, 1924/25, pp. 90-98, in partic. pp. 90 e 95.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 98.

stilistico del canzoniere di Nicola da Montefalco, poeta Umbro, trombettiere di Braccio Baglioni, signore di Perugia e Spello nel 1430-1480 circa, il cui codice è contenuto alla Classense di Ravenna²⁵. Si tratta dell'unica opera filologica dell'autrice, e che sembra inserirsi in un quadro di valorizzazione letteraria e culturale dell'area umbra che aveva già prodotto *I poeti del Clitunno*.

Ma oltre a questo interesse geografico, Antonietta Fantozzi ha offerto contributi anche nell'ambito della didattica, facendo tesoro della quotidiana esperienza di insegnamento.

Il primo libro di questa serie è *L'insegnamento della lingua italiana nelle scuole complementari*, edito presso la tipografia Artigianelli di Foligno (ancora un legame con la propria terra). Nonostante si tratti di uno tra le migliaia di testi scolastici ormai dimenticati negli archivi delle biblioteche, ci permette di entrare nell'istruzione dell'epoca, non solo per comprendere le tecniche didattiche, ma soprattutto per cogliere i dibattiti attorno ai quali si confrontavano docenti e intellettuali di inizi Novecento. La saggistica scolastica, a questa altezza, è un genere dove la continuità e l'omologazione sembrano essere valori vincenti rispetto a innovazione e sperimentazione, ma nell'arido alternarsi di esempi ed esercizi, riusciamo comunque a cogliere la voce dell'autrice, che non si esime dal sottolineare storture del sistema educativo. Già dall'introduzione, infatti, Antonietta Fantozzi sottolinea un male cruciale nell'istruzione dell'epoca: il suo valore meramente retorico e astratto.

Quello della retorica sembra essere un male endemico della letteratura e cultura italiana di Otto e Novecento. Con la sua produzione letteraria e il suo impegno in ambito linguistico, Manzoni aveva cercato di «estirpar dalle lettere italiane, o dal cervello dell'Italia, l'antichissimo cancro della retorica»²⁶, ma la scuola, nonostante numerose riforme, rimaneva ancora piuttosto impermeabile ai tentativi di semplificazione della lingua. Fino al 1911, anno di una nuova riforma che rivedrà i programmi scolastici e, tra le altre cose, istituirà anche i licei moderni (fino ad allora era presente solo il classico per chi aveva intenzione di intraprendere la carriera universitaria), si studiavano ancora nel ginnasio e nel primo liceo (cioè il fiore all'occhiello dell'istruzione pubblica italiana) il *Novellino*, i *Fatti di Enea* di frate Guido da Pisa, il *Governo della famiglia* di Alberti, il *Galateo* di Giovanni Della Casa, scritti di Fiorenzuola, scritti di Gozzi, e poi l'*Istoria d'Europa* di Giambullari, *La congiura dei Baroni* di Porzio, alcune parti della *Storia fiorentina* di Varchi, lettere scelte e altre prose di Caro, Gelli, e Giordani²⁷. In un contesto scolastico in cui l'educazione letteraria spesso si sovrapponeva a quella linguistica, e dove l'analfabetismo

²⁵ A. Fantozzi, *Un canzoniere inedito del secolo 15*, Perugia, V. Santucci, 1900.

²⁶ G. Isaia Ascoli, *Proemio all'«Archivio Glottologico Italiano»*, in Id., *Scritti sulla questione della lingua*, C. Grassi (ed.), Torino, Einaudi, 1975, pp. 3-44, in partic. p. 31.

²⁷ La riforma del ministro P. Boselli si legge in «Gazzetta Ufficiale del Regno d'Italia», n. 250, 21 ottobre 1889.

era dilagante, possiamo dunque capire perché il libro di Antonietta Fantozzi si aprisse con un richiamo ad un «più accurato e un più pratico svolgimento allo studio della Lingua Italiana»²⁸. L'istruzione, secondo l'autrice (che non cela riferimenti alla scuola normale femminile in cui insegnava, dunque ricollegando la sua riflessione alla propria esperienza diretta²⁹), non era per niente pratica: le allieve potevano uscire dalla scuola con un'ottima preparazione e ottime valutazioni, ma poi non sarebbero state in grado di stendere una lettera, una relazione. Perciò, afferma la docente, bisogna insegnare alle alunne a «saper disporre ordinatamente, con purezza di lingua e con garbo i propri pensieri, e non tanto nella scuola, questo, quanto nelle comuni relazioni della vita»³⁰. A differenza di molti libri dell'epoca, infarciti di citazioni di teorici e pedagoghi, il punto di partenza della trattazione di Fantozzi è la vita reale, quella fuori dalla scuola, alle esigenze della quale la scuola deve cercare di rispondere. Per questo, quando si sceglie l'antologia e gli autori da far leggere in classe, è necessario scegliere un libro che offra un esempio di «schietta prosa italiana»³¹, e opere dallo «stile facile e piano», dando la preferenza a «buoni autori moderni e contemporanei»³². Quest'ultima affermazione, come abbiamo visto dai programmi per il liceo, è tutt'altro che banale: la scuola dell'epoca prevedeva raramente la lettura di autori contemporanei (che sarebbero stati introdotti solo più avanti, con la riforma fascista della scuola a opera di Giovanni Gentile, nel 1923), privilegiando un baricentro più spostato sul Cinquecento e giungendo al massimo al primo Ottocento (unica eccezione Manzoni). Sebbene dunque le premesse pedagogiche e le indicazioni generali di questo volumetto si muovano all'interno del perimetro legislativo dello stato, alcune indicazioni dell'autrice ne mettono in risalto le storture e le inadeguatezze. Per Antonietta Fantozzi, ogni tecnica di insegnamento si iscrive in una riflessione più ampia sul valore stesso dell'istruzione umanistica nella società e sul ruolo di docente. Quando infatti scrive che «Il miglior modo d'istruire è quello di insegnare il modo d'istruirsi da sé»³³, mostra un'idea di istruzione che fa dello studente il protagonista dell'intero percorso di studi, con le sue capacità di apprendimento proiettate in un futuro oltre la scuola, e non una macchina costretta a memorizzare formule vetuste per inseguire una buona valutazione. Come ha scritto anche più avanti: «Noi insegnanti ci preoccupiamo molto

²⁸ A. Fantozzi, *L'insegnamento della lingua italiana nelle scuole complementari*, Foligno, Tipografia Artigianelli, 1904, p. VII.

²⁹ Esperienza nella scuola testimoniata da un documento del 1902 del Regio Provveditorato agli studi per la provincia di Bologna, per una ispezione nelle classi affidate «alla signa Antonietta Fantozzi per lo insegnamento della lingua italiana nella Scuola Normale Manzolini di questa Città». S. Comes, *Scrittori in cattedra. Ferrari, Capuana, Pirandello, Bertacchi*, Firenze, Olschki, 1976, p. 32.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. VIII.

³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 2.

³² *Ibid.*

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 3.

della scuola e niente della vita»³⁴. Il docente deve essere, per lo studente, un ponte col mondo reale, e non esaurire la sua funzione all'interno delle autoreferenziali mura scolastiche.

Passa qualche anno. Antonietta Fantozzi continua a fare esperienza nella scuola italiana, spostandosi in Umbria (come testimoniano le indicazioni «Perugia» nelle introduzioni dei suoi libri successivi). Qualche anno prima dello scoppio della Prima guerra mondiale, nel 1913, pubblica un lavoro più strutturato (non più le poche paginette dei libri precedenti, ma un libro che nelle edizioni riviste supererà le duecento pagine) con un editore che le garantisce maggiore visibilità: Carabba. Questo volume, *Nozioni di linguistica e letteratura per le scuole medie*, non solo avrà una discreta fortuna ottenendo diverse ristampe (almeno 1913, 1917, 1919), ma accoglie la pluriennale riflessione dell'autrice sulla didattica linguistica e letteraria dell'epoca. Già in apertura, Antonietta Fantozzi sembra aver maturato consapevolezza della propria posizione autonoma e per certi versi anticonvenzionale rispetto alla didattica dell'epoca, quando scrive che quello che ci apprestiamo a leggere è un «libro un po' ribelle»³⁵. Il libro, infatti, si propone di «non omettere nulla di ciò che è prescritto dai programmi, ma farne sinceramente la critica, tutte le volte che i programmi non rispondano agli intendimenti della cultura moderna»³⁶. Dopo anni di esperienza didattica, e dopo numerose pubblicazioni alle spalle, Antonietta Fantozzi dichiara fin da subito la propria avversione nei confronti del componimento. Il componimento era la formula didattica in cui si concretizzava lo studio della lingua e della letteratura italiana: allo studente veniva chiesto di scrivere un saggio in prosa su un argomento scelto dal docente, dimostrando capacità linguistiche, retoriche e letterarie. Nella pratica, era il luogo in cui lo studente si vestiva dei pesanti vestiti della retorica, appresa con fatica sui libri letti in classe, e si lanciava in esposizioni vuote col solo fine di render felice il proprio professore. Come scrive fin dalle prime pagine, presentando il contenuto della propria opera:

Uno speciale capitolo dedicato ai componimenti scolastici ha bisogno di qualche... come dire? Giustificazione.

Perché io ritengo, e sento il dovere di dirlo qui ai miei colleghi, che questa dei componimenti, al modo in cui di solito vengono intesi nelle scuole, sia assolutamente una cattiva strada.

A parte la poca sincerità degli svolgimenti, i plagi più o meno larvati, e talvolta – ahimè! – le trascrizioni fatte passare per invenzioni, questo obbligare gli scolari a scrivere sopra un argomento non sempre ben scelto [...] mi par proprio una tirannia degna d'altri tempi³⁷.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 18.

³⁵ A. Fantozzi, *Nozioni di linguistica e di letteratura per le scuole medie*, Lanciano, Carabba, 1919, p. 1.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 2.

³⁷ Fantozzi, *Nozioni di linguistica e di letteratura per le scuole medie*, cit., p. 4.

Le riserve di Antonietta Fantozzi sono simili a quelle di altri colleghi del tempo. Giuseppe Fraccaroli, critico e classicista, scrisse che la retorica è la «falsificazione e corruzione della lingua, e che le composizioni retoriche che si chiedono nella scuola agli studenti insegnano a scriver male, perché spingono a trattare la lingua non come cosa viva, ma come ‘roba morta e imbalsamata’»³⁸. Qualche anno prima, lo stesso Fraccaroli aveva scritto che i componimenti sono un vero e proprio «danno sociale»³⁹, un «pervertimento morale e pervertimento intellettuale»⁴⁰, perché in queste produzioni la «menzogna si esercita nei domini della ragione», dato che, al fine di ottenere una valutazione positiva, l'alunno è costretto «ad esprimere ciò che non pensa e che non sente»⁴¹. Si tratta di una vera e propria scuola di menzogna, dove ore e ore di didattica sono spesi per insegnare ai nuovi italiani ad esprimersi in una lingua inesistente su argomenti privi di alcuna reale attinenza sociale. E qui ritorna uno dei nodi centrali della riflessione di Antonietta Fantozzi: il rapporto con la realtà, con il mondo fuori dalla scuola. Il tema in classe, infatti, non dovrebbero essere percepito dallo studente come una punizione, ma «come un'occasione di rivelare sé stessi»⁴². Per raggiungere questo scopo, ancor prima della lettura e conoscenza dei classici, è fondamentale l'osservazione, la capacità cioè di «osservare sempre e diligentemente ciò che vi circonda»⁴³. Come è evidente, le facoltà linguistiche dello studente devono essere esercitate in un dominio molto più ampio di quello delimitato dalle mura scolastiche. Per Fantozzi, la scrittura deve essere in primo luogo legata all'individualità dello studente, alla sua esperienza e alla sua capacità immaginativa, svincolandosi dall'anchilosante retorica su cui si chiede di esercitarsi. Anche nella fase di scrittura, come scrive rivolgendosi agli studenti, «abbandonatevi poi fiduciosi alle vostre ispirazioni, e svolgete il tema con sincerità, secondo le vostre opinioni, le vostre cognizioni intorno a quel dato soggetto, non secondo le reminiscenze di passi imparati a memoria sui libri»⁴⁴. L'aggettivo possessivo «vostri» è ripetuto come un refrain, sottolineando come gli studenti debbano riappropriarsi della cultura umanistica, sentirla parte della propria quotidianità, e non come qualcosa da venerare in una teca di vetro all'interno di un museo. Il capitolo, infatti, si chiude con l'invito a non accontentarsi dei «componimenti che vengono assegnati nella scuola, ma di scrivere per vostro conto, anche poche righe, tutte le volte che un'impressione più forte delle altre viene a eccitare la vostra immaginazione»⁴⁵. L'unico modo per far sopravvivere la

³⁸ G. Fraccaroli, *L'educazione nazionale*, Bologna, Zanichelli, 1918, pp. 151-152.

³⁹ Id., *La questione della scuola*, Torino, Fratelli Bocca, 1905, p. 101.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 104.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 96.

⁴² Fantozzi, *Nozioni di linguistica e di letteratura per le scuole medie*, cit., p. 60.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 61.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 62.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 64.

scuola è riuscire a renderla una estensione della vita quotidiana dello studente, e non uno spazio ad essa esclusa.

Se non possiamo sapere quali effetti abbiano avuto queste idee didattiche nella classe di Antonietta Fantozzi, sappiamo però che, a livello nazionale, la retoricità dell'insegnamento linguistico e letterario è prevalsa almeno fino alla fine del fascismo. Nonostante l'enorme cambiamento del regime, concretizzatasi nella riforma Gentile del 1923 e nelle sue numerose e successive revisioni, infatti, le parole di Meneghello, formatosi sotto al fascismo, testimoniano di un mondo dove «in generale non si era nutriti di cose, ma di parole sulle cose»⁴⁶. Neanche il fascismo era riuscito a estirpare il cancro della retorica dalla scuola italiana. «La cultura letteraria», infatti, «non pareva che facesse entrare in qualche parte, ma girare in uno spazio, moto dentro a luogo, tornando sopra le stesse cose. Come vivere in un paese: ma qui non moriva e non nasceva mai nessuno, voglio dire nessuno di nuovo»⁴⁷.

Abbiamo dunque visto come contributo di Antonietta Fantozzi alla didattica non sia privo di posizioni «un po' ribelli», e indicative di una insoddisfazione nei confronti di un'educazione nazionale problematica e lacunosa. Ribelle è anche il contributo fornito da Antonietta Fantozzi alla storiografia letteraria attraverso la stesura di un volume, edito sempre da Carabba, e intitolato *La letteratura italiana: notizie e letture in relazione con le nozioni di linguistica e di letteratura*. I manuali letterari del regno d'Italia, almeno quelli pensati per il liceo, si dividevano in due generi distinti e in qualche modo complementari: le storie letterarie, che riportavano un racconto della storia letteraria nazionale in ordine cronologico, dalle origini fino agli autori viventi, ma senza citazioni di brani esemplari, oppure le antologie, che prevedevano pochissimi cenni storici (o alle volte nessuno), ma che in più volumi raccoglievano i brani rilevanti della tradizione nazionale. Tra i primi si possono ricordare, oltre alla classica *La storia della letteratura italiana* di Francesco De Sanctis, le *Lezioni di letteratura italiana* di Settembrini, e la *Storia della letteratura italiana compendiate ad uso delle scuole secondarie* di Giovanni Antonio Venturi. Tra i secondi almeno *Il manuale della letteratura italiana* di Alessandro D'Ancona e Orazio Bacci, e l'*Antologia della letteratura italiana* di Giuseppe Fanciulli. All'interno di questi due filoni, i manuali andavano poi a convergere, ripetendo scelte simili e in alcuni casi sovrapponibili, sia nella struttura generale che nel canone degli autori scelti. Caso a parte è il *Manuale della letteratura italiana* di Francesco Torraca, che in moltissimi volumi offre sia corpose in-

⁴⁶ M., *Fiori italiani*, in *Opere scelte*, Milano, Mondadori, 2006, pp. 781-964, in partic. p. 811.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 834. Per una ricognizione generale sulla scuola fascista si veda J. Charnitzky, *Fascismo e scuola: La politica scolastica del regime*, Firenze, La Nuova Italia, 1996. Per una ricostruzione della letteratura italiana all'interno della scuola gentiliana si veda invece Marsi, *Il racconto del passato*, cit., pp. 92-130.

troduzioni storiche, sia ampie antologie degli autori più rilevanti⁴⁸. In questo panorama costituito da pochi *best sellers* capaci di attrarre a sé le forme degli altri manuali, ecco che il testo di Antonietta Fantozzi si pone, anche in questo caso, come un «libro un po' ribelle». La *Letteratura italiana*, che conta un solo volume, espone la materia in due sezioni: settantasette pagine di introduzione al disegno complessivo della letteratura, con descrizioni delle correnti letterarie, e circa settecento pagine di brani antologizzati dei più importanti autori. Ed è proprio qui che emerge la novità storiografica di Antonietta Fantozzi, che nessun altro autore replicherà nel secolo e che probabilmente decreterà la sfortuna del testo, che infatti non godrà di alcuna ristampa. Scrive infatti l'autrice che «riguardo all'ordine delle letture, confesso di aver avuto molte incertezze: ché la rigorosa disposizione cronologica, propostami da principio, m'impedisca di avvicinare opere affini, ciò che ho ritenuto indispensabile»⁴⁹. A questo proposito, ha deciso di suddividere la storia letteraria in tre macro-sezioni: letteratura del medioevo, classica, e moderna. Così, all'interno di queste categorie che seguono una scansione cronologica, ha potuto suddividere le opere degli autori in segmenti uniti dall'appartenenza al medesimo genere o tipo di scrittura. Nei tre periodi, infatti, troviamo le macrosezioni dedicate alle forme liriche (alle volte, come nel caso delle origini, suddivise in «laudi», «primi canti d'amore», «il dolce stil novo», «la lirica popolare»), alla poesia narrativa, alle forme drammatiche e alla prosa intellettuale. Si tratta a tutti gli effetti di una storia letteraria per generi in una cornice diacronica segmentata in tre grandi epoche. In questo modo, gli stessi autori si trovano suddivisi in più sezioni, e più che una univoca storia letteraria si ha la sensazione di leggere più storie che si riallacciano l'una all'altra da epoca a epoca. Questa struttura, inoltre, rivoluziona l'impianto storiografico in vigore all'epoca spostando il baricentro del racconto storiografico dall'autore (la formula biografia, poetica, opere è immutata anche nei manuali scolastici di oggi) alle forme letterarie e alle loro evoluzioni. Questo libro documenta il tentativo della critica Fantozzi di uscire dalle gabbie che la diacronia imponeva all'educazione letteraria nazionale, innovando un genere che aveva trovato una codificazione solida e apparentemente immutabile. Fin dalla nascita dello stato unitario, infatti, in Italia, nella scuola secondaria di secondo grado, non si è mai insegnata letteratura, ma storia della letteratura. La conoscenza diacronica della tradizione letteraria

⁴⁸ Per uno studio dei manuali scolastici tra Sette e Ottocento si veda D. Tongiorgi, «Solo scampo è nei classici». *L'antologia di letteratura italiana nella scuola fra Antico Regime e 17 unità nazionale*, Modena, Mucchi, 2009; L. Cantatore, «Scelta, ordinata e annotata». *L'antologia scolastica nel secondo Ottocento e il laboratorio Carducci-Brilli*, Modena, Mucchi, 1999; R. Cremante, S. Santucci (edd.), *Il canone letterario nella scuola dell'Ottocento: antologie e manuali di letteratura italiana*, Bologna, CLUEB, 2009. Per uno studio sistematico dei manuali del Regno d'Italia si veda Marsi, *Il racconto del passato*, cit.

⁴⁹ A. Fantozzi, *La letteratura italiana: notizie e letture in relazione con le nozioni di linguistica e di letteratura*, Lanciano, Carabba, 1917, p. II.

è sempre stata il solco obbligato per raggiungere la maturità. Ogni docente, ogni libro, doveva rispettare questo andamento per potersi collocare correttamente all'interno del perimetro legislativo imposto dal ministero. Eppure, come nel caso di Antonietta Fantozzi, non sono mancate critiche alla struttura storicista, come mostra il caso eclatante del *Manuale* di D'Ancona e Bacci, (ancora più significativo visto il successo clamoroso del volume, la cui fortuna è durata praticamente mezzo secolo), dove i due autori, nella prefazione, rivolgendosi direttamente al Ministro, affermano che «sarebbe meglio capovolgere quest'ordinamento, e cominciare dai moderni per risalire ai più antichi»⁵⁰. Come aveva scritto Antonietta Fantozzi, la conoscenza dei classici è fondamentale, ma le prime letture dovrebbero essere dedicate agli autori moderni, più vicini agli alunni sia storicamente che linguisticamente. Affinché non resti vuoto esercizio retorico, la letteratura deve necessariamente essere calibrata sull'apprendente, sulle sue capacità, sulle sue esigenze, sul mondo in cui abita. Una lezione, questa, rimasta a lungo inascoltata: il libro di Antonietta Fantozzi cadrà nell'oblio, il *Manuale* di D'Ancona e Bacci, nonostante la proposta dei suoi autori, non cambierà le idee dei ministri che si succederanno alla Minerva, visto che anni più tardi Giovanni Gentile, nelle osservazioni pubblicate a margine della sua riforma, scriverà che «L'insegnamento umanistico, senza perdere il suo carattere estetico, deve, perciò, farsi più storico»⁵¹.

Al netto di un'impostazione storiografica peculiare, il testo di Antonietta Fantozzi non riproduce le medesime novità sul piano del canone. Gli autori scelti sono sostanzialmente i classici che potremmo trovare in ogni manuale dell'epoca, con i moderni che si fermano a Carducci e Pascoli (dunque senza includere alcun vivente). Anche le scrittrici non ottengono particolari attenzioni. Le uniche presenti nel suo canone sono le medesime di altri canoni: Santa Caterina da Siena, che compare nella sezione «Le prime forme della prosa intellettuale», assieme alle cronache di Dino Compagni, Giovanni Villani, *La vita di Dante* di Boccaccio; Lucrezia Tornabuoni de' Medici, madre di Lorenzo il Magnifico, autrice della *Lauda del Natale*, nel percorso dedicato alle laudi come più antica forma poetica, assieme a San Francesco, Iacopone da Todi, il beato Giovanni Dominici; Gaspara Stampa, che scrive un Canzoniere di stampo petrarchesco, e che si trova nella sezione «Le Liriche» del periodo che va dal Rinascimento all'Arcadia assieme a Lorenzo il Magnifico, Poliziano, Tasso, Sannazzaro, Michelangelo Buonarroti, Ottavio Rinuccini, Giambattista Marino, Fulvio Testi, Paolo Rolli, Francesco Redi. Ciò dimostra che anche un'autrice consapevole del ruolo della donna (si veda il paragrafo successivo) e pronta a segnalare ingiustizie e storture come Fantozzi, non percepisse l'esigenza di ampliare il canone femminile né nella composizione delle sue autrici

⁵⁰ A. D'Ancona, O. Bacci, *Manuale della letteratura italiana*, Firenze, Barbera, 1904, Vol. I, p. XIII.

⁵¹ «Gazzetta Ufficiale del Regno d'Italia», n. 267, 14 novembre 1923 (supplemento).

né in quella delle opere, che continuano a privilegiare una visione moralistica e moralizzante delle scritture femminili.

Dopo questi contributi alla didattica, Antonietta Fantozzi continua con il suo lavoro di professoressa e con le sue pubblicazioni. L'opera forse più fortunata è la sua edizione delle *Confessioni* di Sant'Agostino, che dimostra la proficua collaborazione con l'editore Carabba, e che sarà stampata nel 1932, e poi ancora nel 1938 e nel 1946. L'intervento di Fantozzi è tutt'altro che eliminare. La critica, infatti, non si limita a scrivere l'introduzione storica e a redigere alcune note esplicative, ma interviene pesantemente sul testo, tagliando intere sezioni in vista di una maggiore leggibilità. Antonietta Fantozzi non si dimostra solo critica e docente, ma diviene qui demiurgo dello spazio mediale, che modifica il testo originario per garantirne una più immediata e ampia diffusione presso il pubblico⁵². *Le confessioni*, infatti, sono private delle complesse riflessioni filosofiche, e diventano una autobiografia che esalta il confronto dell'io con la vita. Sant'Agostino è così sottratto alla specifica comunità di filosofi, accademici, dotti, e teologi, ed è ricondotto a un pubblico ben più ampio, attratto da una versione modernizzante e modernizzata del grande classico⁵³.

La veste da curatrice sembra essere stata l'occasione di portare la grande letteratura oltre i confini scolastici, mettendo in pratica le idee più volte espresse nei suoi testi precedenti.

3. *Il ruolo della donna durante e dopo il primo conflitto mondiale*

Le conferenze hanno svolto un ruolo centrale nell'attività pubblica di Antonietta Fantozzi. Spesso chiamata a celebrare importanti anniversari letterari, la critica ha anche dedicato alcune delle sue parole al ruolo delle donne, specie durante il primo conflitto mondiale. Queste conferenze, trascritte in piccoli e fragili opuscoli, ci permettono di comprendere le posizioni di una donna che

⁵² «Per *spazio mediale* intenderemo, dunque, ogni *medium o format editoriale*, predisposto dall'industria culturale per trasmettere contenuti dal produttore al fruitore, le cui caratteristiche includono aspetti 'fisici' (come il tipo di supporto utilizzato per la trasmissione e il particolare medium predisposto dall'editore) e aspetti legati al ruolo di mediazione (come, ad esempio, la prefigurazione della comunità di fruizione, il modello di ricezione inscritto nel supporto e l'eventuale periodicità prevista dal patto editoriale tra produttore e fruitore)», I. Piazza, S. Martin, *Introduzione*, in I. Piazza, S. Martin (edd.), *Spazio mediale e morfologia della narrazione*, Firenze, Franco Cesati, 2019, p. 9. Il concetto di spazio mediale è stato presentato per la prima volta in I. Piazza, *Lo spazio mediale. Generi letterari tra creatività letteraria e progettazione editoriale: il caso Verga*, Firenze, Franco Cesati, 2018.

⁵³ Un processo editoriale di attualizzazione descritto in I. Piazza, «*Canonici si diventa*». *Mediazione editoriale e canonizzazione nel e del Novecento*, Palermo, Palumbo, 2022, pp. 73-91.

nella sua vita ha saputo coniugare una visione personale e «un po' ribelle» in un saldo perimetro pubblico e istituzionale. Il primo intervento pervenutoci risale al 1915, e riguarda l'entrata dell'Italia nel primo conflitto mondiale. La conferenza si apre con queste osservazioni:

mi sarebbe doloroso di vedervi oggi uscite da queste aule con la clamorosa allegria degli altri anni. Questo affrettato chiudersi delle scuole, in molte delle quali entreranno, tra qualche settimana, i lunghi convogli dei feriti e dei malati, non è preludio, lo sapete bene, al lieto e spensierato riposo delle vacanze, ma è determinato da uno stato di cose eccezionale e gravissimo, il quale impone a tutti nuovi doveri⁵⁴.

L'intervento inizia collegando la situazione delle studentesse con quella della nazione, declinando tutto l'armamentario retorico diffuso nella pubblicistica dell'epoca:

vedere la nostra patria libera tutta, dalle Alpi al mare, riprendere serenamente in mezzo ai popoli europei, anch'essi liberi nelle loro varie nazionalità, la sua alta missione di pace e di civiltà, di quella civiltà di cui Roma fu maestra la mondo intero? Benedetti siano i nostri dolori di oggi, quando ci avranno condotto a questa gioia!⁵⁵

Il dolore è la necessaria catarsi per la gioia del futuro, così come lo saranno i sacrifici dei combattenti, che diverranno martiri della comunità⁵⁶. L'Italia è la patria, diretta discendente della Roma imperiale, civilizzatrice del mondo intero (il medesimo afflato concorrenziale che anima la comparatistica dell'epoca). Ma la patria è anche «madre»⁵⁷, come già era chiamata durante i moti risorgimentali⁵⁸. Questa piena partecipazione alla causa bellica non deve stupire: «Alla propaganda di guerra parteciparono spesso con maggiore entusiasmo proprio le maestre più preparate e consapevoli del valore del proprio lavoro, che si sentirono investite del ruolo di mediatrici della patria verso i ceti più poveri»⁵⁹. Le classi medie, più in generale, erano le uniche per le quali il «patriottismo rappresentasse un quadro di riferimento fondante e identitario»⁶⁰.

⁵⁴ A. Fantozzi, *A le giovinette umbre*, Perugia, Unione Tipografica Cooperativa, 1915, p. 3.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 4.

⁵⁶ Non a caso, al X Congresso della Federazione Nazionale Insegnanti delle Scuole Medie tenutosi al Pisa il 1919, Ernesto Codignola parlava del sacrificio dei soldati a Caporetto come di una «lavacro di sangue» in grado di purificare la nazione intera. E. Codignola, *Per la dignità e libertà della scuola*, Roma, La Voce, 1919, p. 15.

⁵⁷ Fantozzi, *A le giovinette umbre*, cit., p. 4.

⁵⁸ Con una certa continuità retorica dimostrata anche da A.M. Banti, *Sublime madre nostra. La nazione italiana dal Risorgimento al fascismo*, Roma-Bari, Laterza, 2011, pp. 51-145. Anche l'idea che scrittrici chiaramente nazionaliste le figure retoriche siano «ripercorse da una addolorata e convinta emotività» (p. 102) trova in Fantozzi una effettiva esemplarità.

⁵⁹ E. Schiavon, *Dentro la guerra. Le italiane dal 1915 al 1918*, Milano, Mondadori – Le Monnier, 2018, p. 69.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 63.

Anche la rappresentazione dei confini geografici della città (quella geografia tanto cara a Fantozzi) non è documentata con riferimenti reali, ma è rappresentata attraverso la sua codificazione letteraria. Ritroviamo «Trento superba tra i balzi delle Alpi, dove il monumento di Dante aspetta da vent'anni»⁶¹, i versi della poesia Jaufré Rudel di Giosuè Carducci, «Amore di terra lontana, per voi tutto il cuore mi duol!», con cui si richiama ai confini contesi mai conosciuti, eppure così agognati. E poi ancora numerosi versi del Saluto italico, sempre di Carducci, e un'ode navale di d'Annunzio («E tu, lungi, che guardi, che guardi senza posa!»), in un campionario letterario dell'irredentismo italiano del primo Novecento. La memoria letteraria è dunque strumentalmente piegata alla narrazione dello spazio geografico in chiave nazionalistica e revanscista, trasformando lo spazio reale in spazio di conflitto tra le nazioni.

All'interno di questa presentazione del conflitto in chiara forma nazionalistica, però, c'è una parola che ci guida alla comprensione dello «spazio delle donne» nel primo conflitto mondiale (e lo sarà anche della successiva conferenza): dovere. Nello sconvolgimento portato dalla guerra, si aprono per le donne e le ragazze dei nuovi doveri. «Se ora cessa per voi un dovere, quello dello studio, altri ne cominciano da cui non potreste esimervi senza grave colpa. I vostri genitori, i vostri parenti, attendono conforto da voi»⁶². I doveri delle studentesse si realizzano nella sfera domestica. Come scrive poco più avanti: «Siate veramente l'angelo della vostra casa, o carissime, rialzate il coraggio dei vostri cari, diradate le loro preoccupazioni col vostro sorriso, attenuate i loro timori con le vostre speranze, asciugate le loro lacrime coi vostri baci»⁶³. Essendo loro precluso l'accesso alle armi, le donne (ri)trovano il loro spazio all'interno della casa, e il loro ruolo nell'assistenza degli altri. Nell'argomentazione dell'autrice, le donne sembrano pronte a questo scopo, sia perché altri ruoli sono loro preclusi («non altro possiamo e sappiamo dare alla patria, noi, ma le nostre lacrime silenziose, noi le deponiamo ai piedi di un altare, le offriamo a Dio in voto solenne, perché protegga l'Italia»⁶⁴), sia perché le giovinette ombre hanno già dimostrato di esserne capaci («Oh se sapeste quanta virtù consolatrice è in voi, nella vostra giovinezza! Quante volte, nei giorni più dolorosi della mia vita, io sono venuta qui tra voi col pianto negli occhi e nel cuore la tristezza più profonda, e ne sono uscita rasserenata, sentendomi più forte e più buona»⁶⁵). Questa chiusura domestica, però, agli occhi di Fantozzi non è un'abdicazione alle sorti della nazione, quanto una presa di coscienza del proprio ruolo. E anzi, proprio lì, nelle strette mura di casa, si può partecipare alle sorti collettive: «Pensate che da questa tranquillità delle famiglie risulta la

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p. 6.

⁶² *Ibid.*, p. 8.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, p. 9.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 5.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 9.

serena fiducia della nazione, che è una delle armi più forti, o la più forte, anzi, per conseguire la vittoria. Così voi potete servire la patria, o giovinette»⁶⁶. La serenità familiare si irradia a tutta la nazione, come da cellule a un organismo, mostrando come le piccole azioni quotidiane possano modificare i destini nazionali. Insomma: «molte donne lavoravano per la loro indipendenza, ma molte di più, come in passato, nell'interesse delle loro famiglie»⁶⁷.

Ma i compiti delle giovinette vanno oltre all'accudimento familiare. Fantozzi, infatti, si rivolge poi «particolarmente [a] quelle di voi che andranno ora in campagna, o nei paeselli lontani dalla città, dove le voci sparse ad arte dai nostri nemici hanno fatto dubitare per un momento della necessità e della giustizia di questa guerra», chiedendo di spiegare i motivi del conflitto, e la necessità della guerra a chi non aveva i mezzi per comprenderli, rendendo le studentesse delle ambasciatrici e mediatrici della regione di stato dotate degli strumenti appresi nella scuola. Qui Fantozzi propone una visione reticolare della società, dove ciascuno può adempiere al proprio ruolo anche nelle semplici relazioni quotidiane. Alle studentesse è infine chiesto di pregare per la patria, e di aggiungere l'aiuto materiale a quello morale: «le vostre mani, che una brava e buona insegnante ha reso esperte a fare tante belle cose, siano pronte anche ora a lavorare per i nostri soldati, a cucire i vestitini per i poveri piccini a cui il babbo non può comperarne, per cui la mamma non ha tempo di occuparsi»⁶⁸. Per Fantozzi l'istruzione scolastica connette le studentesse al mondo esterno: lo spazio della guerra è raccontato attraverso gli scrittori imparati a scuola, i nuovi compiti prendono il posto di quelli scolastici, le abilità consolatorie che le studentesse saranno chiamate a dimostrare sono già state dimostrate proprio all'interno della classe, nei confronti della docente, e le mani che useranno per carezzare e per cucire sono già state istruite nelle lezioni. Per Fantozzi la scuola è il luogo in cui preparare lo studente al mondo esterno, anche e soprattutto se questo sta per bruciare.

Questa visione è replicata nel secondo opuscolo, e programmaticamente intitolato *I doveri della donna, e specialmente della maestra, durante la guerra*, un Discorso tenuto alle alunne licenziande della R. Scuola Normale di Perugia, il 18 giugno 1918. In questo intervento, Fantozzi analizza alcune specifiche questioni legate alla guerra ormai presente nella vita degli italiani, e non rinuncia ad alcune posizioni critiche: «tutti i problemi della resistenza interna, e alcuni anche della resistenza militare, si trovano strettamente connessi con l'opera della donna»⁶⁹. Per questo la donna, sebbene non partecipi diretta-

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*

⁶⁷ G. Bock, *Le donne nella storia europea*, Bari, Laterza, 2000, p. 297.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 11.

⁶⁹ A. Fantozzi, *I doveri della donna, e specialmente della maestra, durante la guerra: discorso tenuto alle alunne licenziande della r. Scuola Normale di Perugia, il 18 giugno 1918*, Perugia, Unione Tipografica Cooperativa, 1918, p. 4.

mente alle attività militari, ha un ruolo fondamentale per le sorti della nazione, e porta su di sé anche le colpe per i fallimenti. Uno dei problemi endemici dell'esercito, ad esempio, è quello «degli imboscati», i disertori, «queste pavidie figure di Don Abbondio senza veste talare»⁷⁰. Ebbene secondo Fantozzi, «se all'atto della dichiarazione di guerra tutte le donne avessero compreso il loro dovere, tutti gli uomini, siatene certi, avrebbero compiuto il loro»⁷¹. In una società in cui le donne si fanno carico dei destini della comunità nazionale, anche gli uomini sono costretti a fare lo stesso. Non secondaria è la lotta al «disfattismo», cioè al pessimismo, all'invocazione della pace per porre fine alle sofferenze, alle recriminazioni per i propri dolori dimenticando quelli degli altri concittadini. Contro queste forme di desolazione, le ascoltatrici sono invitate a combattere con tutte le energie che fornisce loro la giovinezza⁷².

Come nel precedente intervento, anche qui il sostegno morale, fondamentale per tenere unita la nazione, deve essere accompagnato a quello materiale: «Dovunque, negli uffici e nei laboratori, negli asili e negli ospedali, c'è tanto bisogno di aiuto! Non vogliate mai essere, voi così buone e fiere, le imboscate della guerra; non aspettate che una legge v'imponga di prestare il vostro contributo di lavoro ma, continuando quello che con tanto slancio avete fatto nella scuola, offritelo spontaneamente»⁷³. La donna è chiamata ad offrirsi come lavoratrice per una nazione improvvisamente affamata di lavoro ma povera di braccia. Quando gli uomini sono chiamati al fronte, infatti, «le donne combattono un'altra guerra non meno faticosa ed estenuante»⁷⁴. Il costante richiamo al lavoro e alla partecipazione ai destini nazionali dimostra in Fantozzi la piena consapevolezza del momento della nazione e del genere femminile: questo, infatti, è il momento in cui le donne «assumono consapevolezza del valore sociale' delle loro attività e «si sentono partecipi della vita nazionale»⁷⁵. Questo impegno femminile, «talmente vasto da sfuggire ad ogni possibilità di conoscerne le reali dimensioni e il complesso delle attività»⁷⁶, si concretizzò nella preparazione e sistemazione di indumenti per i militari al fronte, nell'assistenza di minori e famiglie in difficoltà, nell'invio di cartoline patriottiche e immagini sacre ai soldati, e, più in generale, nella partecipazione ai comitati di assistenza civile, dove le cittadine cercavano di coordinarsi per rispondere alle nuove esigenze aperte dal conflitto.

Nella parte conclusiva del suo discorso, infine, Antonietta Fantozzi si rivolge alle future maestre. In questa sezione, non solo comprendiamo l'enorme

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 5.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, p. 6.

⁷² *Ibid.*, pp. 8-14.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, p. 15.

⁷⁴ C. Galimberti, *Non si può pensare la guerra senza le donne*, in *Donne nella grande guerra*, Bologna, il Mulino, 2014, p. 17.

⁷⁵ A. Molinari, *Una patria per le donne*, Bologna, il Mulino, 2014, p. 143.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*

contributo femminile (spesso dimenticato) alla costituzione della comunità nazionale, ma ritroviamo l'idea di Fantozzi per una scuola che sappia davvero formare lo spirito dei futuri cittadini. Le insegnanti, infatti, non devono essere come quelle «povere farfallette, uscite di fresco dall'umile casuccia paterna o dal severo collegio, dove, come tristi crisalidi, hanno passato la loro adolescenza»⁷⁷, e che una volta sui banchi di scuola si limitano a impartire la lezione senza alcun ardore. Come esorta più avanti, infatti: «guidate i vostri alunni a divenire cittadini coscienti, non fatene delle piccole macchine parlanti. E non rediate di aver adempiuto tutto il vostro dovere, quando, dopo quattro o cinque ore di lezione, uscite dalla scuola. È allora che comincia il vostro compito più delicato»⁷⁸. Le maestre non esauriscono il loro compito nella scuola, ma sono parte di una più ampia comunità, che sono chiamate ad arricchire con il loro contributo quotidiano. Fantozzi sembra essere pienamente consapevole che la guerra, con le sue nuove esigenze lavorative, aveva garantito «per la prima volta, una condizione, seppur provvisoria, di 'cittadinanza'»⁷⁹ alle donne. Una cittadinanza che è realizzata come una chiamata alle armi, tanto che potrebbe convincerci a estendere il concetto di «coraggio» spesso applicato unicamente ai combattenti al fronte⁸⁰, e che sembra realizzare la fusione tra mondo scolastico e mondo extrascolastico che ha sempre inseguito fin dalle sue prime pubblicazioni dedicate all'insegnamento.

Uscita dalla Prima guerra mondiale, l'Italia cambia; e con essa cambia anche Antonietta Fantozzi. Per una docente istruita, custode della tradizione letteraria, e sincera mante della patria, tanto da abbracciare con convinzione la retorica nazionalistica, il fascismo è una provvidenziale rivoluzione.

E nulla di più nobile, di più bello io saprei ricordarvi intorno al fascismo, di quelle schiere giovanissime che vedevamo quotidianamente percorrere le vie della città, sfidando le rappresaglie dei sovversivi, cantando ad alta voce i proibiti inni della patria, levando alto il tricolore, imponendolo nuovamente all'ammirazione, al rispetto, alla reverenza⁸¹.

Il fascismo, come dimostra questa commemorazione per la marcia su Roma tenuta da Fantozzi nell'istituto tecnico Bonghi di Assisi, ha disperso i vili, gli imboscati, gli sciagurati, come vengono chiamati nelle stesse pagine, riportando per le vie della città e dell'Italia tutta l'amore per la patria⁸². Ma se questa breve prolusione ci racconta della forte identificazione che una italiana istruita

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 18.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 18-19.

⁷⁹ Molinari, *Una patria*, cit., p. 144.

⁸⁰ Come suggerisce A. Hobbs, *Women, Heroism and the First World War*, in F.G. Pedriali, C. Savettieri (edd.), *Mobilizing Cultural Identities in the First World War: history. Representations and memory*, Cham, Palgrave Macmillan, 2020, pp. 127-148.

⁸¹ A. Fantozzi, *XXVIII Ottobre MCMXXII*, in «Annuario del R. Istituto tecnico R. Bonghi», 1924/25, pp. 52-55, in partic. pp. 54-55.

⁸² L'attività di promozione fascista di Fantozzi è ricordata anche da A. Mencarelli, *Inqua-*

poteva trovare nel fascismo, è la successiva che ci racconta una storia d'Italia in parte ancora inedita.

Nel 1928, Antonietta Fantozzi tiene una conferenza, poi pubblicata come opuscolo, dedicato all'istituzione di una nuova Casa Rifugio a Perugia per le donne liberate dal carcere che non hanno famiglia o un posto sicuro dove andare. Lo stesso opuscolo sembra contribuire alla causa, recando sulla prima pagina la scritta «Offerta per la Casa Rifugio 3 L.»⁸³. Questo discorso, dunque, getta una luce, per quanto parziale, sulla condizione carceraria durante il fascismo, «un territorio relativamente inesplorato»⁸⁴, soprattutto per quanto riguarda la condizione femminile.

Il carcere femminile di Perugia, al tempo, era il più grande e funzionale d'Italia (gli altri due erano Venezia e Terni)⁸⁵. Qui, Fantozzi aveva avuto l'occasione di confrontarsi direttamente con le detenute, tenendovi delle lezioni su Dante, e su alcuni poeti contemporanei come Pascoli. Questo velo letterario, che spesso è il prisma attraverso il quale Fantozzi osserva e descrive la realtà, permette all'autrice di giudicare la condizione femminile in carcere come drammatica, peggiore per pena e corruzione del tempo di Dante. Il discorso prende le mosse dai reati commessi dalle detenute. Ricalcando l'idea di Cesare Lombroso, secondo il quale «la criminalità», in alcune delinquenti, «è più intensa e perversa che quella maschile»⁸⁶, Fantozzi sostiene che «la delinquenza femminile [...] è talvolta superiore, per raffinata crudeltà, a quella dell'uomo»⁸⁷. Un'altra idea prettamente lombrosiana, che Fantozzi sembra sposare, è l'inferiorità della donna, la sua debolezza, che è anche la causa della sua caduta nel crimine: «la naturale debolezza rende la donna più proclive alla caduta»⁸⁸. Eppure, ella compie un passo ulteriore rispetto alla criminologia lombrosiana, declinando l'inferiorità biologica nella sfera sociale, e dimostrando come le colpe femminili siano in gran parte riconducibili a crimini maschili, dato che le delinquenti, solitamente,

drati e fedeli: educazione e fascismo in Umbria nei documenti scolastici, Napoli, Edizioni scientifiche italiane, 1996, pp. 44-45.

⁸³ A. Fantozzi, *Dal carcere alla libertà: conferenza tenuta il 15 aprile 1928 a beneficio della istituenda Casa Rifugio per le liberate senza famiglia*, Perugia, G. Donnini – Tipografia della rivoluzione fascista, 1928, p. 1.

⁸⁴ M. Gibson, *Le prigioni italiane nell'età del positivismo*, Roma, Vella, 2022, p. 17. Tra le poche eccezioni G. Tessitore, *Carcere e fascistizzazione. Analisi di un modello totalizzante*, Milano, FrancoAngeli, 2005; e gli studi dedicati ai dissidenti politici, I. Poerio, *A scuola di dissenso. Storie di resistenza al confino di polizia (1926-43)*, Roma, Carocci, 2016, e L. Mariani, *Quelle dell'idea. Storie di detenute politiche 1927-1948*, Bari, De Donato, 1982.

⁸⁵ Come ricorda la stessa Fantozzi nel suo discorso, ma si vedano anche Mariani, *Quelle dell'idea. Storie di detenute politiche 1927-1948*, cit., p. 13; Gibson, *Le prigioni italiane nell'età del positivismo*, cit., pp. 166-167.

⁸⁶ C. Lombroso, G. Ferrero, *La donna delinquente, la prostituta, e la donna normale*, Milano, Et al, 2009, p. 436.

⁸⁷ Fantozzi, *Dal carcere alla libertà*, cit., p. 6.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*

o provengono da quella sciagurata categoria che gli uomini sfruttano o disprezzano, o sono amanti di uomini che le hanno trascinate al delitto, o sono figlie di uomini che non solo non le hanno riconosciute come tali, ma non hanno nemmeno dubitato di avere una qualsiasi responsabilità di fronte ad esse⁸⁹.

Questa osservazione tocca uno dei nervi scoperti della elaborazione lombrosiana. Se, infatti, la donna è inferiore all'uomo, come Lombroso sostiene e Fantozzi acconsente, sia biologicamente che nella vita di tutti i giorni, non dovranno le colpe femminili essere condivise con chi sulle donne impone quotidianamente il suo magistero? Fantozzi ne è certa, tanto che sottolinea come, di fronte ad un crimine femminile, si dovrebbe esclamare: «cherchez l'homme»⁹⁰.

Dopo una ricognizione dei crimini femminili più consueti, dalla prostituzione, che per le donne è «altro sbocco ai loro istinti malvagi»⁹¹, ai furti, dettati da vizi prettamente femminili quali l'invidia e la vanità, l'autrice si sofferma sulla terribile situazione carceraria, sottolineando come una volta che entra nel penitenziario, la donna «cessa di essere donna per diventare un numero di matricola di quel nuovo cimitero»⁹². Quando si spoglia della faticosa retorica d'antan, Antonietta Fantozzi riesce a condensare in semplici parole sfide e drammi tutt'oggi irrisolti. Le poche pagine che seguono sono occupate infatti dalle rigide condizioni di detenzione, che portano spesso alla de-umanizzazione degli individui. Ma, forse, il momento più tragico, che dimostra il baratro umano che si spalanca nelle vite delle detenute, è il giorno della liberazione: molte, infatti, non avendo un luogo dove andare, una famiglia cui fare ritorno, o scompaiono nel nulla, o si suicidano, o rubano e nuovamente fanno ritorno in carcere⁹³. Per molte donne la liberazione «o è il principio d'una nuova pena o l'avviamento a una nuova colpa»⁹⁴. Per questo, come sottolinea Fantozzi, è fondamentale la creazione della nuova Casa Rifugio, per dare ricovero a chi non ha niente, e nessun posto dove andare. Questa piccola microstoria perugina, ci racconta le vite di donne dimenticate, che hanno affrontato momenti tragici come la Prima guerra mondiale e la carcerazione organizzandosi in una rete di relazioni e mutuo supporto.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 7.

⁹² *Ibid.*, p. 11. Questa formula sembra riecheggiare un discorso di Turati alla camera del 1904, dove le carceri erano chiamati i «cimiteri dei vivi», F. Turati, *I cimiteri dei vivi*, Discorso sul bilancio degli Interni, pronunciato alla Camera dei deputati, il 18 marzo 1904.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, pp. 19-22.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 20.

Conclusioni

Il forte legame con la propria terra e con la comunità cittadina, così come aveva spinto alla prima opera critica, *I poeti del Clitunno*, così conduce all'ultimo gesto: alla morte, infatti, Antonietta Fantozzi dona la propria abitazione, Villa Fantozzi, alla regina Elena di Savoia, affinché sia destinata ai poveri e ai bisognosi della città di Spello. Da qui, la Villa passa al comune, che dopo alcuni lavori l'ha convertita in Residenza Protetta per anziani, attiva dal 2001⁹⁵. Si chiude così un'esistenza al servizio della propria terra.

L'itinerario biografico e intellettuale di Antonietta Fantozzi ci ha permesso di entrare nel vivo della cultura italiana del primo Novecento, tra il ruolo della scuola e quello delle donne. Le posizioni di Fantozzi su quest'ultimo aspetto non sono certo quelle di una femminista ante litteram, tutt'altro. Eppure, proprio per questo la sua esperienza è così significativa: perché ci permette di comprendere le forme di rappresentazione e auto-rappresentazione di una insegnante incardinata nella propria epoca, che cerca di trovare per le donne un ruolo nazionale nello stretto spazio domestico in cui erano state recluse.

⁹⁵ S. Guiducci, *Guida turistica di Spello: itinerari fra storia arte natura*, Spello, Comune, Assessorato al turismo, 2009, p. 231.

*Sources
and Documents*



Fonti
e Documenti

Geografia e storia dell'insegnamento della Storia dell'Arte nelle Accademie e Istituti di Belle Arti dell'Italia unita (1861-1943)*

Roberto Sani
Department of Education,
Cultural Heritage and Tourism
University of Macerata (Italy)
roberto.sani@unimc.it

Geography and history of the teaching of Art History in the Academies and Fine Arts Institutes of united Italy

ABSTRACT: Based on a wide and varied range of documentation, the Author explores the role played by the teaching of Art History in the curricula and study programs of the “governmental” or state Fine Arts Academies in the peninsula during the period between national unification (1861) and the Second World War. The Author focuses in particular on the presence or absence of this subject, on regulations and academic rules, and on the characteristics and provisions (title, curricular space etc.) adopted by each Academy in this regard. The appendices reconstruct a mapping of the holders of Art History teaching in the different Fine Arts Academies of the peninsula for the period examined.

EET/TEE KEYWORDS: History of Education; School Teaching of History of Art; Academies and Institutes of Fine Arts; Italy; Kingdom of Italy (1861-1943); XIX-XX Centuries.

* Sono particolarmente riconoscente alla dott.ssa Claudia Pierangeli, bibliotecaria del Dipartimento di Scienze della Formazione, dei Beni Culturali e del Turismo dell'Università degli Studi di Macerata e alle dott.sse Cettina Lovascio, Manuela Cervigni e Michela Ficcidente, funzionarie dell'Ufficio Servizi Interbibliotecari ILL/DD del medesimo Ateneo per il prezioso e competente supporto fornito alle mie ricerche. Un ringraziamento particolare desidero anche rivolgere alla prof.ssa Maria Battistini, docente referente dell'Archivio dell'Accademia di Belle Arti di Bologna, e al dott. Daniele Mazzolai, responsabile dell'Archivio Storico dell'Accademia di Belle Arti di Firenze, i quali, con competenza e squisita cortesia, hanno reso possibile ed agevolato in tutti i modi le mie ricerche archivistiche.

«Sarebbe, io penso, utilissimo che nelle Accademie vi fossero apposite cattedre nelle quali s'insegnasse la storia applicata direttamente alla pittura e scultura. Il seguente sarebbe, se non erro, il metodo da preferirsi. In poche lezioni dovrebbero indicare le più importanti epoche della storia, specialmente italiana; perché intorno agli avvenimenti di questa bella quanto infelice patria, bramerei che ponessero tutti i lor pensieri gli artisti» (Pietro Estense Selvatico, *Sull'educazione del pittore storico odierno italiano*, Padova, coi tipi del Seminario, 1842, p. 314).

Premessa

L'insegnamento della *Storia dell'arte* nelle scuole dell'Italia unita ha conosciuto, in questi ultimi anni, una crescente e sistematica attenzione da parte della storiografia. Dopo gli studi pionieristici avviati da Giacomo Agosti, Massimo Ferretti, Elena Franchi, Simonetta Nicolini e Irene Baldriga¹, e dell'importante raccolta di saggi dati alle stampe nel 2003 nel fascicolo monografico della rivista «Ricerche di Storia dell'Arte», curato dallo stesso Massimo Ferretti e intitolato *La storia dell'arte nella scuola italiana. Storia, strumenti, prospettive*², le organiche e documentate ricerche condotte, fra gli altri, da Susanne Adina Meyer e Roberto Sani hanno fornito un contributo di primaria importanza all'approfondimento del tema³.

¹ Si vedano ad esempio: G. Agosti, *La nascita della storia dell'arte in Italia. Adolfo Venturi: dal museo all'università 1880-1940*, Venezia, Marsilio, 1996; M. Ferretti, *L'insegnamento della Storia dell'arte e la formazione degli insegnanti*, in L. Branchesi, E. Crispolti, M. Dalai Emiliani (edd.), *Arteinformazione. L'identità italiana per l'Europa*, Roma, Meridiana Libri, 2001, pp. 95-100; E. Franchi, *Dalle cattedre ambulanti all'insegnamento ufficiale: l'ingresso della storia dell'arte nei licei*, «Ricerche di Storia dell'arte», vol. 28, n. 79, 2003, pp. 5-20; S. Nicolini, *Stefano Bottari e l'insegnamento della storia dell'arte nella scuola italiana (con un'appendice di tre lettere di Carlo Ludovico Ragghianti)*, «Predella. Journal of Visual Arts», vol. 13, n. 33, 2013, pp. 279-296.

² M. Ferretti (ed.), *La storia dell'arte nella scuola italiana. Storia, strumenti, prospettive*, «Ricerche di Storia dell'Arte», vol. 28, n. 79, 2003 (con contributi di E. Franchi, S. Nicolini, M. Ferretti, M. Mignini, C. Stoppani, A. Rizzi, M. Dalai Emiliani e F. Federici).

³ Cfr. S.A. Meyer, R. Sani, *Mary e le altre. Le allieve di Adolfo Venturi e le origini dell'insegnamento scolastico della Storia dell'Arte nell'Italia fascista (1922-1943)*, in E. Carrara, P. Dragoni (edd.), *Le donne storiche dell'arte tra tutela, ricerca e valorizzazione*, «Il Capitale Culturale», Supplementi n. XIII, 2022, pp. 89-101; S.A. Meyer (ed.), *La storia dell'arte tra i banchi di scuola. L'insegnamento storico-artistico nelle scuole secondarie italiane tra Otto e Novecento*, «Il Capitale Culturale», vol. XXIV, 2021, pp. 13-92; R. Sani, *La Storia dell'Arte come disciplina scolastica. Dal primo Novecento al secondo dopoguerra*, Macerata, eum, 2022; e S.A. Meyer, *Cenerentola a scuola. Il dibattito sull'insegnamento della storia dell'arte nei licei (1900-1943)*, Macerata, eum, 2023; S.A. Meyer, R. Sani, *La pubblicazione del manuale L'Arte italiana. Disegno storico (1924) e il progetto di una collana di monografie storico-artistiche per le scuole italiane nel carteggio tra Adolfo Venturi e la Casa Editrice Zanichelli di Bologna (1922-1931)*, «History of Education & Children's Literature», vol. XIX, n. 2, 2024, pp. 331-391; S.A. Meyer, R. Sani, «*Fare le nozze con i fichi secchi*». *L'insegnamento scolastico della Storia dell'Arte in*

Assai meno studiate, e per certi versi ancora del tutto ignorate, risultano essere, viceversa, le vicende che hanno contrassegnato, negli ultimi due secoli, l'insegnamento della stessa *Storia dell'arte* nelle Accademie di Belle Arti della penisola, in merito alle quali, oltre a qualche sparso contributo accolto negli atti di convegni di studi dedicati alla più generale storia delle Accademie⁴, disponiamo solamente dei pionieristici e preziosi saggi raccolti nel fascicolo monografico della già ricordata rivista «Ricerche di Storia dell'Arte», edito nel 2019 a cura di Alexander Auf der Heyde e intitolato *La storia dell'arte nelle Accademie di Belle Arti italiane*, il quale peraltro si concentra necessariamente solo su talune tra le principali istituzioni d'istruzione artistica superiore fornendo una serie di spunti interessanti relativamente a taluni momenti e a singole figure di studiosi e docenti della disciplina⁵; nonché degli atti del recente e importante convegno internazionale di studi sul tema *Storia dell'arte e Accademie di Belle Arti: origini, sviluppi, prospettive*, svoltosi presso l'Accademia di Belle Arti di Firenze il 12-13 novembre 2025 a cura di Gerardo de Simone e Cristina Frulli⁶.

Un contributo decisamente modesto alla ricostruzione del ruolo esercitato dall'insegnamento di una disciplina come la *Storia dell'arte* è quello offerto dalle ricostruzioni storiche delle origini e dell'operato delle singole Accademie di Belle Arti date alle stampe nel corso dell'Ottocento in occasione della celebrazione delle Esposizioni universali o di altri eventi di carattere internaziona-

Italia nei carteggi di Adolfo Venturi con alcune sue allieve (1923-1941), prefazione di O. Rossi Pinelli, Roma, Studium, 2026.

⁴ A puro titolo esemplificativo segnaliamo: G. Bindi, G. Pozzi (edd.), *L'Accademia oltre l'Accademia. Atti del Convegno «Formazione, conservazione e comunicazione dell'arte» – Firenze, Accademia di Belle Arti, 14-16 marzo 2007*, Firenze, Regione Toscana, Accademia di Belle Arti, 2009; e C. Frulli, F. Petrucci (edd.), *L'Accademia di Belle Arti di Firenze negli anni di Firenze capitale 1865-1870. Arte e società negli anni di Firenze capitale: l'insegnamento accademico e i salotti dell'aristocrazia. Atti del Convegno di studi, Firenze, Accademia di Belle Arti, 26 e 27 novembre 2015*, Firenze, Regione Toscana, Consiglio regionale, 2017.

⁵ A. Auf der Heyde (ed.), *La Storia dell'Arte nelle Accademie di Belle Arti italiane tra '800 e '900. Docenti, programmi, materiali didattici*, «Ricerche di Storia dell'Arte», vol. 44, n. 128, 2019, (con contributi di F. Valli, A. Auf der Heyde, C. Frulli, S. Morachioli e M. Marafon Pecoraro). Proprio al fine di colmare, almeno in parte, la grave lacuna di studi e ricerche qui segnalata, mentre scriviamo questo articolo è in preparazione, a cura di Gerardo De Simone e Cristina Frulli, il Convegno internazionale di studi sul tema *Storia dell'arte e Accademie di Belle Arti: origini, sviluppi, prospettive*, che si celebrerà a Firenze, presso la locale Accademia di Belle arti e presso Palazzo Medici Riccardi, il 12 e 13 novembre 2025 e vedrà la partecipazione di un ampio numero di studiosi italiani e stranieri.

⁶ Se ne vedano gli atti attualmente in corso di stampa in un fascicolo monografico della rivista scientifica internazionale «Predella. Journal of Visual Arts», la cui uscita è prevista per il giugno 2026.

le⁷, e poi ancora, nel corso degli anni Quaranta del XX secolo⁸, su sollecitazione del ministro dell'Educazione Nazionale Giuseppe Bottai⁹.

Il carattere necessariamente generalista e non scientifico di tali pubblicazioni, finalizzate ad assolvere una funzione essenzialmente informativa nel primo caso, e a rivestire un ruolo squisitamente propagandistico nel secondo, nonché il ricorso parziale e non sistematico, da parte dei relativi autori, alle fonti e alla documentazione d'archivio, rendono tali pubblicazioni poco o nulla utili al nostro scopo. Non a caso, la maggior parte di esse non contiene riferimenti specifici e solo alcune dedicano poche righe, assai generiche, al ruolo esercitato da tale disciplina negli ordinamenti e piani di studio delle varie Accademie e alla biografia e all'operato dei titolari della stessa.

⁷ Si vedano al riguardo: E. Panzacchi, *Brevi cenni storici intorno alla R. accademia di Belle Arti in Bologna*, Bologna, Società Tipografica dei Compositori, 1873; A. Gatti, *Notizie storiche intorno alla R. Accademia di Belle Arti in Bologna*, Bologna, Stabilimento Tipografico Succ. Monti, 1896; E. Lazzoni, *Carrara e la sua Accademia di Belle Arti. Riassunto storico*, Pisa, Fratelli Nistri, 1869; O. Raggi, *Della R. Accademia di belle arti di Carrara. Memoria di Oreste Raggi per la grande Esposizione di Vienna del 1873*, Roma, Tipografia di E. Sinimberghi, 1873; C.J. Cavallucci, *Notizie storiche intorno alla R. Accademia delle Arti del Disegno in Firenze*, Firenze, Tipografia del Vocabolario, 1873; E. Ridolfi, *Relazione storica sul R. Istituto di Belle Arti di Lucca per l'esposizione universale di Vienna del 1873*, Lucca, B. Canovetti, 1872; A. Caimi, *L'Accademia di Belle Arti in Milano, sua origine, suo incremento e suo stato attuale*, Milano, coi tipi di A. Lombardi, 1873; F. Asioli, *Relazione sulla R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Modena, fatta a richiesta della R. Commissione italiana per la Esposizione di Vienna del 1873*, Modena, Tipografia di C. Vincenzi, 1873; *Relazione sulle origini e riforme diverse del R. Istituto di Belle Arti di Napoli*, Napoli, Tipografia Italiana, 1872; P. Martini, *La R. Accademia Parmense di Belle Arti*, Parma, Tipografia di G. Ferrari e Figli, 1873; R. Rombelli, *Brevi notizie storiche circa l'Accademia romana di San Luca*, Roma, Tipografia Romana, 1873; *Relazione storica intorno alla R. Accademia Albertina di Belle Arti in Torino, dettata dal segretario Carlo Felice Biscarra, a richiesta della Commissione reale italiana per l'Esposizione internazionale di Vienna*, 1873, Torino, Tipografia V. Bona, 1873; A. Dall'Acqua Giusti, *L'Accademia di Belle Arti di Venezia. Relazione storica*, Venezia, Tipografia del Commercio, 1873.

⁸ Cfr. A. Scarzella, A. Bizzarri, *La R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Apuania Carrara*, Firenze, Le Monnier, 1941; G. Lipparini, *La R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Bologna*, Firenze, Le Monnier, 1941; L. Biagi, *La R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Firenze*, Firenze, Le Monnier, 1941; E. Tea, *L'Accademia di Belle Arti a Brera, Milano*, Firenze, Le Monnier, 1941; F. Meli, *La R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Palermo*, Firenze, Le Monnier, 1941; E. Bassi, *La R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Venezia*, Firenze, Le Monnier, 1941; F. Vagnetti, *La R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Roma*, Firenze, Le Monnier, 1943; P. Rotondi, *Il R. Istituto di Belle Arti delle Marche in Urbino*, Firenze, Le Monnier, 1943; C. Lorenzetti, *L'Accademia di Belle Arti di Napoli: 1752-1952*, Firenze, Le Monnier, 1953; G. Cecchini, *L'Accademia di Belle Arti di Perugia*, Firenze, Le Monnier, 1954.

⁹ Com'è noto, il ministro Bottai con una circolare ministeriale datata 11 maggio 1939 inviata ai rettori delle Università e ai direttori delle Accademie di Belle Arti della penisola li esortava a curare la pubblicazione di una serie di monografie dedicate alle diverse sedi universitarie e accademiche, al fine di «illustrarne l'istituzione, lo sviluppo e l'ordinamento». Ciascuna monografia avrebbe dovuto mettere in luce le origini e le tradizioni scientifiche e didattiche della rispettiva università o accademia, senza però escludere la sua storia più recente, lusingando il contributo che la singola università o accademia si proponeva di fornire allo sviluppo culturale, sociale e civile dell'Italia fascista.

Un po' poco per un insegnamento, quello di carattere storico-artistico, la cui presenza nelle Accademie di Belle Arti è attestata e documentata da almeno due secoli e la cui importanza per la formazione dei giovani artisti è universalmente riconosciuta.

Occorre allora domandarsi quali sono state le ragioni che hanno impedito, fino ad oggi, l'avvio di sistematiche indagini e di organici studi di carattere storico su tale versante. Non può essere taciuto, a questo riguardo, il problema derivante dalla grave carenza delle fonti archivistiche e della documentazione a stampa disponibile. Gli archivi delle Accademie di Belle Arti della penisola, com'è noto, sono solo parzialmente accessibili e la consultazione dei relativi fondi da parte degli studiosi è spesso resa difficile, se non addirittura impossibile, dalla mancanza di personale e dal fatto che la maggior parte di questi stessi fondi non è riordinata e disponibile.

Le gravi lacune che caratterizzano il fondo relativo alla Direzione Generale delle Antichità e Belle Arti del Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione depositato nell'Archivio Centrale dello Stato di Roma costituiscono un degno corollario alla situazione sopra richiamata e confermano il quadro tutt'altro che incoraggiante che attende chiunque si proponga di svolgere ricerche in tale ambito.

Su un diverso piano, è appena il caso di segnalare le altrettanto gravi lacune che si riscontrano allorché si consideri il solo parziale inserimento nell'OPAC del Servizio Bibliotecario Nazionale (SBN) di tanta parte dei fondi librari antichi e rari custoditi nelle rispettive biblioteche e delle pubblicazioni a stampa di carattere didattico curate dalle stesse Accademie di Belle Arti della penisola, in particolare di quelle di maggiore tradizione.

Il presente contributo costituisce solo la prima parte di un più organico e articolato lavoro di ricerca, il quale prevede la pubblicazione, in questa stessa rivista, di altri due articoli di carattere prosopografico sui titolari delle cattedre di *Estetica e storia dell'arte* chiamati a professare tale disciplina nelle Accademie di Belle Arti della penisola nel periodo compreso tra l'Unità e la Seconda guerra mondiale.

1. *La Storia dell'arte per gli artisti: anatomia di una disciplina dai «confini incerti» e dai «contenuti mutevoli»*

Il lettore che nel corso del 1861 avesse preso in mano l'*Annuario della Istruzione Pubblica* e avesse scorso le pagine relative alle «Accademie, Istituti e Scuole di Belle Arti» del neonato regno d'Italia per trarne indicazioni precise riguardo alla presenza o meno, in quelle istituzioni formative, di un apposito insegnamento di carattere storico-artistico sarebbe rimasto innanzi tutto sorpreso nel constatare che solo nei piani di studio di una parte di esse era prevista l'esistenza, accanto a quelli canonici e onnipresenti di Pittura, Scultura,

Architettura, Ornato, Disegno di figura, Prospettiva e scenografia, Anatomia ecc., di insegnamenti – o «Scuole», secondo la definizione largamente in uso all'epoca – riferibili in qualche modo all'ambito della Storia dell'arte.

Se poi il medesimo lettore al quale si è fatto riferimento sopra si fosse preso la briga di verificare la denominazione adottata, caso per caso, da tale insegnamento di carattere storico-artistico nelle diverse Accademie, Istituti e Scuole di Belle Arti della penisola, sarebbe rimasto ancora più sorpreso nel rilevare la pluralità e varietà delle definizioni e degli appellativi utilizzati per designare tale disciplina.

L'*Annuario della Istruzione Pubblica per l'anno 1861-62*¹⁰, il primo dato alle stampe all'indomani dell'unificazione nazionale, annoverava, a questo riguardo, sedici Accademie, Istituti e Scuole di Belle arti «governativi», ossia riconosciuti e direttamente sottoposti alla vigilanza dello Stato: l'Accademia Albertina di Belle Arti di Torino, l'Accademia Carrara di Belle Arti di Bergamo, l'Accademia di Belle Arti di Brera in Milano, l'Accademia di Belle Arti di Bologna, l'Accademia di Belle Arti di Modena, l'Accademia di Belle Arti in Parma, la Scuola di Belle Arti di Reggio, le Scuole di Belle Arti di Massa, l'Accademia di Belle Arti di Carrara, l'Accademia provinciale di Belle Arti in Ravenna, l'Accademia delle Arti del Disegno di Firenze, l'Accademia di Belle Arti di Pisa, l'Istituto provinciale di Belle Arti in Siena, l'Accademia di Belle Arti di Lucca, l'Accademia di Belle Arti di Perugia e, infine, l'Istituto di Belle Arti di Napoli.

Delle sedici istituzioni d'istruzione artistica sopra elencate, solamente sette – ossia quelle di Milano, Bologna, Modena, Parma, Carrara, Firenze e Napoli – comprendevano, tra gli insegnamenti ufficiali stabiliti nel rispettivo piano di studi, uno di carattere storico-artistico¹¹.

A questo primo nucleo di istituti, com'è noto, nell'arco del decennio seguente si sarebbero aggiunti: dall'a.a. 1863-64 l'Istituto di Belle Arti nelle Marche residente in Urbino¹², che successivamente avrebbe assunto la titolazione di Istituto di Belle Arti di Urbino¹³; dall'a.a. 1867-68, a seguito dell'annessione del Veneto al regno d'Italia, l'Accademia di Belle Arti in Venezia¹⁴; e, infine, dall'a.a. 1871-72, all'indomani di Porta Pia e della proclamazione di Roma capitale, l'Accademia di Belle Arti di San Luca in Roma¹⁵: tutti e tre caratte-

¹⁰ *Annuario della Istruzione pubblica per l'anno scolastico 1861-62*, Torino, Tipografia scolastica Sebastiano Franco e Figli, 1862.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 148, 253-255, 265, 334 e 453.

¹² *Annuario della Istruzione pubblica del Regno d'Italia pel 1863-1864*, Brescia, Tipografia del Giornale La Sentinella Bresciana, 1864, p. 585.

¹³ Cfr. Rotondi, *Il R. Istituto di Belle Arti delle Marche in Urbino*, cit.

¹⁴ *Annuario della Istruzione pubblica del Regno d'Italia pel 1867-1868*, Firenze, Tipografia Eredi Botta, 1868, p. 604. Sul riordinamento di tale istituto all'indomani dell'annessione del Veneto al regno d'Italia si veda Bassi, *La R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Venezia*, cit.

¹⁵ *Annuario della Istruzione pubblica del Regno d'Italia pel 1871-72*, Roma, Regia Ti-

rizzati dalla presenza di uno specifico insegnamento storico-artistico, il che portava a dieci, sul totale delle diciannove esistenti, il numero delle istituzioni d'istruzione artistica che erogavano un simile insegnamento.

In seguito, tra gli anni Ottanta e il primo decennio del secolo seguente, un altro Istituto d'Istruzione artistica avrebbe visto la luce e fornito anch'esso uno specifico insegnamento storico-artistico, mentre taluni di quelli esistenti già dalla prima fase post-unitaria avrebbero finalmente introdotto il medesimo insegnamento nel proprio piano di studi.

Per quel che concerne la nuova fondazione, il riferimento è all'Accademia di Belle Arti di Palermo, istituita nel 1886¹⁶; mentre per ciò che riguarda l'introduzione nei rispettivi piani di studio del nuovo insegnamento, intendiamo riferirci alle Scuole di Belle arti di Massa, che fin dall'a.a. 1867-68 avevano assunto la nuova denominazione di «Stabilimento teorico-pratico di Belle Arti di Massa»¹⁷, e che solo a partire dall'a.a. 1906-07 introdurranno nel proprio piano di studi l'insegnamento della *Storia dell'arte*¹⁸; all'Accademia Albertina di Belle Arti di Torino¹⁹ e all'Accademia di Belle Arti di Lucca²⁰, nelle quali esso era avviato rispettivamente nell'a.a. 1884-85²¹ e nel 1894-95²².

Riguardo invece alla denominazione assunta dalla disciplina all'indomani dell'unificazione nazionale, ossia a partire dall'a.a. 1861-62 e per gli anni immediatamente successivi, quella ufficialmente adottata – che talvolta però figura, anche nei documenti ufficiali e nelle disposizioni ministeriali, in forma abbreviata o semplificata – è la seguente: *Estetica e storia dell'arte*, utilizzata nelle sedi di Bologna, Carrara, Modena e Parma²³. Costituiscono delle ecce-

pografia, 1872, pp. 361-362. Sul riordinamento di tale istituto all'indomani dell'annessione di Roma al regno d'Italia si veda Vagnetti, *La R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Roma*, cit.

¹⁶ *Stato del personale addetto alla Pubblica Istruzione del Regno d'Italia nel 1886*, Roma, Tipografia F.lli Bencini, 1886, pp. 266-267. Sulle origini di tale istituto si veda Meli, *La R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Palermo*, cit.

¹⁷ *Annuario della Istruzione pubblica del Regno d'Italia per 1867-1868*, cit., pp. 594-595.

¹⁸ *Annuario del Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione 1907*, Roma, Tipografia Ditta Ludovico Cecchini, 1907, p. 525.

¹⁹ Su tale istituto si veda *Relazione storica intorno alla R. Accademia Albertina di Belle Arti in Torino, dettata dal segretario Carlo Felice Biscarra, a richiesta della Commissione reale italiana per l'Esposizione internazionale di Vienna*, cit.

²⁰ Su tale istituto si veda Ridolfi, *Relazione storica sul R. Istituto di Belle Arti di Lucca per l'esposizione universale di Vienna del 1873*, cit.

²¹ *Stato del personale addetto alla Pubblica Istruzione del Regno d'Italia nel 1885*, Roma, Tipografia F.lli Bencini, 1885, pp. 258-259.

²² *Annuario del Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione 1895*, Roma, Tipografia Elzeviriana, 1895, pp. 332-333.

²³ Cfr. *Annuario della Istruzione pubblica per l'anno scolastico 1861-62*, cit., rispettivamente alle pp. 259-262 e 265. Merita di essere sottolineato che, all'art. 4 del Titolo V dello *Statuto generale per le Reali Accademie di Belle Arti dell'Emilia in Bologna, Modena e Parma*, introdotto con Decreto del Governatore delle Regie Provincie dell'Emilia C.L. Farini del 6 marzo 1860 (in *Collezione degli atti ufficiali del cessato Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione nel Governo dell'Emilia*, Modena, Eredi Soliani, 1860, pp. 69-84), laddove si indicano le «Scuole»

zioni tanto Firenze, che adotterà la titolazione di *Estetica*²⁴, quanto Milano, con *Storia dell'arte*²⁵, e Napoli, con *Letteratura artistica*²⁶, le quali avrebbero conservato entrambe la denominazione introdotta nella stagione preunitaria.

A partire dalla metà degli anni Sessanta, ossia dall'a.a. 1865-66, Bologna adotterà la nuova titolazione di *Storia applicata al bisogno dell'arte e critica artistica*²⁷, mentre ad Urbino, già dall'a.a. 1864-65, la disciplina assumerà

o «Discipline» che fanno parte del piano di studi della tre Accademie di Belle arti di Bologna, Modena e Parma, relativamente all'insegnamento di carattere storico-artistico, l'originaria denominazione fissata era: *Storia applicata al bisogno dell'arte, critica artistica*. Per quel che concerne la sede di Carrara, l'art. 18 del Titolo IV (*Dei professori insegnanti*) del *Regolamento organico disciplinare della Reale Accademia di Belle Arti di Carrara* approvato con il R.D. 18 agosto 1861, n. 95 (in *Raccolta ufficiale delle leggi e dei decreti del Regno d'Italia, Parte supplementare, Volume primo, Anno 1861, dal n. 1 al 254*, Torino, dalla Stamperia Reale, 1861, pp. 79-95) nel delineare il complesso degli insegnamenti erogati indicava originariamente quello di carattere storico-artistico con la titolazione: *Storia, mitologia, geografia ed estetica*.

²⁴ Cfr. *Annuario della Istruzione pubblica per l'anno scolastico 1861-62*, cit., pp. 348-349. L'art. 4 del Decreto del Governo della Toscana del 1° novembre 1859, n. 404 – *Istituzione di Cattedre di storia, mitologia ed estetica nell'Accademia di belle Arti* (in *Fasti legislativi e parlamentari delle rivoluzioni italiane nel secolo XIX raccolti per cura dell'Avv. Emmanuele Bollati, Volume secondo 1859-1861, Parte II – Toscana*, Milano, Stabilimento Giuseppe Civelli, 1866, pp. 329-330) aveva istituito originariamente una cattedra con la titolazione: *Mitologia ed estetica*, la quale, in forza dell'art. 1 del Decreto del Governo della Toscana del 4 gennaio 1860 – *Costituzione dell'Accademia delle Belle arti del Disegno* (in *Atti e documenti editi e inediti del Governo della Toscana dal 27 aprile in poi, parte terza*, Firenze, Stamperia sopra le Logge del grano, 1860, pp. 12-13) era stata poi ridenominata: *Estetica*. Titolazione, quest'ultima, confermata con il R.D. 31 agosto 1861, n. 98 – *portante alcune riforme allo Statuto dell'Accademia delle Arti del Disegno di Firenze* (in *Raccolta ufficiale delle leggi e dei decreti del Regno d'Italia, Parte supplementare, Volume primo, Anno 1861, dal n. 1 al 254*, Torino, dalla Stamperia Reale, 1861, pp. 126-128).

²⁵ Cfr. *Annuario della Istruzione pubblica per l'anno scolastico 1861-62*, cit., pp. 152-153. Tale titolazione era stata introdotta con il D.Luog. 3 novembre 1860, n. 4412 – *che approva gli Statuti e il Regolamento disciplinare della R. Accademia di Belle Arti in Milano* (in *Statuti e regolamento disciplinare della R. accademia di Belle arti in Milano approvati con R. Decreto 3 novembre 1860*, Milano, Pirola, 1860, p. 18), il cui art. 20, Titolo IV (*Professori e aggiunti*), stabiliva che, in sostituzione della preesistente *Scuola di Estetica*, fosse costituita una *Scuola di Storia dell'Arte*, e che la titolarità di quest'ultima fosse attribuita al segretario dell'Accademia di Belle Arti di Brera.

²⁶ Cfr. *Annuario della Istruzione pubblica per l'anno scolastico 1861-62*, cit., pp. 461-462. La titolazione *Letteratura artistica*, fissata negli artt. 3 e 7, Capo I (*Ordine dell'Istituto*) del D.Luog. 30 aprile 1861, n. 166 – *Riforma dell'Istituto di Belle Arti in Napoli* (in *Atti governativi per le Provincie Napoletane raccolti dall'avv. Giuseppe D'Ettore, 1861, 1° gennaio a 30 giugno*, Napoli, Stamperia del Fibreno, 1862, pp. 489-498), era stata introdotta per la prima volta con il R.D. 3 giugno 1851, n. 2206 – *col quale il professore D. Raffaele Bova è nominato vice-segretario del reale Istituto di belle arti in Napoli*, emanato per il regno delle Due Sicilie da Ferdinando II di Borbone, il quale nominava «il professore onorario con soldo D. Raffaele Bova come vice-segretario, con la futura al posto di segretario del Reale Istituto, addetto ad istruire gli alunni nella estetica delle arti, nella letteratura e nella storia artistica» (in *Collezione delle leggi e de' decreti reali del Regno delle Due Sicilie. Anno 1851. Semestre I. Da gennajo a tutto giugno*, Napoli, dalla Stamperia Reale, 1851, pp. 166-168).

²⁷ *Annuario della Istruzione pubblica del Regno d'Italia pel 1865-1866*, Firenze, Tipografia

il titolo *Storia delle belle arti*²⁸. All'indomani dell'annessione del Veneto, nel piano di studi dell'Accademia di Belle Arti di Venezia sarà introdotto un insegnamento denominato, sul modello milanese, *Storia dell'arte*²⁹.

Al principio degli anni Settanta, sempre a Bologna, la disciplina assumerà la più sintetica titolazione *Storia dell'arte*³⁰, già in uso a Milano e a Venezia e adottata verso la metà del decennio, ossia dall'a.a. 1874-75, anche dalle Accademie di Belle Arti di Carrara, Modena e Parma³¹.

In questo stesso periodo, e precisamente dall'a.a. 1873-74, al posto della già ricordata *Letteratura artistica*, a Napoli veniva adottata la nuova denominazione di *Critica e storia d'arte*³². All'indomani di Porta Pia, a seguito dei nuovi statuti e regolamenti dell'Accademia di Belle Arti di Roma, tale istituzione potrà contare su una cattedra di *Letteratura e storia applicata alle belle arti* (a.a. 1873-74)³³: titolazione, quest'ultima, destinata a riscuotere una notevole fortuna e ad essere adottata, l'anno seguente, anche nell'Accademia di Belle Arti di Firenze³⁴, e poi, tra il 1876 e il 1878, nelle sedi di Bologna, Modena, Parma e Venezia³⁵.

Gli anni Ottanta e la prima metà del decennio successivo registrano, dal punto di vista della denominazione della disciplina, la presenza di due titolazioni prevalenti, equamente ripartite nel complesso delle Accademie, Istituti e Scuole di Belle Arti della penisola: quella maggioritaria di *Letteratura e storia applicata alle belle arti*, adottata a Bologna, Firenze, Modena, Parma, Roma e Venezia³⁶; e l'altra, più essenziale ma assai meno diffusa, di *Storia dell'arte*, fatta propria dalle sedi di Milano, Lucca, Napoli e Urbino (in quest'ultimo caso con la variante: *Storia delle belle arti*)³⁷.

L'unica eccezione al processo di semplificazione del quadro reso possibile con il prevalere di due sole titolazioni è costituita dall'Accademia di Belle Arti

del Regno d'Italia, 1866, pp. 722-723.

²⁸ *Annuario della Istruzione pubblica del Regno d'Italia pel 1864-1865*, Milano, Stamperia Reale, 1865, p. 636.

²⁹ *Annuario della Istruzione pubblica del Regno d'Italia pel 1867-1868*, cit., p. 604.

³⁰ *Annuario della Istruzione pubblica del Regno d'Italia pel 1871-72*, Roma, Regia Tipografia, 1872, pp. 354-355.

³¹ *Annuario della Istruzione pubblica del Regno d'Italia pel 1874-75*, Roma, Regia Tipografia, 1875, pp. 454, 460 e 464.

³² *Annuario della Istruzione pubblica del Regno d'Italia pel 1873-74*, Roma, Regia Tipografia, 1874, p. 461.

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 466.

³⁴ *Annuario della Istruzione pubblica del Regno d'Italia pel 1874-75*, cit., p. 458.

³⁵ Per i casi di Bologna e Modena si veda *Annuario della Istruzione pubblica del Regno d'Italia pel 1876-77*, Roma, Regia Tipografia, 1877, pp. 441 e 446. Per Parma e Venezia si rinvia all'*Annuario della Istruzione pubblica del Regno d'Italia pel 1877-78*, Roma, Regia Tipografia, 1878, pp. 391 e 393.

³⁶ *Stato del personale addetto alla Pubblica Istruzione del Regno d'Italia nel 1884*, Roma, Tipografia F.lli Bencini, 1884, pp. 221-225.

³⁷ *Stato del personale addetto alla Pubblica Istruzione del Regno d'Italia nel 1889*, Roma, Tipografia Sinimberghi, 1889, pp. 409-413.

di Carrara, nella quale, a partire dall'a.a. 1883-84, l'insegnamento storico-artistico era accorpato ad altri e ribattezzato *Storia, geografia, mitologia e storia dell'arte*³⁸.

Ad Urbino, nell'a.a. 1891-92, la disciplina assumerà la nuova titolazione di *Elementi di storia dell'arte*³⁹. In quello stesso anno, a Napoli, la sostituzione in qualità di docente titolare dell'anziano Raffaele Bova con l'archeologo Camillo Miola comporterà anche la parziale ridenominazione dell'insegnamento, ora intitolato *Storia delle belle arti e nozioni di archeologia*⁴⁰.

A partire dalla seconda metà degli anni Novanta si registrava un'ulteriore evoluzione del quadro, i cui esiti finali erano destinati a rimanere inalterati fino ai primi anni Venti del nuovo secolo e, in particolare, alla riforma Gentile del 1923. Il processo registrato già nella fase precedente e tendente a semplificare e a omogeneizzare la titolazione della disciplina giungeva al suo culmine. Nelle diverse Accademie, Istituti e Scuole di Belle arti della penisola l'insegnamento storico-artistico assumeva la titolazione di *Storia delle belle arti* (Bologna, Firenze, Modena, Napoli, Palermo, Parma, Roma, Torino e Venezia)⁴¹ o quella meno diffusa di *Storia dell'arte* (Carrara, Lucca, Milano e Urbino)⁴².

Infine, a seguito del R.D. 31 dicembre 1923, n. 3123, con il quale il ministro della Pubblica Istruzione Giovanni Gentile procedeva alla riforma dell'istruzione artistica, nelle Accademie di Belle Arti di Bologna, Firenze, Milano, Napoli, Palermo, Roma, Torino e Venezia, tra le discipline impartite nei corsi di pittura, scultura, decorazione, scenografia ed architettura figurava quella di «*Storia dell'arte e del costume*» (artt. 21-22). Erano inoltre istituiti i Licei artistici «della durata di quattro anni» (art. 13), con il fine «di preparare allo studio specializzato [...] mediante insegnamenti di materie artistiche e di cultura generale» (art. 14). Tra gli insegnamenti impartiti nei Licei artistici figurava quello abbinato di «*Storia e storia dell'arte*» (art. 15)⁴³.

³⁸ *Stato del personale addetto alla Pubblica Istruzione del Regno d'Italia nel 1884*, cit., p. 223.

³⁹ *Annuario ufficiale del Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione 1892*, Roma, Stabilimento di E. Sinimberghi, 1892, pp. 372.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 366-367.

⁴¹ *Annuario Ufficiale del Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione 1896*, Roma, Stabilimento di E. Sinimberghi, 1896, pp. 276-288.

⁴² *Annuario Ufficiale del Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione 1898*, Roma, Stabilimento di E. Sinimberghi, 1898, pp. 337-346.

⁴³ R.D. 31 dicembre 1923, n. 3123 – *Ordinamento dell'istruzione artistica*, «Gazzetta Ufficiale del Regno d'Italia», n. 32, 7 febbraio 1924, pp. 598-606.

2. *La peculiare caratterizzazione dell'istruzione artistica nell'ordinamento scolastico postunitario e le sue conseguenze*

Tanto la presenza disuniforme e solo parziale di un insegnamento di carattere storico-artistico nei piani di studio delle Accademie, Istituti e Scuole di Belle Arti della penisola, quanto la pluralità e varietà delle titolazioni adottate dalla disciplina e la loro mutazione nel corso del tempo, lungi dal costituire il risultato di ponderate scelte di politica scolastica o l'esito di una deliberata strategia ministeriale, rappresentavano in realtà l'effetto di scelte maturate in larga misura nella fase preunitaria e, in particolare, del modo decisamente singolare e inconsueto con il quale, non solo le Accademie, Istituti e Scuole di Belle Arti ereditati dagli stati preunitari della penisola, ma l'intero comparto dell'istruzione artistica era stato collocato e integrato nell'ordinamento scolastico del neonato regno d'Italia.

Del tutto ignorato – al pari del resto di altri fondamentali ambiti dell'istruzione pubblica⁴⁴ – dalla cosiddetta Legge Casati (13 novembre 1859, n. 3725)⁴⁵, con la quale all'indomani del 1861 si procedette al riordino del sistema scolastico nazionale⁴⁶, l'insegnamento artistico superiore, com'è noto, fu incorporato nel sistema scolastico del nuovo Stato unitario e variamente riorganizzato sulla base di una serie di provvedimenti parziali e di carattere settoriale, sovente del tutto slegati tra di loro, destinati in genere ad interessare i singoli istituti d'istruzione e ad approvarne o a modificarne gli ordinamenti interni (statuti, regolamenti, piante organiche ecc.), piuttosto che a dettare norme generali e a fornire linee operative volte a conferire un ordinamento uniforme e un'impostazione unitaria all'intero settore di studi⁴⁷.

A puro titolo esemplificativo, basterebbe qui richiamare i decreti reali emanati nel corso del 1861 dal ministro della Pubblica Istruzione Francesco De Sanctis con i quali furono approvati i nuovi statuti e regolamenti organici delle Accademie, Istituti e Scuole di Belle Arti riconosciuti dal nuovo Stato⁴⁸,

⁴⁴ In particolare, l'educazione prescolastica (asili infantili, giardini d'infanzia ecc.), l'istruzione professionale, gli istituti e scuole speciali per i disabili.

⁴⁵ Legge 13 novembre 1859, n. 3725 – *sul riordinamento della Istruzione Pubblica*, «Gazzetta Piemontese. Giornale Ufficiale del Regno», 18 novembre 1859, 1° Supplemento al n. 285, pp. 1-5.

⁴⁶ Cfr. M.C. Morandini, *Da Boncompagni a Casati: la costruzione del sistema scolastico nazionale*, in L. Pazzaglia, R. Sani (edd.), *Scuola e società nell'Italia unita*, Brescia, La Scuola, 2001, pp. 9-46.

⁴⁷ «La Legge Casati del 1859 – sottolineava, ancora nel gennaio 1909, il ministro della Pubblica Istruzione Luigi Rava in occasione dell'insediamento del Consiglio Superiore di Antichità e Belle Arti – aveva istituito il Consiglio superiore della pubblica istruzione, ma non aveva dato all'alto consesso alcun compito od ufficio in ordine ai gravi problemi, agli svariati interessi dell'archeologia e dell'arte cui nessuna legge provvedeva» (L. Rava, *Al Consiglio Superiore di Antichità e Belle Arti*, 25 gennaio 1909, «Bollettino Ufficiale del Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione», vol. XXXVI/I, n. 7-8, 18-25 febbraio 1909, p. 468).

⁴⁸ È il caso, ad esempio, del R.D. 18 agosto 1861, n. XCV – *che approva il Regolamento or-*

o quelli volti ad apportare modifiche promulgati in seguito dai suoi successori, come nel caso di Antonio Scialoja⁴⁹ e di Michele Coppino⁵⁰ negli anni Settanta e Ottanta del secolo XIX.

Sulla presenza o meno di un insegnamento storico-artistico nel piano di studi delle Accademie, Istituti e Scuole di Belle Arti, come si è detto, pesarono soprattutto le scelte operate nella fase preunitaria. È il caso, ad esempio, delle tre sedi padane di Bologna, Modena e Parma, per le quali un decreto datato 6 marzo 1860 del Governatore delle Regie Province dell'Emilia, Carlo Luigi Farini, stabiliva che tra le 'scuole' o 'insegnamenti' obbligatori forniti da tali istituzioni dovesse per la prima volta figurarne uno denominato *Storia applicata al bisogno dell'arte, critica artistica*⁵¹, il quale poi, come si è già ricordato, nei mesi seguenti, avrebbe assunto la titolazione più generale di *Estetica e storia dell'arte*.

Nello stesso periodo, anche l'Accademia di Brera si dotava di un analogo insegnamento, sebbene in questo caso si trattasse non di un'introduzione *ex novo*, ma di una sostituzione. Con il nuovo *Statuto e Regolamento disciplinare della R. Accademia di Belle Arti in Milano*, promulgato il 3 novembre 1860, infatti, alla luce del «progredire della storiografia» e dell'improrogabile necessità di insegnare ai futuri artisti la «storia dell'arte nelle diverse epoche e presso i diversi popoli», la preesistente "scuola" di *Estetica* era sostituita con una di *Storia dell'arte*⁵².

ganico disciplinare della Reale Accademia di Belle Arti di Carrara; e del R.D. 31 agosto 1861, n. XCVI – *che approva il Regolamento dell'Accademia delle Arti del Disegno di Firenze*, entrambi conservati in ACS, MPI, Direzione Generale Antichità e Belle Arti 1860-1896, Istituti di Belle Arti 1860-1896, busta n. 6.

⁴⁹ A puro titolo esemplificativo: R.D. 9 ottobre 1873, n. 1634 – *Statuto o Regolamento organico della regia accademia ed Istituto di belle arti di San Luca in Roma*; R.D. 3 novembre 1873, n. 1649 – *Statuto dell'Accademia delle Arti del disegno di Firenze*; R.D. 4 maggio 1873, n. 1362 – *col quale la Cattedra di estetica della R. Accademia di belle arti di Firenze viene trasportata alle Regie Gallerie delle Statue e Palatina della stessa città*; R.D. 1° dicembre 1873, n. 1742 – *col quale è ordinato un assegno di lire 1.000 al Professore di geometria, prospettiva e architettura delle Accademie di belle arti di Roma e Firenze*; R.D. 29 giugno 1874, n. 2007 – *col quale è approvato lo Statuto e Regolamento organico dell'Istituto di Belle Arti in Roma*. Li si veda ora in <<https://patrimonio.archivio.senato.it/inventario/archivio-centrale-dello-stato/raccolta-ufficiale-leggi-e-decreti>> (ultimo accesso: 20.05.2025).

⁵⁰ Si vedano, ad esempio: R.D. 3 dicembre 1876, n. 3562 – *Regolamento organico dell'Istituto di Belle Arti in Roma*; R.D. 9 novembre 1885, n. 3543 – *che approva lo Statuto organico ed il ruolo normale dell'Istituto di Belle Arti di Napoli*; R.D. 25 marzo 1888, n. 2867 – *che approva lo Statuto e il Regolamento dell'Accademia Albertina di Belle Arti di Torino*. Li si veda ora in <<https://patrimonio.archivio.senato.it/inventario/archivio-centrale-dello-stato/raccolta-ufficiale-leggi-e-decreti>> (ultimo accesso: 20.05.2025).

⁵¹ Cfr. *Statuto generale per le Reali Accademie di Belle Arti dell'Emilia in Bologna, Modena e Parma*, introdotto con Decreto del Governatore delle Regie Province dell'Emilia C.L. Farini del 6 marzo 1860, in *Collezione degli atti ufficiali del cessato Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione nel Governo dell'Emilia*, Modena, Eredi Soliani, 1860, pp. 69-84.

⁵² Si veda il D. Luog. 3 novembre 1860, n. 4412 – *che approva gli Statuti e il Regolamento disciplinare della R. Accademia di Belle Arti in Milano*, in *Statuti e regolamento disciplinare*



Michele Cammarano, *La scuola di pittura*, 1865-67, olio su tela, collezione privata

All'Accademia di Belle Arti di Carrara, invece, l'insegnamento storico-artistico sarebbe stato introdotto solo all'indomani dell'unificazione nazionale. Al riguardo, il *Regolamento organico e disciplinare* di tale istituzione, varato con il R.D. 18 agosto 1861, n. 95, annoverava tra gli insegnamenti del corso di studi anche quello, dalla titolazione estremamente composita, di *Storia, mitologia, geografia ed estetica*, anch'esso di lì a poco ridefinito come *Estetica e storia dell'arte*⁵³.

A Napoli, com'è noto, l'esigenza di un insegnamento storico-artistico era stata propugnata già sul finire degli anni Quaranta⁵⁴. Non stupisce, a questo

della R. accademia di Belle arti in Milano approvati con R. Decreto 3 novembre 1860, Milano, Pirola, 1860, p. 18.

⁵³ Cfr. R.D. 18 agosto 1861, n. 95 – *che approva il Regolamento organico e disciplinare della Reale Accademia di Belle Arti di Carrara*, in *Raccolta ufficiale delle leggi e dei decreti del Regno d'Italia, Parte supplementare, Volume primo, Anno 1861, dal n. 1 al 254*, Torino, dalla Stamperia Reale, 1861, pp. 79-95.

⁵⁴ Si veda al riguardo *Relazione sulle origini e riforme diverse del R. Istituto di Belle Arti di Napoli*, Napoli, Tipografia Italiana, 1872, pp. 11-12.

riguardo, la decisione presa pochi anni più tardi da Ferdinando II di Borbone con il R.D. 3 giugno 1851 di attribuire ad un «professore onorario con soldo» l'ufficio di «istruire gli alunni nella estetica delle arti, nella letteratura e nella storia artistica»⁵⁵, la quale sarebbe stata ribadita con il successivo R.D. 22 luglio 1852 in virtù del quale, «nel nominarsi il professore D. Raffaele Bova a segretario del reale Istituto delle belle arti», gli si assegnava ufficialmente anche la cattedra ora denominata di *Letteratura artistica*⁵⁶. E proprio questa nuova titolazione sarebbe stata conservata nel D.Luog. 30 aprile 1861, n. 166, con il quale, all'indomani dell'unificazione nazionale, si sarebbe proceduto alla riforma del piano di studi dell'Istituto di Belle Arti partenopeo⁵⁷.

Ben più complessa ed intricata appare la situazione nel caso dell'Accademia delle Arti del Disegno di Firenze, la quale, nella fase immediatamente precedente e poi subito dopo l'annessione degli ex domini granducali al regno d'Italia, è stata fatta oggetto di diversi interventi legislativi volti a modificarne gli ordinamenti didattici e il piano di studi⁵⁸.

Un decreto del Governo provvisorio della Toscana firmato da Bettino Ricasoli e dal ministro dell'Istruzione Cosimo Ridolfi del 1° novembre 1859, al riguardo, istituiva nell'Accademia fiorentina una cattedra di «Mitologia ed estetica», il cui titolare avrebbe dovuto svolgere «le ragioni del bello da far comprendere agli alunni ciò che sia da sfuggire o da seguire per farlo ammirare nelle opere d'arte»⁵⁹.

Un successivo decreto del medesimo Governo provvisorio, datato 4 gennaio 1860, introduceva una serie di modifiche all'ordinamento sopra richiamato, istituendo due nuove cattedre dedicate rispettivamente alla *Storia patria e sa-*

⁵⁵ R.D. 3 giugno 1851, n. 2206 – *col quale il professore D. Raffaele Bova è nominato vice-segretario del reale Istituto di belle arti in Napoli*, in *Collezione delle leggi e de' decreti reali del Regno delle Due Sicilie. Anno 1851. Semestre I. Da gennaio a tutto giugno*, Napoli, dalla Stamperia Reale, 1851, pp. 166-168.

⁵⁶ R.D. 22 luglio 1852, n. 3216 – *col quale nel nominarsi il professore D. Raffaele Bova a segretario del reale Istituto di belle arti si abolisce l'ufficio di vice-segretario*, in *Collezione delle leggi e de' decreti reali del Regno delle Due Sicilie. Anno 1852. Semestre II. Da luglio a dicembre*, Napoli, dalla Stamperia Reale, 1852, pp. 52-54. Deve essere segnalato che l'insegnamento tenuto da Raffaele Bova avrebbe, in realtà, assunto la titolazione ufficiale di *Istoria delle arti del disegno*. Si veda al riguardo: *Prolusione delle Lezioni d'Istoria delle arti del disegno per Raffaele Bova, socio corrispondente della R. Accademia, professore e vice-segretario dell'Istituto R. di belle arti*, Napoli, da' Tipi di Saverio Giordano, 1852.

⁵⁷ D.Luog. 30 aprile 1861, n. 166 – *Riforma dell'Istituto di Belle Arti in Napoli*, in *Atti governativi per le Provincie Napoletane raccolti dall'avv. Giuseppe D'Ettore*, 1861, 1° gennaio a 30 giugno, Napoli, Stamperia del Fibreno, 1862, pp. 489-498.

⁵⁸ Cfr. Cavallucci, *Notizie storiche intorno alla R. Accademia delle Arti del Disegno in Firenze*, cit.

⁵⁹ Decreto del Governo della Toscana 1° novembre 1859, n. 404 – *Istituzione di Cattedre di storia, mitologia ed estetica nell'Accademia di belle Arti*, in *Fasti legislativi e parlamentari delle rivoluzioni italiane nel secolo XIX raccolti per cura dell'Avv. Emmanuele Bollati. Volume secondo 1859-1861, Parte II – Toscana*, Milano, Stabilimento Giuseppe Civelli, 1866, pp. 329-330.

cra, nozioni di geografia e cenni intorno le religioni e costumanze dei popoli e alla *Storia universale* e modificando la titolazione di quella introdotta precedentemente, denominata ora *Eстетica*⁶⁰.

Merita di essere sottolineato che, il R.D. 31 agosto 1861, n. 96, con il quale era approvato il nuovo *Regolamento dell'Accademia delle Arti del Disegno di Firenze*, non indicava più, tra le cattedre di ruolo presenti nella istituzione fiorentina, le tre sopra menzionate, e in particolare quella di *Eстетica*, sostituita ora da una più generica “scuola” di *Storia, mitologia e costumi*⁶¹. In realtà, tale modifica introdotta nella fase immediatamente successiva al compimento dell'unificazione nazionale, non fu mai realmente applicata, come dimostra il fatto che la cattedra di *Eстетica* istituita nel gennaio del 1860 conservò tale titolazione e continuò a funzionare regolarmente fino all'introduzione, nel novembre del 1873, del nuovo *Statuto dell'Accademia delle Arti del Disegno di Firenze* voluto dal ministro della Pubblica Istruzione Antonio Scialoja, in virtù del quale la cattedra assunse la denominazione di *Storia dell'arte*⁶².

Diverso destino ebbero gli insegnamenti storico-artistici nelle due Accademie di Belle Arti entrate a far parte del circuito nazionale solo all'indomani delle annessioni del Veneto, nel 1866, e di Roma, nel 1870. Nel caso dell'Accademia di Belle Arti di Venezia, occorre ricordare che già lo *Statuto* introdotto nel 1865 dal governo austriaco, sul modello di quello stabilito per l'Accademia di Belle Arti di Vienna⁶³, prevedeva la creazione di un'apposita cattedra di *Storia dell'arte* in luogo di quella di *Eстетica*⁶⁴, un mutamento caldeggiato da più parti da almeno due decenni⁶⁵, ma realizzato solo alla vigilia dell'annessione al regno d'Italia e ribadito poi nel nuovo *Statuto della R. Accademia di Belle Arti in Venezia* approvato con il R.D. 8 settembre 1878, n. 4518, che introduceva la titolazione di *Storia applicata alle belle arti*⁶⁶.

⁶⁰ Decreto del Governo della Toscana 4 gennaio 1860 – *Costituzione dell'Accademia delle Belle arti del Disegno*, in *Atti e documenti editi e inediti del Governo della Toscana dal 27 aprile in poi, parte terza*, Firenze, Stamperia sopra le Logge del grano, 1860, pp. 12-13.

⁶¹ R.D. 31 agosto 1861, n. 96 – *che approva il Regolamento dell'Accademia delle Arti del Disegno di Firenze*, in *Raccolta ufficiale delle leggi e dei decreti del Regno d'Italia, Parte supplementare, Volume primo, Anno 1861, dal n. 1 al 254*, Torino, dalla Stamperia Reale, 1861, pp. 96-122.

⁶² R.D. 3 novembre 1873, n. 1649 – *Statuto dell'Accademia delle Arti del disegno di Firenze*, in <<https://patrimonio.archivio.senato.it/inventario/archivio-centrale-dello-stato/raccolta-ufficiale-leggi-e-decreti>> (ultimo accesso: 20.05.2025).

⁶³ Cfr. Bassi, *La R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Venezia*, cit., pp. 212-213.

⁶⁴ A. Auf der Heyde, *Grammatica storica, Storia delle civiltà, Educazione visiva: tre Storie dell'arte all'Accademia di Venezia nell'Ottocento*, «Ricerche di Storia dell'Arte», vol. 128, 2019, p. 24.

⁶⁵ Si veda al riguardo l'attenta ricostruzione proposta in Dall'Acqua Giusti, *L'Accademia di Venezia. Relazione storica*, cit., p. 68-70.

⁶⁶ Art. 34 del Cap. IV – *Dell'Insegnamento*, in R.D. 8 settembre 1878, n. 4518 – *Statuto della R. Accademia di Belle Arti in Venezia*, in <<https://patrimonio.archivio.senato.it/inventario/archivio-centrale-dello-stato/raccolta-ufficiale-leggi-e-decreti>> (ultimo accesso: 20.05.2025).

Nella capitale, infine, dove nella fase preunitaria era mancato completamente⁶⁷, lo *Statuto o Regolamento organico della Regia Accademia ed Istituto di Belle Arti di San Luca in Roma*, introdotto con il R.D. 9 ottobre 1873, n. 1634, stabiliva *ex novo* che un insegnamento di carattere storico-artistico fosse impartito in tutti i corsi di studio: in quello *preparatorio* nella forma della *Storia applicata alle belle arti*, e poi come *Storia dell'arte*, con contenuti e finalità differenziati, nei corsi *comune* e *speciale*⁶⁸. Indicazione ribadita nel successivo *Statuto e Regolamento organico dell'Istituto di Belle Arti in Roma*, entrato in vigore il 29 giugno 1874⁶⁹, e poi ancora nel nuovo *Regolamento organico dell'Istituto di Belle Arti in Roma* varato due anni più tardi, il 3 dicembre 1876, con il quale, tanto nel corso *preparatorio*, quanto in quelli di livello superiore, la disciplina assumeva ora la denominazione unica di *Storia applicata alle belle arti*⁷⁰.

Come si è già accennato, l'estrema varietà delle titolazioni adottate dalla disciplina e le variazioni e i mutamenti altrettanto significativi registrati su tale versante nel corso del tempo non appaiono riconducibili a determinate strategie di politica scolastica e, tanto meno, a dirette disposizioni ministeriali. Nella maggior parte dei casi, la scelta della titolazione dell'insegnamento di carattere storico-artistico sembra da attribuirsi al rispettivo docente o al direttore/presidente e agli organi di governo delle Accademie e Istituti. Sono molteplici i casi nei quali il cambio di titolare della disciplina era destinato a coincidere con l'adozione di una nuova titolazione della stessa.

Emblematico al riguardo, sebbene tutt'altro che isolato, è il caso di Bologna, dove l'avvento, dal principio degli anni Settanta, di un vero e proprio cultore degli studi storico-artistici, qual era Enrico Panzacchi, sulla cattedra

⁶⁷ L'unico insegnamento di carattere storico previsto era quello, di ben differente natura, denominato *Mitologia, storia e costumi*, il quale era affidato al «Segretario dell'Accademia». Cfr. *Statuti della Pontificia Accademia Romana di Belle Arti detta di S. Luca, 15 dicembre 1817*, Roma, presso Francesco Bourliè, 1818. Per la fase precedente, si vedano: *Ordini, e statuti dell'Accademia del disegno de' pittori, scultori, e architetti di Roma, sotto il titolo, e padrocinio di S. Luca, corretti, accresciuti, e confermati sotto gli auspizi del Santissimo Padre Clemente XI. P.O.M.*, Palestrina, nella Stamperia Barberina, 1716; e *Statuti della insigne Accademia del disegno di Roma detta di san Luca evangelista con approvazione del Pontefice Pio VI*, Roma, per Arcangelo Casaletti, MDCCXCVI.

⁶⁸ Artt. 34, 35 e 37 del Capo IV – *Dell'Insegnamento*, in R.D. 9 ottobre 1873, n. 1634 – *Statuto o Regolamento organico della Regia Accademia ed Istituto di Belle Arti di San Luca in Roma*, in <<https://patrimonio.archivio.senato.it/inventario/archivio-centrale-dello-stato/raccolta-ufficiale-leggi-e-decreti>> (ultimo accesso: 20.05.2025).

⁶⁹ Artt. 19, 20 e 22 del Capo IV – *Dell'Insegnamento*, in R.D. 29 giugno 1874, n. 2007 – *col quale è approvato lo Statuto e Regolamento organico dell'Istituto di Belle Arti in Roma*, in <<https://patrimonio.archivio.senato.it/inventario/archivio-centrale-dello-stato/raccolta-ufficiale-leggi-e-decreti>> (ultimo accesso: 20.05.2025).

⁷⁰ Artt. 19, 20 e 22 del Capo IV – *Dell'Insegnamento*, in R.D. 3 dicembre 1876, n. 3562 – *Regolamento organico dell'Istituto di Belle Arti in Roma*, in <<https://patrimonio.archivio.senato.it/inventario/archivio-centrale-dello-stato/raccolta-ufficiale-leggi-e-decreti>> (ultimo accesso: 20.05.2025).

di *Estetica e storia dell'arte*, fino a quel momento tenuta dal letterato e filologo dantesco Luciano Scarabelli e, prima ancora, dal poeta e cantore dei fasti risorgimentali Luigi Mercantini, doveva portare all'adozione di una titolazione – *Storia dell'arte* – nella quale era rimosso ogni riferimento all'estetica speculativa ed accentuata, per converso, la dimensione puramente storiografica⁷¹.

Era dettata, molto probabilmente, da ragioni analoghe a quelle che avevano ispirato il Panzacchi a Bologna la decisione dello storico ed erudito Camillo Jacopo Cavallucci, subentrato alla metà degli anni Settanta al poeta e letterato Aleardo Aleardi sulla cattedra di *Estetica* dell'Accademia di Belle Arti di Firenze, di attribuire alla stessa la denominazione *Letteratura e storia applicata alle belle arti*, decisamente più coerente con l'indole e le caratteristiche dell'insegnamento che egli si proponeva d'impartire⁷².

A Napoli, dove il longevo Raffaele Bova era riuscito solo verso la metà degli anni Settanta a fare accettare, per il suo insegnamento, la nuova e a lui più congeniale titolazione di *Critica e storia d'arte*, rispetto a quella introdotta all'indomani dell'unificazione nazionale di *Letteratura artistica*⁷³, la chiamata, dall'a.a. 1891-92, in qualità di docente titolare del pittore ed archeologo Camillo Miola comportò anche la parziale ridenominazione dell'insegnamento, ora intitolato *Storia delle belle arti e nozioni di archeologia*⁷⁴.

Per altri versi, sbaglierebbe chi pretendesse di dedurre meccanicamente le caratteristiche e i contenuti dell'insegnamento storico-artistico sulla base della titolazione ad esso attribuita. Soprattutto nei primi decenni post-unitari, infatti, nelle Accademie, Istituti e Scuole di Belle Arti della penisola si riscontra un elevato grado di disuniformità ed eterogeneità per quel che concerne l'impostazione e gli argomenti trattati nell'ambito della disciplina, in ragione soprattutto della già ricordata assenza – fino alla riforma Gentile del 1923 – di programmi didattici uniformi e comuni a tutte le istituzioni d'istruzione artistica superiore⁷⁵.

⁷¹ Sull'evoluzione fatta registrare dall'insegnamento storico-artistico nell'Accademia di Belle Arti del capoluogo emiliano nella stagione postunitaria si vedano gli sparsi riferimenti contenuti in Panzacchi, *Brevi cenni storici intorno alla R. accademia di Belle Arti in Bologna*, cit.; e in Gatti, *Notizie storiche intorno alla R. Accademia di Belle Arti in Bologna*, cit.

⁷² Si vedano al riguardo le sintetiche osservazioni formulate in Cavallucci, *Notizie storiche intorno alla R. Accademia delle Arti del Disegno in Firenze*, cit., pp. 38-39.

⁷³ Cfr. J. Schlosser Magnino, *La letteratura artistica*, Firenze, La Nuova Italia, 1977, pp. 604-606.

⁷⁴ Si veda al riguardo l'*Annuario Ufficiale del Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione 1892*, Roma, Stabilimento Tipografico di E. Sinimberghi, 1892, p. 269. La nuova titolazione della disciplina era riprodotta anche nel decreto di nomina del Miola: R.D. 13 novembre 1891 – con il quale Miola Camillo è nominato professore di storia dell'arte e nozioni di archeologia nel R. Istituto di belle arti di Napoli, in <<https://patrimonio.archivio.senato.it/inventario/archivio-centrale-dello-stato/raccolta-ufficiale-leggi-e-decreti>> (ultimo accesso: 20.05.2025).

⁷⁵ In realtà, la riforma Gentile avrebbe introdotto programmi d'insegnamento uniformi – ivi compreso quello di *Storia e storia dell'arte* – solo per il corso di studi di base delle Accademie e Istituti di Belle Arti, ora riorganizzato nella forma del cosiddetto «Liceo artistico». Per quel

A puro titolo esemplificativo, si potrebbe qui richiamare il caso dell'insegnamento di *Estetica* tenuto a Firenze, tra il 1863 e il 1874, da Aleardo Aleardi, il quale, in realtà, a dispetto della peculiare e inequivocabile titolazione, comprendeva anche un organico e nutrito ciclo di lezioni di «storia artistica» che, dagli autori e dalle opere dell'antichità, giungeva fino ai protagonisti e alle manifestazioni del secolo XIX⁷⁶.

Allo stesso modo, con riferimento all'insegnamento tenuto nell'Istituto di Belle Arti di Napoli da Raffaele Bova fin quasi alla metà degli anni Settanta, sembra di poter dire che, dietro la generica e per certi versi fuorviante titolazione di *Letteratura artistica*, si celava in realtà uno dei più aggiornati e rigorosi corsi di storia dell'arte, incentrato, come si legge nello *Statuto organico* dell'Istituto di Belle Arti di Napoli approvato con il già ricordato D.Luog. 30 aprile 1861, n. 166, sulle «notizie de' più chiari artisti, che nei varii rami dell'arte si rendettero illustri», «sui metodi usati dalle diverse scuole» e «sugli stili che a ciascuna appartengono»; ed era comprensivo, infine, di «tutto ciò che serve a comprendere la storia delle arti dipendenti dal disegno»⁷⁷.

Infine, alla anomala procedura con la quale le Accademie e gli Istituti di Belle Arti ereditati dagli stati preunitari della penisola furono integrati nell'ordinamento scolastico del neonato regno d'Italia debbono essere ascritte anche le diverse ed eterogenee disposizioni e modalità adottate fin quasi alla fine del secolo XIX da quelle stesse istituzioni superiori d'istruzione artistica per quel che concerne la selezione e il reclutamento dei professori di *Storia dell'arte* e degli altri titolari degli insegnamenti previsti nei rispettivi piani di studio.

Se si prescinde dalla stagione immediatamente precedente la proclamazione del regno d'Italia, quella compresa tra il 1859 e i primi mesi del 1861, nel corso della quale, come si è già ricordato, la nomina dei direttori, dei segretari e degli stessi membri del corpo docente delle Accademie e degli Istituti di Belle Arti fu prerogativa pressoché esclusiva dei governi provvisori costituiti dopo la cacciata dei vecchi sovrani preunitari e dei «dittatori», «governatori» e «commissari regi» che nelle diverse provincie della penisola operarono in nome e su

che riguardava i corsi superiori, l'insegnamento ora denominato di *Storia dell'arte e del costume* avrebbe continuato ad essere stabilito autonomamente dai singoli istituti (si veda il R.D. 29 giugno 1924, n. 1239: *Orari e programmi di esame per i Regi licei artistici e le accademie di belle arti*, «Gazzetta Ufficiale del Regno d'Italia», vol. LXV, n. 193, 18 agosto 1924, p. 2870).

⁷⁶ Si veda in proposito A. Foratti, *L'estetica e la critica d'arte di Aleardo Aleardi*, «Rivista Letteraria delle Tre Venezie», vol. I, n. 2, 1924, pp. 17-21.

⁷⁷ D.Luog. 30 aprile 1861, n. 166 – *Riforma dell'Istituto di Belle Arti in Napoli*, cit., pp. 489-498. Si vedano altresì: *Prolusione alle lezioni di Letteratura artistica per l'anno 1867 letta dal professore Raffaele Bova nel R. Istituto di belle arti di Napoli*, Napoli, Tip. G. Nobile, 1867; *Prolusione alle lezioni di Letteratura artistica per l'anno 1868 letta dal professore Raffaele Bova nel R. Istituto di belle arti di Napoli*, Napoli, Tip. G. Nobile, 1868; e *Prolusione alle lezioni di Letteratura artistica per l'anno 1869 letta dal professore Raffaele Bova nel R. Istituto di belle arti di Napoli*, Napoli, Tip. G. Nobile, 1869.

mandato di «S.M. Vittorio Emanuele II»⁷⁸, le disposizioni per la costituzione delle commissioni di concorso e le procedure di selezione e reclutamento del personale direttivo ed insegnante degli istituti d'istruzione artistica superiore dell'Italia unita emanate nei decenni seguenti furono improntate a criteri tutt'altro che omogenei, i quali riflettevano, anzi, due modalità radicalmente differenti, se non addirittura opposte, di esercizio di governo.

La prima, che era anche quella maggiormente diffusa, in quanto adottata nelle Accademie e Istituti di Belle Arti di Bologna, Modena, Parma, Milano, Firenze, Torino, Urbino e Venezia, stabiliva che, sulla base delle tradizioni e dei principi di autonomia che avevano a lungo caratterizzato l'operato delle singole istituzioni nella stagione preunitaria, le commissioni deputate alla selezione e al reclutamento del corpo docente fossero «in maggioranza costituite dalla votazione di una ristretta cerchia di artisti locali»⁷⁹, ossia che vi esercitassero un ruolo prevalente, ancorché non esclusivo, i rispettivi organi di governo.

Per fare solo qualche rapido esempio, nel caso delle tre Accademie padane di Bologna, Modena e Parma, i relativi statuti generali, emanati con R.D. 23 settembre 1877, n. 4084, stabilivano che, per ciò che riguardava i membri del corpo docente, su espressa richiesta del Ministero, gli organi di governo dell'Accademia fossero tenuti ad indicare «due accademici residenti» i quali avrebbero fatto parte «delle Commissioni pei concorsi di professore nell'Istituto, o di aggiunto» (art. 15)⁸⁰. Analoghe disposizioni si ritrovano negli statuti

⁷⁸ A puro titolo esemplificativo ricordiamo: *Statuto generale per le Reali Accademie di Belle Arti dell'Emilia in Bologna, Modena e Parma*, introdotto con Decreto del Governatore delle Regie Provincie dell'Emilia C.L. Farini del 6 marzo 1860, in *Collezione degli atti ufficiali del cessato Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione nel Governo dell'Emilia*, Modena, Eredi Soliani, 1860, pp. 69-84; D. Luog. 3 novembre 1860, n. 4412 – *che approva gli Statuti e il Regolamento disciplinare della R. Accademia di Belle Arti in Milano*, in *Statuti e regolamento disciplinare della R. accademia di Belle arti in Milano approvati con R. Decreto 3 novembre 1860*, Milano, Pirola, 1860, p. 18; Decreto del Governo della Toscana 4 gennaio 1860 – *Costituzione dell'Accademia delle Belle arti del Disegno*, in *Atti e documenti editi e inediti del Governo della Toscana dal 27 aprile in poi, parte terza*, Firenze, Stamperia sopra le Logge del grano, 1860, pp. 12-13; D. Luog. 30 aprile 1861, n. 166 – *Riforma dell'Istituto di Belle Arti in Napoli*, in *Atti governativi per le Provincie Napoletane raccolti dall'avv. Giuseppe D'Ettore*, 1861, 1° gennaio a 30 giugno, Napoli, Stamperia del Fibreno, 1862, pp. 489-498.

⁷⁹ G. Baccelli, *Relazione a S.M. il Re annessa al R.D. 1° febbraio 1894*, n. 56 – *che approva il regolamento circa la costituzione delle Commissioni giudicatrici dei concorsi alle cattedre nelle Accademie e negli Istituti di Belle Arti*, «Bollettino Ufficiale del Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione», vol. XXI/I, n. 10, 8 marzo 1894, p. 337.

⁸⁰ R.D. 23 settembre 1877, n. 4084 – *che abolisce lo Statuto generale per le Accademie di Belle Arti dell'Emilia approvato con Decreto 6 marzo 1860 del Governatore di quelle Provincie e approva gli Statuti delle Accademie ed Istituti di Belle arti di Bologna, Modena e Parma*, in <<https://patrimonio.archivio.senato.it/inventario/archivio-centrale-dello-stato/raccolta-ufficiale-leggi-e-decreti>> (ultimo accesso: 20.05.2025).

e regolamenti delle Accademia di Belle Arti di Milano, Torino ed Urbino⁸¹, come di quelle di Firenze e Venezia⁸².

La seconda modalità, adottata dal più ristretto gruppo delle Accademie di Belle Arti di Carrara, Roma, Napoli e Palermo, prevedeva, al contrario, che le commissioni giudicatrici dei concorsi a cattedre per tali istituzioni fossero «assolutamente ed integralmente costituite dal Ministero»⁸³, come veniva ribadito, ad esempio, dal R.D. 9 novembre 1885, n. 3543, che approvava il nuovo Statuto del R. Istituto di Belle Arti di Napoli, il quale agli artt. 3 e 4 recitava: «Le commissioni pei concorsi ai posti di professore o di aggiunto sono composte di 5 o di 7 membri, nominati dal ministro [...]. Il Ministro nomina fra gli eleggibili il professore per un biennio, scorso il quale il detto professore viene nominato stabile o licenziato»⁸⁴.

Analogamente, sebbene in forma più sintetica, si esprimeva il R.D. 5 maggio 1892, n. 307, con il quale era approvato il ruolo normale per il personale dell'Accademia di Belle Arti di Carrara, il cui art. 4 stabiliva: «I professori insegnanti sono nominati con Nostro decreto in seguito a concorso per titoli, e, bisognando, per esame. I concorsi saranno giudicati da una commissione di cinque membri nominati dal predetto Nostro ministro per la istruzione pubblica»⁸⁵.

Allo scopo di superare l'anomalia sopra riscontrata e d'introdurre una normativa uniforme e funzionale in materia di selezione e reclutamento dei docen-

⁸¹ Cfr. R.D. 31 maggio 1863 – *che approva lo Statuto dell'Istituto di Belle Arti delle Marche in Urbino*, in <<https://patrimonio.archivio.senato.it/inventario/archivio-centrale-dello-stato/raccolta-ufficiale-leggi-e-decreti>> (ultimo accesso: 20.05.2025); R.D. 13 ottobre 1879, n. 5138 – *che approva il nuovo Statuto dell'Accademia di Belle Arti di Milano*, in <<https://patrimonio.archivio.senato.it/inventario/archivio-centrale-dello-stato/raccolta-ufficiale-leggi-e-decreti>> (ultimo accesso: 20.05.2025); R.D. 25 marzo 1888, n. 2867 – *che approva lo Statuto e il Regolamento dell'Accademia Albertina di Belle Arti di Torino*, «Gazzetta Ufficiale del Regno d'Italia», n. 88, 13 aprile 1888, pp. 1130-1132.

⁸² Cfr. R.D. 5 dicembre 1876, n. 3597 – *col quale è approvato lo Statuto dell'Accademia dell'Arte del disegno di Firenze*, in <<https://patrimonio.archivio.senato.it/inventario/archivio-centrale-dello-stato/raccolta-ufficiale-leggi-e-decreti>> (ultimo accesso: 20.05.2025); R.D. 8 settembre 1878, n. 4518 – *che approva Statuto della R. Accademia di Belle Arti in Venezia*, in <<https://patrimonio.archivio.senato.it/inventario/archivio-centrale-dello-stato/raccolta-ufficiale-leggi-e-decreti>> (ultimo accesso: 20.05.2025).

⁸³ Baccelli, *Relazione a S.M. il Re*, cit., p. 337.

⁸⁴ R.D. 9 novembre 1885, n. 3543 – *che approva per lo statuto e il ruolo organico del personale del R. Istituto di Belle Arti di Napoli*, in <<https://patrimonio.archivio.senato.it/inventario/archivio-centrale-dello-stato/raccolta-ufficiale-leggi-e-decreti>> (ultimo accesso: 20.05.2025).

⁸⁵ R.D. 5 maggio 1892, n. 307 – *che approva il ruolo normale pel personale dell'Accademia di Belle Arti di Carrara*, in *Raccolta Ufficiale delle Leggi e dei Decreti del Regno d'Italia. Parte supplementare. Anno 1892*, Roma, Stamperia Reale, 1892, pp. 578-579. Ma si vedano anche: R.D. 3 dicembre 1876, n. 3562 – *che approva il Regolamento organico dell'Istituto di Belle Arti in Roma*, in <<https://patrimonio.archivio.senato.it/inventario/archivio-centrale-dello-stato/raccolta-ufficiale-leggi-e-decreti>> (ultimo accesso: 20.05.2025); e R.D. 25 gennaio 1891, n. 51 – *che approva lo statuto organico e il Ruolo normale dell'Istituto di Belle Arti di Palermo*, in <<https://patrimonio.archivio.senato.it/inventario/archivio-centrale-dello-stato/raccolta-ufficiale-leggi-e-decreti>> (ultimo accesso: 20.05.2025).

ti delle Accademie e Istituti di Belle Arti, al principio del 1894 il ministro della Pubblica Istruzione Guido Baccelli predisponendo un apposito regolamento organico in ordine alla costituzione delle commissioni giudicatrici dei concorsi alle cattedre di tali istituzioni⁸⁶.

Persuaso del fatto che «né l'uno né l'altro» dei sistemi fino a quel momento in vigore fosse realmente «rispondente al bisogno», in quanto «col primo, la preponderanza dell'elemento locale» avrebbe potuto «alcuna volta menomare la scrupolosa imparzialità del giudizio», mentre «col secondo», rimettendo «interamente al Ministero la nomina delle Commissioni esaminatrici», si rischiava di umiliare le legittime aspirazioni delle realtà locali, negando ogni spazio «alla libera designazione degli artisti», il titolare della Minerva optava per una soluzione intermedia, la quale, a suo dire, aveva il merito di garantire un rigoroso controllo sulle procedure concorsuali da parte del ministero e, al tempo stesso, di salvaguardare l'autonomia delle sedi: «I componenti le Commissioni giudicatrici – scriveva Baccelli – sono in parte designati dalla libera votazione degli insegnanti di tutti gli Istituti Regi del Regno, ed in parte sono scelti dal Ministro, il quale, nel fare questa scelta, avrà cura che nelle Commissioni siano sempre proporzionalmente rappresentati anche gli artisti che non insegnano in Regi Istituti»⁸⁷.

Approvato con il R.D. 1° febbraio 1894, n. 56, tale regolamento stabiliva, infatti, che «le Commissioni giudicatrici dei concorsi a cattedre vacanti nelle Accademie ed Istituti di belle arti avranno sei commissari, ed eleggeranno nel proprio seno il presidente ed il relatore» (art. 1). Dei sei commissari chiamati a costituire le relative commissioni, tre sarebbero stati designati da parte delle Accademie e Istituti di Belle Arti tramite votazione interna tra «le persone che insegnano od abbiano insegnato la *materia stessa* in un pubblico Istituto di belle arti, o tra gli artisti, anche non insegnanti, che siano venuti in alta e meritata fiducia per la loro perizia» (art. 2); mentre gli altri tre commissari sarebbero stati «scelti dal Ministro, avvertendo che della Commissione dovranno far sempre parte non meno di tre artisti i quali non insegnino in accademie od Istituti regi» (art. 3).

⁸⁶ Alcuni anni prima, con il R.D. 30 settembre 1880, il ministro Francesco De Sanctis aveva varato un analogo provvedimento di riordino dei concorsi a cattedre vacanti negli Istituti tecnici e nautici governativi, attribuendo al ministero della Pubblica Istruzione ogni competenza in materia. In quel caso, a sollecitare un simile intervento era stata la peculiare situazione creata, nella stagione postunitaria, nell'ambito dell'istruzione secondaria tecnica. Pochi mesi dopo la costituzione ufficiale del Regno d'Italia, infatti, in forza del R.D. 28 novembre 1861, n. 347, la competenza sulle scuole e sugli istituti tecnici, fino a quel momento esercitata dal ministero della Pubblica Istruzione, era stata assegnata a quello di Agricoltura, Industria e Commercio. Per vedere nuovamente attribuita al ministero della Pubblica Istruzione la competenza sulle scuole e sugli istituti tecnici si sarebbe dovuto attendere quasi un ventennio: solo con il R.D. 23 gennaio 1878, n. 4259, emanato a seguito della soppressione, il 26 dicembre 1877, di quello di Agricoltura, Industria e Commercio, infatti, sarebbe stata ripristinata la situazione in vigore precedentemente.

⁸⁷ Baccelli, *Relazione a S.M. il Re*, cit., p. 337.

Le commissioni così costituite, ai fini della formulazione del giudizio sui singoli candidati, avrebbero dovuto prendere in esame «i titoli, saggi e documenti» presentati da ciascuno di essi e deliberare, innanzi tutto, «sulla eleggibilità di ciascun candidato, a voti palesi per *sì* e *no*», dichiarando eleggibile solo il candidato che avesse riportato «non meno di quattro *sì*». In seguito, la Commissione avrebbe dovuto assegnare «a voti palesi, a ciascun candidato dichiarato eleggibile i punti di merito relativo» (art. 4). Non avrebbe potuto essere proposto per la nomina il candidato che non avesse raggiunto «almeno i 9/10 dei punti complessivi» (art. 5)⁸⁸.

A distanza di due anni dalla promulgazione del regolamento predisposto dal ministro Baccelli, il successore di questi alla Minerva, Emanuele Giannurco, accogliendo le indicazioni avanzate in ambito parlamentare riguardo alla necessità di garantire una maggiore ampia rappresentanza degli artisti e degli specialisti del settore nella composizione delle commissioni di concorso, apportava una serie di modifiche al suddetto regolamento. In particolare, con il R.D. 24 maggio 1896, n. 192, stabiliva che, dei sei membri facenti regolarmente parte di ciascuna commissione, due avrebbero dovuto essere «scelti dal ministero della Pubblica Istruzione», altri due nominati «dal Consiglio Accademico o dal Consiglio dei professori della R. Accademia o del R. Istituto nel quale è vacante la cattedra messa a concorso». Gli ultimi due, infine, sarebbero stati essere eletti dai corpi docenti di tutte le Accademie e degli Istituti di Belle Arti di tipo governativo della penisola⁸⁹ «tra le persone che insegnano o abbiano insegnato la materia stessa in un pubblico istituto o tra gli artisti, anche non insegnanti, venuti in alta e meritata fama per la loro perizia [...], esclusi i membri della Giunta di belle arti che si trovano in ufficio al tempo in cui scade il concorso, ed i professori dell'istituto nel quale ha luogo la votazione, e di quello nel quale è vacante la cattedra messa a concorso»⁹⁰.

Con il R.D. 15 ottobre 1911, n. 1217, infine, il ministro della Pubblica Istruzione Luigi Credaro introduceva un nuovo regolamento organico con il quale modificava profondamente «la composizione e l'ordine dei lavori delle Commissioni giudicatrici dei concorsi a cattedre vacanti nelle Accademie e

⁸⁸ R.D. 1° febbraio 1894, n. 56 – *che approva il regolamento circa la costituzione delle Commissioni giudicatrici dei concorsi alle cattedre nelle Accademie e negli Istituti di Belle Arti*, «Bollettino Ufficiale del Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione», vol. XXI/I, n. 10, 8 marzo 1894, pp. 337-339.

⁸⁹ Nel decreto si faceva diretto riferimento alle «RR. Accademie e ai RR. Istituti di belle arti di Bologna, Carrara, Firenze, Lucca, Milano, Modena, Napoli, Palermo, Parma, Roma, Torino e Venezia».

⁹⁰ R.D. 24 maggio 1896, n. 192 – *che modifica gli art. 1 e 2 del regolamento per la costituzione delle Commissioni giudicatrici dei concorsi alle cattedre nelle Accademie e negli Istituti di Belle Arti*, «Bollettino Ufficiale del Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione», vol. XXIII/I, n. 26, 25 giugno 1896, pp. 1127-1128.

negli Istituti di Belle Arti nel Regno». Predisposto con l'intento di semplificare e rendere più razionale ed efficiente il lavoro delle commissioni concorsuali, il regolamento Credaro stabiliva all'art. 1 che tali commissioni avrebbero dovuto essere composte di soli tre membri, nominati dal ministero sulla base di precise disposizioni:

Uno dei membri verrà designato dal Consiglio accademico o dal Consiglio dei professori della R. accademia o del R. istituto, nel quale è vacante la cattedra messa a concorso. Un altro dei membri viene eletto dalle accademie e dagli istituti di belle arti del Regno. Il terzo commissario è scelto dal ministro. È però in facoltà del ministro di aggiungere alla commissione altri due membri, in quei casi nei quali per la specialità dell'insegnamento ciò si ritenga utile.

L'art. 2 del nuovo regolamento fissava le modalità con le quali i presidenti e i direttori delle Accademie e Istituti di Belle Arti avrebbero dovuto organizzare le riunioni dei propri «professori emeriti», dei «titolari dei corsi speciali, ai quali la cattedra in concorso appartiene» e dei «professori titolari degli altri corsi artistici», al fine di procedere alla designazione del componente la commissione di loro spettanza; mentre l'art. 3 da un lato precisava che erano esclusi da tale designazione «tutti coloro che fanno parte dell'istituto nel quale ha luogo la votazione e di quello nel quale la cattedra vacante è messa a concorso»; dall'altro, oltre a determinare il procedimento relativo all'eventuale riconsiderazione di uno o più commissari da parte dei candidati, in continuità con quanto già previsto dal precedente regolamento emanato da Baccelli, ribadiva che i membri del Consiglio superiore per le antichità e le belle arti non avrebbero potuto «far parte delle commissioni».

Gli artt. 4-6 del regolamento Credaro riguardavano la procedura concorsuale vera e propria e l'operato delle commissioni. In essi era stabilito che, «innanzi di intraprendere i suoi lavori, nella prima adunanza», la commissione avrebbe dovuto «elegge[re] nel proprio seno il presidente e il relatore» (art. 4); in seguito, dopo essersi formalmente costituita, essa avrebbe dovuto prendere in esame «titoli, saggi e documenti presentati dai singoli candidati» e decidere in merito «con voti palesi»:

Ciascun commissario – precisava l'art. 5 – disporrà di dieci punti e non potrà essere proposto per la nomina il candidato che non abbia raggiunto almeno i 9/10 dei punti complessivi. Saranno dichiarati eleggibili i candidati che avranno ottenuta una votazione non inferiore a 8/10 dei punti complessivi. È in facoltà della Commissione di chiamare tutti o alcuni dei concorrenti ad una prova risolutiva, dandone partecipazione agli interessati per mezzo di telegrammi e di lettere raccomandate.

L'art. 6 con il quale si concludeva il nuovo regolamento, infine, stabiliva che nella relazione finale predisposta dalla commissione del concorso non avrebbero dovuto essere riportati i nominativi dei «candidati dichiarati ineleggibili», mentre i nominativi di quelli che la commissione giudicava eleggibili sarebbero

stati «inscritti nell'ordine di classificazione» e per ciascuno di essi si sarebbe dovuto indicare «il voto assegnato da ciascuno dei commissari»⁹¹.

In realtà, fin dalle sue prime applicazioni, il nuovo regolamento predisposto da Credaro si sarebbe rivelato macchinoso e decisamente poco funzionale, tanto da suscitare critiche e contestazioni da parte di diverse commissioni concorsuali, in particolare per quel che riguardava il sistema di assegnazione dei punteggi a ciascun candidato e le disposizioni relative all'individuazione, da parte della commissione stessa, del vincitore del concorso.

Trova spiegazione proprio alla luce di tali critiche e contestazioni la decisione presa tre anni più tardi dallo stesso ministro Credaro, alla vigilia di lasciare la Minerva, di apportare una serie di radicali modifiche al testo varato nel 1911. Con il R.D. 15 marzo 1914, n. 234, a questo proposito, il ministro della Pubblica Istruzione aboliva l'art. 6 del regolamento varato tre anni prima e modificava profondamente l'art. 5, il quale ora recitava:

La Commissione, dopo che sarà costituita, prenderà in esame titoli, saggi e documenti presentati dai singoli candidati e designerà il vincitore del concorso, prescindendo, nel dare il proprio giudizio, da qualsiasi valutazione numerica. La Commissione potrà proporre per la nomina tre candidati in ordine di merito e non mai alla pari⁹².

In sostanza, con le modifiche introdotte nel 1914, il regolamento delle commissioni giudicatrici per i concorsi a cattedre nelle Accademie ed Istituti di Belle Arti era in larga misura assimilato a quello in vigore per gli analoghi concorsi banditi dalle Università⁹³.

⁹¹ *Regolamento sulle commissioni esaminatrici dei concorsi a cattedre vacanti nelle accademie ed istituti di belle arti del Regno*, allegato al R.D. 15 ottobre 1911, n. 1217 – col quale viene approvato l'annesso regolamento che modifica la composizione e l'ordine dei lavori delle Commissioni giudicatrici dei concorsi a cattedre vacanti nelle Accademie e negli Istituti di Belle Arti nel Regno, «Gazzetta Ufficiale del Regno d'Italia», n. 272, 22 novembre 1911, pp. 7586-7587.

⁹² R.D. 15 marzo 1914, n. 234 – che modifica il regolamento sulle Commissioni giudicatrici dei concorsi a cattedre vacanti nelle Accademie e negli Istituti di Belle Arti del regno approvato con R.D. 15 ottobre 1911, n. 1217, «Gazzetta Ufficiale del Regno d'Italia», n. 82, 7 aprile 1914, p. 1765. Tale decreto è riprodotto anche nel «Bollettino Ufficiale del Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione», vol. XLI/I, n. 16, 16 aprile 1914, pp. 421-422.

⁹³ Sui lavori di una commissione di concorso per una cattedra di *Storia dell'arte* che ha operato sulla base del regolamento introdotto da Luigi Credaro nel 1911, si veda la *Relazione della Commissione giudicatrice del concorso per il posto di insegnante di Storia dell'arte, di storia generale e di bibliotecario nel R. Istituto di Belle Arti di Roma*, 18 luglio 1913, «Bollettino Ufficiale del Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione», vol. XL/II, n. 35, 21 agosto 1913, pp. 2278-2280, che ha avuto quale vincitore Pietro D'Achiardi. Sulle procedure effettuate da un'altra commissione di concorso per la medesima disciplina che ha operato all'indomani delle modifiche apportate al regolamento Credaro nel marzo del 1914, si veda la *Relazione della Commissione giudicatrice del concorso al posto di professore di Storia dell'arte, Storia generale e bibliotecario nel R. Istituto di belle arti di Napoli*, 18 marzo 1921, «Bollettino Ufficiale del Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione», vol. XLVIII/I, n. 18, 5 maggio 1921, pp. 638-639, che ha visto vincitrice Costanza Lorenzetti.

3. *Le vicissitudini di una disciplina destinata a non riscuotere «il meritato favore presso gli alunni, sempre riluttanti ad ogni insegnamento teorico»*

A fronte della crescente rilevanza assunta negli ordinamenti didattici e nei piani di studio delle Accademie di Belle Arti della penisola all'indomani dell'Unità, l'insegnamento di *Estetica e storia dell'arte* – al pari di quelli delle altre «discipline teoriche» o, come si diceva all'epoca, «culturali» – non godette mai di particolare apprezzamento da parte degli allievi, né fece mai registrare, se non in taluni casi particolari, elevati tassi di frequenza ai relativi corsi.

Le notizie e i dati di cui disponiamo attestano, al riguardo, una «diffusa apatia» per tale insegnamento e una «scarsissima fiducia» nel suo ruolo di strumento volto a promuovere l'indispensabile «crescita culturale» e l'altrettanto fondamentale maturazione dello «spirito critico» e della «sensibilità artistica» nei giovani alunni delle Accademie.

Destinata ad essere tacciata talora come una disciplina «inutile e ridicola», in quanto destinata a trasmettere un sapere che «gli artisti imparano dalla natura, dall'esercizio dell'arte, e dall'esempio dei grandi maestri, e giammai dalle vane ciarle piene di astrazioni», e talaltra come un sapere finalizzato più a sollecitare «l'imitazione servile» che a stimolare un approccio «originale e realmente creativo» sul versante artistico⁹⁴, l'*Estetica e storia dell'arte* non godette, almeno nei primi decenni postunitari, di particolare rilevanza e autorevolezza nell'ordinamento didattico e nei piani di studio delle Accademie italiane, tant'è che, sulla scia di quanto già in vigore nella fase preunitaria, in diverse sedi tale insegnamento fu ascritto tra quelli facoltativi e continuò ad essere attribuito come «ufficio aggiuntivo», talvolta abbinato a quello di *bibliotecario*, al *segretario pro tempore* dell'Accademia⁹⁵.

La situazione dell'Accademia di Belle Arti di Brera è senz'altro emblematica delle notevoli difficoltà incontrate dalle «discipline teoriche» o «culturali» – prima fra tutte quella di *Estetica e storia dell'arte* – nelle istituzioni di alta for-

⁹⁴ *Delle Accademie di Belle Arti e del modo di renderle più profittevoli. Opinioni dello scultore Ferdinando Pelliccia*, Firenze, G. Barbèra, 1870, pp. 12-13 e 24-25. Ferdinando Pelliccia era, all'epoca, professore di *Scultura* nell'Accademia di Belle Arti di Carrara e direttore della medesima istituzione.

⁹⁵ Agli esordi dell'Italia unita, ossia nell'anno accademico 1861-62, l'incarico di professore di *Estetica e storia dell'arte* era attribuito al *segretario* dell'Accademia nelle sedi di Milano, Bologna, Parma, Modena, Carrara e Napoli (*Annuario della Istruzione pubblica per l'anno scolastico 1861-62*, Torino, Tipografia scolastica Sebastiano Franco e Figli, 1862, pp. 148, 253-255, 265 e 453). Ancora, a distanza di un decennio, nell'anno accademico 1873-74, analoga situazione si riscontrava nelle sedi di Milano, Bologna, Parma, Modena, Carrara e Urbino (*Annuario della Istruzione pubblica del Regno d'Italia per l'anno scolastico 1873-74*, Roma, Regia Tipografia, 1874, pp. 453-469). Nell'anno accademico 1892-93, infine, solo nell'Accademia di Belle Arti di Lucca l'insegnamento di *Estetica e storia dell'arte* risultava ancora attribuito al segretario della medesima Accademia (*Annuario Ufficiale del Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione 1893*, Roma, Stabilimento Tipografico E. Sinimberghi, 1893, pp. 290-296).

mazione artistica della penisola. Dopo l'unificazione nazionale, ha ricordato Eva Tea con specifico riferimento al caso milanese

l'insegnamento dell'estetica, ribattezzato definitivamente in storia dell'arte, veniva nelle mani del Mongeri e dell'Archinti, che gli diedero notevole sviluppo. Le premure degli insegnanti non trovavano però il meritato favore presso gli alunni, sempre riluttanti ad ogni insegnamento teorico. Nelle adunate del Consiglio la questione è spesso portata al giudizio dei colleghi che consigliano provvedimenti vari. Ora si pensa di istituire un esame delle due discipline teoriche [quello di *Storia dell'arte* e quello di *Lettere*], indispensabile per essere ammessi al corso di pittura storica; ora di abolire l'esame, per lasciare al corso di lettere e storia dell'arte l'attrazione di un esercizio libero di cultura dello spirito. Sembra che ogni provvedimento riuscisse vano contro la sistematica indifferenza della maggior parte degli alunni per le discipline delle Muse⁹⁶.

A conferma del limitato interesse suscitato, ancora sul finire degli anni Ottanta, dagli insegnamenti storico-artistici tra gli allievi dell'Accademia braidense di Belle Arti, basterà qui richiamare il dato relativo al numero di iscritti alle diverse «Scuole» o «Insegnamenti» per l'anno accademico 1886-1887:

Scuola d'ornato: 860
 Scuola di figura elementare: 147
 Sala delle statue: 46
 Scuola del nudo: 74
 Scuola di prospettiva: 140
 Scuola di architettura elementare: 145
 Scuola di geometria 1^a sezione: 33
 Scuola di geometria (festiva): 99
 Scuola di anatomia: 124
 Scuola di belle lettere: 73
 Scuola di storia dell'arte: 70
 Scuola speciale di pittura: 8
 Scuola speciale di pittura: 8
 Scuola speciale di pittura: 8
 Tra i 1102 allievi sono 49 allieve⁹⁷.

In realtà, il problema rivestiva un carattere generale e riguardava un po' tutte le Accademie di Belle Arti della penisola. Emblematico, al riguardo, è il caso di Bologna, dove il diffuso disinteresse per il corso di *Estetica e storia dell'arte* ed il numero decisamente esiguo di studenti che lo frequentavano all'indomani dell'unificazione nazionale erano destinati a divenire oggetto di sferzante e impietosa satira, nonché di accesa polemica e contrapposizione all'interno dello stesso corpo docente dell'istituzione emiliana.

A questo riguardo, nel 1867, l'allora segretario dell'Accademia felsinea Ce-

⁹⁶ Tea, *L'Accademia di Belle Arti a Brera – Milano*, cit., p. 104.

⁹⁷ *Atti della R. accademia di Belle Arti in Milano. Anno MDCCCLXXXVII*, Milano, Tipografia Pietro Faverio, 1888, p. 48.

sare Masini dava alle stampe un poemetto satirico in versi destinato a riscuotere un notevole successo negli ambienti artistici bolognesi. In esso, l'autore non mancava di denunciare la generale disaffezione dei giovani allievi per tale insegnamento e di ironizzare sullo scarso numero di frequentanti dei relativi corsi tenuti, all'indomani dell'unificazione nazionale, da Luigi Mercantini tra il 1861 e il 1865 e da Luciano Scarabelli tra 1865 e il 1871:

D'Estetica vediam tutte le scuole
Esser sempre deserte di studenti:
Le arti voglion fatti e non parole,
Né i giovani che a quelli sono intenti
Li vogliono lasciar per ascoltare
Ciò che in libri da sé ponno imparare⁹⁸.

Non molto diversa, del resto, risultava essere la situazione creatasi a Venezia all'indomani dell'annessione del Veneto al regno d'Italia. Nel periodo tra il 1865 e il 1878, infatti, anche nell'Accademia di Belle Arti della città lagunare l'insegnamento della *Storia dell'arte* viveva una stagione di crescenti difficoltà. «Un problema da più parti rilevato – ha notato al riguardo Alexander Auf der Heyde – è il ‘sovrano disinteresse’ degli allievi, incapaci, a causa della loro scarsa istruzione scolastica, di seguire le lezioni di *Estetica* o *Storia dell'arte*», tanto che, nel dibattito suscitato dall'apatia e dallo scarso interesse degli allievi per tale disciplina, non mancavano coloro che ne auspicavano l'abolizione, o quantomeno il suo drastico ridimensionamento nell'ambito degli ordinamenti didattici e dei piani di studio delle Accademie di Belle Arti⁹⁹.

Erano decisamente lontani i tempi in cui Pietro Selvatico, appena nominato segretario dell'Accademia di Belle Arti di Venezia, nel 1850, riformava la «Scuola di *Estetica*», resa obbligatoria per gli allievi dei corsi di pittura, scultura ed architettura, mutandola in «Scuola di sola *Storia dell'arte*» condotta «su casi concreti e quindi svincolata dall'insegnamento di mitologia, simbolica ed allegoria»; e, come ha ricordato ancora Alexander Auf der Heyde, attribuendo un notevole spazio e una particolare rilevanza a tale disciplina nell'ambito dei *curricula* formativi dell'istituzione veneziana, al punto da fare di essa il perno di una formazione artistica nutrita di senso storico e incentrata sull'acquisizione di una vera e propria «grammatica storica dell'arte», in sintonia con le correnti più avanzate e innovative della riflessione teorica sull'istruzione artistica in Europa¹⁰⁰.

⁹⁸ *Il Professore Luciano Scarabelli in Bologna. Sestine giocose di Cesare Masini*, Bologna, Regia Tipografia, 1867, p. 23.

⁹⁹ Cfr. P. Selvatico, *Le riforme possibili nelle Accademie governative di Belle Arti in Italia*, «Nuova Antologia», vol. XI, n. 10, 1875, pp. 339-340; e C. Boito, *Pittura e scultura negli Istituti di Belle Arti*, in Id., *Questioni pratiche di Belle Arti*, Milano, Hoepli, 1893, pp. 340-341.

¹⁰⁰ Auf der Heyde, *Grammatica storica, storia della civiltà, educazione visiva: tre storie dell'arte nell'Accademia di Venezia nell'Ottocento*, cit., pp. 21-22.

Anche laddove l'insegnamento di *Estetica e storia dell'arte* fece registrare all'indomani dell'Unità – in netta controtendenza con quanto riscontrato nel resto della penisola – una positiva accoglienza e fu seguito, come nel caso dell'Accademia di Belle Arti di Firenze, da un crescente numero di allievi e, addirittura, da un folto gruppo di entusiastici uditori esterni d'ambo i sessi non iscritti ai corsi regolari dell'Accademia, la situazione era ben lontana dal far registrare un atteggiamento di maggiore apertura e considerazione nei riguardi della disciplina rispetto al passato.

Con riferimento ai corsi di *Estetica e storia dell'arte* tenuti dal poeta e letterato Aleardo Aleardi nell'Accademia di Belle Arti di Firenze tra il 1863 e il 1874, ad esempio, Aldo Foratti, dopo avere ricordato come le lezioni di quest'ultimo fossero frequentatissime e destinate a suscitare l'attenzione anche della stampa locale per l'enorme seguito di 'uditrici esterne' che le seguiva, si soffermava tuttavia a lumeggiare il carattere effimero e tutto esteriore di tale successo:

Le belle signore – sottolineava lo studioso – che accorrevano ad udirlo, e che applaudivano la melliflua declamazione, occupando le sedie, prima vuote di scolari e di pubblico, desideravano la melodia del periodo e non lo sforzo del raziocinio. L'Aleardi seppe e volle essere il precursore dell'odierno conferenziere; alla fama poetica e al suo patriottismo furono perdonate l'impreparazione filosofica e la scarsa sensibilità critica¹⁰¹.

A partire dagli ultimi due decenni del secolo XIX, comunque, all'interno delle Accademie di Belle Arti della penisola si registra una significativa ripresa d'interesse per le «discipline teoriche» o «culturali» e, in particolare, per gli insegnamenti di carattere storico-artistico. Con specifico riferimento a questi ultimi, vale la pena di segnalare la vera e propria inversione di tendenza registrata nella maggior parte delle Accademie della penisola. A titolo puramente esemplificativo, si potrebbero ricordare, ad esempio, i corsi di *Storia dell'arte* largamente frequentati dagli allievi tenuti nell'Accademia di Belle Arti di Roma da Basilio Magni tra il 1873 e il 1912¹⁰², quelli altrettanto partecipati e apprezzati che Camillo Jacopo Cavallucci tenne nell'Accademia di Belle Arti di Firenze dal 1874 al 1906¹⁰³, e, infine, quelli svolti da Vincenzo Pitini Piraino nell'Accademia di Belle Arti di Palermo tra il 1888 e il 1921¹⁰⁴.

In altre sedi accademiche, tuttavia, anche nell'ultima fase del secolo XIX non mancarono le critiche e le resistenze, da parte degli studenti, a tale disciplina, anche laddove essa fu insegnata con notevole rigore e competenza. È il

¹⁰¹ Foratti, *L'estetica e la critica d'arte di Aleardo Aleardi*, cit., p. 14.

¹⁰² Cfr. M. Nocca, *Fare gli Italiani. Ettore Novelli e Basilio Magni. Biblioteche e storia dell'arte a Roma nel processo nazionale unitario dopo il 1870*, in L. Ciocca (ed.), *Storie d'archivio. Contributi recati alla storia di Velletri*, Roma, Gruppo Editoriale Tab, 2023, p. 222.

¹⁰³ Si veda al riguardo I. Folli, *In memoria del prof. C.J. Cavallucci*, «La Nazione», 3 maggio 1913.

¹⁰⁴ Cfr. Meli, *La Regia Accademia di Belle Arti di Palermo*, cit., p. 102.

caso, in particolare, dell'Accademia di Belle Arti di Brera, a Milano, sul quale abbiamo già richiamato la lucida testimonianza di Eva Tea¹⁰⁵.

4. *I “classici” della storiografia artistica e i principali manuali di riferimento per l'insegnamento della Storia dell'arte nelle Accademie di Belle Arti dell'Italia unita*

Non è facile rintracciare i programmi didattici degli insegnamenti storico-artistici impartiti nelle Accademie di Belle Arti della penisola nella stagione postunitaria. Le gravi lacune riscontrate negli archivi delle stesse istituzioni d'istruzione artistica in ordine alla conservazione della documentazione attestante le caratteristiche e i contenuti stessi dei corsi d'insegnamento costituiscono, sotto certi aspetti, un ostacolo assai difficile da superare.

Per altri versi, la notevole varietà ed eterogeneità degli stessi programmi, stabiliti in totale autonomia dal singolo docente e non vincolati in alcun modo, almeno fino alla riforma Gentile del 1923, né dall'istituzione nella quale questi operava, né dal ministero della Pubblica Istruzione, rende talora tutt'altro che agevole l'individuazione anche solamente delle tematiche e dei contenuti comuni e condivisi da parte di tutti i docenti della disciplina.

Meno ardua, e di sicuro interesse, ai fini della messa a fuoco degli argomenti e dei temi veicolati dagli insegnamenti storico-artistici, si rivela l'individuazione dei testi e manuali utilizzati dai docenti della disciplina per l'organizzazione dei corsi e la predisposizione delle rispettive lezioni. I vari riferimenti agli *auctores* di più ampia e frequente consultazione e alle *letture* maggiormente utilizzate a scopo didattico, che talora è dato di ritrovare negli appunti personali o nei carteggi di alcuni tra i docenti, come del resto le specifiche indicazioni contenute nelle prolusioni accademiche e nelle presentazioni a stampa dei corsi, consentono, a questo riguardo, di delineare una vera e propria mappa dei testi maggiormente utilizzati e delle opere di carattere storico e filosofico alle quali le prime generazioni di docenti di *Estetica e storia dell'arte* nelle Accademie di Belle Arti postunitarie fecero ricorso per la predisposizione dei corsi e dei cicli di lezioni.

Tra le opere di riferimento universalmente presenti nelle librerie dei docenti di *Storia dell'arte* e maggiormente utilizzate nella preparazione dei rispettivi corsi troviamo, innanzi tutto, la celeberrima *Le vite de' più eccellenti architetti, pittori e scultori...* (1550) di Giorgio Vasari (Arezzo, 1511 – Firenze, 1574)¹⁰⁶, la quale, redatta, come si legge nel *Proemio* del primo libro, con la

¹⁰⁵ Tea, *L'Accademia di Belle Arti a Brera, Milano*, cit., p. 104.

¹⁰⁶ Com'è noto, l'opera del Vasari, pubblicata per la prima volta nel 1550 a Firenze da Lorenzo Torrentino in tre parti per due volumi e dedicata al granduca Cosimo I de' Medici (*Le*

finalità di fronteggiare la «voracità del tempo» che aveva «cancellato e spento» il ricordo di tanti grandi artisti e di tante straordinarie opere del passato, oltre ad assicurare imperitura fama al suo autore, avrebbe avuto «esiti forse ancora più incisivi sia per gli artisti che per la storia dell'arte in avvenire», al punto da divenire nei secoli successivi, come ha giustamente ricordato Orietta Rossi Pinelli, una «pietra miliare della storiografia artistica»¹⁰⁷.

L'opera del Vasari, della quale tra il 1846 e il 1870 vedeva la luce a Firenze la splendida edizione in 14 volumi curata da Vincenzo Marchese, Carlo Pini e dai fratelli Carlo e Gaetano Milanesi e stampata per i tipi di Felice Le Monnier¹⁰⁸, sarebbe stata riedita a più riprese, nella penisola, per tutto il corso del secolo XIX¹⁰⁹, a conferma del fatto che la nascente storia dell'arte abbia individuato nell'Ottocento in Giorgio Vasari un'imprescindibile punto di riferimento e vi abbia fatto ampiamente ricorso; ovvero che il suo trattato sia divenuto una fonte primaria alla quale attingere informazioni sulle vite e sulle opere dei primi artisti italiani¹¹⁰.

Accanto all'opera del Vasari, l'insegnamento della *Storia dell'arte* nelle Ac-

vite de' più eccellenti architetti, pittori, et scultori italiani, da Cimabue insino a' tempi nostri, descritte in lingua toscana, da Giorgio Vasari pittore aretino. Con una sua utile & necessaria introduzione a le arti loro, stampato in Fiorenza, appresso Lorenzo Torrentino impressor ducale, 1550), era preceduta da una trattazione delle tecniche utilizzate nelle varie arti. Il successo incontrato da questa prima edizione spinse l'autore a curarne una seconda, ampliata e aggiornata, con il titolo *Le vite de' più eccellenti pittori, scultori, e architettori*, che fu stampata nel 1568, sempre a Firenze, dai Giunti in tre volumi e illustrata con i ritratti incisi degli artisti: *Le vite de' più eccellenti pittori, scultori, et architettori, scritte e di nuovo ampliate da Giorgio Vasari Pit. ed Archit. Aretino, co' ritratti loro et con le nuove vite dal 1550, infino al 1567*, in Fiorenza appresso i Giunti, 1568. Cfr. C.M. Simonetti, *La vita delle «Vite» vasariane. Profilo storico di due edizioni*, Firenze, Olschki, 2005; e il più recente B. Agosti, S. Ginzburg, A. Nova (edd.), *Giorgio Vasari e il cantiere delle «Vite» del 1550*, Venezia, Marsilio, 2013,

¹⁰⁷ Cfr. O. Rossi Pinelli, *Le arti del disegno (1550-1590)*, in Ead. (ed.), *La storia delle storie dell'arte*, Torino, Einaudi, 2014, pp. 4-5.

¹⁰⁸ G. Vasari, *Le vite de' più eccellenti pittori, scultori e architetti di Giorgio Vasari, pubblicate per cura di una Società di amatori delle arti belle*, Firenze, Felice Le Monnier, 1846-1870, 14 voll.

¹⁰⁹ Tra le edizioni ottocentesche de *Le vite de' più eccellenti pittori, scultori e architetti* del Vasari apparse nella penisola, nel corso dell'Ottocento, ci limitiamo qui a segnalare: quella in 16 volumi edita a Milano per i Classici italiani tra il 1807 e il 1811; quella veneziana in 19 volumi data alle stampe dall'Antonelli tra il 1828 e il '33; l'edizione Montani-Masselli pubblicata a Firenze tra il 1832 e il '38; l'altra sempre edita a Firenze, per le cure del Ranalli, in due volumi, tra il 1845 e il '48; l'edizione triestina curata dal Racheli per la sezione letterario-artistica del Lloyd austriaco nel 1857; quella napoletana curata da G. De Stefano nel 1859 per i tipi di Rossi-Romano; quella data alle stampe sempre a Firenze dal Milanesi nel 1863, nella «Nuova collezione scolastica» dell'editore G. Barbera; e, infine, l'edizione in quattro volumi edita a Torino nel 1870, nella «Biblioteca della gioventù italiana» della Tipografia dell'Oratorio di S. Francesco di Sales.

¹¹⁰ Si veda al riguardo la documentata recensione di G. Mazzaferro a G. Vasari, *Le Vite de' più eccellenti pittori scultori e architettori nelle redazioni del 1550 e del 1568. Testo a cura di Rosanna Bettarini. Commento secolare a cura di Paola Barocchi*, Firenze, Sansoni – S.P.E.S. Studio per Edizioni Scelte, 1966-1987, <<https://letteraturaartistica.blogspot.com/2020/10/vasari-bettarini-barocchi.html>> (ultimo accesso: 20.05.2025).

cademie della penisola poté far conto su un'opera di grande spessore e d'indubbia notorietà, come la *Storia pittorica della Italia* del gesuita marchigiano Luigi Lanzi (Montecchio, 1732 – Firenze, 1810)¹¹¹, edita per la prima volta a Venezia. per i tipi del Remondini, tra il 1795 e il '96¹¹², e più volte ristampata nel corso del secolo XIX¹¹³.

Il testo, compiuta espressione della cultura enciclopedica settecentesca, forniva una organica e documentata ricostruzione della storia della pittura in Italia dalla fine dell'epoca antica fino alle soglie della contemporaneità e si proponeva di soddisfare una serie di obiettivi già delineati in una *Prefazione* redatta nel 1792 e poi ampliata progressivamente fino a divenire «un manifesto metodologico di straordinaria lucidità, dove recuperava, chiariva e sintetizzava molte delle questioni più scottanti del XVIII secolo»:

L'obiettivo generale – come ha efficacemente sottolineato Chiara Piva – era triplice. Prima di tutto Lanzi intendeva colmare una mancanza storiografica, scrivere una storia generale della pittura, nella consapevolezza che «la storia pittorica è simile alla letteraria, alla civile, alla sacra». In questo senso criticava gli storiografi precedenti sia per la frequente fazziosità delle loro ricostruzioni, sia per la mancanza di una selezione delle informazioni. L'obiettivo era [...] arrivare a scrivere una «storia compendiosa», una sintesi capace di narrare attraverso l'evoluzione degli stili le molteplici influenze culturali. [...] Lanzi si prefiggeva in seconda istanza di contribuire «all'avanzamento dell'arte»: la comprensione delle dinamiche che governavano sviluppi e regressi della storia della pittura sarebbe stata utile sia agli artisti che agli studiosi che così «avranno principi non incerti, non controversi, non dedotti dal gusto di una o di un'altra scuola, ma certi e sicuri e fondati su la esperienza costante di tanti luoghi e di tanti secoli». [...] [Infine], realizzare una storia come compendio, voleva dire «scegliere ciò che possa interessare maggiormente e istruire» rielaborando, in un complesso lavoro di *imitatio* e *variatio*, la storiografia precedente, documentata nella corposa bibliografia finale¹¹⁴.

E forse è proprio per la sua capacità di intrecciare la «storia pittorica» con quella letteraria, civile e sacra, di narrare attraverso l'evoluzione degli stili le molteplici influenze culturali e di rappresentare una sorta di ricapitolazione

¹¹¹ Cfr. F. Capanni, *Lanzi, Luigi Antonio*, in *DBI*, 2004, Vol. 63.

¹¹² *Storia pittorica della Italia dell'ab. Luigi Lanzi antiquario della R. Corte di Toscana*, 3 voll., Bassano, a spese Remondini di Venezia, 1795-1796. L'edizione definitiva dell'opera vide la luce nel 1809; tra il 1815 e il '17 fu data alle stampe da Remondini la 4ª edizione.

¹¹³ A puro titolo esemplificativo segnaliamo: *Storia pittorica della Italia dal risorgimento delle belle arti fin presso al fine del 18. secolo dell'ab. Luigi Lanzi*, 6 voll., Milano, per Giovanni Silvestri, 1823; *Storia pittorica dell'Italia dal Risorgimento delle belle arti fin presso al fine del 18. Secolo di Luigi Lanzi*, 12 voll., Milano, per Nicolò Bettoni, 1831; *Storia pittorica della Italia dal Risorgimento delle belle arti fin presso al fine del 18. secolo dell'abate Luigi Lanzi*, 3 voll., Firenze, presso Guglielmo Piatti, 1834; *Storia pittorica della Italia dal risorgimento delle belle arti fin presso al fine del 18. secolo dell'ab. Luigi Lanzi*, 14 voll., Venezia, presso Pietro Milesi, 1837-1839; e *Storia pittorica della Italia dal risorgimento delle belle arti fin presso al fine del 18. secolo dell'ab. Luigi Lanzi*, 6 voll., Firenze, presso Luigi Molini, 1845.

¹¹⁴ C. Piva, *La Repubblica delle Lettere e il dibattito sul metodo storico (1681-1814)*, in Rossi Pinelli (ed.), *La storia delle storie dell'arte*, cit., pp. 143-145.

della storiografia artistica precedente che l'opera di Luigi Lanzi ha suscitato, nel corso del secolo XIX, il crescente interesse dei docenti di *Storia dell'arte*, testimoniato dal diffuso e costante utilizzo, a scopo didattico, della sua «storia compendiosa» della pittura italiana dei secoli passati nelle Accademie di Belle Arti della penisola.

Accanto a quella dell'abate Lanzi, l'altra grande opera che doveva ispirare la ricerca e l'insegnamento storico-artistico nella stagione postunitaria fu indubbiamente la *Storia della scultura dal suo risorgimento in Italia fino al secolo di Canova* di Leopoldo Cicognara (Ferrara, 1767 – Venezia, 1834)¹¹⁵, edita per la prima volta a Venezia, presso lo stampatore Picotti, tra il 1813 e il 1818¹¹⁶ e nuovamente riedita nella prima metà degli anni Venti¹¹⁷.

Destinata a costituire la prima storia della scultura in Italia dall'antichità fino all'età contemporanea, l'opera dell'erudito e storico dell'arte ferrarese, a lungo presidente dell'Accademia di Belle arti di Venezia (1808-1826) ebbe il non piccolo merito, come ha giustamente rilevato Susanne Adina Meyer, di «curvare 'il piano e il metodo' delle storie enciclopediche illuministe alle esigenze di una nuova idea di Nazione italiana nata dall'esperienza napoleonica»¹¹⁸. In particolare, la rigorosa contestualizzazione storica degli autori e delle opere, l'antesignana attenzione riservata ai primitivi e all'arte romanica, l'originale sguardo rivolto verso le tecniche ed espressioni artistiche di carattere minore (intaglio, incisione ecc.)¹¹⁹ contribuirono a fare della *Storia della scultura* del Cicognara una delle principali opere di consultazione e di riferimento per larga parte dei docenti delle Accademie postunitarie.

Con riguardo alla produzione storico-artistica apparsa nella penisola nel corso dell'Ottocento, una certa diffusione ebbe la *Storia della pittura italiana esposta coi monumenti*¹²⁰ di Giovanni Rosini (Lucignano, 1776 – Pisa, 1855), letterato, collezionista d'arte e professore di *Eloquenza* all'Università di Pisa¹²¹. Inoltre, ampiamente diffusi tra i docenti di *Storia dell'arte* delle

¹¹⁵ Cfr. G.D. Romanelli, *Cicognara, Francesco Leopoldo*, in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, 73 voll., Roma 1960-2009, Istituto dell'Enciclopedia Italiana, 1981, Vol. 25, pp. 419-428.

¹¹⁶ *Storia della scultura dal suo risorgimento in Italia sino al secolo di Napoleone per servire di continuazione alle opere di Winkelmann e di d'Agincourt*, 3 voll., in Venezia, nella Tipografia Picotti, 1813-1818.

¹¹⁷ *Storia della scultura dal suo risorgimento in Italia fino al secolo di Canova del conte Leopoldo Cicognara per servire di continuazione all'opere di Winckelmann e di D'Agincourt. Edizione seconda riveduta e ampliata dall'autore*, 3 voll., Prato, per i fratelli Giachetti, 1823-1825.

¹¹⁸ S.A. Meyer, *La storia dell'arte tra Nationbuilding e studio della forma (1873-1912)*, in Rossi Pinelli (ed.), *La storia delle storie dell'arte*, cit., p. 186.

¹¹⁹ Cfr. G. Previtali, *La fortuna dei primitivi. Dal Vasari ai neoclassici*, Torino, Einaudi, 1964, pp. 192-194.

¹²⁰ *Storia della pittura italiana esposta coi monumenti da Giovanni Rosini*, 7 voll., Pisa, N. Capurro, 1839-1847.

¹²¹ Cfr. M. Manfredi, *Rosini, Giovanni*, in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, cit., 2017, Vol. 88, pp. 216-218.

Accademie italiane risultano essere, soprattutto con riferimento alla seconda metà del sec. XIX, i ben noti testi di Pietro Estense Selvatico (Padova, 1803 – ivi, 1880)¹²², *Sull'educazione del pittore storico odierno italiano* (1842)¹²³ e la *Storia estetico-critica delle arti del disegno, ovvero l'architettura, la pittura, la statuaria considerate nelle correlazioni fra loro e negli svolgimenti storici, estetici e tecnici* (1852-56)¹²⁴; infine, la *Storia della pittura in Italia dal secolo II al secolo XVI* di Giovanni Battista Cavalcaselle (Legnago, 1819 – Roma, 1897)¹²⁵ e Joseph Archer Crowe (London, 1825 – Werbach, Germany, 1896)¹²⁶, data alle stampe in lingua italiana dall'editore fiorentino Le Monnier per la prima volta nel 1875 e poi riedita nuovamente nel 1886¹²⁷.

Di particolare importanza, per le prime generazioni di insegnanti delle Accademie di Belle Arti postunitarie fu anche la circolazione nella penisola delle opere di taluni tra i principali e più autorevoli storici dell'arte e studiosi di estetica europei, in particolare di lingua tedesca e francese. Alexander Auf der Heyde¹²⁸, a questo proposito, ha giustamente sottolineato la centralità e importanza, per gli studiosi e docenti del nostro paese, della diffusione delle opere (trattati, manuali ecc.) di studiosi del calibro di Franz Kugler (Stettin, 1808 – Berlin, 1858)¹²⁹, del quale vale la pena di segnalare almeno la versione italiana del suo celebre *Manuale della storia dell'arte*¹³⁰; Gustav Planche

¹²² C.A. Auf der Heyde, M. Visentin, F. Castellani (edd.), *Pietro Selvatico e il rinnovamento delle arti nell'Italia dell'Ottocento*, Pisa, Edizioni della Normale, Venezia, Istituto veneto di scienze, lettere ed arti, 2016.

¹²³ *Sull'educazione del pittore storico odierno italiano. Pensieri di Pietro Selvatico*, Padova, coi tipi del Seminario, 1842.

¹²⁴ *Storia estetico-critica delle arti del disegno, ovvero l'architettura, la pittura, la statuaria considerate nelle correlazioni fra loro e negli svolgimenti storici, estetici e tecnici. Lezioni delle nella I.R. Accademia di Belle Arti in Venezia da P. Selvatico*, 2 voll., Venezia, coi tipi di Pietro Naratovich, 1852-1856.

¹²⁵ Cfr. Cavalcaselle, Giovanni Battista, in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, cit., 1979, Vol. 22, pp. 640-644.

¹²⁶ Cfr. V. Conticelli, *Joseph Archer Crowe storico dell'arte (1825-1896)*, Teramo, Palumbi, 2023.

¹²⁷ *Storia della pittura in Italia dal secolo II al secolo XVI per Giovanni Battista Cavalcaselle e Joseph Archer Crowe*, 8 voll., Firenze, Successori Le Monnier, 1875-1898 (2ª ediz.: 11 voll., 1886-1908).

¹²⁸ Cfr. Auf der Heyde, *Grammatica storica, Storia delle civiltà, Educazione visiva: tre Storie dell'arte all'Accademia di Venezia nell'Ottocento*, cit., pp. 21-29. Sull'influsso della cultura storico-artistica di lingua tedesca sulla realtà della penisola nel corso del secolo XIX, si veda inoltre il più ampio e documentato lavoro di A. Auf der Heyde, *Per l'«avvenire dell'arte in Italia»: Pietro Selvatico e l'estetica applicata alle arti del disegno nel secolo XIX*, Pisa, Pacini Editore, 2013.

¹²⁹ Cfr. K. Heck, *Die Bezüglichkeit der Kunst zum Leben: Franz Kugler und das erste akademische Lehrprogramm der Kunstgeschichte*, «Marburger Jahrbuch für Kunstwissenschaft», 2005, pp. 7-15.

¹³⁰ *Manuale della storia dell'arte del d.r Francesco Kugler. Prof. nella R. Acc. Di Belle Arti di Berlino, con aggiunte del dottore Jacopo Burckhardt, prima versione italiana fatta sulla seconda edizione tedesca dall'abate Pietro Mugna*, Venezia, co' tipi del Giornale il Lombardo-

(Paris, 1808 – ivi, 1857)¹³¹ e Rudolf Eitelberger von Edelberg (Olmütz, 1817 – Wien, 1885)¹³².

A tali opere, si potrebbero aggiungere quelle di altri artisti e studiosi di diverso valore e notorietà, i quali, a cavallo tra Sette e Ottocento, esercitarono una certa influenza sull'evoluzione della cultura artistica nella penisola, come nel caso di Jacob Burckhardt (Basilea 1818 – ivi, 1897)¹³³, Anton Raphael Mengs (Aussig, 1728 – Roma, 1779)¹³⁴, Johann Joachim Winckelmann (Stendal, 1717 – Trieste, 1768)¹³⁵, Jean-Baptiste Seroux d'Agincourt (Beauvais, 1730 – Roma, 1814)¹³⁶, Charles Blanc (Castres, 1813 – Paris, 1882)¹³⁷, Eugène

Veneto, 1852-1854. Il primo dei due manuali pubblicati da Kugler (*Handbuch der Geschichte der Malerei von Konstantin del Grossen bis auf die neuere Zeit*, Berlin, Duncker & Humblot, 1837 e 1847²) non fu mai pubblicato in lingua italiana, mentre il secondo (*Handbuch der Kunstgeschichte*, Stuttgart, Ebner & Seubert, 1842) ebbe diverse altre edizioni in traduzione, tra le quali quella padovana, apparsa fin dal 1847 per i tipi di Drucker e Tedeschi, e quella milanese del 1858 dell'editore G. Brigola.

¹³¹ Cfr. E. de Mirecourt, *Gustave Planche, 1808-1857*, Paris, G. Havard, 1856. Tra le opere di Planche destinate ad incontrare più larga fortuna nella penisola, deve essere ricordata soprattutto *Portraits d'artistes: peintres et sculpteurs*, Paris, M. Lévy, 1853.

¹³² Cfr. M. Rampley, *The Vienna School of Art History. Empire and the Politics of Scholarship 1847-1918*, University Park, Pennsylvania State University Press 2013, pp. 8-30. Sull'influenza esercitata dagli scritti di Eitelberger von Edelberg nella penisola si vedano i riferimenti contenuti in C.A. Auf der Heyde, *I rapporti con Vienna: Selvatico, l'abate Pietro Mugna e Rudolf Eitelberger von Edelberg*, in Auf der Heyde, Visentin, Castellani (edd.), *Pietro Selvatico e il rinnovamento delle arti nell'Italia dell'Ottocento*, cit., pp. 203-223.

¹³³ Di Jacob Burckhardt deve essere segnalata, in particolare, la fortuna incontrata soprattutto tra gli studiosi e docenti dell'area lombardo-veneta, dell'opera *Der Cicerone. Eine Anleitung zum genuss der kunstwerke italiens. Von Jacob Burckhardt*, Basel, Schweighauserische verlagsbuchhandlung, 1855. Su di lui: H.R. Guggisberg, P.F. Ganz, *Umgang mit Jacob Burckhardt*, Basel-München, Beck Edition, 1994.

¹³⁴ Di Anton Raphael Mengs deve essere segnalato il trattato *Gedanken über die Schönheit und über den Geschmack in der Malerei* (Zurigo, 1762), edito in lingua italiana nelle *Opere di Antonio Raffaello Mengs primo pittore della maestà del re cattolico Carlo III. Pubblicate dal cav. d. Giuseppe Niccola D'Azara, e dallo stesso rivedute ed aumentate in questa edizione*, 2 voll., in Bassano, a spese Remondini di Venezia, 1783. Su di lui: S. Roettgen, *Anton Raphael Mengs 1728-1779*, 2 voll., München, Hirmer Verlag, 1999-2003.

¹³⁵ Cfr. F. La Manna, *Winckelmann. L'uomo che ha cambiato il modo di vedere l'arte antica*, Milano, La Nave di Teseo, 2022. Si vedano le opere di Winckelmann tradotte in lingua italiana in *Opere di G.G. Winckelmann, prima edizione italiana completa*, 12 voll., Prato, per i Fr. Giachetti, 1830-1834.

¹³⁶ I. Miarelli Mariani, *Seroux d'Agincourt e l'Histoire de l'Art par les monuments. Riscoperta del medioevo, dibattito storiografico e riproduzione artistica tra fine XVIII e inizio XIX secolo*, Roma, Bonsignori, 2005. La sua *Histoire de l'Art par les Monuments, depuis sa décadence au IV siècle jusqu'à son renouvellement au XVI*, edita a Parigi, per i tipi di Treuttel et Würtz, tra il 1810 e il 1823, ebbe il non piccolo merito, com'è noto, di promuovere un mutamento di gusto in Europa nei confronti dei primitivi italiani e del gotico, fino ad allora considerati come espressioni decadenti.

¹³⁷ Cfr. M. Flax Neil, *Charles Blanc, le moderniste malgré lui*, in J.-P. Bouillon (dir.), *La Critique d'art en France 1850-1900*, Saint-Étienne, CIEREC-Université de Saint-Étienne, 1989, pp. 95-104. Di Ch. Blanc, com'è noto, sul finire degli anni Quaranta cominciarono ad uscire in Francia i primi fascicoli dell'*Histoire des peintres de toutes les écoles depuis la Renaissance*

Müntz (Soultz-sous-Forêts, 1845 – Paris, 1902)¹³⁸, Charles Callahan Perkins (Boston, 1823 – Windsor, 1886)¹³⁹ e John Addington Symonds (Bristol, 1840 – Roma, 1893)¹⁴⁰.

A partire soprattutto dalla fine degli anni Settanta del secolo XIX si registra la comparsa in Italia di alcune storie dell'arte redatte dagli stessi docenti della disciplina e destinate ad essere ampiamente utilizzate nell'ambito dei corsi tenuti nelle Accademie. È il caso, ad esempio, del testo riccamente illustrato *L'arte attraverso i secoli* di Luigi Archinti, titolare della cattedra di *Storia dell'arte* nell'Accademia di Belle Arti di Brera a Milano dal 1888 al 1901, edito nel 1878 a Milano per i tipi dell'editore Treves¹⁴¹; e de *Il libro dell'arte* di Giuseppe Mongeri, il predecessore dell'Archinti sulla cattedra di *Storia dell'arte* nell'Accademia di Belle Arti milanese, da lui tenuta tra il 1879 e il 1888, edito nel 1884 dall'editore milanese Hoepli¹⁴².

È anche il caso dei due ricchi e documentati testi predisposti da Camillo Jacopo Cavallucci, professore nell'Accademia di Belle Arti di Firenze dal 1874 al 1906: il *Manuale di Storia della Scultura*, edito a Torino da E. Loescher nel 1884, il quale, incentrato sulla scultura dall'età egizia fino all'età contempora-

jusqu'à nos jours, poi raccolti, tra il 1861 e il 1876, in 14 volumi editi dallo stampatore parigino J. Renouard. L'opera, corredata da ben 2556 incisioni, comprendeva le biografie – poco meno di 500 profili – dei più importanti pittori europei organizzate per scuole.

¹³⁸ Cfr. É. Chatelain, *Notice sur la vie et les travaux d'Eugène Müntz*, in *Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, 1907, n. 10, pp. 627-653. Di E. Müntz circolarono nella penisola soprattutto i suoi lavori sull'arte del Rinascimento italiano, diversi dei quali apparvero anche in traduzione: *Les Arts à la cour des papes pendant le xve et le xvie siècle*, 4 voll., Paris, Ernest Thorin, 1878-1898; *Les Précurseurs de la Renaissance*, Paris, E. Leroux, 1881; trad. it.: *Precursori e propugnatori del Rinascimento*, Firenze, Sansoni, 1902; *Raphaël, sa vie, son œuvre et son temps*, Paris, Hachette, 1881; *Histoire de l'art pendant la Renaissance*, 3 voll., Paris, Hachette, 1888-1894; *Donatello*, Paris, J. Rouam, 1890; *Florence et la Toscane. Paysages et monuments, mœurs et souvenirs historiques*, Paris, Hachette, 1897; trad. it.: *Firenze e la Toscana. Paesaggi e monumenti, costumi e ricordi storici*, Milano, Treves, 1899; *Léonard de Vinci. L'artiste, le penseur, le savant*, Paris, Hachette, 1899.

¹³⁹ Cfr. D. Hartry Stein, *Charles Callahan Perkins: early Italian Renaissance art and British museum practice in Boston*, «Journal of Art Historiography», 2018 <<https://arthistoriography.wordpress.com/wp-content/uploads/2018/05/stein>> (ultimo accesso: 20.05.2025). Di Ch.C. Perkins si veda in particolare *Tuscan sculptors. Their lives, works and times*, 2 voll., London, Longman, 1864.

¹⁴⁰ Cfr. J. Pemble (ed.), *John Addington Symonds. Culture and the Demon Desire*, Basingstoke, Macmillan Press – New York, St. Martin's Press, 2000. Di Symonds ricordiamo in particolare l'opera *History of the Renaissance in Italy*, edita tra il 1875 e il 1886 presso l'editore londinese Smith, Elder & Co., e tradotta poi, parzialmente, in lingua italiana con il titolo *Il Rinascimento in Italia: le Belle Arti*, Firenze, Le Monnier, 1879.

¹⁴¹ *L'arte attraverso i secoli, con 552 incisioni e 68 tavole staccate dal testo*, Milano, Treves, 1878. L'opera fu pubblicata dall'Archinti con lo pseudonimo di Luigi Chitarni. Dello stesso autore si veda anche l'altro fortunato testo: L. Archinti, *Degli stili nell'architettura*, Milano, Vallardi, 1895.

¹⁴² G. Mongeri, *Il libro dell'arte*, Milano, Hoepli, 1884. Dello stesso autore si veda anche l'altro manuale: G. Mongeri, *Gli stili architettonici*, Milano, Vallardi, 1887.

nea, riuniva, come scriveva l'autore nella *prefazione*, «parte delle cose esposte nei Corsi delle lezioni da me date in Accademia», ed era rivolto principalmente agli «studenti negli Istituti di Belle Arti e nei Licei»¹⁴³; e il *Manuale di Storia dell'Arte*, pubblicato a Firenze dall'editore Le Monnier tra il 1895 e il 1905, il quale, composto da 4 densi volumi privi di immagini, forniva un'ampia ricostruzione dell'arte italiana dall'antichità all'età contemporanea con una serie di sezioni dedicate all'arte europea¹⁴⁴.

Sulla stessa scia si collocano, inoltre, la fortunata *Storia dell'arte italiana dalle origini al secolo XX*, edita nella capitale per i tipi dell'Officina Poligrafica Romana nel 1900¹⁴⁵ da Basilio Magni, titolare della cattedra di *Storia dell'arte* nell'Accademia di Belle Arti di Roma dal 1873 al 1912, e più volte ristampata in seguito¹⁴⁶; e il *Corso elementare di storia dell'arte* dato alle stampe per i tipi dell'editore milanese Hoepli nel 1907 da Giulio Carotti, il successore di Archinti sulla cattedra di *Storia dell'arte* dell'Accademia di Brera, che egli tenne dal 1902 al 1923¹⁴⁷.

Alla luce dello scenario sin qui delineato, se si vuole realmente comprendere quali furono l'impostazione, le caratteristiche e gli effettivi contenuti degli insegnamenti di carattere storico-artistico erogati dalle Accademie, Istituti e Scuole di Belle Arti nell'arco di tempo che, dall'unificazione nazionale, giunge fino alla riforma Gentile del 1923 è necessario focalizzare l'attenzione sullo specifico magistero esercitato da ciascun docente della disciplina, ovvero approfondire la peculiare caratterizzazione assunta da questo insegnamento in ciascuna delle istituzioni superiori d'istruzione artistica della penisola.

Ed è proprio questo l'obiettivo che ci proponiamo di perseguire nel prosieguo delle nostre ricerche e che sarà oggetto di ulteriori contributi che vedranno la luce in questa stessa rivista.

¹⁴³ *Manuale di Storia della Scultura compilato da C. Jacopo Cavallucci, con 78 illustrazioni nel testo*, Torino, E. Loescher, 1884.

¹⁴⁴ C.J. Cavallucci, *Manuale di Storia dell'Arte*, 4 voll., Firenze, Le Monnier, 1895-1905.

¹⁴⁵ B. Magni, *Storia dell'arte italiana dalle origini al secolo XX*, 2 voll., Roma, Officina Poligrafica Romana, 1900.

¹⁴⁶ Id., *Storia dell'arte italiana dalle origini al secolo XX*, 2ª ediz. riveduta ed accresciuta dall'Autore, 3 voll., Roma, Officina Poligrafica Italiana, 1905; poi: 3ª ediz., 3 voll., Torino, Fratelli Bocca, 1906; infine: 3ª ediz. riveduta ed accresciuta dall'Autore, 4 voll., Roma, Fratelli P. Maglione e C. Strini successori di Loescher, 1922.

¹⁴⁷ G. Carotti, *Corso elementare di storia dell'arte*, 2 voll., Milano, Hoepli, 1907.

Appendice n. 1
MAPPA DEGLI INSEGNAMENTI DI STORIA DELL'ARTE
NELLE ACCADEMIE, ISTITUTI E SCUOLE DI BELLE ARTI
DEL REGNO D'ITALIA¹⁴⁸

Anno Accademico 1861-1862

- R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Bologna (Estetica e storia dell'arte: Luigi Mercantini).*
- R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Carrara (Estetica e storia dell'arte: Emilio Lazzoni).*
- R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Modena (Estetica e storia dell'arte: Francesco Manfredini).*
- R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Parma (Estetica e storia dell'arte: Pietro Martini)*
- R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Firenze (Estetica: Paolo Emiliani-Giudici).*
- R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Milano (Storia dell'arte: Antonio Caimi).*
- R. Istituto di Belle Arti di Napoli (Letteratura artistica: Raffaele Bova).*

Anno Accademico 1862-1863

- R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Bologna (Estetica e storia dell'arte: Luigi Mercantini).*
- R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Carrara (Estetica e storia dell'arte: Emilio Lazzoni).*
- R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Modena (Estetica e storia dell'arte: Francesco Manfredini).*
- R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Parma (Estetica e storia dell'arte: Pietro Martini)*
- R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Firenze (Estetica: Paolo Emiliani-Giudici).*
- R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Milano (Storia dell'arte: Antonio Caimi).*
- R. Istituto di Belle Arti di Napoli (Letteratura artistica: Raffaele Bova).*

Anno Accademico 1863-1864

- R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Bologna (Estetica e storia dell'arte: Luigi Mercantini).*
- R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Carrara (Estetica e storia dell'arte: Emilio Lazzoni).*
- R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Modena (Estetica e storia dell'arte: Ferdinando Ascoli).*
- R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Parma (Estetica e storia dell'arte: Pietro Martini)*
- R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Firenze (Estetica: Aleardo Aleardi).*
- R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Milano (Storia dell'arte: Antonio Caimi).*
- R. Istituto di Belle Arti di Napoli (Letteratura artistica: Raffaele Bova).*

Anno Accademico 1864-1865

- R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Bologna (Storia dell'arte: Luigi Mercantini).*
- R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Carrara (Estetica e storia dell'arte: Emilio Lazzoni).*
- R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Modena (Estetica e storia dell'arte: Ferdinando Ascoli).*
- R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Parma (Estetica e storia dell'arte: Pietro Martini)*
- R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Firenze (Estetica: Aleardo Aleardi).*
- R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Milano (Storia dell'arte: Antonio Caimi).*
- R. Istituto di Belle Arti di Napoli (Letteratura artistica: Raffaele Bova).*
- R. Istituto di Belle Arti di Urbino (Storia delle belle arti: Pompeo Gherardi).*

¹⁴⁸ Le informazioni e i dati riportati in questa appendice sono stati acquisiti attraverso lo spoglio sistematico degli *Annuari del Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione* per il periodo compreso tra il 1861 e il 1923. In particolare, sulla base delle indicazioni riportate nella sezione degli *Annuari* relativa a «Accademie, Istituti e Scuole di Belle Arti».

Anno Accademico 1865-1866

R. *Accademia di Belle Arti di Bologna* (*Storia applicata al bisogno dell'arte e critica artistica*: Luciano Scarabelli).

R. *Accademia di Belle Arti di Carrara* (*Estetica e storia dell'arte*: Emilio Lazzoni).

R. *Accademia di Belle Arti di Modena* (*Estetica e storia dell'arte*: Ferdinando Asioli).

R. *Accademia di Belle Arti di Parma* (*Estetica e storia dell'arte*: Pietro Martini).

R. *Accademia di Belle Arti di Firenze* (*Estetica*: Aleardo Aleardi).

R. *Accademia di Belle Arti di Milano* (*Storia dell'arte*: Antonio Caimi).

R. *Istituto di Belle Arti di Napoli* (*Letteratura artistica*: Raffaele Bova).

R. *Istituto di Belle Arti di Urbino* (*Storia delle belle arti*: Pompeo Gherardi).

Anno Accademico 1866-1867

R. *Accademia di Belle Arti di Bologna* (*Storia applicata al bisogno dell'arte e critica artistica*: Luciano Scarabelli).

R. *Accademia di Belle Arti di Carrara* (*Estetica e storia dell'arte*: Emilio Lazzoni).

R. *Accademia di Belle Arti di Modena* (*Estetica e storia dell'arte*: Ferdinando Asioli).

R. *Accademia di Belle Arti di Parma* (*Estetica e storia dell'arte*: Pietro Martini).

R. *Accademia di Belle Arti di Firenze* (*Estetica*: Aleardo Aleardi).

R. *Accademia di Belle Arti di Milano* (*Storia dell'arte*: Antonio Caimi).

R. *Istituto di Belle Arti di Napoli* (*Letteratura artistica*: Raffaele Bova).

R. *Istituto di Belle Arti di Urbino* (*Storia delle belle arti*: Pompeo Gherardi).

R. *Accademia di Belle Arti di Venezia* (*Storia dell'arte*: Antonio Dall'Acqua Giusti).

Anno accademico 1867-1868

R. *Accademia di Belle Arti di Bologna* (*Storia applicata al bisogno dell'arte e critica artistica*: Luciano Scarabelli).

R. *Accademia di Belle Arti di Carrara* (*Estetica e storia dell'arte*: Emilio Lazzoni).

R. *Accademia di Belle Arti di Modena* (*Estetica e storia dell'arte*: Ferdinando Asioli).

R. *Accademia di Belle Arti di Parma* (*Estetica e storia dell'arte*: Pietro Martini).

R. *Accademia di Belle Arti di Firenze* (*Estetica*: Aleardo Aleardi).

R. *Accademia di Belle Arti di Milano* (*Storia dell'arte*: Antonio Caimi).

R. *Istituto di Belle Arti di Napoli* (*Letteratura artistica*: Raffaele Bova).

R. *Istituto di Belle Arti di Urbino* (*Storia delle belle arti*: Pompeo Gherardi).

R. *Accademia di Belle Arti di Venezia* (*Storia dell'arte*: Antonio Dall'Acqua Giusti).

Anno Accademico 1868-1869

R. *Accademia di Belle Arti di Bologna* (*Storia applicata al bisogno dell'arte e critica artistica*: Luciano Scarabelli).

R. *Accademia di Belle Arti di Carrara* (*Estetica e storia dell'arte*: Emilio Lazzoni).

R. *Accademia di Belle Arti di Modena* (*Estetica e storia dell'arte*: Ferdinando Asioli).

R. *Accademia di Belle Arti di Parma* (*Estetica e storia dell'arte*: Pietro Martini).

R. *Accademia di Belle Arti di Firenze* (*Estetica*: Aleardo Aleardi).

R. *Accademia di Belle Arti di Milano* (*Storia dell'arte*: Antonio Caimi).

R. *Istituto di Belle Arti di Napoli* (*Letteratura artistica*: Raffaele Bova).

R. *Istituto di Belle Arti di Urbino* (*Storia delle belle arti*: Pompeo Gherardi).

R. *Accademia di Belle Arti di Venezia* (*Storia dell'arte*: Antonio Dall'Acqua Giusti).

Anno Accademico 1869-1870

R. *Accademia di Belle Arti di Bologna* (*Storia applicata al bisogno dell'arte e critica artistica*: Luciano Scarabelli).

- R. *Accademia di Belle Arti di Carrara (Estetica e storia dell'arte: Emilio Lazzoni).*
- R. *Accademia di Belle Arti di Modena (Estetica e storia dell'arte: Ferdinando Ascoli).*
- R. *Accademia di Belle Arti di Parma (Estetica e storia dell'arte: Pietro Martini)*
- R. *Accademia di Belle Arti di Firenze (Estetica: Aleardo Aleardi).*
- R. *Accademia di Belle Arti di Milano (Storia dell'arte: Antonio Caimi).*
- R. *Istituto di Belle Arti di Napoli (Letteratura artistica: Raffaele Bova).*
- R. *Istituto di Belle Arti di Urbino (Storia delle belle arti: Pompeo Gherardi).*
- R. *Accademia di Belle Arti di Venezia (Storia dell'arte: Antonio Dall'Acqua Giusti).*

Anno Accademico 1870-1871

- R. *Accademia di Belle Arti di Bologna (Storia applicata al bisogno dell'arte e critica artistica: Luciano Scarabelli).*
- R. *Accademia di Belle Arti di Carrara (Estetica e storia dell'arte: Emilio Lazzoni).*
- R. *Accademia di Belle Arti di Modena (Estetica e storia dell'arte: Ferdinando Ascoli).*
- R. *Accademia di Belle Arti di Parma (Estetica e storia dell'arte: Pietro Martini)*
- R. *Accademia di Belle Arti di Firenze (Estetica: Aleardo Aleardi).*
- R. *Accademia di Belle Arti di Milano (Storia dell'arte: Antonio Caimi).*
- R. *Istituto di Belle Arti di Napoli (Letteratura artistica: Raffaele Bova).*
- R. *Istituto di Belle Arti di Urbino (Storia delle belle arti: Pompeo Gherardi).*
- R. *Accademia di Belle Arti di Venezia (Storia dell'arte: Antonio Dall'Acqua Giusti).*

Anno Accademico 1871-1872

- R. *Accademia di Belle Arti di Bologna (Storia dell'arte: Enrico Panzacchi).*
- R. *Accademia di Belle Arti di Carrara (Estetica e storia dell'arte: Emilio Lazzoni).*
- R. *Accademia di Belle Arti di Modena (Estetica e storia dell'arte: Ferdinando Ascoli).*
- R. *Accademia di Belle Arti di Parma (Estetica e storia dell'arte: Pietro Martini)*
- R. *Accademia di Belle Arti di Firenze (Estetica: Aleardo Aleardi).*
- R. *Accademia di Belle Arti di Milano (Storia dell'arte: Antonio Caimi).*
- R. *Istituto di Belle Arti di Napoli (Letteratura artistica: Raffaele Bova).*
- R. *Istituto di Belle Arti di Urbino (Storia delle belle arti: Pompeo Gherardi).*
- R. *Accademia di Belle Arti di Venezia (Storia dell'arte: Antonio Dall'Acqua Giusti).*

Anno Accademico 1872-1873

- R. *Accademia di Belle Arti di Bologna (Storia dell'arte: Enrico Panzacchi).*
- R. *Accademia di Belle Arti di Carrara (Estetica e storia dell'arte: Emilio Lazzoni).*
- R. *Accademia di Belle Arti di Modena (Estetica e storia dell'arte: Ferdinando Ascoli).*
- R. *Accademia di Belle Arti di Parma (Estetica e storia dell'arte: Pietro Martini)*
- R. *Accademia di Belle Arti di Firenze (Estetica: Aleardo Aleardi).*
- R. *Accademia di Belle Arti di Milano (Storia dell'arte: Antonio Caimi).*
- R. *Istituto di Belle Arti di Napoli (Letteratura artistica: Raffaele Bova).*
- R. *Istituto di Belle Arti di Urbino (Storia delle belle arti: Pompeo Gherardi).*
- R. *Accademia di Belle Arti di Venezia (Storia dell'arte: Antonio Dall'Acqua Giusti).*

Anno Accademico 1873-1874

- R. *Accademia di Belle Arti di Bologna (Storia dell'arte: Enrico Panzacchi).*
- R. *Accademia di Belle Arti di Carrara (Estetica e storia dell'arte: Emilio Lazzoni).*
- R. *Accademia di Belle Arti di Modena (Estetica e storia dell'arte: Ferdinando Ascoli).*
- R. *Accademia di Belle Arti di Parma (Estetica e storia dell'arte: Pietro Martini)*
- R. *Accademia di Belle Arti di Firenze (Estetica: Aleardo Aleardi).*
- R. *Accademia di Belle Arti di Milano (Storia dell'arte: Antonio Caimi).*

- R. Istituto di Belle Arti di Napoli (*Critica e storia d'arte*: Raffaele Bova).
 R. Istituto di Belle Arti di Roma (*Letteratura e storia applicata alle belle arti*: Basilio Magni).
 R. Istituto di Belle Arti di Urbino (*Storia delle belle arti*: Pompeo Gherardi).
 R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Venezia (*Storia dell'arte*: Antonio Dall'Acqua Giusti).

Anno Accademico 1874-1875

- R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Bologna (*Storia dell'arte*: Enrico Panzacchi).
 R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Carrara (*Storia dell'arte*: Emilio Lazzoni).
 R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Firenze (*Letteratura e storia applicata alle belle arti*: Camillo Jacopo Cavallucci)¹⁴⁹.
 R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Milano (*Storia dell'arte*: Antonio Caimi).
 R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Modena (*Storia dell'arte*: Ferdinando Ascoli).
 R. Istituto di Belle Arti di Napoli (*Critica e storia d'arte*: Raffaele Bova).
 R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Parma (*Storia dell'arte*: Pietro Martini).
 R. Istituto di Belle Arti di Roma (*Letteratura e storia applicata alle belle arti*: Basilio Magni).
 R. Istituto di Belle Arti di Urbino (*Storia delle belle arti*: Pompeo Gherardi).
 R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Venezia (*Storia dell'arte*: Antonio Dall'Acqua Giusti).

Anno Accademico 1875-1876

- R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Bologna (*Storia dell'arte*: Enrico Panzacchi).
 R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Carrara (*Storia dell'arte*: Emilio Lazzoni).
 R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Firenze (*Letteratura e storia applicata alle belle arti*: Camillo Jacopo Cavallucci).
 R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Milano (*Storia dell'arte*: Antonio Caimi).
 R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Modena (*Storia dell'arte*: Ferdinando Ascoli).
 R. Istituto di Belle Arti di Napoli (*Critica e storia d'arte*: Raffaele Bova).
 R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Parma (*Storia dell'arte*: Pietro Martini).
 R. Istituto di Belle Arti di Roma (*Letteratura e storia applicata alle belle arti*: Basilio Magni).
 R. Istituto di Belle Arti di Urbino (*Storia delle belle arti*: Pompeo Gherardi).
 R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Venezia (*Storia dell'arte*: Antonio Dall'Acqua Giusti).

Anno Accademico 1876-1877

- R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Bologna (*Letteratura e storia applicata alle belle arti*: Enrico Panzacchi).
 R. Accademia di Belle Arti in Carrara (*Storia dell'arte*: Emilio Lazzoni).
 R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Firenze (*Letteratura e storia applicata alle belle arti*: Camillo Jacopo Cavallucci).
 R. Accademia di Belle Arti in Milano (*Storia dell'arte*: Antonio Caimi).
 R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Modena (*Letteratura e storia applicata alle belle arti*: Ferdinando Ascoli).
 Istituto di Belle Arti di Napoli (*Critica e storia d'arte*: Raffaele Bova).
 R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Parma (*Storia dell'arte*: N.N.)

¹⁴⁹ Camillo Jacopo Cavallucci riveste la qualifica di professore *incaricato* della disciplina. Nello stesso anno accademico figura anche Gio. Felice Berti come professore *aggiunto* di *Letteratura e storia applicata alle belle arti*.

R. Istituto di Belle Arti di Roma (Letteratura e storia applicata alle belle arti: Basilio Magni).

R. Accademia Albertina di Belle Arti in Torino (Storia dell'arte: N.N.).

Istituto di Belle Arti nelle Marche in Urbino (Storia delle belle arti: Giuseppe Nicolai-Foschi).

R. Accademia di Belle Arti in Venezia (Storia dell'arte: Antonio Dall'Acqua Giusti).

Anno Accademico 1877-1878

R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Bologna (Letteratura e storia applicata alle belle arti: Enrico Panzacchi).

R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Carrara (Storia dell'arte: Emilio Lazzoni).

R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Firenze (Letteratura e storia applicata alle belle arti: Camillo Jacopo Cavallucci).

R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Milano (Storia dell'arte: N.N.).

R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Modena (Letteratura e storia applicata alle belle arti: Ferdinando Asoli).

R. Istituto di Belle Arti di Napoli (Storia dell'arte: Raffaele Bova).

R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Parma (Letteratura e storia applicata alle belle arti: Alberto Rondani).

R. Istituto di Belle Arti di Roma (Letteratura e storia applicata alle belle arti: Basilio Magni).

R. Istituto di Belle Arti di Urbino (Storia delle belle arti: Giuseppe Nicolai-Foschi).

R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Venezia (Letteratura e storia applicata alle belle arti: Antonio Dall'Acqua Giusti).

Anno Accademico 1878-1879

R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Bologna (Letteratura e storia applicata alle belle arti: Enrico Panzacchi).

R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Carrara (Storia dell'arte: Emilio Lazzoni).

R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Firenze (Letteratura e storia applicata alle belle arti: Camillo Jacopo Cavallucci).

R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Milano (Storia dell'arte: N.N.).

R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Modena (Letteratura e storia applicata alle belle arti: Ferdinando Asoli).

R. Istituto di Belle Arti di Napoli (Storia dell'arte: Raffaele Bova).

R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Parma (Letteratura e storia applicata alle belle arti: Alberto Rondani).

R. Istituto di Belle Arti di Roma (Letteratura e storia applicata alle belle arti: Basilio Magni)¹⁵⁰.

R. Istituto di Belle Arti di Urbino (Storia delle belle arti: Giuseppe Nicolai-Foschi).

R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Venezia (Letteratura e storia applicata alle belle arti: Antonio Dall'Acqua Giusti).

Anno Accademico 1879-1880

R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Bologna (Letteratura e storia applicata alle belle arti: Enrico Panzacchi).

¹⁵⁰ Nello stesso anno accademico figura anche Ettore Dolfi come professore aggiunto di *Letteratura e storia applicata alle belle arti*.

R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Carrara (Storia dell'arte: Emilio Lazzoni).

R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Firenze (Letteratura e storia applicata alle belle arti: Camillo Jacopo Cavallucci).

R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Milano (Storia dell'arte: Giuseppe Mongeri).

R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Modena (Letteratura e storia applicata alle belle arti: Ferdinando Ascoli).

R. Istituto di Belle Arti di Napoli (Storia dell'arte: Raffaele Bova).

R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Parma (Letteratura e storia applicata alle belle arti: Alberto Ròndani)

R. Istituto di Belle Arti di Roma (Letteratura e storia applicata alle belle arti: Basilio Magni)¹⁵¹.

R. Istituto di Belle Arti di Urbino (Storia delle belle arti: Giuseppe Nicolai-Foschi).

R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Venezia (Letteratura e storia applicata alle belle arti: Antonio Dall'Acqua Giusti).

Anno Accademico 1880-1881

R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Bologna (Letteratura e storia applicata alle belle arti: Enrico Panzacchi).

R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Carrara (Storia dell'arte: Emilio Lazzoni).

R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Firenze (Letteratura e storia applicata alle belle arti: Camillo Jacopo Cavallucci).

R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Milano (Storia dell'arte: Giuseppe Mongeri).

R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Modena (Letteratura e storia applicata alle belle arti: Ferdinando Ascoli).

R. Istituto di Belle Arti di Napoli (Storia dell'arte: Raffaele Bova).

R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Parma (Letteratura e storia applicata alle belle arti: Alberto Ròndani)

R. Istituto di Belle Arti di Roma (Letteratura e storia applicata alle belle arti: Basilio Magni)¹⁵².

R. Istituto di Belle Arti di Urbino (Storia delle belle arti: Giuseppe Nicolai-Foschi).

R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Venezia (Letteratura e storia applicata alle belle arti: Antonio Dall'Acqua Giusti).

Anno accademico 1881-1882

R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Bologna (Letteratura e storia applicata alle belle arti: Enrico Panzacchi).

R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Carrara (Storia dell'arte: Emilio Lazzoni).

R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Firenze (Letteratura e storia applicata alle belle arti: Camillo Jacopo Cavallucci).

R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Milano (Storia dell'arte: Giuseppe Mongeri).

R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Modena (Letteratura e storia applicata alle belle arti: Ferdinando Ascoli).

R. Istituto di Belle Arti di Napoli (Storia dell'arte: Raffaele Bova).

R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Parma (Letteratura e storia applicata alle belle arti: Alberto Ròndani)

¹⁵¹ Nello stesso anno accademico figura anche Ettore Dolfi come professore *aggiunto* di *Letteratura e storia applicata alle belle arti*.

¹⁵² Nello stesso anno accademico figura anche Ettore Dolfi come professore *aggiunto* di *Letteratura e storia applicata alle belle arti*.

*R. Istituto di Belle Arti di Roma (Letteratura e storia applicata alle belle arti: Basilio Magni)*¹⁵³.

R. Istituto di Belle Arti di Urbino (Storia delle belle arti: Giuseppe Nicolai-Foschi).

R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Venezia (Letteratura e storia applicata alle belle arti: Antonio Dall'Acqua Giusti).

Anno Accademico 1882-1883

R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Bologna (Letteratura e storia applicata alle belle arti: Enrico Panzacchi).

R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Carrara (Storia dell'arte: Emilio Lazzoni).

R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Firenze (Letteratura e storia applicata alle belle arti: Camillo Jacopo Cavallucci).

R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Milano (Storia dell'arte: Giuseppe Mongeri).

R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Modena (Letteratura e storia applicata alle belle arti: Ferdinando Asioli).

R. Istituto di Belle Arti di Napoli (Storia dell'arte: Raffaele Bova).

R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Parma (Letteratura e storia applicata alle belle arti: Alberto Ròndani)

*R. Istituto di Belle Arti di Roma (Letteratura e storia applicata alle belle arti: Basilio Magni)*¹⁵⁴.

R. Istituto di Belle Arti di Urbino (Storia delle belle arti: Giuseppe Nicolai-Foschi).

R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Venezia (Letteratura e storia applicata alle belle arti: Antonio Dall'Acqua Giusti).

Anno Accademico 1883-1884

R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Bologna (Letteratura e storia applicata alle belle arti: Enrico Panzacchi).

R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Carrara (Storia, geografia, mitologia e storia dell'arte: Emilio Lazzoni).

R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Firenze (Letteratura e storia applicata alle belle arti: Camillo Jacopo Cavallucci).

R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Milano (Storia dell'arte: Giuseppe Mongeri).

R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Modena (Letteratura e storia applicata alle belle arti: Ferdinando Asioli).

R. Istituto di Belle Arti di Napoli (Storia dell'arte: N.N.).

R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Parma (Letteratura e storia applicata alle belle arti: Alberto Ròndani)

*R. Istituto di Belle Arti di Roma (Letteratura e storia applicata alle belle arti: Basilio Magni)*¹⁵⁵.

R. Istituto di Belle Arti di Urbino (Storia delle belle arti: Giuseppe Nicolai-Foschi).

R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Venezia (Letteratura e storia applicata alle belle arti: Antonio Dall'Acqua Giusti).

¹⁵³ Nello stesso anno accademico figura anche Ettore Dolfi come professore *aggiunto* di *Letteratura e storia applicata alle belle arti*.

¹⁵⁴ Nello stesso anno accademico figura anche Ettore Dolfi come professore *aggiunto* di *Letteratura e storia applicata alle belle arti*.

¹⁵⁵ Nello stesso anno accademico figura anche Ettore Dolfi come professore *aggiunto* di *Letteratura e storia applicata alle belle arti*.

Anno Accademico 1884-1885

R. *Accademia di Belle Arti di Bologna* (*Letteratura e storia applicata alle belle arti*: Enrico Panzacchi).

R. *Accademia di Belle Arti di Carrara* (*Storia, geografia, mitologia e storia dell'arte*: Emilio Lazzoni).

R. *Accademia di Belle Arti di Firenze* (*Letteratura e storia applicata alle belle arti*: Camillo Jacopo Cavallucci).

R. *Accademia di Belle Arti di Milano* (*Storia dell'arte*: Giuseppe Mongeri).

R. *Accademia di Belle Arti di Modena* (*Letteratura e storia applicata alle belle arti*: Ferdinando Asioli).

R. *Istituto di Belle Arti di Napoli* (*Storia dell'arte*: N.N.).

R. *Accademia di Belle Arti di Parma* (*Letteratura e storia applicata alle belle arti*: Alberto Ròndani).

R. *Istituto di Belle Arti di Roma* (*Letteratura e storia applicata alle belle arti*: Basilio Magni)¹⁵⁶.

R. *Accademia Albertina di Belle Arti di Torino* (*Letteratura e storia applicata alle belle arti*: Giuseppe Giacosa).

R. *Istituto di Belle Arti di Urbino* (*Storia delle belle arti*: Giuseppe Nicolai-Foschi).

R. *Accademia di Belle Arti di Venezia* (*Letteratura e storia applicata alle belle arti*: Antonio Dall'Acqua Giusti).

Anno Accademico 1885-1886

R. *Accademia di Belle Arti di Bologna* (*Letteratura e storia applicata alle belle arti*: Enrico Panzacchi).

R. *Accademia di Belle Arti di Carrara* (*Storia, geografia, mitologia e storia dell'arte*: Emilio Lazzoni).

R. *Accademia di Belle Arti di Firenze* (*Letteratura e storia applicata alle belle arti*: Camillo Jacopo Cavallucci).

R. *Accademia di Belle Arti di Milano* (*Storia dell'arte*: Giuseppe Mongeri).

R. *Accademia di Belle Arti di Modena* (*Letteratura e storia applicata alle belle arti*: Ferdinando Asioli).

R. *Istituto di Belle Arti di Napoli* (*Storia dell'arte*: N.N.).

R. *Accademia di Belle Arti di Parma* (*Letteratura e storia applicata alle belle arti*: Alberto Ròndani).

R. *Istituto di Belle Arti di Roma* (*Letteratura e storia applicata alle belle arti*: Basilio Magni)¹⁵⁷.

R. *Accademia Albertina di Belle Arti di Torino* (*Letteratura e storia applicata alle belle arti*: Giuseppe Giacosa).

R. *Istituto di Belle Arti di Urbino* (*Storia delle belle arti*: Giuseppe Nicolai-Foschi).

R. *Accademia di Belle Arti di Venezia* (*Letteratura e storia applicata alle belle arti*: Antonio Dall'Acqua Giusti).

Anno Accademico 1886-1887

R. *Accademia di Belle Arti di Bologna* (*Letteratura e storia applicata alle belle arti*: Enrico Panzacchi).

¹⁵⁶ Nello stesso anno accademico figura anche Ettore Dolfi come professore *aggiunto* di *Letteratura e storia applicata alle belle arti*.

¹⁵⁷ Nello stesso anno accademico figura anche Ettore Dolfi come professore *aggiunto* di *Letteratura e storia applicata alle belle arti*.

- R. *Accademia di Belle Arti di Carrara* (*Storia, geografia, mitologia e storia dell'arte*: Emilio Lazzoni).
- R. *Accademia di Belle Arti di Firenze* (*Letteratura e storia applicata alle belle arti*: Camillo Jacopo Cavallucci).
- R. *Accademia di Belle Arti di Milano* (*Storia dell'arte*: Giuseppe Mongeri).
- R. *Accademia di Belle Arti di Modena* (*Letteratura e storia applicata alle belle arti*: Ferdinando Ascoli).
- R. *Istituto di Belle Arti di Napoli* (*Storia dell'arte*: N.N.).
- R. *Accademia di Belle Arti di Parma* (*Letteratura e storia applicata alle belle arti*: Alberto Ròndani).
- R. *Istituto di Belle Arti di Roma* (*Letteratura e storia applicata alle belle arti*: Basilio Magni)¹⁵⁸.
- R. *Accademia Albertina di Belle Arti di Torino* (*Letteratura e storia applicata alle belle arti*: Giuseppe Giacosa).
- R. *Istituto di Belle Arti di Urbino* (*Storia delle belle arti*: Giuseppe Nicolai-Foschi).
- R. *Accademia di Belle Arti di Venezia* (*Letteratura e storia applicata alle belle arti*: Antonio Dall'Acqua Giusti).

Anno Accademico 1887-1888

- R. *Accademia di Belle Arti di Bologna* (*Letteratura e storia applicata alle belle arti*: Enrico Panzacchi).
- R. *Accademia di Belle Arti di Carrara* (*Storia, geografia, mitologia e storia dell'arte*: Emilio Lazzoni).
- R. *Accademia di Belle Arti di Firenze* (*Letteratura e storia applicata alle belle arti*: Camillo Jacopo Cavallucci).
- R. *Accademia di Belle Arti di Milano* (*Storia dell'arte*: Giuseppe Mongeri).
- R. *Accademia di Belle Arti di Modena* (*Letteratura e storia applicata alle belle arti*: Ferdinando Ascoli).
- R. *Istituto di Belle Arti di Napoli* (*Storia dell'arte*: N.N.).
- R. *Accademia di Belle Arti di Parma* (*Letteratura e storia applicata alle belle arti*: Alberto Ròndani)¹⁵⁹.
- R. *Istituto di Belle Arti di Roma* (*Letteratura e storia applicata alle belle arti*: Basilio Magni)¹⁶⁰.
- R. *Accademia Albertina di Belle Arti di Torino* (*Letteratura e storia applicata alle belle arti*: Giuseppe Giacosa).
- R. *Istituto di Belle Arti di Urbino* (*Storia delle belle arti*: Giuseppe Nicolai-Foschi).
- R. *Accademia di Belle Arti di Venezia* (*Letteratura e storia applicata alle belle arti*: Antonio Dall'Acqua Giusti).

Anno Accademico 1888-1889

- R. *Accademia di Belle Arti di Bologna* (*Letteratura e storia applicata alle belle arti*: Enrico Panzacchi).

¹⁵⁸ Nello stesso anno accademico figura anche Ettore Dolfi come professore *aggiunto* di *Letteratura e storia applicata alle belle arti*.

¹⁵⁹ Anche in questo anno accademico figura Raffello Franchi quale assistente alla cattedra di *Storia dell'arte* dell'Accademia.

¹⁶⁰ Nello stesso anno accademico figura anche Ettore Dolfi come professore *aggiunto* di *Letteratura e storia applicata alle belle arti*.

R. *Accademia di Belle Arti di Carrara* (*Storia, geografia, mitologia e storia dell'arte*: Emilio Lazzoni).

R. *Accademia di Belle Arti di Firenze* (*Letteratura e storia applicata alle belle arti*: Camillo Jacopo Cavallucci)¹⁶¹.

R. *Accademia di Belle Arti di Milano* (*Storia dell'arte*: Luigi Archinti).

R. *Accademia di Belle Arti di Modena* (*Letteratura e storia applicata alle belle arti*: Ferdinando Ascoli).

R. *Istituto di Belle Arti di Napoli* (*Storia dell'arte*: N.N.).

R. *Istituto di Belle Arti di Palermo* (*Letteratura e storia dell'arte*: Vincenzo Pitini Piraino).

R. *Accademia di Belle Arti di Parma* (*Letteratura e storia applicata alle belle arti*: Alberto Ròndani).

R. *Istituto di Belle Arti di Roma* (*Letteratura e storia applicata alle belle arti*: Basilio Magni)¹⁶².

R. *Accademia Albertina di Belle Arti di Torino* (*Letteratura e storia applicata alle belle arti*: Corradino Corrado).

R. *Istituto di Belle Arti di Urbino* (*Storia delle belle arti*: Giuseppe Nicolai-Foschi).

R. *Accademia di Belle Arti di Venezia* (*Letteratura e storia applicata alle belle arti*: Antonio Dall'Acqua Giusti).

Anno Accademico 1889-1890

R. *Accademia di Belle Arti di Bologna* (*Letteratura e storia applicata alle belle arti*: Enrico Panzacchi).

R. *Accademia di Belle Arti di Carrara* (*Storia, geografia, mitologia e storia dell'arte*: N.N.).

R. *Accademia di Belle Arti di Firenze* (*Letteratura e storia applicata alle belle arti*: Camillo Jacopo Cavallucci)¹⁶³.

R. *Accademia di Belle Arti di Milano* (*Storia dell'arte*: Luigi Archinti).

R. *Accademia di Belle Arti di Modena* (*Letteratura e storia applicata alle belle arti*: Ferdinando Ascoli).

R. *Istituto di Belle Arti di Napoli* (*Storia dell'arte*: N.N.).

R. *Istituto di Belle Arti di Palermo* (*Letteratura e storia dell'arte*: Vincenzo Pitini Piraino).

R. *Accademia di Belle Arti di Parma* (*Letteratura e storia applicata alle belle arti*: Alberto Ròndani).

R. *Istituto di Belle Arti di Roma* (*Letteratura e storia applicata alle belle arti*: Basilio Magni)¹⁶⁴.

R. *Accademia Albertina di Belle Arti di Torino* (*Letteratura e storia applicata alle belle arti*: Corradino Corrado).

R. *Istituto di Belle Arti di Urbino* (*Storia delle belle arti*: Giuseppe Nicolai-Foschi).

¹⁶¹ Nello stesso anno accademico a Camillo Jacopo Cavallucci è affidato anche l'insegnamento di *Estetica applicata alle belle arti*.

¹⁶² Nello stesso anno accademico figura anche Ettore Dolfi come professore *aggiunto* di *Letteratura e storia applicata alle belle arti*.

¹⁶³ Nello stesso anno accademico a Camillo Jacopo Cavallucci è affidato anche l'insegnamento di *Estetica applicata alle belle arti*.

¹⁶⁴ Nello stesso anno accademico figura anche Ettore Dolfi come professore *aggiunto* di *Letteratura e storia applicata alle belle arti*.

R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Venezia (Letteratura e storia applicata alle belle arti: Antonio Dall'Acqua Giusti).

Anno Accademico 1890-1891

R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Bologna (Letteratura e storia applicata alle belle arti: Enrico Panzacchi).

R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Carrara (Storia, geografia, mitologia e storia dell'arte: Andrea Frediani)¹⁶⁵.

R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Firenze (Letteratura e storia applicata alle belle arti: Camillo Jacopo Cavallucci)¹⁶⁶.

R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Milano (Storia dell'arte: Luigi Archinti).

R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Modena (Letteratura e storia applicata alle belle arti: Ferdinando Ascoli).

R. Istituto di Belle Arti di Napoli (Storia dell'arte: N.N.).

R. Istituto di Belle Arti di Palermo (Letteratura e storia dell'arte: Vincenzo Pitini Piraino).

R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Parma (Letteratura e storia applicata alle belle arti: Alberto Ròndani)

R. Istituto di Belle Arti di Roma (Letteratura e storia applicata alle belle arti: Basilio Magni)¹⁶⁷.

R. Accademia Albertina di Belle Arti di Torino (Letteratura e storia applicata alle belle arti: Corradino Corrado).

R. Istituto di Belle Arti di Urbino (Storia delle belle arti: N.N.).

R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Venezia (Letteratura e storia applicata alle belle arti: Antonio Dall'Acqua Giusti).

Anno Accademico 1891-1892

R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Bologna (Letteratura e storia applicata alle belle arti: Enrico Panzacchi).

R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Carrara (Storia dell'arte: Andrea Frediani).

R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Firenze (Letteratura e storia applicata alle belle arti: Camillo Jacopo Cavallucci).

R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Milano (Storia dell'arte: Luigi Archinti).

R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Modena (Letteratura e storia applicata alle belle arti: Ferdinando Ascoli).

R. Istituto di Belle Arti di Napoli (Storia delle belle arti e nozioni di archeologia: Camillo Miola).

R. Istituto di Belle Arti di Palermo (Letteratura e storia applicata alle belle arti: Vincenzo Pitini Piraino).

R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Parma (Letteratura e storia applicata alle belle arti: Alberto Ròndani)

¹⁶⁵ Andrea Frediani tiene l'insegnamento di *Storia, geografia, mitologia e storia dell'arte* con la qualifica di *supplente*.

¹⁶⁶ Nello stesso anno accademico a Camillo Jacopo Cavallucci è affidato anche l'insegnamento di *Estetica applicata alle belle arti*.

¹⁶⁷ Nello stesso anno accademico figura anche Ettore Dolfi come professore *aggiunto* di *Letteratura e storia applicata alle belle arti*.

*R. Istituto di Belle Arti di Roma (Letteratura e storia applicata alle belle arti: Basilio Magni)*¹⁶⁸.

R. Accademia Albertina di Belle Arti di Torino (Letteratura e storia applicata alle belle arti: Corrado Corradino).

R. Istituto di Belle Arti nelle Marche di Urbino (Elementi di storia dell'arte: Andrea Moschetti).

R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Venezia (Letteratura e storia applicata alle belle arti: Antonio Dall'Acqua Giusti).

Anno Accademico 1892-1893

R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Bologna (Letteratura e storia applicata alle belle arti: Enrico Panzacchi).

R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Carrara (Storia dell'arte: Andrea Frediani).

R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Firenze (Letteratura e storia applicata alle belle arti: Camillo Jacopo Cavallucci).

R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Milano (Storia dell'arte: Luigi Archinti).

R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Modena (Letteratura e storia applicata alle belle arti: Ferdinando Asioli).

R. Istituto di Belle Arti di Napoli (Storia delle belle arti e nozioni di archeologia: Camillo Miola).

R. Istituto di Belle Arti di Palermo (Letteratura e storia applicata alle belle arti: Vincenzo Pitini Piraino).

R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Parma (Letteratura e storia applicata alle belle arti: Alberto Ròndani).

*R. Istituto di Belle Arti di Roma (Letteratura e storia applicata alle belle arti: Basilio Magni)*¹⁶⁹.

R. Accademia Albertina di Belle Arti di Torino (Letteratura e storia applicata alle belle arti: Corrado Corradino).

R. Istituto di Belle Arti di Urbino (Elementi di storia dell'arte: Andrea Moschetti).

R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Venezia (Letteratura e storia applicata alle belle arti: Antonio Dall'Acqua Giusti).

Anno Accademico 1893-1894

R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Bologna (Letteratura e storia applicata alle belle arti: Enrico Panzacchi).

R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Carrara (Storia dell'arte: Andrea Frediani).

R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Firenze (Letteratura e storia applicata alle belle arti: Camillo Jacopo Cavallucci).

R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Milano (Storia dell'arte: Luigi Archinti).

R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Modena (Letteratura e storia applicata alle belle arti: Ferdinando Asioli).

R. Istituto di Belle Arti di Napoli (Storia delle belle arti e nozioni di archeologia: Camillo Miola).

R. Istituto di Belle Arti di Palermo (Letteratura e storia applicata alle belle arti: Vincenzo Pitini Piraino).

¹⁶⁸ Nello stesso anno accademico figura anche Ettore Dolfi come professore *aggiunto* di *Letteratura e storia applicata alle belle arti*.

¹⁶⁹ Nello stesso anno accademico figura anche Ettore Dolfi come professore *aggiunto* di *Letteratura e storia applicata alle belle arti*.

R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Parma (Letteratura e storia applicata alle belle arti: Alberto Ròndani)

R. Istituto di Belle Arti di Roma (Letteratura e storia applicata alle belle arti: Basilio Magni)¹⁷⁰.

R. Accademia Albertina di Belle Arti di Torino (Letteratura e storia applicata alle belle arti: Corrado Corradino).

R. Istituto di Belle Arti di Urbino (Elementi di storia dell'arte: Andrea Moschetti).

R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Venezia (Letteratura e storia applicata alle belle arti: Pompeo Molmenti).

Anno Accademico 1894-1895

R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Bologna (Letteratura e storia applicata alle belle arti: Enrico Panzacchi).

R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Carrara (Storia dell'Arte: Andrea Frediani).

R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Firenze (Letteratura e storia applicata alle belle arti: Camillo Jacopo Cavallucci).

R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Lucca (Storia dell'arte: Medarse Cappelletti).

R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Milano (Storia dell'arte: Luigi Archinti).

R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Modena (Letteratura e storia applicata alle belle arti: Ferdinando Ascoli).

R. Istituto di Belle Arti di Napoli (Storia delle belle arti e nozioni di archeologia: Camillo Miola).

R. Istituto di Belle Arti di Palermo (Letteratura e storia applicata alle belle arti: Vincenzo Pitini Piraino).

R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Parma (Letteratura e storia applicata alle belle arti: Alberto Ròndani)

R. Istituto di Belle Arti di Roma (Letteratura e storia applicata alle belle arti: Basilio Magni)¹⁷¹.

R. Accademia Albertina di Belle Arti di Torino (Letteratura e storia applicata alle belle arti: Corrado Corradino).

R. Istituto di Belle Arti di Urbino (Elementi di storia dell'arte: N.N.).

R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Venezia (Letteratura e storia applicata alle belle arti: Pompeo Molmenti).

Anno accademico 1895-1896

R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Bologna (Letteratura e storia applicata alle belle arti: Enrico Panzacchi).

R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Carrara (Storia dell'arte: Andrea Frediani).

R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Firenze (Letteratura e storia applicata alle belle arti: Camillo Jacopo Cavallucci).

R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Lucca (Storia dell'arte: Medarse Cappelletti).

R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Milano (Storia dell'arte: Luigi Archinti).

R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Modena (Letteratura e storia applicata alle belle arti: Ferdinando Ascoli).

¹⁷⁰ Nello stesso anno accademico figura anche Ettore Dolfi come professore *aggiunto* di *Letteratura e storia applicata alle belle arti*.

¹⁷¹ Nello stesso anno accademico figura anche Ettore Dolfi come professore *aggiunto* di *Letteratura e storia applicata alle belle arti*.

R. Istituto di Belle Arti di Napoli (Storia delle belle arti e nozioni di archeologia: Camillo Miola).

R. Istituto di Belle Arti di Palermo (Letteratura e storia applicata alle belle arti: Vincenzo Pitini Piraino).

R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Parma (Letteratura e storia applicata alle belle arti: Alberto Ròndani)

R. Istituto di Belle Arti di Roma (Letteratura e storia applicata alle belle arti: Basilio Magni)¹⁷².

R. Accademia Albertina di Belle Arti di Torino (Letteratura e storia applicata alle belle arti: Corrado Corradino).

R. Istituto di Belle Arti di Urbino (Storia delle belle arti: Egidio Calzini).

R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Venezia (Letteratura e storia applicata alle belle arti: Angelo Conti).

Anno Accademico 1896-1897

R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Bologna (Storia delle belle arti: Angelo Gatti)¹⁷³.

R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Carrara (Storia dell'Arte: Andrea Frediani).

R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Firenze (Storia delle belle arti: Camillo Jacopo Cavallucci).

R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Lucca (Storia dell'Arte: Medarse Cappelletti).

R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Milano (Storia dell'Arte: Luigi Archinti).

R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Modena (Storia delle belle arti: Ferdinando Asioli).

R. Istituto di Belle Arti di Napoli (Storia delle belle arti: Camillo Miola).

R. Istituto di Belle Arti di Palermo (Storia delle belle arti: Vincenzo Pitini Piraino).

R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Parma (Storia delle belle arti: Alberto Ròndani)

R. Istituto di Belle Arti di Roma (Storia delle belle arti: Basilio Magni)¹⁷⁴.

R. Accademia Albertina di Belle Arti di Torino (Storia delle belle arti: Corrado Corradino).

R. Istituto di Belle Arti di Urbino (Storia dell'arte: Egidio Calzini).

R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Venezia (Storia delle belle arti: Angelo Conti).

Anno Accademico 1897-1898

R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Bologna (Storia delle belle arti: Angelo Gatti).

R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Carrara (Storia dell'arte: Andrea Frediani).

R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Firenze (Storia delle belle arti: Camillo Jacopo Cavallucci).

R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Lucca (Storia dell'arte: Medarse Cappelletti).

R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Milano (Storia dell'arte: Luigi Archinti).

R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Modena (Storia delle belle arti: Ferdinando Asioli).

R. Istituto di Belle Arti di Napoli (Storia delle belle arti: Camillo Miola).

¹⁷² Nello stesso anno accademico figura anche Ettore Dolfi come professore *aggiunto* di *Storia delle belle arti*. Cfr. R.D. 15 novembre 1895 – con il quale Dolfi Ettore, aggiunto al professore di Letteratura e storia applicata alle belle arti e bibliotecario nell'Istituto di Belle Arti di Roma, con lo stipendio di L. 2000 oltre a L. 400 per aumenti sessennali conseguiti, è nominato aggiunto al professore di Storia delle belle arti nel medesimo Istituto, conservando lo stesso stipendio e gli aumenti sessennali, «Bollettino Ufficiale del Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione», vol. XXIII/I, n. 8, 20 febbraio 1896, p. 356.

¹⁷³ Nel presente anno accademico Angelo Gatti tiene l'insegnamento di *Storia delle belle arti* in qualità di *reggente*.

¹⁷⁴ Nello stesso anno accademico figura anche Ettore Dolfi come professore *aggiunto* di *Storia delle belle arti*.

- R. *Istituto di Belle Arti di Palermo* (*Storia delle belle arti*: Vincenzo Pitini Piraino).
 R. *Accademia di Belle Arti di Parma* (*Storia delle belle arti*: Alberto Ròndani).
 R. *Istituto di Belle Arti di Roma* (*Storia delle belle arti*: Basilio Magni)¹⁷⁵.
 R. *Accademia Albertina di Belle Arti di Torino* (*Storia delle belle arti*: Corrado Corradino).
 R. *Istituto di Belle Arti di Urbino* (*Storia dell'arte*: Egidio Calzini).
 R. *Accademia di Belle Arti di Venezia* (*Storia delle belle arti*: Angelo Conti).

Anno Accademico 1898-1899

- R. *Accademia di Belle Arti di Bologna* (*Storia delle belle arti*: Angelo Gatti).
 R. *Accademia di Belle Arti di Carrara* (*Storia dell'arte*: Andrea Frediani).
 R. *Accademia di Belle Arti di Firenze* (*Storia dell'arte*: Camillo Jacopo Cavallucci).
 R. *Accademia di Belle Arti di Lucca* (*Storia dell'arte*: Medarse Cappelletti).
 R. *Accademia di Belle Arti in Milano* (*Storia dell'arte*: Luigi Archinti).
 R. *Accademia di Belle Arti di Modena* (*Storia delle belle arti*: Ferdinando Asioli).
 R. *Istituto di Belle Arti di Napoli* (*Storia delle belle arti*: Camillo Miola).
 R. *Istituto di Belle Arti di Palermo* (*Storia delle belle arti*: Vincenzo Pitini Piraino).
 R. *Accademia di Belle Arti di Parma* (*Storia delle belle arti*: Alberto Ròndani).
 R. *Istituto di Belle Arti di Roma* (*Storia delle belle arti*: Basilio Magni)¹⁷⁶.
 R. *Accademia Albertina di Belle Arti di Torino* (*Storia delle belle arti*: Corrado Corradino).
 R. *Istituto di Belle Arti di Urbino* (*Storia delle belle arti*: Egidio Calzini).
 R. *Accademia di Belle Arti di Venezia* (*Storia delle belle arti*: Angelo Conti).

Anno Accademico 1899-1900

- R. *Accademia di Belle Arti di Bologna* (*Storia delle belle arti*: Angelo Gatti).
 R. *Accademia di Belle Arti di Carrara* (*Storia dell'arte*: Andrea Frediani).
 R. *Accademia di Belle Arti di Firenze* (*Storia dell'arte*: Camillo Jacopo Cavallucci).
 R. *Accademia di Belle Arti di Lucca* (*Storia dell'arte*: Medarse Cappelletti).
 R. *Accademia di Belle Arti di Milano* (*Storia dell'arte*: Luigi Archinti).
 R. *Accademia di Belle Arti di Modena* (*Storia delle belle arti*: Ferdinando Asioli).
 R. *Istituto di Belle Arti di Napoli* (*Storia delle belle arti*: Camillo Miola).
 R. *Istituto di Belle Arti di Palermo* (*Storia delle belle arti*: Vincenzo Pitini Piraino).
 R. *Accademia di Belle Arti di Parma* (*Storia delle belle arti*: Alberto Ròndani).
 R. *Istituto di Belle Arti di Roma* (*Storia delle belle arti*: Basilio Magni)¹⁷⁷.
 R. *Accademia Albertina di Belle Arti di Torino* (*Storia delle belle arti*: Corrado Corradino).
 R. *Istituto di Belle Arti di Urbino* (*Storia delle belle arti*: Giacomo Vanzolini).
 R. *Accademia di Belle Arti di Venezia* (*Storia delle belle arti*: Pietro Paoletti)¹⁷⁸.

¹⁷⁵ Nello stesso anno accademico figura anche Ettore Dolfi come professore *aggiunto* di *Storia delle belle arti*.

¹⁷⁶ Nello stesso anno accademico figura anche Ettore Dolfi come professore *aggiunto* di *Storia delle belle arti*.

¹⁷⁷ Nello stesso anno accademico figura anche Ettore Dolfi come professore *aggiunto* di *Storia delle belle arti*.

¹⁷⁸ Nel presente anno accademico Pietro Paoletti tiene l'insegnamento di *Storia delle belle arti* in qualità di *incaricato*.

Anno Accademico 1900-1901

- R. *Accademia di Belle Arti di Bologna* (*Storia delle belle arti*: Angelo Gatti).
 R. *Accademia di Belle Arti di Carrara* (*Storia dell'arte*: Andrea Frediani).
 R. *Accademia di Belle Arti di Firenze* (*Storia dell'arte*: Camillo Jacopo Cavallucci).
 R. *Accademia di Belle Arti di Lucca* (*Storia dell'arte*: Medarse Cappelletti).
 R. *Accademia di Belle Arti di Milano* (*Storia dell'arte*: Luigi Archinti).
 R. *Accademia di Belle Arti di Modena* (*Storia delle belle arti*: Ferdinando Asioli).
 R. *Istituto di Belle Arti di Napoli* (*Storia delle belle arti*: Camillo Miola).
 R. *Istituto di Belle Arti di Palermo* (*Storia delle belle arti*: Vincenzo Pitini Piraino).
 R. *Accademia di Belle Arti di Parma* (*Storia delle belle arti*: Alberto Ròndani).
 R. *Istituto di Belle Arti di Roma* (*Storia delle belle arti*: Basilio Magni)¹⁷⁹.
 R. *Accademia Albertina di Belle Arti di Torino* (*Storia delle belle arti*: Corrado Corradino).
 R. *Istituto di Belle Arti di Urbino* (*Storia delle belle arti*: Giacomo Vanzolini).
 R. *Accademia di Belle Arti di Venezia* (*Storia delle belle arti*: Pietro Paoletti)¹⁸⁰.

Anno Accademico 1901-1902

- R. *Accademia di Belle Arti di Bologna* (*Storia delle belle arti*: Angelo Gatti).
 R. *Accademia di Belle Arti di Carrara* (*Storia dell'arte*: Andrea Frediani).
 R. *Accademia di Belle Arti di Firenze* (*Storia dell'arte*: Camillo Jacopo Cavallucci).
 R. *Accademia di Belle Arti di Lucca* (*Storia dell'arte*: Medarse Cappelletti).
 R. *Accademia di Belle Arti di Milano* (*Storia dell'arte*: N.N.).
 R. *Accademia di Belle Arti di Modena* (*Storia delle belle arti*: N.N.).
 R. *Istituto di Belle Arti di Napoli* (*Storia delle belle arti*: Camillo Miola).
 R. *Istituto di Belle Arti di Palermo* (*Storia delle belle arti*: Vincenzo Pitini Piraino).
 R. *Accademia di Belle Arti di Parma* (*Storia delle belle arti*: Alberto Ròndani).
 R. *Istituto di Belle Arti di Roma* (*Storia delle belle arti*: Basilio Magni)¹⁸¹.
 R. *Accademia Albertina di Belle Arti di Torino* (*Storia delle belle arti*: Corrado Corradino).
 R. *Istituto di Belle Arti di Urbino* (*Storia delle belle arti*: Giacomo Vanzolini).
 R. *Accademia di Belle Arti di Venezia* (*Storia delle belle arti*: Pietro Paoletti).

Anno Accademico 1902-1903

- R. *Accademia di Belle Arti di Bologna* (*Storia delle belle arti*: Angelo Gatti).
 R. *Accademia di Belle Arti di Carrara* (*Storia dell'arte*: Andrea Frediani).
 R. *Accademia di Belle Arti di Firenze* (*Storia dell'arte*: Camillo Jacopo Cavallucci).
 R. *Accademia di Belle Arti di Lucca* (*Storia dell'arte*: Medarse Cappelletti).
 R. *Accademia di Belle Arti di Milano* (*Storia dell'arte*: Giulio Carotti).
 R. *Accademia di Belle Arti di Modena* (*Storia delle belle arti*: Mario Martinozzi).
 R. *Istituto di Belle Arti di Napoli* (*Storia delle belle arti*: Camillo Miola).
 R. *Istituto di Belle Arti di Palermo* (*Storia delle belle arti*: Vincenzo Pitini Piraino).
 R. *Accademia di Belle Arti di Parma* (*Storia delle belle arti*: Alberto Ròndani).

¹⁷⁹ Nello stesso anno accademico figura anche Ettore Dolfi come professore *aggiunto* di *Storia delle belle arti*.

¹⁸⁰ Nel presente anno accademico Pietro Paoletti tiene l'insegnamento di *Storia delle belle arti* in qualità di *incaricato*.

¹⁸¹ Nello stesso anno accademico figura anche Ettore Dolfi come professore *aggiunto* di *Storia delle belle arti*.

- R. Istituto di Belle Arti di Roma (*Storia delle belle arti*: Basilio Magni)¹⁸².
 R. Accademia Albertina di Belle Arti di Torino (*Storia delle belle arti*: Corrado Corradino).
 R. Istituto di Belle Arti di Urbino (*Storia delle belle arti*: Giacomo Vanzolini).
 R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Venezia (*Storia delle belle arti*: Pietro Paoletti).

Anno Accademico 1903-1904

- R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Bologna (*Storia delle belle arti*: Angelo Gatti).
 R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Carrara (*Storia dell'arte*: Andrea Frediani).
 R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Firenze (*Storia dell'arte*: Camillo Jacopo Cavallucci).
 R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Lucca (*Storia dell'arte*: Medarse Cappelletti).
 R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Milano (*Storia dell'arte*: Giulio Carotti).
 R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Modena (*Storia delle belle arti*: Mario Martinozzi).
 R. Istituto di Belle Arti di Napoli (*Storia delle belle arti*: Camillo Miola).
 R. Istituto di Belle Arti di Palermo (*Storia delle belle arti*: Vincenzo Pitini Piraino).
 R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Parma (*Storia delle belle arti*: Alberto Ròndani).
 R. Istituto di Belle Arti di Roma (*Storia delle belle arti*: Basilio Magni)¹⁸³.
 R. Accademia Albertina di Belle Arti di Torino (*Storia delle belle arti*: Corrado Corradino).
 R. Istituto di Belle Arti di Urbino (*Storia delle belle arti*: Giacomo Vanzolini).
 R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Venezia (*Storia delle belle arti*: Pietro Paoletti).

Anno accademico 1904-1905

- R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Bologna (*Storia delle belle arti*: Angelo Gatti).
 R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Carrara (*Storia dell'arte*: Andrea Frediani).
 R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Firenze (*Storia dell'arte*: Camillo Jacopo Cavallucci).
 R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Lucca (*Storia dell'arte*: Medarse Cappelletti).
 R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Milano (*Storia dell'arte*: Giulio Carotti).
 R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Modena (*Storia delle belle arti*: Mario Martinozzi).
 R. Istituto di Belle Arti di Napoli (*Storia delle belle arti*: Camillo Miola).
 R. Istituto di Belle Arti di Palermo (*Storia delle belle arti*: Vincenzo Pitini Piraino).
 R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Parma (*Storia delle belle arti*: Alberto Ròndani).
 R. Istituto di Belle Arti di Roma (*Storia delle belle arti*: Basilio Magni)¹⁸⁴.
 R. Accademia Albertina di Belle Arti di Torino (*Storia delle belle arti*: Corrado Corradino).
 R. Istituto di Belle Arti di Urbino (*Storia delle belle arti*: Giacomo Vanzolini).
 R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Venezia (*Storia delle belle arti*: Pietro Paoletti).

¹⁸² Nello stesso anno accademico figura anche Ettore Dolfi come professore *aggiunto* di *Storia delle belle arti*.

¹⁸³ Nello stesso anno accademico figura anche Ettore Dolfi come professore *aggiunto* di *Storia delle belle arti*.

¹⁸⁴ Nello stesso anno accademico figura anche Ettore Dolfi come professore *aggiunto* di *Storia delle belle arti*. È presente altresì la docente comandata Amalia Pezzini con l'incarico di tenere l'insegnamento di *Storia dell'arte* alle alunne di sesso femminile. Cfr. D.M. 1° novembre 1904 – con il quale Pezzini Amalia, titolare di *Lingua e lettere italiane nelle scuole normali femminili*, con lo stipendio di annue L. 2640, è, dal 1° novembre 1904 al 30 settembre 1905, comandata a prestar servizio nell'Istituto di Belle Arti in Roma, all'uopo d'insegnare la *Storia dell'arte alle giovinette dell'Istituto medesimo*, «Bollettino Ufficiale del Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione», vol. XXXI/II, n. 52, 29 dicembre 1904, p. 2842.

Anno Accademico 1905-1906

- R. *Accademia di Belle Arti di Bologna* (*Storia delle belle arti*: Angelo Gatti).
 R. *Accademia di Belle Arti di Carrara* (*Storia dell'arte*: Andrea Frediani).
 R. *Accademia di Belle Arti di Firenze* (*Storia dell'arte*: Camillo Jacopo Cavallucci).
 R. *Accademia di Belle Arti di Lucca* (*Storia dell'arte*: Medarse Cappelletti).
 R. *Accademia di Belle Arti di Milano* (*Storia dell'arte*: Giulio Carotti).
 R. *Accademia di Belle Arti di Modena* (*Storia delle belle arti*: Mario Martinozzi).
 R. *Istituto di Belle Arti di Napoli* (*Storia delle belle arti*: Camillo Miola).
 R. *Istituto di Belle Arti di Palermo* (*Storia delle belle arti*: Vincenzo Pitini Piraino).
 R. *Accademia di Belle Arti di Parma* (*Storia delle belle arti*: Alberto Ròndani).
 R. *Istituto di Belle Arti di Roma* (*Storia delle belle arti*: Basilio Magni)¹⁸⁵.
 R. *Accademia Albertina di Belle Arti di Torino* (*Storia delle belle arti*: Corrado Corradino).
 R. *Istituto di Belle Arti nelle Marche di Urbino* (*Storia delle belle arti*: Giacomo Vanzolini).
 R. *Accademia di Belle Arti di Venezia* (*Storia delle belle arti*: Pietro Paoletti).

Anno Accademico 1906-1907

- R. *Accademia di Belle Arti di Bologna* (*Storia delle belle arti*: Angelo Gatti).
 R. *Accademia di Belle Arti di Carrara* (*Storia dell'arte*: Andrea Frediani).
 R. *Accademia di Belle Arti di Firenze* (*Storia dell'arte*: N.N.).
 R. *Accademia di Belle Arti di Lucca* (*Storia dell'arte*: Medarse Cappelletti).
 R. *Stabilimento teorico pratico di Belle Arti di Massa* (*Elementi di storia dell'arte*: Luigi Mario Capelli).
 R. *Accademia di Belle Arti di Milano* (*Storia dell'arte*: Giulio Carotti).
 R. *Accademia di Belle Arti di Modena* (*Storia delle belle arti*: Mario Martinozzi).
 R. *Istituto di Belle Arti di Napoli* (*Storia delle belle arti*: Camillo Miola).
 R. *Istituto di Belle Arti di Palermo* (*Storia delle belle arti*: Vincenzo Pitini Piraino).
 R. *Accademia di Belle Arti di Parma* (*Storia delle belle arti*: Alberto Ròndani).
 R. *Istituto di Belle Arti di Roma* (*Storia delle belle arti*: Basilio Magni)¹⁸⁶.
 R. *Accademia Albertina di Belle Arti di Torino* (*Storia delle belle arti*: Corrado Corradino).
 R. *Istituto di Belle Arti di Urbino* (*Storia delle belle arti*: Giacomo Vanzolini).
 R. *Accademia di Belle Arti di Venezia* (*Storia delle belle arti*: Pietro Paoletti).

Anno Accademico 1907-1908

- R. *Accademia di Belle Arti di Bologna* (*Storia delle belle arti*: Angelo Gatti).
 R. *Accademia di Belle Arti di Carrara* (*Storia dell'arte*: Andrea Frediani).

¹⁸⁵ Nello stesso anno accademico figura anche Ettore Dolfi come professore *aggiunto* di *Storia delle belle arti*.

¹⁸⁶ Nello stesso anno accademico figura anche Ettore Dolfi come professore *aggiunto* di *Storia delle belle arti*. È altresì presente la docente comandata Amalia Pezzini con l'incarico di tenere l'insegnamento di *Storia dell'arte* alle alunne di sesso femminile. Cfr. D.M. 22 agosto 1906 – *con il quale Pizzini dott. Amalia, titolare di lingua e lettere italiane nelle scuole normali femminili, con lo stipendio annuo di L. 2640, è comandata anche per l'anno scolastico 1906-1907, e precisamente per il tempo dal 1° ottobre 1906 al 30 settembre 1907, a prestar servizio nell'Istituto di Belle Arti di Roma al fine di attendere all'insegnamento della Storia dell'arte nelle classi femminili*, «Bollettino Ufficiale del Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione», vol. XXXIII/II, n. 43, 25 ottobre 1906, p. 2973.

- R. *Accademia di Belle Arti di Firenze* (*Storia dell'arte*: N.N.).
 R. *Accademia di Belle Arti di Lucca* (*Storia dell'arte*: Medarse Cappelletti).
 R. *Stabilimento teorico pratico di Belle Arti di Massa* (*Elementi di storia dell'arte*: Luigi Mario Capelli).
 R. *Accademia di Belle Arti di Milano* (*Storia dell'arte*: Giulio Carotti).
 R. *Accademia di Belle Arti di Modena* (*Storia delle belle arti*: Mario Martinuzzi).
 R. *Istituto di Belle Arti di Napoli* (*Storia delle belle arti*: Camillo Miola).
 R. *Istituto di Belle Arti di Palermo* (*Storia delle belle arti*: Vincenzo Pitini Piraino).
 R. *Accademia di Belle Arti di Parma* (*Storia delle belle arti*: Alberto Ròndani).
 R. *Istituto di Belle Arti di Roma* (*Storia delle belle arti*: Basilio Magni)¹⁸⁷.
 R. *Accademia Albertina di Belle Arti di Torino* (*Storia delle belle arti*: Corrado Corradino).
 R. *Istituto di Belle Arti di Urbino* (*Storia delle belle arti*: Giacomo Vanzolini).
 R. *Accademia di Belle Arti di Venezia* (*Storia delle belle arti*: Pietro Paoletti).

Anno Accademico 1908-1909

- R. *Accademia di Belle Arti di Bologna* (*Storia delle belle arti*: Angelo Gatti).
 R. *Accademia di Belle Arti di Carrara* (*Storia dell'arte*: Andrea Frediani).
 R. *Accademia di Belle Arti di Firenze* (*Storia dell'arte*: Paolo Fontana).
 R. *Accademia di Belle Arti di Lucca* (*Storia dell'arte*: Medarse Cappelletti).
 R. *Stabilimento teorico pratico di Belle Arti di Massa* (*Elementi di storia dell'arte*: Luigi Mario Capelli).
 R. *Accademia di Belle Arti di Milano* (*Storia dell'arte*: Giulio Carotti).
 R. *Accademia di Belle Arti di Modena* (*Storia delle belle arti*: Mario Martinuzzi).
 R. *Istituto di Belle Arti di Napoli* (*Storia delle belle arti*: Camillo Miola).
 R. *Istituto di Belle Arti di Palermo* (*Storia delle belle arti*: Vincenzo Pitini Piraino).
 R. *Accademia di Belle Arti di Parma* (*Storia delle belle arti*: Alberto Ròndani).
 R. *Istituto di Belle Arti di Roma* (*Storia delle belle arti*: Basilio Magni)¹⁸⁸.
 R. *Accademia Albertina di Belle Arti di Torino* (*Storia delle belle arti*: Corrado Corradino).
 R. *Istituto di Belle Arti di Urbino* (*Storia delle belle arti*: Giuseppe Lipparini).
 R. *Accademia di Belle Arti di Venezia* (*Storia delle belle arti*: Pietro Paoletti).

Anno Accademico 1909-1910

- R. *Accademia di Belle Arti di Bologna* (*Storia delle belle arti*: Angelo Gatti).
 R. *Accademia di Belle Arti di Carrara* (*Storia dell'arte*: Andrea Frediani).
 R. *Accademia di Belle Arti di Firenze* (*Storia dell'arte*: Paolo Fontana).
 R. *Accademia di Belle Arti di Lucca* (*Storia dell'arte*: Medarse Cappelletti).

¹⁸⁷ Nello stesso anno accademico figura anche Ettore Dolfi come professore *aggiunto* di *Storia delle belle arti*. È altresì presente la docente comandata Amalia Pezzini con l'incarico di tenere l'insegnamento di *Storia dell'arte* alle alunne di sesso femminile. Cfr. D.M. 19 agosto 1909 – con il quale Pizzini dott.ssa Amalia, ordinaria nel 2° ordine di ruoli per l'insegnamento della lingua e lettere italiane nelle regie scuole normali, è confermata nel comando presso l'Istituto di belle arti di Roma fino al 30 settembre 1910, per attendere all'insegnamento della *Storia dell'arte nelle classi femminili*, «Bollettino Ufficiale del Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione», vol. XXXVI/II, n. 41-42, 7-14 ottobre 1909, p. 2917.

¹⁸⁸ Nello stesso anno accademico figura anche Ettore Dolfi come professore *aggiunto* di *Storia delle belle arti*. È altresì presente la docente comandata Amalia Pezzini con l'incarico di tenere l'insegnamento di *Storia dell'arte* alle alunne di sesso femminile.

R. *Stabilimento teorico pratico di Belle Arti di Massa (Elementi di storia dell'arte)*: Luigi Mario Capelli).

R. *Accademia di Belle Arti di Milano (Storia dell'arte)*: Giulio Carotti).

R. *Accademia di Belle Arti di Modena (Storia delle belle arti)*: Mario Martinozzi).

R. *Istituto di Belle Arti di Napoli (Storia delle belle arti)*: Camillo Miola).

R. *Istituto di Belle Arti di Palermo (Storia delle belle arti)*: Vincenzo Pitini Piraino).

R. *Accademia di Belle Arti di Parma (Storia delle belle arti)*: Alberto Ròndani)

R. *Istituto di Belle Arti di Roma (Storia delle belle arti)*: Basilio Magni)¹⁸⁹.

R. *Accademia Albertina di Belle Arti di Torino (Storia delle belle arti)*: Corrado Corradino).

R. *Istituto di Belle Arti di Urbino (Storia delle belle arti)*: Giuseppe Lipparini).

R. *Accademia di Belle Arti di Venezia (Storia delle belle arti)*: Pietro Paoletti).

Anno Accademico 1910-1911

R. *Accademia di Belle Arti di Bologna (Storia delle belle arti)*: Angelo Gatti).

R. *Accademia di Belle Arti di Carrara (Storia dell'arte)*: Andrea Frediani).

R. *Accademia di Belle Arti di Firenze (Storia dell'arte)*: Paolo Fontana).

R. *Accademia di Belle Arti di Lucca (Storia dell'arte)*: N.N.).

R. *Stabilimento teorico pratico di Belle Arti di Massa (Elementi di storia dell'arte)*: Luigi Mario Capelli).

R. *Accademia di Belle Arti di Milano (Storia dell'arte)*: Giulio Carotti).

R. *Accademia di Belle Arti di Modena (Storia delle belle arti)*: Mario Martinozzi).

R. *Istituto di Belle Arti di Napoli (Storia delle belle arti)*: Camillo Miola).

R. *Istituto di Belle Arti di Palermo (Storia delle belle arti)*: Vincenzo Pitini Piraino).

R. *Accademia di Belle Arti di Parma (Storia delle belle arti)*: Alberto Ròndani)

R. *Istituto di Belle Arti di Roma (Storia delle belle arti)*: Basilio Magni)¹⁹⁰.

R. *Accademia Albertina di Belle Arti di Torino (Storia delle belle arti)*: Corrado Corradino).

R. *Istituto di Belle Arti di Urbino (Storia delle belle arti)*: N.N.).

R. *Accademia di Belle Arti di Venezia (Storia delle belle arti)*: Pietro Paoletti).

Anno accademico 1911-1912

R. *Accademia di Belle Arti di Bologna (Storia delle belle arti)*: Angelo Gatti).

R. *Accademia di Belle Arti di Carrara (Storia dell'arte)*: Andrea Frediani).

R. *Accademia di Belle Arti di Firenze (Storia dell'arte)*: Paolo Fontana).

R. *Accademia di Belle Arti di Lucca (Storia dell'arte)*: N.N.).

R. *Stabilimento teorico pratico di Belle Arti di Massa (Elementi di storia dell'arte)*: Luigi Mario Capelli).

R. *Accademia di Belle Arti di Milano (Storia dell'arte)*: Giulio Carotti).

R. *Accademia di Belle Arti di Modena (Storia delle belle arti)*: Mario Martinozzi).

R. *Istituto di Belle Arti di Napoli (Storia delle belle arti)*: Camillo Miola).

R. *Istituto di Belle Arti di Palermo (Storia delle belle arti)*: Vincenzo Pitini Piraino).

R. *Accademia di Belle Arti di Parma (Storia delle belle arti)*: N.N.)

¹⁸⁹ Nello stesso anno accademico figura anche Ettore Dolfi come professore *aggiunto* di *Storia delle belle arti*. È altresì presente la docente comandata Amalia Pezzini con l'incarico di tenere l'insegnamento di *Storia dell'arte* alle alunne di sesso femminile.

¹⁹⁰ Nello stesso anno accademico figura anche Ettore Dolfi come professore *aggiunto* di *Storia delle belle arti*.

- R. Istituto di Belle Arti di Roma (*Storia delle belle arti*: Basilio Magni)¹⁹¹.
 R. Accademia Albertina di Belle Arti di Torino (*Storia delle belle arti*: Corrado Corradino).
 R. Istituto di Belle Arti di Urbino (*Storia delle belle arti*: N.N.).
 R. Accademia di Belle Arti in Venezia (*Storia delle belle arti*: Pietro Paoletti).

Anno Accademico 1912-1913

- R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Bologna (*Storia delle belle arti*: Angelo Gatti).
 R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Carrara (*Storia dell'arte*: Andrea Frediani).
 R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Firenze (*Storia dell'arte*: Paolo Fontana).
 R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Lucca (*Storia dell'arte*: N.N.).
 R. Stabilimento teorico pratico di Belle Arti di Massa (*Elementi di storia dell'arte*: Luigi Mario Capelli).
 R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Milano (*Storia dell'arte*: Giulio Carotti).
 R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Modena (*Storia delle belle arti*: Mario Martinozzi).
 R. Istituto di Belle Arti di Napoli (*Storia delle belle arti*: Camillo Miola).
 R. Istituto di Belle Arti di Palermo (*Storia delle belle arti*: Vincenzo Pitini Piraino).
 R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Parma (*Storia delle belle arti*: Fabio Bargagli-Petrucci).
 R. Istituto di Belle Arti di Roma (*Storia delle belle arti*: Michele De Benedetti)¹⁹².
 R. Accademia Albertina di Belle Arti di Torino (*Storia delle belle arti*: Corrado Corradino).
 R. Istituto di Belle Arti di Urbino (*Storia delle belle arti*: N.N.).
 R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Venezia (*Storia delle belle arti*: Pietro Paoletti).

Anno Accademico 1913-1914

- R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Bologna (*Storia delle belle arti*: Angelo Gatti).
 R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Carrara (*Storia dell'arte*: Andrea Frediani).
 R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Firenze (*Storia dell'arte*: Paolo Fontana).
 R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Lucca (*Storia dell'arte*: Francesco Paolo Luiso)¹⁹³.
 R. Stabilimento teorico pratico di Belle Arti di Massa (*Elementi di storia dell'arte*: Luigi Mario Capelli).
 R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Milano (*Storia dell'arte*: Giulio Carotti).
 R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Modena (*Storia delle belle arti*: Mario Martinozzi).
 R. Istituto di Belle Arti di Napoli (*Storia delle belle arti*: Camillo Miola).

¹⁹¹ Nello stesso anno accademico figura anche Ettore Dolfi come professore *aggiunto* di *Storia delle belle arti*.

¹⁹² Michele De Benedetti era stato nominato in qualità di supplente in attesa della conclusione del concorso bandito dall'Accademia di Belle Arti della capitale per un professore di ruolo della disciplina. Cfr. R.D. 9 agosto 1912 – *con il quale a De Benedetti prof. Michele, è affidato, dal 10 dicembre 1912 fino all'esito del concorso ed in ogni modo non oltre il 31 luglio 1913, la supplenza al posto di professore di Storia dell'arte nell'Istituto di Belle Arti di Roma, con la retribuzione mensile di L. 150*, «Bollettino Ufficiale del Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione», vol. XL/I, n. 7, 13 febbraio 1913, p. 294.

¹⁹³ Francesco Paolo Luiso fu nominato supplente di *Storia dell'arte* nell'Accademia di Belle Arti di Lucca (incarico poi rinnovato negli anni successivi) con il D.M. 15 dicembre 1913 – *con il quale a Luiso prof. Francesco Paolo è affidata la supplenza all'incarico per la Storia dell'arte, le lettere italiane e la storia generale nell'Istituto di Belle Arti di Lucca dal 1° dicembre 1913 al 31 luglio 1914*, «Bollettino Ufficiale del Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione», vol. XLI/I, n. 9, 26 febbraio 1914, p. 521.

- R. Istituto di Belle Arti di Palermo (*Storia delle belle arti*: Vincenzo Pitini Piraino).
 R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Parma (*Storia delle belle arti*: Fabio Bargagli-Petrucci).
 R. Istituto di Belle Arti di Roma (*Storia delle belle arti*: Pietro D'Achiardi).
 R. Accademia Albertina di Belle Arti di Torino (*Storia delle belle arti*: Corrado Corradino).
 R. Istituto di Belle Arti di Urbino (*Storia delle belle arti*: Lionello Venturi).
 R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Venezia (*Storia delle belle arti*: Pietro Paoletti).

Anno Accademico 1914-1915

- R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Bologna (*Storia delle belle arti*: Angelo Gatti).
 R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Carrara (*Storia dell'arte*: Andrea Frediani).
 R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Firenze (*Storia dell'arte*: Paolo Fontana).
 R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Lucca (*Storia dell'arte*: Francesco Paolo Luiso).
 R. Stabilimento teorico pratico di Belle Arti di Massa (*Elementi di storia dell'arte*: Luigi Mario Capelli)¹⁹⁴.
 R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Milano (*Storia dell'arte*: Giulio Carotti).
 R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Modena (*Storia delle belle arti*: Mario Martinozzi).
 R. Istituto di Belle Arti di Napoli (*Storia delle belle arti*: Camillo Miola).
 R. Istituto di Belle Arti di Palermo (*Storia delle belle arti*: Vincenzo Pitini Piraino).
 R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Parma (*Storia delle belle arti*: Fabio Bargagli-Petrucci).
 R. Istituto di Belle Arti di Roma (*Storia delle belle arti*: Pietro D'Achiardi).
 R. Accademia Albertina di Belle Arti di Torino (*Storia delle belle arti*: Corrado Corradino).
 R. Istituto di Belle Arti di Urbino (*Storia delle belle arti*: Lionello Venturi).
 R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Venezia (*Storia delle belle arti*: Pietro Paoletti).

Anno Accademico 1915-1916

- R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Bologna (*Storia delle belle arti*: Angelo Gatti).
 R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Carrara (*Storia dell'arte*: Andrea Frediani).
 R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Firenze (*Storia dell'arte*: Paolo Fontana).
 R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Lucca (*Storia dell'arte*: Francesco Paolo Luiso).
 R. Stabilimento teorico pratico di Belle Arti di Massa (*Elementi di storia dell'arte*: Luigi Mario Capelli)¹⁹⁵.
 R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Milano (*Storia dell'arte*: Giulio Carotti).
 R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Modena (*Storia delle belle arti*: Mario Martinozzi).
 R. Istituto di Belle Arti di Napoli (*Storia delle belle arti*: Camillo Miola).
 R. Istituto di Belle Arti di Palermo (*Storia delle belle arti*: Vincenzo Pitini Piraino).
 R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Parma (*Storia delle belle arti*: Fabio Bargagli-Petrucci).
 R. Istituto di Belle Arti di Roma (*Storia delle belle arti*: Pietro D'Achiardi).

¹⁹⁴ In realtà, per questo anno accademico risultava incaricato della disciplina il prof. Luigi Mannucci. Cfr. D.M. 9 ottobre 1914 – *con il quale Mannucci prof. Luigi è incaricato dell'insegnamento della Storia dell'arte nello Stabilimento teorico pratico di Belle Arti in Massa, dal 1° novembre 1914 al 31 luglio 1915*, «Bollettino Ufficiale del Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione», vol. XLI/II, n. 50, 3 dicembre 1914, p. 2897.

¹⁹⁵ Anche in questo anno accademico risultava incaricato della disciplina il prof. Luigi Mannucci. Cfr. D.M. 3 novembre 1915 – *con il quale Mannucci prof. Luigi è incaricato dell'insegnamento della Storia dell'arte nello Stabilimento teorico-pratico di Belle Arti di Massa, dal 1° novembre 1915 al 31 luglio 1916, con la retribuzione annua di L. 300*, «Bollettino Ufficiale del Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione», vol. XLII/II, n. 51, 23 dicembre 1915, p. 3453.

R. *Accademia Albertina di Belle Arti di Torino (Storia delle belle arti: Corrado Corradino).*

R. *Istituto di Belle Arti di Urbino (Storia delle belle arti: Lionello Venturi).*

R. *Accademia di Belle Arti di Venezia (Storia delle belle arti: Pietro Paoletti).*

Anno Accademico 1916-1917

R. *Accademia di Belle Arti di Bologna (Storia delle belle arti: Angelo Gatti).*

R. *Accademia di Belle Arti di Carrara (Storia dell'arte: Andrea Frediani).*

R. *Accademia di Belle Arti di Firenze (Storia dell'arte: Paolo Fontana).*

R. *Accademia di Belle Arti di Lucca (Storia dell'arte: Francesco Paolo Luiso).*

R. *Stabilimento teorico pratico di Belle Arti di Massa (Elementi di storia dell'arte: Luigi Mario Capelli).*

R. *Accademia di Belle Arti di Milano (Storia dell'arte: Giulio Carotti).*

R. *Accademia di Belle Arti di Modena (Storia delle belle arti: Mario Martinuzzi).*

R. *Istituto di Belle Arti di Napoli (Storia delle belle arti: Camillo Miola).*

R. *Istituto di Belle Arti di Palermo (Storia delle belle arti: Vincenzo Pitini Piraino).*

R. *Accademia di Belle Arti di Parma (Storia delle belle arti: N.N.)¹⁹⁶.*

R. *Istituto di Belle Arti di Roma (Storia delle belle arti: Pietro D'Achiardi)¹⁹⁷.*

R. *Accademia Albertina di Belle Arti di Torino (Storia delle belle arti: Corrado Corradino).*

R. *Istituto di Belle Arti di Urbino (Storia delle belle arti: Luigi Serra).*

R. *Accademia di Belle Arti di Venezia (Storia delle belle arti: N.N.).*

Anno accademico 1917-1918

R. *Accademia di Belle Arti di Bologna (Storia delle belle arti: Angelo Gatti).*

R. *Accademia di Belle Arti di Carrara (Storia dell'arte: Andrea Frediani)¹⁹⁸.*

R. *Accademia di Belle Arti di Firenze (Storia dell'arte: Paolo Fontana).*

R. *Accademia di Belle Arti di Lucca (Storia dell'arte: Francesco Paolo Luiso).*

R. *Stabilimento teorico pratico di Belle Arti di Massa (Elementi di storia dell'arte: Luigi Mario Capelli).*

R. *Accademia di Belle Arti di Milano (Storia dell'arte: Giulio Carotti).*

¹⁹⁶ In realtà, per questo anno accademico la supplenza risultava affidata alla prof.ssa Costanza Lorenzetti. Cfr. D.M. 23 gennaio 1917 – *con il quale è affidata a Lorenzetti prof. Costanza la supplenza al posto di professore di Storia dell'arte e storia generale nell'Istituto di belle arti di Parma dal 16 gennaio 1917 fino a contraria disposizione ma in ogni caso non oltre il 31 luglio 1917, con la retribuzione mensile di L. 200*, «Bollettino Ufficiale del Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione», vol. XLIV/I, n. 11, 15 marzo 1917, p. 568.

¹⁹⁷ In realtà, a sostituire il titolare dell'insegnamento, prof. Pietro D'Achiardi, impegnato come combattente al fronte, era stato chiamato in qualità di supplente il dott. Guido Chialvo. Cfr. D.M. 12 febbraio 1917 – *con il quale a Chialvo Guido è affidata la supplenza al posto di titolare di Storia dell'arte nell'Istituto di Belle Arti di Roma dal 1° gennaio 1917 fino a contraria disposizione e in ogni modo non oltre il 31 luglio stesso anno con la retribuzione mensile di L. 111.11*, «Bollettino Ufficiale del Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione», vol. XLIV/I, n. 18, 3 maggio 1917, p. 963.

¹⁹⁸ In realtà, l'insegnamento era stato affidato per supplenza al dott. Solone Monti. Cfr. D.M. 15 ottobre 1917 – *con il quale Monti Solone è incaricato della supplenza alla cattedra di Storia dell'arte nell'Accademia di Belle Arti di Carrara, dal 16 ottobre 1917 sino a contraria disposizione e in ogni caso non oltre il 31 luglio 1918, con la retribuzione mensile di L. 111.10*, «Bollettino Ufficiale del Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione», vol. XLV/I, n. 16, 18 aprile 1918, p. 418.

- R. *Accademia di Belle Arti di Modena* (*Storia delle belle arti*: Mario Martinozzi).
 R. *Istituto di Belle Arti di Napoli* (*Storia delle belle arti*: Camillo Miola).
 R. *Istituto di Belle Arti di Palermo* (*Storia delle belle arti*: Vincenzo Pitini Piraino).
 R. *Accademia di Belle Arti di Parma* (*Storia delle belle arti*: N.N.)¹⁹⁹.
 R. *Istituto di Belle Arti di Roma* (*Storia delle belle arti*: Pietro D'Achiardi)²⁰⁰.
 R. *Accademia Albertina di Belle Arti di Torino* (*Storia delle belle arti*: Corrado Corradino).
 R. *Istituto di Belle Arti di Urbino* (*Storia delle belle arti*: Luigi Serra).
 R. *Accademia di Belle Arti di Venezia* (*Storia delle belle arti*: N.N.).

Anno Accademico 1918-1919

- R. *Accademia di Belle Arti di Bologna* (*Storia delle belle arti*: Angelo Gatti).
 R. *Accademia di Belle Arti di Carrara* (*Storia dell'arte*: Andrea Frediani).
 R. *Accademia di Belle Arti di Firenze* (*Storia dell'arte*: Paolo Fontana).
 R. *Accademia di Belle Arti di Lucca* (*Storia dell'arte*: Francesco Paolo Luiso).
 R. *Stabilimento teorico pratico di Belle Arti di Massa* (*Elementi di storia dell'arte*: Luigi Mario Capelli).
 R. *Accademia di Belle Arti di Milano* (*Storia dell'arte*: Giulio Carotti).
 R. *Accademia di Belle Arti di Modena* (*Storia delle belle arti*: Mario Martinozzi).
 R. *Istituto di Belle Arti di Napoli* (*Storia delle belle arti*: Camillo Miola)²⁰¹.
 R. *Istituto di Belle Arti di Palermo* (*Storia delle belle arti*: Vincenzo Pitini Piraino).
 R. *Accademia di Belle Arti di Parma* (*Storia delle belle arti*: N.N.)²⁰².

¹⁹⁹ Anche per questo anno accademico la supplenza risultava affidata alla prof.ssa Costanza Lorenzetti. Cfr. D.M. 15 ottobre 1917 – *con il quale Lorenzetti prof. Costanza, professore di Storia dell'arte e storia generale, è incaricata della supplenza nel R. Istituto di Belle Arti di Parma, dal 16 ottobre 1917 sino a contraria disposizione ma in ogni caso non oltre il 31 luglio 1918, con la retribuzione mensile di lire 222.22*, «Bollettino Ufficiale del Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione», vol. XLIV/II, n. 52, 27 dicembre 1917, p. 2272.

²⁰⁰ In realtà, anche in questo anno accademico, l'insegnamento era tenuto per supplenza dal dott. Guido Chialvo. Cfr. D.M. 15 ottobre 1917 – *con il quale Chialvo prof. Guido è incaricato della supplenza di Storia dell'arte, storia generale e bibliotecario presso l'Istituto di Belle Arti di Roma dal 16 ottobre 1917 e non oltre il 31 luglio 1918, con la retribuzione mensile di L. 110.10*, «Bollettino Ufficiale del Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione», vol. XLV/I, n. 4, 24 gennaio 1918, p. 71.

²⁰¹ In realtà, nel corso del presente anno accademico, l'insegnamento venne tenuto per supplenza dal prof. Antonino Anile. Cfr. D.M. 31 dicembre 1918 – *con il quale Anile prof. Antonino è incaricato della supplenza di Storia dell'arte nell'Istituto di Belle Arti di Napoli, dal 16 ottobre 1918 al 31 luglio 1919, con la retribuzione mensile di L. 245*, «Bollettino Ufficiale del Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione», vol. XLVI/I, n. 26, 26 giugno 1919, p. 922.

²⁰² Anche per questo anno accademico la supplenza risultava affidata alla prof.ssa Costanza Lorenzetti. Cfr. D.M. 31 dicembre 1918 – *con il quale Lorenzetti professoressa Costanza è incaricata della supplenza di Storia dell'arte nell'Istituto di Belle Arti di Parma, dal 16 ottobre 1918 al 31 luglio 1919, con la retribuzione mensile di L. 367,50*, «Bollettino Ufficiale del Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione», vol. XLVI/I, n. 26, 26 giugno 1919, p. 922. Il titolare dell'insegnamento, prof. Fabio Bargagli-Petrucci, infatti, dopo aver svolto nel periodo precedente il servizio militare al fronte, aveva chiesto e ottenuto di essere posto in congedo per alcuni mesi. Cfr. D.M. 18 giugno 1919 – *con il quale Bargagli-Petrucci dott. Fabio, professore titolare di Storia dell'arte e storia generale nell'Istituto di Belle Arti di Parma dal 2 maggio 1919, che ha cessato dal servizio militare, è collocato in congedo fino al 31 luglio 1919*, «Bollettino Ufficiale del Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione», vol. XLVI/II, n. 32, 7 agosto 1919, p. 1168.

- R. Istituto di Belle Arti di Roma (*Storia delle belle arti*: Pietro D'Achiardi)²⁰³.
 R. Accademia Albertina di Belle Arti di Torino (*Storia delle belle arti*: Corrado Corradino).
 R. Istituto di Belle Arti di Urbino (*Storia delle belle arti*: Luigi Serra).
 R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Venezia (*Storia delle belle arti*: N.N.).

Anno Accademico 1919-1920

- R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Bologna (*Storia delle belle arti*: Angelo Gatti).
 R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Carrara (*Storia dell'arte*: Andrea Frediani)²⁰⁴.
 R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Firenze (*Storia dell'arte*: Paolo Fontana).
 R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Lucca (*Storia dell'arte*: Francesco Paolo Luiso).
 R. Stabilimento teorico pratico di Belle Arti di Massa (*Elementi di storia dell'arte*: Luigi Mario Capelli).
 R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Milano (*Storia dell'arte*: Giulio Carotti).
 R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Modena (*Storia delle belle arti*: Mario Martinozzi).
 R. Istituto di Belle Arti di Napoli (*Storia delle belle arti*: N.N.)²⁰⁵.
 R. Istituto di Belle Arti di Palermo (*Storia delle belle arti*: Vincenzo Pitini Piraino).
 R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Parma (*Storia delle belle arti*: N.N.)²⁰⁶.
 R. Istituto di Belle Arti di Roma (*Storia delle belle arti*: Pietro D'Achiardi)²⁰⁷.
 R. Accademia Albertina di Belle Arti di Torino (*Storia delle belle arti*: Corrado Corradino).
 R. Istituto di Belle Arti di Urbino (*Storia delle belle arti*: Luigi Serra).

²⁰³ Anche in questo anno accademico l'insegnamento era tenuto per supplenza dal dott. Guido Chialvo. Cfr. D.M. 23 dicembre 1918 – *con il quale Chialvo dott. Guido è incaricato della supplenza al posto di professore di Storia dell'arte, storia generale e bibliotecario nell'Istituto di Belle Arti di Roma, dal 16 ottobre 1918 sino a contraria disposizione e in ogni caso non oltre il 31 luglio 1919 con la retribuzione mensile di L. 245*, «Bollettino Ufficiale del Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione», vol. XLVI/I, n. 22, 29 maggio 1919, p. 695.

²⁰⁴ In realtà, nel corso del presente anno accademico, l'insegnamento venne tenuto per supplenza dal prof. Luigi Mannucci. D.M. 1° dicembre 1919 – *con il quale Mannucci prof. Luigi è incaricato della supplenza di Storia dell'arte, lettere italiane e storia generale nella R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Carrara, dal 16 ottobre 1919 al 31 luglio 1920, con la retribuzione mensile di L. 220*, «Bollettino Ufficiale del Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione», vol. XLVII/I, n. 10, 4 marzo 1920, p. 392.

²⁰⁵ In realtà, nel corso del presente anno accademico, l'insegnamento venne tenuto per supplenza dal prof. Antonino Anile. Cfr. D.M. 1° dicembre 1919 – *con il quale Anile prof. Antonino è incaricato della supplenza di Storia dell'arte nel R. Istituto di Belle Arti di Napoli, dal 16 ottobre 1919 al 31 luglio 1920, con la retribuzione mensile di L. 375*, «Bollettino Ufficiale del Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione», vol. XLVII/I, n. 12, 18 marzo 1920, p. 456.

²⁰⁶ Anche per questo anno accademico la supplenza risultava affidata alla prof.ssa Costanza Lorenzetti. Cfr. D.M. 1° febbraio 1920 – *con il quale Lorenzetti prof. Costanza, dal 31 dicembre 1919 cessa dall'incarico della supplenza alla cattedra di Storia dell'arte nell'Istituto di Belle Arti di Parma*, «Bollettino Ufficiale del Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione», vol. XLVII/I, n. 18, 29 aprile 1920, p. 635.

²⁰⁷ Il prof. Pietro D'Achiardi riassumeva la titolarità dell'insegnamento a decorrere dal gennaio del 1919. Cfr. D.M. 21 giugno 1919 – *con il quale Chialvo prof. Guido cessa dal 3 gennaio 1919 dall'incarico della supplenza al posto di professore di Storia dell'arte, storia generale e bibliotecario nell'Istituto di Belle Arti di Roma, che dalla stessa data viene assunto da D'Achiardi prof. Pietro con la medesima retribuzione*, «Bollettino Ufficiale del Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione», vol. XLVI/II, n. 32, 7 agosto 1919, p. 1168.

R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Venezia (Storia delle belle arti: N.N.).

Anno Accademico 1920-1921

R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Bologna (Storia delle belle arti: Angelo Gatti).

R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Carrara (Storia dell'arte: N.N.).

R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Firenze (Storia dell'arte: Paolo Fontana).

R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Lucca (Storia dell'arte: Francesco Paolo Luiso).

R. Stabilimento teorico pratico di Belle Arti di Massa (Elementi di storia dell'arte: Luigi Mario Capelli)²⁰⁸.

R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Milano (Storia dell'arte: Giulio Carotti).

R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Modena (Storia delle belle arti: Mario Martinozzi).

R. Istituto di Belle Arti di Napoli (Storia delle belle arti: N.N.)²⁰⁹.

R. Istituto di Belle Arti di Palermo (Storia delle belle arti: Vincenzo Pitini Piraino).

R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Parma (Storia delle belle arti: N.N.)²¹⁰.

R. Istituto di Belle Arti di Roma (Storia delle belle arti: Pietro D'Achiardi).

R. Accademia Albertina di Belle Arti di Torino (Storia delle belle arti: Corrado Corradino).

R. Istituto di Belle Arti di Urbino (Storia delle belle arti: Luigi Serra).

R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Venezia (Storia delle belle arti: N.N.)²¹¹.

²⁰⁸ In realtà, nel corso del presente anno accademico, l'insegnamento venne tenuto per supplenza dal prof. Luigi Mannucci. D.M. 16 ottobre 1920 – *con il quale Mannucci prof. Luigi è incaricato dell'insegnamento straordinario di Storia d'arte e cultura generale nel R. Stabilimento teorico pratico di Belle Arti di Massa, a decorrere dal 16 ottobre 1920 al 31 luglio 1921, con la retribuzione mensile di L. 50*, «Bollettino Ufficiale del Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione», vol. XLVIII/I, n. 8, 24 febbraio 1921, p. 195.

²⁰⁹ In realtà, nel corso del presente anno accademico, l'insegnamento venne tenuto per supplenza dal prof. Antonino Anile. D.M. 9 marzo 1921 – *con il quale Anile Antonino è incaricato della supplenza della cattedra vacante di Storia dell'arte nel R. Istituto di Belle Arti di Napoli, a decorrere dal 16 ottobre 1920 al 31 luglio 1921, con la retribuzione di L. 300*, «Bollettino Ufficiale del Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione», vol. XLVIII/I, n. 22-23, 2-9 maggio 1921, p. 798.

²¹⁰ A decorrere dal 1° settembre 1920, infatti, il titolare dell'insegnamento, prof. Fabio Bargagli-Petrucci, aveva dato le dimissioni. Cfr. R.D. 5 dicembre 1920 – *con il quale Bargagli-Petrucci prof. Fabio cessa, a sua domanda, dal posto di professore titolare di Storia dell'arte e storia generale nel R. Istituto di Belle Arti di Parma, a decorrere dal 1° settembre 1920*, «Bollettino Ufficiale del Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione», vol. XLVIII/II, n. 38, 22 settembre 1921, p. 1368. Tuttavia, l'insegnamento non fu sospeso per quell'anno accademico, ma affidato come supplenza al prof. Laudadeo Testi. Cfr. D.M. 1° novembre 1920 – *con il quale Testi prof. Laudadeo è incaricato della supplenza alla cattedra temporaneamente vacante di Storia dell'arte nel R. Istituto di Belle Arti di Parma, a decorrere dal 16 ottobre 1920 al 31 luglio 1921, con la retribuzione mensile di L. 300*, «Bollettino Ufficiale del Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione», vol. XLVIII/I, n. 8, 24 febbraio 1921, p. 198.

²¹¹ Dal maggio 1921 il titolare dell'insegnamento, prof. Pietro Giuseppe Paoletti, era stato collocato in pensione. Cfr. R.D. 4 agosto 1921 – *con il quale Paoletti prof. Pietro Giuseppe, titolare di Storia dell'arte, storia generale e bibliotecario nel R. Istituto di Belle Arti di Venezia, è collocato a riposo in applicazione dell'art. 18 della legge 6 luglio 1922, n. 734, a decorrere dal 1° maggio 1921*, «Bollettino Ufficiale del Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione», vol. XLIX/II, n. 32-33, 10-17 agosto 1922, p. 1421. Lo stesso Paoletti, come si vedrà di seguito, anche dopo il pensionamento terrà ancora l'insegnamento come supplente negli anni seguenti.

Anno Accademico 1921-1922

R. *Accademia di Belle Arti di Bologna* (Storia dell'Arte: Angelo Gatti).

R. *Accademia di Belle Arti di Carrara* (Storia dell'Arte: N.N.).

R. *Accademia di Belle Arti di Firenze* (Storia dell'Arte: Paolo Fontana).

R. *Accademia di Belle Arti di Lucca* (Storia dell'Arte: N.N.).

R. *Stabilimento teorico pratico di Belle Arti di Massa* (*Elementi di storia dell'arte*: Luigi Mario Capelli).

R. *Accademia di Belle Arti di Milano* (Storia dell'Arte: Giulio Carotti).

R. *Accademia di Belle Arti di Modena* (Storia dell'Arte: Mario Martinuzzi).

R. *Istituto di Belle Arti di Napoli* (Storia dell'Arte: Costanza Lorenzetti).

R. *Istituto di Belle Arti di Palermo* (Storia dell'Arte: Michele Guerrisi)²¹².

R. *Accademia di Belle Arti di Parma* (Storia dell'arte: N.N.).

R. *Istituto di Belle Arti di Roma* (Storia dell'Arte: Pietro D'Archiardi).

R. *Accademia Albertina di Belle Arti di Torino* (Storia dell'Arte: Corrado Corradino).

R. *Istituto di Belle Arti di Urbino* (Storia dell'Arte: Luigi Serra).

R. *Accademia di Belle Arti di Venezia* (Storia dell'Arte: N.N.)²¹³.

Anno Accademico 1922-1923

R. *Accademia di Belle Arti di Bologna* (Storia dell'Arte: Angelo Gatti).

R. *Accademia di Belle Arti di Carrara* (Storia dell'Arte: N.N.)²¹⁴.

R. *Accademia di Belle Arti di Firenze* (Storia dell'Arte: Paolo Fontana).

²¹² In sostituzione del prof. Vincenzo Pitini Piaino, in questo anno accademico l'insegnamento era affidato per supplenza al prof. Michele Guerrisi. Cfr. D.M. 1° febbraio 1923 – *con il quale Guerrisi prof. Michele è incaricato della supplenza al posto di professore di Storia dell'arte, storia generale e bibliotecario nel R. Istituto di Belle Arti di Palermo, dal 16 ottobre 1921 al 31 luglio 1922, con la retribuzione mensile di L. 450*, «Bollettino Ufficiale del Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione», vol. L/I, n. 23, 7 giugno 1923, p. 1865.

²¹³ In realtà, l'insegnamento fu tenuto per supplenza dal prof. Pietro Giuseppe Paoletti, ora in pensione. Cfr. D.M. 1° febbraio 1922 – *con il quale Paoletti Pietro Giuseppe è incaricato della supplenza alla cattedra temporaneamente vacante di Storia dell'arte e storia generale nel R. Istituto di Belle Arti di Venezia, a decorrere dal 16 ottobre 1921 al 31 luglio 1922, con la retribuzione mensile di L. 450*, «Bollettino Ufficiale del Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione», vol. XLIX/II, n. 32-33, 10-17 agosto 1922, p. 1422.

²¹⁴ In realtà, l'insegnamento fu tenuto in quell'anno accademico dal prof. Vasco Santini. Cfr. D.M. 1° marzo 1923 – *con il quale Santini prof. Vasco è incaricato della supplenza al posto d'incaricato per la Storia dell'arte, lettere italiane e storia generale nell'Accademia di Belle Arti di Carrara dal 10 febbraio al 31 luglio 1923, con la retribuzione mensile di L. 435*, «Bollettino Ufficiale del Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione», vol. L/I, n. 23, 7 giugno 1923, p. 1865. Merita di essere segnalato che, in un primo tempo, l'incarico d'insegnamento, addirittura di durata triennale, era stato attribuito al prof. Michele Guerrisi (si veda, al riguardo, il D.M. 1° dicembre 1922 – *con il quale Guerrisi prof. Michele è nominato, per un triennio, in seguito a concorso, incaricato per la Storia dell'arte, lettere italiane e la storia generale nel ruolo della R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Carrara, con l'annuo stipendio di L. 4000, a decorrere dal 1° dicembre 1922*, «Bollettino Ufficiale del Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione», vol. L/I, n. 10, 8 marzo 1923, p. 809). Con successivo decreto ministeriale del gennaio 1923, tuttavia, previo annullamento della precedente destinazione, lo stesso Guerrisi era trasferito all'Accademia di Belle Arti di Torino in qualità di titolare del medesimo insegnamento. Cfr. D.M. 15 gennaio 1923 – *con il quale Guerrisi prof. Michele cessa, dal 16 gennaio 1923, dal posto d'incaricato per la Storia dell'arte, lettere italiane e la storia generale nel ruolo della R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Carrara, ed è invece nominato professore di Storia dell'arte, storia generale e bibliotecario nella*

- R. *Accademia di Belle Arti di Lucca* (Storia dell'Arte: N.N.).
 R. *Accademia di Belle Arti di Milano* (Storia dell'Arte: Giulio Carotti).
 R. *Accademia di Belle Arti di Modena* (Storia dell'Arte: Mario Martinuzzi).
 R. *Istituto di Belle Arti di Napoli* (Storia dell'Arte: Costanza Lorenzetti).
 R. *Istituto di Belle Arti di Palermo* (Storia dell'Arte: Vincenzo Pitini-Piraino)²¹⁵.
 R. *Accademia di Belle Arti di Parma* (Storia dell'arte: N.N.)²¹⁶.
 R. *Istituto di Belle Arti di Palermo* (Storia dell'Arte: N.N.)²¹⁷.
 R. *Istituto di Belle Arti di Roma* (Storia dell'Arte: Pietro D'Archiardi).
 R. *Accademia Albertina di Belle Arti di Torino* (Storia dell'Arte: Corrado Corradino).
 R. *Istituto di Belle Arti di Urbino* (Storia dell'Arte: Luigi Serra).
 R. *Accademia di Belle Arti di Venezia* (Storia dell'Arte: N.N.)²¹⁸.

R. *Accademia di Belle Arti di Torino, con l'annuo stipendio di L. 8000*, «Bollettino Ufficiale del Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione», vol. L/I, n. 11, 15 marzo 1923, p. 865.

²¹⁵ Nel presente anno accademico Vincenzo Pitini-Piraino tiene l'insegnamento di *Storia dell'arte* in qualità di supplente, a seguito del trasferimento all'Accademia Albertina di Belle Lettere di Torino del titolare Michele Guerrisi.

²¹⁶ Anche in questo anno accademico l'insegnamento fu tenuto come supplenza dal prof. Laudadeo Testi. Cfr. D.M. 1° ottobre 1922 – *con il quale Testi Laudadeo è incaricato della supplenza alla cattedra vacante di Storia dell'arte e storia generale nel R. Istituto di Belle Arti di Parma, a decorrere dal 16 ottobre 1922 sino a contraria disposizione e in ogni caso non oltre il 31 luglio 1923, con la retribuzione mensile di L. 300*, «Bollettino Ufficiale del Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione», vol. L/I, n. 3, 18 gennaio 1923, p. 225.

²¹⁷ In realtà, in questo anno accademico l'insegnamento fu tenuto per supplenza dal prof. Luigi Biagi. Cfr. D.M. 20 marzo 1923 – *con il quale Biagi prof. Luigi è incaricato della supplenza al posto di professore di Storia dell'arte, storia generale e bibliotecario nel R. Istituto di Belle Arti di Palermo, dal 16 febbraio al 31 luglio 1923, con la retribuzione mensile di L. 600*, «Bollettino Ufficiale del Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione», vol. L/I, n. 21, 24 maggio 1923, p. 1685.

²¹⁸ In realtà, l'insegnamento fu tenuto per supplenza dal prof. Pietro Giuseppe Paoletti, ora in pensione. Cfr. D.M. 16 ottobre 1922 – *con il quale Paoletti Pietro è incaricato della supplenza alla cattedra vacante di Storia dell'arte nel R. Istituto di Belle Arti di Venezia, a decorrere dal 16 ottobre 1922 al 31 luglio 1923, con la retribuzione mensile di L. 450*, «Bollettino Ufficiale del Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione», vol. L/I, n. 20, 17 maggio 1923, p. 1616.

Appendice n. 2
MAPPA DEGLI INSEGNAMENTI DI STORIA DELL'ARTE
NELLE ACCADEMIE DI BELLE ARTI E NEI LICEI ARTISTICI
DEL REGNO D'ITALIA DAL 1923-24 AL 1942-43²¹⁹

Anno Accademico 1923-1924²²⁰

R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Bologna

Storia dell'arte – Angelo Gatti

R. Accademia di Belle Arti in Carrara

Storia dell'arte e del costume – N.N.

R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Firenze

Storia dell'arte – Paolo Fontana

R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Milano

Storia dell'arte – Eva Tea.

R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Napoli

Storia dell'arte – Costanza Lorenzetti.

R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Palermo

Storia dell'arte – N.N.

R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Modena

Storia dell'arte – Mario Martinuzzi.

R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Roma

Storia dell'arte – Pietro D'Achiardi.

R. Accademia Albertina di Belle Arti di Torino

Storia dell'arte – Michele Guerrisi.

Istituto di Belle Arti nelle Marche in Urbino

Storia dell'arte – Luigi Serra.

R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Venezia

Storia dell'arte – N.N.

Anno Accademico 1924-1925²²¹

R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Bologna e Liceo artistico:

Storia dell'arte e del costume in Accademia di Belle Arti – Angelo Gatti.

Storia e storia dell'arte nel Liceo artistico – Antonino De Stefano.

R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Carrara

Storia dell'arte e del costume – N.N.

R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Firenze e Liceo artistico

Storia dell'arte e del costume in Accademia di Belle Arti – Paolo Fontana.

Storia e storia dell'arte nel Liceo artistico – Angelo Pernice.

²¹⁹ Le informazioni e i dati riportati in questa appendice sono stati acquisiti attraverso lo spoglio sistematico degli *Annuari del Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione* [dal 1930: *Annuari del Ministero dell'Educazione Nazionale*] per il periodo compreso tra il 1923 e il 1943. In particolare, sulla base delle indicazioni riportate nella sezione degli *Annuari* relativa a «Accademie, Istituti e Scuole di Belle Arti».

²²⁰ In questo anno accademico era ancora in vigore l'ordinamento precedente a quello introdotto dal ministro della Pubblica Istruzione Giovanni Gentile con il R.D. 31 dicembre 1923, n. 3123 (*Ordinamento dell'istruzione artistica*).

²²¹ Nuovo ordinamento introdotto dalla riforma Gentile con il R.D. 31 dicembre 1923, n. 3123 (*Ordinamento dell'istruzione artistica*).

R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Milano e Liceo artistico
Storia dell'arte e del costume in Accademia di Belle Arti – Eva Tea.
Storia e storia dell'arte nel Liceo artistico – N.N.
R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Napoli e Liceo artistico
Storia dell'arte e del costume in Accademia di Belle Arti – Costanza Lorenzetti.
Storia e storia dell'arte nel Liceo artistico – Piero Pieri.
R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Palermo e Liceo artistico
Storia dell'arte e del costume in Accademia di Belle Arti – Luigi Biagi.
Storia e storia dell'arte nel Liceo artistico – Ugo de Maria.
R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Roma e Liceo artistico
Storia dell'arte e del costume in Accademia di Belle Arti – Pietro D'Achiardi.
Storia e storia dell'arte nel Liceo artistico – Aldo Ferrari.
R. Accademia Albertina di Belle Arti di Torino e Liceo artistico
Storia dell'arte e del costume in Accademia di Belle Arti – Michele Guerrisi.
Storia e storia dell'arte nel Liceo artistico – Francesco Giulio.
R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Venezia e Liceo artistico
Storia dell'arte e del costume in Accademia di Belle Arti – N.N.
Storia e storia dell'arte nel Liceo artistico – Ugo Bassi.

Anno Accademico 1925-1926

R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Bologna e Liceo artistico:
Storia dell'arte e del costume in Accademia di Belle Arti – Angelo Gatti.
Storia e storia dell'arte nel Liceo artistico – Antonino De Stefano.
R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Carrara
Storia dell'arte e del costume – N.N.
R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Firenze e Liceo artistico
Storia dell'arte e del costume in Accademia di Belle Arti – Paolo Fontana.
Storia e storia dell'arte nel Liceo artistico – Angelo Pernice.
R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Milano e Liceo artistico
Storia dell'arte e del costume in Accademia di Belle Arti – Eva Tea.
Storia e storia dell'arte nel Liceo artistico – Corrado Barbagallo.
R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Napoli e Liceo artistico
Storia dell'arte e del costume in Accademia di Belle Arti – Costanza Lorenzetti.
Storia e storia dell'arte nel Liceo artistico – Piero Pieri.
R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Palermo e Liceo artistico
Storia dell'arte e del costume in Accademia di Belle Arti – Luigi Biagi.
Storia e storia dell'arte nel Liceo artistico – Antonio Abbruzzese.
R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Roma e Liceo artistico
Storia dell'arte e del costume in Accademia di Belle Arti – Pietro D'Achiardi.
Storia e storia dell'arte nel Liceo artistico – Maria D'Angelo.
R. Accademia Albertina di Belle Arti di Torino e Liceo artistico
Storia dell'arte e del costume in Accademia di Belle Arti – Michele Guerrisi²²².
Storia e storia dell'arte nel Liceo artistico – Luigi Ronga.
R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Venezia e Liceo artistico
Storia dell'arte e del costume in Accademia di Belle Arti – N.N.
Storia e storia dell'arte nel Liceo artistico – N.N.

²²² Michele Guerrisi era anche incaricato, in Accademia, dell'insegnamento di *Storia dell'architettura e degli stili architettonici*.

Anno Accademico 1926-1927

- R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Bologna e Liceo artistico:*
Storia dell'arte e del costume in Accademia di Belle Arti – Angelo Gatti.
Storia e storia dell'arte nel Liceo artistico – Antonino De Stefano.
- R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Carrara*
Storia dell'arte e del costume – Adolfo Angeli.
- R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Firenze e Liceo artistico*
Storia dell'arte e del costume in Accademia di Belle Arti – Paolo Fontana.
Storia e storia dell'arte nel Liceo artistico – Angelo Pernice.
- R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Milano e Liceo artistico*
Storia dell'arte e del costume in Accademia di Belle Arti – Eva Tea.
Storia e storia dell'arte nel Liceo artistico – Corrado Barbagallo.
- R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Napoli e Liceo artistico*
Storia dell'arte e del costume in Accademia di Belle Arti – Costanza Lorenzetti.
Storia e storia dell'arte nel Liceo artistico – Piero Pieri.
- R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Palermo e Liceo artistico*
Storia dell'arte e del costume in Accademia di Belle Arti – Luigi Biagi.
Storia e storia dell'arte nel Liceo artistico – Antonio Abbruzzese.
- R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Roma e Liceo artistico*
Storia dell'arte e del costume in Accademia di Belle Arti – Pietro D'Achiardi.
Storia e storia dell'arte nel Liceo artistico – Maria D'Angelo.
- R. Accademia Albertina di Belle Arti di Torino e Liceo artistico*
Storia dell'arte e del costume in Accademia di Belle Arti – Michele Guerrisi.
Storia e storia dell'arte nel Liceo artistico – Cesare Bollea.
- R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Venezia e Liceo artistico*
Storia dell'arte e del costume in Accademia di Belle Arti – N.N.
Storia e storia dell'arte nel Liceo artistico – N.N.

Anno Accademico 1927-1928

- R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Bologna e Liceo artistico:*
Storia dell'arte e del costume in Accademia di Belle Arti – Angelo Gatti.
Storia e storia dell'arte nel Liceo artistico – Antonino De Stefano.
- R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Carrara*
Storia dell'arte e del costume – Adolfo Angeli.
- R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Firenze e Liceo artistico*
Storia dell'arte e del costume in Accademia di Belle Arti – Paolo Fontana.
Storia e storia dell'arte nel Liceo artistico – Angelo Pernice.
- R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Milano e Liceo artistico*
Storia dell'arte e del costume in Accademia di Belle Arti – Eva Tea.
Storia e storia dell'arte nel Liceo artistico – Corrado Barbagallo.
- R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Napoli e Liceo artistico*
Storia dell'arte e del costume in Accademia di Belle Arti – Costanza Lorenzetti.
Storia e storia dell'arte nel Liceo artistico – Piero Pieri.
- R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Palermo e Liceo artistico*
Storia dell'arte e del costume in Accademia di Belle Arti – Luigi Biagi.
Storia e storia dell'arte nel Liceo artistico – N.N.
- R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Roma e Liceo artistico*
Storia dell'arte e del costume in Accademia di Belle Arti – Pietro D'Achiardi.
Storia e storia dell'arte nel Liceo artistico – Maria D'Angelo.
- R. Accademia Albertina di Belle Arti di Torino e Liceo artistico*

Storia dell'arte e del costume in Accademia di Belle Arti – Michele Guerrisi.

Storia e storia dell'arte nel Liceo artistico – Francesco Picco.

R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Venezia e Liceo artistico

Storia dell'arte e del costume in Accademia di Belle Arti – N.N.

Storia e storia dell'arte nel Liceo artistico – N.N.

R. Scuola Superiore di Architettura in Venezia

Storia dell'arte e dell'architettura – Pietro Paoletti.

Anno Accademico 1928-1929

R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Bologna e Liceo artistico:

Storia dell'arte e del costume in Accademia di Belle Arti – Angelo Gatti.

Storia e storia dell'arte nel Liceo artistico – Antonino De Stefano.

R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Carrara

Storia dell'arte e del costume – Adolfo Angeli.

R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Firenze e Liceo artistico

Storia dell'arte e del costume in Accademia di Belle Arti – Paolo Fontana.

Storia e storia dell'arte nel Liceo artistico – Angelo Pernice.

R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Milano e Liceo artistico

Storia dell'arte e del costume in Accademia di Belle Arti – Eva Tea.

Storia e storia dell'arte nel Liceo artistico – Corrado Barbagallo.

R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Napoli e Liceo artistico

Storia dell'arte e del costume in Accademia di Belle Arti – Costanza Lorenzetti.

Storia e storia dell'arte nel Liceo artistico – Piero Pieri.

R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Palermo e Liceo artistico

Storia dell'arte e del costume in Accademia di Belle Arti – Luigi Biagi.

Storia e storia dell'arte nel Liceo artistico – N.N.

R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Roma e Liceo artistico

Storia dell'arte e del costume in Accademia di Belle Arti – Pietro D'Achiardi.

Storia e storia dell'arte nel Liceo artistico – Luigi Arezio.

R. Accademia Albertina di Belle Arti di Torino e Liceo artistico

Storia dell'arte e del costume in Accademia di Belle Arti – Michele Guerrisi.

Storia e storia dell'arte nel Liceo artistico – Cesare Bollea.

R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Venezia e Liceo artistico

Storia dell'arte e del costume in Accademia di Belle Arti – N.N.

Storia e storia dell'arte nel Liceo artistico – N.N.

R. Scuola Superiore di Architettura in Venezia

Storia dell'arte e dell'architettura – Pietro Paoletti.

Anno Accademico 1929-1930

R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Bologna e Liceo artistico:

Storia dell'arte e del costume in Accademia di Belle Arti – Giuseppe Lipparini.

Storia e storia dell'arte nel Liceo artistico – Emilio Lovarini.

R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Carrara

Storia dell'arte e del costume – Adolfo Angeli.

R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Firenze e Liceo artistico

Storia dell'arte e del costume in Accademia di Belle Arti – Paolo Fontana.

Storia e storia dell'arte nel Liceo artistico – Angelo Pernice.

R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Milano e Liceo artistico

Storia dell'arte e del costume in Accademia di Belle Arti – Eva Tea.

Storia e storia dell'arte nel Liceo artistico – Amelia Pecorini Zambler.

R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Napoli e Liceo artistico
Storia dell'arte e del costume in Accademia di Belle Arti – Costanza Lorenzetti.
Storia e storia dell'arte nel Liceo artistico – Piero Pieri.
R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Palermo e Liceo artistico
Storia dell'arte e del costume in Accademia di Belle Arti – Luigi Biagi.
Storia e storia dell'arte nel Liceo artistico – Antonino De Stefano.
R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Roma e Liceo artistico
Storia dell'arte e del costume in Accademia di Belle Arti – Pietro D'Achiardi.
Storia e storia dell'arte nel Liceo artistico – Luigi Arezio.
R. Accademia Albertina di Belle Arti di Torino e Liceo artistico
Storia dell'arte e del costume in Accademia di Belle Arti – Michele Guerrisi.
Storia e storia dell'arte nel Liceo artistico – Cesare Bollea.
R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Venezia e Liceo artistico
Storia dell'arte e del costume in Accademia di Belle Arti – Giuseppe Delogu.
Storia e storia dell'arte nel Liceo artistico – Maria Andreina Marchetti.
R. Scuola Superiore di Architettura in Venezia
Storia dell'arte e dell'architettura – Pietro Paoletti.

Anno Accademico 1930-1931

R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Bologna e Liceo artistico:
Storia dell'arte e del costume in Accademia di Belle Arti – Giuseppe Lipparini.
Storia e storia dell'arte nel Liceo artistico – Aldo Foratti.
R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Carrara
Storia dell'arte e del costume – Adolfo Angeli.
R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Firenze e Liceo artistico
Storia dell'arte e del costume in Accademia di Belle Arti – Paolo Fontana.
Storia e storia dell'arte nel Liceo artistico – Angelo Pernice.
R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Milano e Liceo artistico
Storia dell'arte e del costume in Accademia di Belle Arti – Eva Tea.
Storia e storia dell'arte nel Liceo artistico – Amelia Pecorini Zambler.
*R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Napoli e Liceo artistico*²²³
Storia dell'arte e del costume in Accademia di Belle Arti – Costanza Lorenzetti.
Storia e storia dell'arte nel Liceo artistico – Piero Pieri.
R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Palermo e Liceo artistico
Storia dell'arte e del costume in Accademia di Belle Arti – Luigi Biagi.
Storia e storia dell'arte nel Liceo artistico – Antonino De Stefano.
R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Roma e Liceo artistico
Storia dell'arte e del costume in Accademia di Belle Arti – Pietro D'Achiardi.
Storia e storia dell'arte nel Liceo artistico – Luigi Arezio.
R. Accademia Albertina di Belle Arti di Torino e Liceo artistico
Storia dell'arte e del costume in Accademia di Belle Arti – Michele Guerrisi.
Storia e storia dell'arte nel Liceo artistico – Cesare Bollea.
R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Venezia e Liceo artistico
Storia dell'arte e del costume in Accademia di Belle Arti – Giuseppe Delogu.
Storia e storia dell'arte nel Liceo artistico – Maria Andreina Marchetti.
R. Scuola Superiore di Architettura in Venezia
Storia dell'arte e dell'architettura – Pietro Paoletti.

²²³ Nello stesso anno accademico figura anche Gino Chierici in qualità di incaricato dell'insegnamento di *Storia e stili dell'architettura*.

Anno Accademico 1931-1932

- R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Bologna e Liceo artistico:*
Storia dell'arte e del costume in Accademia di Belle Arti – Giuseppe Lipparini.
Storia e storia dell'arte nel Liceo artistico – Aldo Foratti.
- R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Carrara*
Storia dell'arte e del costume – Adolfo Angeli.
- R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Firenze e Liceo artistico*
Storia dell'arte e del costume in Accademia di Belle Arti – Paolo Fontana.
Storia e storia dell'arte nel Liceo artistico – Angelo Pernice.
- R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Milano e Liceo artistico*
Storia dell'arte e del costume in Accademia di Belle Arti – Eva Tea.
Storia e storia dell'arte nel Liceo artistico – Amelia Pecorini Zambler.
- R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Napoli e Liceo artistico*²²⁴
Storia dell'arte e del costume in Accademia di Belle Arti – Costanza Lorenzetti.
Storia e storia dell'arte nel Liceo artistico – Piero Pieri.
- R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Palermo e Liceo artistico*
Storia dell'arte e del costume in Accademia di Belle Arti – Luigi Biagi.
Storia e storia dell'arte nel Liceo artistico – Antonino De Stefano.
- R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Roma e Liceo artistico*
Storia dell'arte e del costume in Accademia di Belle Arti – Pietro D'Achiardi.
Storia e storia dell'arte nel Liceo artistico – Vincenzo Golzio.
- R. Accademia Albertina di Belle Arti di Torino e Liceo artistico*
Storia dell'arte e del costume in Accademia di Belle Arti – Michele Guerrisi.
Storia e storia dell'arte nel Liceo artistico – Cesare Bollea.
- R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Venezia e Liceo artistico*
Storia dell'arte e del costume in Accademia di Belle Arti – Francesco Saporì.
Storia e storia dell'arte nel Liceo artistico – Maria Andreina Marchetti.

Anno Accademico 1932-1933

- R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Bologna e Liceo artistico:*
Storia dell'arte e del costume in Accademia di Belle Arti – Giuseppe Lipparini.
Storia e storia dell'arte nel Liceo artistico – Emilio Lovarini.
- R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Carrara*
Storia dell'arte e del costume – Adolfo Angeli.
- R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Firenze e Liceo artistico*
Storia dell'arte e del costume in Accademia di Belle Arti – Paolo Fontana.
Storia e storia dell'arte nel Liceo artistico – Angelo Pernice.
- R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Milano e Liceo artistico*
Storia dell'arte e del costume in Accademia di Belle Arti – Eva Tea.
Storia e storia dell'arte nel Liceo artistico – Amelia Pecorini Zambler.
- R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Napoli e Liceo artistico*²²⁵
Storia dell'arte e del costume in Accademia di Belle Arti – Costanza Lorenzetti.
Storia e storia dell'arte nel Liceo artistico – Piero Pieri.
- R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Palermo e Liceo artistico*
Storia dell'arte e del costume in Accademia di Belle Arti – Luigi Biagi.

²²⁴ Nello stesso anno accademico figura anche Gino Chierici in qualità di incaricato dell'insegnamento di *Storia e stili dell'architettura*.

²²⁵ Nello stesso anno accademico figura anche Gino Chierici in qualità di incaricato dell'insegnamento di *Storia e stili dell'architettura*.

Storia e storia dell'arte nel Liceo artistico – Antonino De Stefano.
R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Roma e Liceo artistico
Storia dell'arte e del costume in Accademia di Belle Arti – Pietro D'Achiardi.
Storia e storia dell'arte nel Liceo artistico – Vincenzo Golzio.
R. Accademia Albertina di Belle Arti di Torino e Liceo artistico
Storia dell'arte e del costume in Accademia di Belle Arti – Michele Guerrisi.
Storia e storia dell'arte nel Liceo artistico – Cesare Bollea.
R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Venezia e Liceo artistico
Storia dell'arte e del costume in Accademia di Belle Arti – Francesco Saporì.
Storia e storia dell'arte nel Liceo artistico – Maria Andreina Marchetti.

Anno Accademico 1933-1934

R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Bologna e Liceo artistico:
Storia dell'arte e del costume in Accademia di Belle Arti – Giuseppe Lipparini.
Storia e storia dell'arte nel Liceo artistico – Aldo Foratti.
R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Carrara
Storia dell'arte e del costume – Adolfo Angeli.
R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Firenze e Liceo artistico
Storia dell'arte e del costume in Accademia di Belle Arti – Paolo Fontana.
Storia e storia dell'arte nel Liceo artistico – Angelo Pernice.
R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Milano e Liceo artistico
Storia dell'arte e del costume in Accademia di Belle Arti – Eva Tea.
Storia e storia dell'arte nel Liceo artistico – Amelia Pecorini Zambler.
*R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Napoli e Liceo artistico*²²⁶
Storia dell'arte e del costume in Accademia di Belle Arti – Costanza Lorenzetti.
Storia e storia dell'arte nel Liceo artistico – Piero Pieri.
R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Palermo e Liceo artistico
Storia dell'arte e del costume in Accademia di Belle Arti – Luigi Biagi.
Storia e storia dell'arte nel Liceo artistico – Antonino De Stefano.
R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Roma e Liceo artistico
Storia dell'arte e del costume in Accademia di Belle Arti – Pietro D'Achiardi.
Storia e storia dell'arte nel Liceo artistico – Mario Rivosecchi.
R. Accademia Albertina di Belle Arti di Torino e Liceo artistico
Storia dell'arte e del costume in Accademia di Belle Arti – Michele Guerrisi.
Storia e storia dell'arte nel Liceo artistico – Cesare Bollea.
R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Venezia e Liceo artistico
Storia dell'arte e del costume in Accademia di Belle Arti – Francesco Saporì.
Storia e storia dell'arte nel Liceo artistico – Maria Andreina Marchetti.

Anno Accademico 1934-1935

R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Bologna e Liceo artistico:
Storia dell'arte e del costume in Accademia di Belle Arti – Giuseppe Lipparini.
Storia e storia dell'arte nel Liceo artistico – Aldo Foratti.
R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Carrara
Storia dell'arte e del costume – Adolfo Angeli.
R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Firenze e Liceo artistico
Storia dell'arte e del costume in Accademia di Belle Arti – Paolo Fontana.

²²⁶ Nello stesso anno accademico figura anche Gino Chierici in qualità di incaricato dell'insegnamento di *Storia e stili dell'architettura*.

Storia e storia dell'arte nel Liceo artistico – Angelo Pernice.
R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Milano e Liceo artistico
Storia dell'arte e del costume in Accademia di Belle Arti – Eva Tea.
Storia e storia dell'arte nel Liceo artistico – Amelia Pecorini Zambler.
*R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Napoli e Liceo artistico*²²⁷
Storia dell'arte e del costume in Accademia di Belle Arti – Costanza Lorenzetti.
Storia e storia dell'arte nel Liceo artistico – Piero Pieri.
R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Palermo e Liceo artistico
Storia dell'arte e del costume in Accademia di Belle Arti – Luigi Biagi.
Storia e storia dell'arte nel Liceo artistico – Antonino De Stefano.
R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Roma e Liceo artistico
Storia dell'arte e del costume in Accademia di Belle Arti – Pietro D'Achiardi.
Storia e storia dell'arte nel Liceo artistico – Vincenzo Golzio.
R. Accademia Albertina di Belle Arti di Torino e Liceo artistico
Storia dell'arte e del costume in Accademia di Belle Arti – Michele Guerrisi.
Storia e storia dell'arte nel Liceo artistico – Diana Reduzzi.
R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Venezia e Liceo artistico
Storia dell'arte e del costume in Accademia di Belle Arti – Francesco Saporì.
Storia e storia dell'arte nel Liceo artistico – Maria Andreina Marchetti.

Anno Accademico 1935-1936

R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Bologna e Liceo artistico:
Storia dell'arte e del costume in Accademia di Belle Arti – Giuseppe Lipparini.
Storia e storia dell'arte nel Liceo artistico – Aldo Foratti.
R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Carrara
Storia dell'arte e del costume – Adolfo Angeli.
R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Firenze e Liceo artistico
Storia dell'arte e del costume in Accademia di Belle Arti – Paolo Fontana.
Storia e storia dell'arte nel Liceo artistico – Angelo Pernice.
R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Milano e Liceo artistico
Storia dell'arte e del costume in Accademia di Belle Arti – Eva Tea.
Storia e storia dell'arte nel Liceo artistico – Amelia Pecorini Zambler.
R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Napoli e Liceo artistico
Storia dell'arte e del costume in Accademia di Belle Arti – Costanza Lorenzetti.
Storia e storia dell'arte nel Liceo artistico – Nicola Quitadamo.
R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Palermo e Liceo artistico
Storia dell'arte e del costume in Accademia di Belle Arti – Maria Accascina.
Storia e storia dell'arte nel Liceo artistico – Antonino De Stefano.
R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Roma e Liceo artistico
Storia dell'arte e del costume in Accademia di Belle Arti – Pietro D'Achiardi.
Storia e storia dell'arte nel Liceo artistico – N.N.
R. Accademia Albertina di Belle Arti di Torino e Liceo artistico
Storia dell'arte e del costume in Accademia di Belle Arti – Michele Guerrisi.
Storia e storia dell'arte nel Liceo artistico – Aldo Bertini.
R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Venezia e Liceo artistico
Storia dell'arte e del costume in Accademia di Belle Arti – Francesco Saporì.
Storia e storia dell'arte nel Liceo artistico – Elena Bassi.

²²⁷ Nello stesso anno accademico figura anche Gino Chierici in qualità di incaricato dell'insegnamento di *Storia e stili dell'architettura*.

Anno Accademico 1936-1937

- R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Bologna e Liceo artistico:*
Storia dell'arte e del costume in Accademia di Belle Arti – Giuseppe Lipparini.
Storia e storia dell'arte nel Liceo artistico – Aldo Foratti.
- R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Carrara*
Storia dell'arte e del costume – Felice Antonio Rossi.
- R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Firenze e Liceo artistico*
Storia dell'arte e del costume in Accademia di Belle Arti – Luigi Biagi.
Storia e storia dell'arte nel Liceo artistico – Angelo Pernice.
- R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Milano e Liceo artistico*
Storia dell'arte e del costume in Accademia di Belle Arti – Eva Tea.
Storia e storia dell'arte nel Liceo artistico – Amelia Pecorini Zambler.
- R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Napoli e Liceo artistico*
Storia dell'arte e del costume in Accademia di Belle Arti – Costanza Lorenzetti.
Storia e storia dell'arte nel Liceo artistico – Nicola Quitadamo.
- R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Palermo e Liceo artistico*²²⁸
Storia dell'arte e del costume in Accademia di Belle Arti – Filippo Meli.
Storia e storia dell'arte nel Liceo artistico – Antonino De Stefano.
- R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Roma e Liceo artistico*
Storia dell'arte e del costume in Accademia di Belle Arti – Pietro D'Achiardi.
Storia e storia dell'arte nel Liceo artistico – Mario Rivosecchi.
- R. Accademia Albertina di Belle Arti di Torino e Liceo artistico*
Storia dell'arte e del costume in Accademia di Belle Arti – Michele Guerrisi.
Storia e storia dell'arte nel Liceo artistico – Aldo Bertini.
- R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Venezia e Liceo artistico*
Storia dell'arte e del costume in Accademia di Belle Arti – Elena Bassi.
Storia e storia dell'arte nel Liceo artistico – Elena Bassi.

Anno Accademico 1937-1938

- R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Bologna e Liceo artistico:*
Storia dell'arte e del costume in Accademia di Belle Arti – Giuseppe Lipparini.
Storia e storia dell'arte nel Liceo artistico – Aldo Foratti.
- R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Carrara*
Storia dell'arte e del costume – Rezio Buscaroli.
- R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Firenze e Liceo artistico*
Storia dell'arte e del costume in Accademia di Belle Arti – Luigi Biagi.
Storia e storia dell'arte nel Liceo artistico – Angelo Pernice.
- R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Milano e Liceo artistico*
Storia dell'arte e del costume in Accademia di Belle Arti – Eva Tea.
Storia e storia dell'arte nel Liceo artistico – Amelia Pecorini Zambler.
- R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Napoli e Liceo artistico*
Storia dell'arte e del costume in Accademia di Belle Arti – Costanza Lorenzetti.
Storia e storia dell'arte nel Liceo artistico – Nicola Quitadamo.
- R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Palermo e Liceo artistico*²²⁹
Storia dell'arte e del costume in Accademia di Belle Arti – Filippo Meli.

²²⁸ Nello stesso anno accademico figura anche Giovanni Rosone in qualità di assistente alla cattedra di *Storia dell'arte e del costume* dell'Accademia.

²²⁹ Nello stesso anno accademico figura anche Giovanni Rosone in qualità di assistente alla cattedra di *Storia dell'arte e del costume* dell'Accademia.

Storia e storia dell'arte nel Liceo artistico – Antonino De Stefano.
R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Roma e Liceo artistico
Storia dell'arte e del costume in Accademia di Belle Arti – Pietro D'Achiardi.
Storia e storia dell'arte nel Liceo artistico – Mario Rivosecchi.
R. Accademia Albertina di Belle Arti di Torino e Liceo artistico
Storia dell'arte e del costume in Accademia di Belle Arti – Michele Guerrisi.
Storia e storia dell'arte nel Liceo artistico – Aldo Bertini.
R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Venezia e Liceo artistico
Storia dell'arte e del costume in Accademia di Belle Arti – Elena Bassi.
Storia e storia dell'arte nel Liceo artistico – Elena Bassi.

Anno Accademico 1938-1939

R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Bologna e Liceo artistico:
Storia dell'arte e del costume in Accademia di Belle Arti – Giuseppe Lipparini.
Storia e storia dell'arte nel Liceo artistico – Aldo Foratti.
R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Carrara
Storia dell'arte e del costume – Rezio Buscaroli.
R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Firenze e Liceo artistico
Storia dell'arte e del costume in Accademia di Belle Arti – Luigi Biagi.
Storia e storia dell'arte nel Liceo artistico – Michelangelo Masciotta.
R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Milano e Liceo artistico
Storia dell'arte e del costume in Accademia di Belle Arti – Eva Tea.
Storia e storia dell'arte nel Liceo artistico – Amelia Pecorini Zambler.
R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Napoli e Liceo artistico
Storia dell'arte e del costume in Accademia di Belle Arti – Costanza Lorenzetti.
Storia e storia dell'arte nel Liceo artistico – Nicola Quitadamo.
*R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Palermo e Liceo artistico*²³⁰
Storia dell'arte e del costume in Accademia di Belle Arti – Filippo Meli.
Storia e storia dell'arte nel Liceo artistico – N.N.
R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Roma e Liceo artistico
Storia dell'arte e del costume in Accademia di Belle Arti – Pietro D'Achiardi.
Storia e storia dell'arte nel Liceo artistico – Mario Rivosecchi.
R. Accademia Albertina di Belle Arti di Torino e Liceo artistico
Storia dell'arte e del costume in Accademia di Belle Arti – Michele Guerrisi.
Storia e storia dell'arte nel Liceo artistico – Aldo Bertini.
R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Venezia e Liceo artistico
Storia dell'arte e del costume in Accademia di Belle Arti – Elena Bassi.
Storia e storia dell'arte nel Liceo artistico – Elena Bassi.

Anno Accademico 1939-1940

R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Bologna e Liceo artistico:
Storia dell'arte e del costume in Accademia di Belle Arti – Giuseppe Lipparini.
Storia e storia dell'arte nel Liceo artistico – Aldo Foratti.
R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Carrara
Storia dell'arte e del costume – Rezio Buscaroli.
R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Firenze e Liceo artistico
Storia dell'arte e del costume in Accademia di Belle Arti – Luigi Biagi.

²³⁰ Nello stesso anno accademico figura anche Giovanni Rosone in qualità di assistente alla cattedra di *Storia dell'arte e del costume* dell'Accademia.

Storia e storia dell'arte nel Liceo artistico – Michelangelo Masciotta.
R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Milano e Liceo artistico
Storia dell'arte e del costume in Accademia di Belle Arti – Eva Tea.
Storia e storia dell'arte nel Liceo artistico – Guido Ballo.
R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Napoli e Liceo artistico
Storia dell'arte e del costume in Accademia di Belle Arti – Costanza Lorenzetti.
Storia e storia dell'arte nel Liceo artistico – Nicola Quitadamo.
*R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Palermo e Liceo artistico*²³¹
Storia dell'arte e del costume in Accademia di Belle Arti – Filippo Meli.
Storia e storia dell'arte nel Liceo artistico – Salvatore Romano.
R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Roma e Liceo artistico
Storia dell'arte e del costume in Accademia di Belle Arti – Pietro D'Achiardi.
Storia e storia dell'arte nel Liceo artistico – N.N.
R. Accademia Albertina di Belle Arti di Torino e Liceo artistico
Storia dell'arte e del costume in Accademia di Belle Arti – Michele Guerrisi.
Storia e storia dell'arte nel Liceo artistico – Aldo Bertini.
R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Venezia e Liceo artistico
Storia dell'arte e del costume in Accademia di Belle Arti – Francesco Saporì.
Storia e storia dell'arte nel Liceo artistico – Elena Bassi.

Anno Accademico 1940-1941

R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Bologna e Liceo artistico:
Storia dell'arte e del costume in Accademia di Belle Arti – Giuseppe Lipparini.
Storia e storia dell'arte nel Liceo artistico – Aldo Foratti.
R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Carrara (Apuania) e Liceo artistico
Storia dell'arte e del costume in Accademia di Belle Arti – Rezio Buscaroli.
Storia e storia dell'arte nel Liceo artistico – Rezio Buscaroli.
R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Firenze e Liceo artistico
Storia dell'arte e del costume in Accademia di Belle Arti – Luigi Biagi.
Storia e storia dell'arte nel Liceo artistico – Michelangelo Masciotta.
R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Milano e Liceo artistico
Storia dell'arte e del costume in Accademia di Belle Arti – Eva Tea.
Storia e storia dell'arte nel Liceo artistico – Guido Ballo.
R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Napoli e Liceo artistico
Storia dell'arte e del costume in Accademia di Belle Arti – Costanza Lorenzetti.
Storia e storia dell'arte nel Liceo artistico – Nicola Quitadamo.
*R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Palermo e Liceo artistico*²³²
Storia dell'arte e del costume in Accademia di Belle Arti – Filippo Meli.
Storia e storia dell'arte nel Liceo artistico – Ferdinando Albergiani.
R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Roma e Liceo artistico
Storia dell'arte e del costume in Accademia di Belle Arti – Mario Rivosecchi.
Storia e storia dell'arte nel Liceo artistico – Mario Rivosecchi.
R. Accademia Albertina di Belle Arti di Torino e Liceo artistico
Storia dell'arte e del costume in Accademia di Belle Arti – Michele Guerrisi.
Storia e storia dell'arte nel Liceo artistico – Aldo Bertini.

²³¹ Nello stesso anno accademico figura anche Giovanni Rosone in qualità di assistente alla cattedra di *Storia dell'arte e del costume* dell'Accademia.

²³² Nello stesso anno accademico figura anche Giovanni Rosone in qualità di assistente alla cattedra di *Storia dell'arte e del costume* dell'Accademia.

R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Venezia e Liceo artistico
Storia dell'arte e del costume in Accademia di Belle Arti – Francesco Saporì.
Storia e storia dell'arte nel Liceo artistico – Elena Bassi.

Anno Accademico 1941-1942

R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Bologna e Liceo artistico:
Storia dell'arte e del costume in Accademia di Belle Arti – Giuseppe Lipparini.
Storia e storia dell'arte nel Liceo artistico – Aldo Foratti.
R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Carrara (Apuania) e Liceo artistico
Storia dell'arte e del costume in Accademia di Belle Arti – Umberto Fregosi.
Storia e storia dell'arte nel Liceo artistico – Umberto Fregosi.
R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Firenze e Liceo artistico
Storia dell'arte e del costume in Accademia di Belle Arti – Luigi Biagi.
Storia e storia dell'arte nel Liceo artistico – Michelangelo Masciotta.
R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Milano e Liceo artistico
Storia dell'arte e del costume in Accademia di Belle Arti – Eva Tea.
Storia e storia dell'arte nel Liceo artistico – Guido Ballo.
R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Napoli e Liceo artistico
Storia dell'arte e del costume in Accademia di Belle Arti – Costanza Lorenzetti.
Storia e storia dell'arte nel Liceo artistico – Nicola Quitadamo.
*R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Palermo e Liceo artistico*²³³
Storia dell'arte e del costume in Accademia di Belle Arti – Filippo Meli.
Storia e storia dell'arte nel Liceo artistico – Ferdinando Albeggiani.
R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Roma e Liceo artistico
Storia dell'arte e del costume in Accademia di Belle Arti – Mario Rivosecchi.
Storia e storia dell'arte nel Liceo artistico – Virgilio Guzzi.
R. Accademia Albertina di Belle Arti di Torino e Liceo artistico
Storia dell'arte e del costume in Accademia di Belle Arti – Rezio Buscaroli.
Storia e storia dell'arte nel Liceo artistico – Aldo Bertini.
R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Venezia e Liceo artistico
Storia dell'arte e del costume in Accademia di Belle Arti – Francesco Saporì.
Storia e storia dell'arte nel Liceo artistico – Elena Bassi.

Anno Accademico 1942-1943

R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Bologna e Liceo artistico:
Storia dell'arte e del costume in Accademia di Belle Arti – Giuseppe Lipparini.
Storia e storia dell'arte nel Liceo artistico – Aldo Foratti.
R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Carrara (Apuania) e Liceo artistico
Storia dell'arte e del costume in Accademia di Belle Arti – Umberto Fregosi.
Storia e storia dell'arte nel Liceo artistico – Umberto Fregosi.
*R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Firenze e Liceo artistico*²³⁴
Storia dell'arte e del costume in Accademia di Belle Arti – Luigi Biagi.
Storia e storia dell'arte nel Liceo artistico – Michelangelo Masciotta.
R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Milano e Liceo artistico
Storia dell'arte e del costume in Accademia di Belle Arti – Eva Tea.

²³³ Nello stesso anno accademico figura anche Giovanni Rosone in qualità di assistente alla cattedra di *Storia dell'arte e del costume* dell'Accademia.

²³⁴ Anche in questo anno accademico figura Raffello Franchi quale assistente alla cattedra di *Storia dell'arte e del costume* dell'Accademia.

Storia e storia dell'arte nel Liceo artistico – Guido Ballo.
R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Napoli e Liceo artistico
Storia dell'arte e del costume in Accademia di Belle Arti – Costanza Lorenzetti.
Storia e storia dell'arte nel Liceo artistico – Nicola Quitadamo.
R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Palermo e Liceo artistico
Storia dell'arte e del costume in Accademia di Belle Arti – Filippo Meli.
Storia e storia dell'arte nel Liceo artistico – Ferdinando Albeggiani.
R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Roma e Liceo artistico
Storia dell'arte e del costume in Accademia di Belle Arti – Mario Rivosecchi.
Storia e storia dell'arte nel Liceo artistico – Virgilio Guzzi.
R. Accademia Albertina di Belle Arti di Torino e Liceo artistico
Storia dell'arte e del costume in Accademia di Belle Arti – Rezio Buscaroli.
Storia e storia dell'arte nel Liceo artistico – Aldo Bertini.
R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Venezia e Liceo artistico
Storia dell'arte e del costume in Accademia di Belle Arti – Francesco Saporì.
Storia e storia dell'arte nel Liceo artistico – Elena Bassi.

Appendice n. 3
DOCENTI DI STORIA DELL'ARTE
NELLE DIVERSE ACCADEMIE DI BELLE ARTI
DELLA PENISOLA (1861-1943)²³⁵

R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Bologna

Luigi Mercantini (1861-1862 – 1864-1865).
 Luciano Scarabelli (1865-1866 – 1870-1871).
 Enrico Panzacchi (1871-1872 – 1895-1896).
 Angelo Gatti (1897-1898 – 1928-1929).
 Giuseppe Lipparini (1929-1930 – 1942-1943).

R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Carrara

Emilio Lazzoni (1861-1862 – 1888-1889).
 Andrea Frediani (1888-1889 – 1919-1920).
 Adolfo Angeli (1926-1927 – 1935-1936).
 Felice Antonio Rossi (1936-1937).
 Rezio Buscaroli (1937-1938 – 1940-1941).
 Umberto Fregosi (1941-1942 – 1942-1943).

R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Firenze

Paolo Emiliani-Giudici (1861-1862 – 1862-1863).
 Aleardo Aleardi (1863-1864 – 1873-1874).
 Camillo Jacopo Cavallucci (1874-1875 – 1905-1906).
 Paolo Fontana (1908-1909 – 1935-1936).
 Luigi Biagi (1936-1937 – 1942-1943).

R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Milano

Antonio Caimi (1861-1862 – 1876-1877).
 Giuseppe Mongeri 1879-1880 – 1887-1888).
 Luigi Archinti (1888-1889 – 1900-1901).
 Giulio Carotti (1902-1903 – 1922-1923).
 Eva Tea (1923-1924 – 1942-1943).

R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Modena

Francesco Manfredini (1861-1862 – 1862-1863).
 Ferdinando Asioli (1863-1864 – 1900-1901).
 Mario Martinuzzi (1901-1902 – 1923-1924).

R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Napoli

Raffaele Bova (1861-1862 – 1882-1883).
 Camillo Miola (1891-1892 – 1918-1919).
 Costanza Lorenzetti (1921-1922 – 1942-1943).

²³⁵ Le informazioni e i dati riportati in questa appendice sono stati acquisiti attraverso lo spoglio sistematico degli *Annuari del Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione* [dal 1930: *Annuari del Ministero dell'Educazione Nazionale*] per il periodo compreso tra il 1861 e il 1943. In particolare, sulla base delle indicazioni riportate nella sezione degli *Annuari* relativa a «Accademie, Istituti e Scuole di Belle Arti».

R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Parma

Pietro Martini (1861-1862 – 1875-1876).
Alberto Ròndani (1877-1878 – 1910-1911).
Fabio Bargagli-Petrucci (1912-1913 – 1915-1916).

R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Urbino

Pompeo Gherardi (1864-1865 – 1875-1876).
Giuseppe Nicolai-Foschi (1876-1877 – 1889-1890)
Andrea Moschetti (1891-1892 – 1893-1894)
Egidio Calzini (1895-1896 – 1898-1899).
Giacomo Vanzolini (1899-1900 – 1907-1908).
Giuseppe Lipparini (1908-1909 – 1909-1910).
Lionello Venturi (1913-1914 – 1915-1916).
Luigi Serra (1916-1917 – 1923-1924).

R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Venezia

Antonio Dall'Acqua Giusti (1867-1868 – 1892-1893).
Pompeo Molmenti (1893-1894 – 1894-1895).
Angelo Conti (1895-1896 – 1898-1899).
Pietro Paoletti (1899-1900 – 1915-1916).
Giuseppe Delogu (1929-1930 – 1930-1931).
Francesco Saponi (1932-1933 – 1935-1936).
Elena Bassi (1936-1937 – 1938-1939).
Francesco Saponi (1939-1940 – 1942-1943).

R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Roma

Basilio Magni (1873-1874 – 1911-1912).
Michele De Benedetti (1912-1913).
Pietro D'Achiardi (1913-1914 – 1938-1939).
Mario Rivosecchi (1940-1941 – 1942-1943).

R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Palermo

Vincenzo Pitini Piraino (1888-1889 – 1920-1921).
Michele Guerrisi (1921-1922).
Vincenzo Pitini Piraino (1922-1923).
Luigi Biagi (1924-1925 – 1934-1935).
Maria Accascina (1935-1936).
Filippo Meli (1936-1937 – 1942-1943).

R. Accademia Albertina di Belle Arti di Torino

Giacomo Giacosa (1884-1885 – 1887-1888).
Corrado Corradino (1888-1889 – 1922-1923).
Michele Guerrisi (1923-1924 – 1940-1941).
Rezio Buscaroli (1941-1942 – 1942-1943).

R. Accademia di Belle Arti di Lucca

Medarse Cappelletti (1894-1895 – 1909-1910).
Francesco Paolo Luiso (1913-1914 – 1920-1921).

R. Stabilimento teorico pratico di Belle Arti di Massa

Luigi Mario Capelli (1906-1907 – 1921-1922).

*Critical
Reviews*



Rassegne critiche,
Discussioni, Recensioni

Critical Reviews / Rassegne critiche

Recenti pubblicazioni storico pedagogiche educative 2024-2025

Giorgio Chiosso
Professor Emeritus
University of Turin (Italy)
giorgio.chiosso@unito.it

Recent publications on the history of education 2024-2025

ABSTRACT: This article offers an interesting bibliographical review of the latest works on the History of Pedagogy and History of Education published in Italy between 2024 and 2025. Analyzing the various works, the author presents the themes covered in each volume and highlights some fundamental aspects of these works, and of the recent Italian historical-educational culture and field of research.

EET/TEE KEYWORDS: History of Education; History of Pedagogy; Review; Italy; XXI Century.

1. *Interrogare, Intelligere, Invenire*

All'intersezione tra la dotta lezione filologica sulla origine e struttura dell'espressione *magister* e della terminologia pedagogica che le fa da cornice (*scholé, paidéia, humanitas*) e l'appassionata analisi sulla realtà scolastica del nostro tempo, il saggio del latinista Ivano Dionigi – già rettore dal 2009 al 2015 dell'Università di Bologna – (*Magister. La scuola la fanno i maestri non i ministri*, Roma-Bari, Laterza, 2025, pp. 132) offre più di uno spunto pedagogico anche per un'attenta lettura non soltanto storico-letteraria come potrebbe apparire ad un primo superficiale sguardo.

Nel prendere in esame la vita della scuola contemporanea ed esaminandone le caratteristiche più rilevanti l'autore infatti pone al centro della riflessione la ragion d'essere stessa della scuola da lui proposta come «fulcro e avamposto civile del Paese» e come «contrappeso e anche contraltare al monoteismo tecnologico imperante». A partire da questi presupposti Dionigi indaga le ragioni del suo indebolimento e ne richiama vigorosamente i fondamenti che, lungo varie fasi, dall'antichità in poi ne hanno reso rendono indispensabile l'esistenza

mediante l'opera dei *magistri* e cioè di quanti erano e sono deputati a introdurre nella vita adulta i giovani.

La tesi cara a Dionigi si trova già nel sottotitolo del saggio: la scuola la fanno i maestri e non la fanno i ministri: la qualità della formazione delle nuove generazioni è affidata soprattutto alla preparazione culturale unita alla sensibilità educativa degli insegnanti e non tanto – o solo – alla più o meno azzeccata architettura dell'impianto organizzativo disegnato dalla politica. Aver coltivato nell'ultimo mezzo secolo l'illusione di invertire questo equilibrio è stato fatale. Il latinista bolognese individua nel funzionalismo tecno-scolastico degli ultimi decenni sintetizzato nella triade delle tre I, Inglese-Internet-Impresa l'afflosciamento dell'educazione scolastica. Queste tre parole, scrive l'autore, «non solo non hanno risolto i problemi, ma si sono rivelate essere, almeno in parte, *il problema*» perché affidate unicamente alle «categorie dei mezzi, dello spazio, del presente».

Come formare, dunque, in un'epoca in cui i mezzi sembrano sovrastare i contenuti persone non gregarie, intelligenze libere e capaci di porre limiti e prendere le dovute distanze da macchine più o meno in grado di sostituirsi al pensiero umano? Dionigi rilancia il ruolo dei *magistri* del nostro tempo cui affida il compito di maneggiare altre tre I, del tutto diverse e alternative dalle precedenti: Interrogare, Intelligere, Invenire, tre verbi che egli interpreta nel solco della cultura classica, da Platone a Seneca, da Sofocle ad Agostino.

Interrogare come saper/sapersi porre domande è la prima condizione per scoprire l'umano che è in noi e negli altri. Esercitare la capacità critica e alimentare la comprensione (*Intelligere*) significa compiere un passo decisivo per stabilire il rapporto tra le cose e tra noi e le cose (la relazione come base della vita umana). Saper, infine, scoprire (*Invenire*) ciò di cui godiamo senza merito (la tradizione) e, al tempo stesso, saperla oltrepassare senza violarne lo spirito per sperimentare «ciò che non è ancora» è condizione necessaria per vivere responsabilmente nel tempo che ci è dato.

Dionigi non cade nel tranello dell'opposizione tra cultura classica e sapere tecnico e scientifico e, tanto meno, rimpiange il bel tempo che fu, ma cerca solidi fondamenti perché si possa realizzare l'alleanza tra *notum* e *novum* che è alla base di ogni reale e ordinato progresso.

2. Giovanni Gozzer, grand commis d'État

Gli studi e le ricerche di storia scolastica – che pure si sono notevolmente ampliati negli ultimi decenni – hanno finora solo marginalmente indagato la composizione dei vertici degli apparati amministrativi che hanno accompagnato lo sviluppo dell'istruzione nel nostro paese. La loro importanza consiste nel fatto che ad essi i ministri hanno spesso affidato la stesura materiale delle

leggi, la loro applicazione pratica e delegato il governo dell'esercito degli insegnanti a colpi di circolari e decreti. A mia memoria sono pochi i capi gabinetto, i direttori generali e i più alti funzionari ministeriali che sono sfuggiti alla pietra tombale della memoria dopo la loro uscita dal servizio attivo. Per restare nell'orizzonte dell'ultimo secolo a questo ingiusto destino sono sfuggite poche figure: Camillo Corradini (uno dei principali promotori della legge del 1911), qualche personalità fascista (Nazareno Padellaro), personaggi di transito tra fascismo e post fascismo (Giorgio Gabrielli) e in tempi più ravvicinati Salvatore Valitutti, studioso di vasti interessi non riducibile, tuttavia, solo alla sua presenza nel palazzo di viale Trastevere.

Appare perciò quanto mai utile l'impegno collettaneo coordinato da Alessandro Sanzo (*Giovanni Gozzer e la riforma della scuola italiana del dopoguerra*, Roma, Roma Tre Press, 2024, pp. 321) volto a documentare la lunga militanza ministeriale di Giovanni Gozzer (1915-2006), ininterrottamente dal 1948 al 1975, funzionario e dirigente (anche se sempre preferì definirsi un semplice docente comandato al Ministero), ascoltato consigliere di numerosi ministri, direttore dell'Ufficio Studi e Programmazione del Ministero della P.I., fondatore e direttore del Centro Europeo dell'Educazione, grande conoscitore dei sistemi scolastici a livello internazionale. Una personalità dal profilo non solo amministrativo ma anche pedagogico, un vero *grand commis d'État*, al servizio della scuola.

Attraverso i numerosi saggi (non tutti di eguale consistenza scientifica) vengono ripercorsi e approfonditi i molteplici ambiti nei quali il prof. Gozzer fu attivo, spesso con lungimirante capacità di anticipare l'evolvere degli eventi. Due in particolare appaiono meritevoli di particolare citazione: il convinto sostegno al metodo della programmazione economico-scolastica che fu alla base delle riforme che segnarono gli anni '60 e accompagnarono il tumultuoso sviluppo scolastico del primo centro sinistra; l'urgenza di affrontare i problemi della scuola italiana alla luce di cambiamenti che stavano interessando l'intero mondo occidentale segnati dalla diffusione crescente di pedagogie d'impianto sperimentale e dall'incipiente presenza didattica delle tecnologie.

I suoi sentimenti liberali e il suo cattolicesimo non confessionale sostanziarono un'idea di scuola «non ideologica» alla cui buona riuscita tutte le parti politiche avrebbero dovuto collaborare. Essa andava concepita come un prezioso «bene comune» (un «capitale invisibile» secondo il titolo di un suo fortunato libro), anziché ciascuna parte battersi per conquistare uno spicchio sul quale esercitare la propria egemonia. Impegno ideale e culturale che Gozzer proseguì anche dopo l'uscita dal Ministero, diventando con l'editore Armando Armando, Salvatore Valitutti e il sindacalista Nino Gallotta uno dei più severi censori della politica scolastica del secondo centro sinistra, quello che tra la fine degli anni '70 e il decennio successivo si aprì agli apporti del partito comunista.

3. «Contro gli spiriti docilmente curvilinei»

Segnalo volentieri ricerche del genere micro-biografico, tipologia di indagine che ha fatto registrare negli ultimi tempi sensibili progressi sia sul piano quantitativo sia su quello qualitativo. Il merito va in gran parte a giovani studiosi che, nei meandri della storia educativa e scolastica locale, hanno incrociato le vicende di protagonisti a lungo sconosciuti ai più, mai saliti alla ribalta della scena nazionale, ma degni di attenzione per il ruolo volto localmente come educatori appassionati, animatori della vita comunitaria, non di rado anche scrittori e artisti oltre che insegnanti.

Queste ricerche consentono di entrare nelle pieghe più nascoste dell'evoluzione scolastica, registrano con maggior realismo rispetto alle statistiche generali i tempi della sconfitta dell'ignoranza e documentano – a dispetto degli innumerevoli sforzi per nazionalizzare specialmente la scuola elementare, l'unica frequentata da tutti gli italiani almeno fino agli anni '50 del secolo scorso – la molteplicità e la varietà della realtà educativa del nostro Paese.

Ho già avuto occasione in più circostanze (anche su questa rivista, n. 2, 2004, p. 404) di segnalare che il genere micro-biografico tanto è prezioso per individuare nuove piste di ricerca quanto non è esente da pericolosi trabocchetti quando cede alla sopravvalutazione del personaggio o dell'istituzione oggetto dell'indagine con la conseguente (non rara) eventualità di inquinare la consistenza storica. È poi irrinunciabile che la biografia riproduca un caso significativo inquadrabile in un contesto più ampio e generale, ecc. ecc., tutte questioni note, dette e ridette, ma non sempre e non da tutti assimilate a dovere.

L'agile biografia del prof. Adolfo Zamboni (1891-1960, di origini ferraresi, ma padovano di adozione) proposta da Fabio Targhetta su una ampia base documentaria di prima mano (*Contro gli spiriti docilmente curvilinei*, Sommacampagna [Verona], Cierre edizioni, 2025, p. 136) è un caso esemplare di ricerca micro storica nella quale le vicende personali del prof. Zamboni sono ben contestualizzate entro diverse stagioni della nostra storia nelle quali egli fu coinvolto in vario modo: l'epopea della Grande Guerra, il fascismo, la resistenza e il post fascismo. In ognuna di queste circostanze assunse le vesti di una sorta di officiante di una religione del dovere all'insegna di una moralità al di là di ogni sospetto in cui l'etica kantiana incontra i “doveri” di Mazzini.

Zamboni è una personalità coerente i cui ideali si trasformano in gesti concreti. Va in guerra e si prende tre medaglie al valore, torna alla sua scuola e non si fa ingannare dalla propaganda fascista, ragiona con la propria testa e tramette ai suoi allievi del liceo “Nievo” di Padova i valori della coerenza, della lealtà, della dignità. Paga di persona con l'isolamento sociale (sorvegliato dalla polizia), l'avversione al regime che nel 1943 si trasforma nell'impegno resistenziale. Una parabola percorsa, come noto, anche da altri spiriti liberi che resistettero nella scuola silenziosamente, ma tenacemente, al regime tanto da indispettire lo stesso Mussolini.

Ma ciò che sorprende – invero non più di tanto per chi ha presente la continuità scolastica tra fascismo e post regime – è che il professore padovano anche all'indomani della nuova realtà repubblicana non cantando nella corale governativa sperimentò quanto era duro non essere «uno spirito docilmente curvilineo» e cioè refrattario a qualsiasi compromesso al punto da vedere interrotta (e non proprio rovinata) la legittima ambizione di carriera scolastica.

4. *Giussani e il Sessantotto*

La pubblicazione degli interventi (finora inediti) svolti da don Luigi Giussani tra il 1968 e il 1970 presso il centro culturale “Charles Peguy” di Milano (L. Giussani, *Una rivoluzione di sé. La vita come comunione [1968-1970]*, a cura di Davide Prospero, Milano, Rizzoli, 2024, pp. 294) costituisce una fonte preziosa per conoscere in modo più approfondito il pensiero del sacerdote lombardo negli anni segnati dalla protesta sociale e dal dissenso culturale che stava sconvolgendo le università italiane, compreso l'ateneo cattolico milanese, e, più in generale, per ricostruire la messa a punto dei fondamenti religiosi ed educativi su cui stava prendendo forma Comunione e Liberazione.

L'idea di «rivoluzione» – nel senso di un cambiamento radicale finalizzato a costruire una società nuova – era del tutto estranea al patrimonio culturale del sacerdote lombardo. Tagliato ogni legame con il flusso di esperienze e di insegnamenti che legavano il passato al presente, la prospettiva rivoluzionaria era destinata a miseramente fallire, aprendo la strada a un disorientamento dai tratti marcatamente relativistici. Il disordine nel quale si agitava gran parte della protesta, secondo Giussani, era frutto di una cattiva educazione che aveva perso ogni contatto con la realtà.

Ma il Sessantotto era visto anche come il segno di un cambiamento d'epoca che mandava in soffitta le incrostazioni che nella tradizione cristiana avevano contribuito a far perdere di vista il senso autentico del messaggio evangelico. Il movimento di protesta costituiva – se non ci si fermava alla fase decostruttiva – l'opportunità per un nuovo inizio alla cui base Giussani poneva il contatto del cristiano con la «realtà viva». Da questi principi secondo il sacerdote milanese una proposta di presenza cristiana capace si chiedeva di inverarsi in un avvenimento che fuoriusciva dalla singola esperienza personale per diventare, nel nome del Cristo, «uomini nuovi» protagonisti di una esperienza comunitaria.

Così il curatore presenta questo passaggio: «Essere dentro la comunione, è questo l'avvenimento che prima dei nostri pensieri di dà, ci offre un principio da cui si generano tutti i nostri giudizi e tutti i nostri nessi», esperienza vitale (e non solo teorica) che comporta, contestualmente «l'essere, fin nel midollo delle ossa, dentro le esigenze e i bisogni dell'umanità, dell'uomo». Nonostante la scossa sessantottina il cambiamento non poteva perciò che essere graduale

e frutto della forza di un ideale positivo e della «pazienza intelligente, della comprensione e dell'accettazione della legge dell'evoluzione o, se volete, della storia che è lo stesso».

All'interno di una riflessione soprattutto di natura religiosa (quale spiritualità, quale Chiesa, quale rapporto tra fede e mondo), Giussani non perde occasione (come accade di frequente nei suoi scritti) per qualche spunto pedagogico, per quanto, come è noto, egli nutrisse una esplicita diffidenza verso la pedagogia, compresa quella coltivata dagli studiosi cattolici. Centrale, in particolare, appare il richiamo alla forza educativa della speranza: se l'istante non avesse prospettiva, sarebbe una tomba. La speranza non è soltanto sicurezza che il futuro non sia l'affermazione del nulla, ma ciò che la fede cristiana (o, estensivamente, ciò in cui l'uomo intellettualmente onesto crede) ci dice che è possibile. Che è esattamente ciò che le pedagogie che non vogliono perdere di vita l'umano si prefiggono.

5. *L'autobiografia della scuola*

Anziché mettere in fila leggi, norme, regolamenti, statistiche Mario Isnenghi ricostruisce la storia della scuola italiana a partire dai diari, dalle memorie, dalle lettere, dai romanzi che in vario modo chiamano in primo piano i diretti protagonisti (soprattutto docenti, ma anche funzionari, ministri, uomini politici, scrittori), assicurando al volume una sicura originalità (M. Isnenghi, *Autobiografia della scuola. Da De Sanctis a don Milani*, Bologna, il Mulino, 2025, pp. 365). La narrazione dello storico veneto non si svolge perciò in terza persona, ma è affidata direttamente ai personaggi che popolano la scena scolastica. Da qui il titolo del libro: l'insieme e l'intreccio delle esperienze individuali forniscono uno straordinario materiale per la rappresentazione autobiografica di una delle istituzioni intorno a cui è cresciuta la nazione italiana.

L'attenzione è rivolta alla quotidianità dei diretti protagonisti di quella storia, siano essi importanti ministri o semplici maestre che operano sulla trincea dell'ignoranza. In qualche caso essi sono colti e proposti in presa diretta, in altre situazioni la quotidianità è inquadrata entro i tempi e i passaggi della politica. La bussola che guida l'autore è ben chiara: delineare, se non proprio scoprire, attraverso le vite dei protagonisti e le loro scelte sul campo (oggi diremmo la loro professionalità) la complessa natura e, per certi aspetti, misteriosa «cultura dell'aula» – e cioè il messaggio culturale ed educativo esplicito ed implicito trasmesso agli allievi –, questione che in buona sostanza costituisce il cuore della scuola di ogni tempo. Cos'è che assicura l'ebollizione del crogiuolo nel quale prende vita la scuola di tutti i giorni che forma – o dovrebbe formare – gli italiani?

Un coraggioso tentativo che, con un'attenzione più puntuale rivolta alla

politica, si affianca alle ricerche condotte negli ultimi decenni con obiettivi analoghi dagli storici della pedagogia nel campo dei libri di testo e dei quaderni e delle memorie scolastiche.

Isnenghi individua alcuni tra i più significativi scenari della vita scolastica tra l'unità e l'immediato post fascismo (la formazione del ceto professionale subito dopo l'Unità, l'educazione delle donne, la laicità scolastica e la scuola privata, la scuola fascista e molto altro) e per ciascuno di essi individua alcuni personaggi emblematici, ne traccia le biografie e dà loro voce, ne sottolinea i rapporti di amicalità e le fedi politiche, i sentimenti personali e i destini incrociati, le comuni aspettative per vedere migliorata la condizione docente, istanza che portò all'inizio del secolo scorso alla creazione della Federazione Nazionale Insegnanti Scuole Medie dietro la spinta di Kirner e Salvemini.

Gli incarichi di insegnamento (con relativi cambi di sede) che spostavano i docenti da una parte all'altra dell'Italia li introducevano alla conoscenza profonda di un paese che a molti appariva ancora un assemblaggio informale di tradizioni regionali che il centralismo ministeriale si sforzava in tutti i modi di annullare. La convinzione da De Sanctis a Villari – generosa e utopica nel medesimo tempo – era che il cambiamento della scuola (da quella «dei preti e delle suore» a quella dello Stato) costituisse l'indispensabile premessa per il progresso dell'Italia e la diffusione del sentimento di appartenenza nazionale. Un filo di diffidenza anticlericale impedisce ad Isnenghi di cogliere anche l'apporto alla comune causa di quella parte del mondo cattolico impegnato sulla frontiera dell'istruzione popolare e della formazione al lavoro.

Il momento più alto di questo graduale processo di nazionalizzazione omologatrice si manifesta negli anni del fascismo, che l'autore descrive come «una chiamata a una sorta di complicità collettiva». In essa si congiungono infatti scuola, istituzioni locali, l'attività del partito, libri di testo e letture ricreative e, più in generale un'atmosfera che divinizza il regime, esalta gli uomini che lo rappresentano e attutisce le pur tenui o talora silenti voci dissenzienti.

6. 1924-2024: cent'anni con Gentile

La ricorrenza centenaria dell'approvazione e dell'immediata entrata in vigore della riforma scolastica firmata da Giovanni Gentile tra la fine del 1923 e il 1924 ha stimolato il moltiplicarsi di convegni e pubblicazioni sul e del filosofo (compreso l'epistolario familiare che ce lo restituisce padre amorevole ed educatore appassionato, *La famiglia Gentile. Lettere e fotografie 1900-1945*, a cura di N. Gentile Pescarolo e C. Cecioni, Firenze, Le Lettere, 2025, pp. 1168) che ne hanno lumeggiato la complessa personalità di un intellettuale tra i più notevoli del secolo scorso. Senza una lettura a vasto raggio resta difficile cogliere in profondità la bussola etico culturale che orientò le decisioni

in materia scolastica e che, nonostante il cambiamento del vento politico dopo il 1943 e della realtà sociale con gli anni '50, influenzarono ancora a lungo il canone della pubblica istruzione.

Mentre sul versante della scuola non mancano numerosi studi sulle ragioni della durata dell'egemonia gentiliana (in gran parte risalenti agli anni '70-'80 quando si tentò invano di riformare la scuola secondaria di secondo grado), giunge ora a proposito il volume curato da Antonello Mattone, Mauro Moretti e Elisa Signori (*La riforma Gentile e la sua eredità*, Bologna, il Mulino, 2023, pp. 439) per documentare anche sul versante universitario le resistenti ricadute della riforma del 1924 – in questo caso – almeno fino agli anni '90 con la riforma cosiddetta del «3+2» in linea con un orientamento propiziato dall'Unione Europea.

Il volume è articolato in tre parti. I saggi della prima parte (Turi, Moretti, Mattone, Tarquini, Tognon, Signori) indagano la genesi del provvedimento, il rapporto con i precedenti legislativi dell'Italia liberale, il ruolo del regime che la considerò «la più fascista delle riforme»), il “lavoro di squadra” che consentì, con la firma regia di Gentile, di dar vita in breve tempo a un complesso provvedimento che spaziava dagli asili infantili all'Università. Il filosofo non mancò di segnalare in varie occasioni che in pochi mesi e senza interruzione delle lezioni era stata liquidata la vecchia scuola positivista e si erano poste le basi per il rinnovamento “nazionale” degli studi.

La seconda parte (saggi di Marcone, Chiodi, Pepe, Paoloni, Dell'Era, Ronchi, Savorra) esamina la ricaduta della normativa sulle varie discipline, dagli studi classici a quelli giuridici, dalla matematica alla fisica, dalla medicina alle scienze agrarie, dall'ingegneria all'architettura.

L'ultima sezione del volume è dedicata alla presentazione di varie questioni: l'attuazione della riforma negli atenei minori (Pomante), le proteste degli studenti contro la riforma (Genovesi), la trasformazione degli Istituti Superiori di Magistero (Salustri), i progetti di perfezionamento universitario post laurea (Mariuzzo), agli studi musicali (Cossu) e l'annosa questione dell'esame di Stato (Mura).

Anche se il volume discute in prevalenza la riforma Gentile in relazione all'Università, l'ampiezza e l'autorevolezza dei contributi consente di rileggere e, in qualche caso approfondire, gli obiettivi perseguiti dal filosofo in merito all'educazione degli italiani e in particolare di quel limitato segmento destinato a diventare ceto dirigente. La scuola media era concepita come luogo di selezione e orientamento di migliori e questo spiega lo stretto nesso tra istruzione secondaria e universitaria. La riforma era pensata come una drastica svolta rispetto al passato («La vecchia Italia è morta») e un'occasione per dare all'Italia uscita vittoriosa dalla guerra una scuola la cui ragion d'essere era identificata, con le parole di Gentile, nella capacità «di vincere gli interni nemici, vecchi uomini e vecchie passioni per fare uno Stato libero forte nel suo organico assetto... nell'incrollabile coscienza civile e politica dei doveri che incombono a ogni cittadino».

7. *L'uomo onnilaterale di Mario Alighiero Manacorda*

Il nome di Mario Alighiero Manacorda (1914-2013) è ben noto agli studiosi di storia della pedagogia e dell'educazione, per lo più associato alla coltivazione della pedagogia marxista, raccolta in alcuni volumi la cui consultazione, anche oggi, è indispensabile per chi direttamente o indirettamente accosta questi territori di studio. Ai numerosi saggi che in Italia e all'estero hanno richiamato l'importanza dell'intellettuale romano (mi limito, per ragioni di sintesi, a ricordare due importanti volumi collettanei, uno del 2001 curato da Angelo Semeraro e l'altro del 2020 pilotato da Carmela Covato e Chiara Meta) si aggiunge ora l'ampia monografia di Luca Silvestri (*Una vita onnilaterale. La riflessione pedagogica di Mario Alighiero Manacorda*, Milano, Unicopli, 2024, pp. 240).

Il pregio del saggio del giovane studioso romano – come annota Carmela Covato nella Prefazione – non si limita (e già sarebbe un grande merito) a ripensare l'apporto di Manacorda allo studio della componente pedagogica dei maggiori esponenti del marxismo otto-novecentesco, ma – avvalendosi anche della documentazione conservata nell'archivio Manacorda – esplora «con grande precisione e lungimiranza interpretativa le tante dimensioni... attraversate negli anni dallo studioso», dagli interessi letterari e filosofici, alla storia dell'educazione, dalla valorizzazione della storia dell'arte e delle immagini fino agli studi di storia dello sport come documento imprescindibile per la comprensione della scissione tra mente e corpo nella cultura occidentale.

La poliedrica personalità di Manacorda, la sua militanza culturale, la sua partecipazione (da "laico" convinto) alle vicende della sinistra italiana consentendo di ripercorrere importanti pagine di quella storia in una prospettiva pedagogica «marxianamente onnilaterale» non solo dal punto di vista teorico, ma anche sotto il profilo della biografia personale. L'uomo completo non si identifica nello studioso assorto e circoscritto in poche e anguste ricerche, ma è colui che vive all'aria aperta, fa della curiosità intellettuale la sua cifra distintiva, contribuendo a concepire unitariamente impegno politico e realizzazione personale.

Se non ci può essere educazione onnilaterale se non si eliminano disuguaglianza e sfruttamento (o, per lo meno ci si batte per conseguirli) è altrettanto palmare che una vista corta e condizionata da pregiudizi ideologici impedisce lo sviluppo dell'umano in tutte le sue potenzialità. L'una cosa non può stare senza l'altra se vogliamo cogliere in pieno la nozione di onnilateralità. La vita di Mario Alighiero Manacorda fu fedele a questi ideali.

Questa breve segnalazione del volume di Luca Silvestri non può chiudersi senza almeno un cenno alla intensa collaborazione alla rivista «Riforma della scuola» e, soprattutto all'apporto innovativo di Manacorda alla storia dell'educazione con i due volumi del 1983 (*Storia dell'educazione dall'antichità ad oggi*) e del 1992 (*Storia illustrata dall'antico Egitto a giorni nostri*). Gli intenti prevalentemente di alta divulgazione di questi due testi non impediscono di

coglierne i fermenti di originalità che si manifestano nella trattazione svolta all'intreccio tra educazione, pedagogia, storia sociale e la valorizzazione dell'iconografia storico educativa.

8. *La scuola come centro di ricerca*

Con il volume dedicato alla ricostruzione del progetto didattico noto come «La scuola come centro di ricerca» promosso e animato da Alfredo Giunti tra gli anni '60 e l'inizio degli anni '80, Evelina Scaglia (*La scuola come centro di ricerca. Un'esperienza di rinnovamento pedagogico-didattico*, Roma, Studium, 2025, pp. 180) prosegue un filone di ricerca da tempo avviato sulla presenza della pedagogia bresciana nella vita della scuola primaria italiana. La studiosa bergamasca, sulla scorta di un'ampia documentazione, esplora gli sviluppi della riflessione scolastica post bellica sulla scia delle indicazioni di Marco Agosti, Angelo Colombo e Vittorino Chizzolini consegnate alle pagine della rivista «Scuola italiana moderna» e ad una capillare animazione negli anni '50 e '60 del mondo magistrale mediante convegni, corsi di aggiornamento, pubblicazioni di vario genere.

Un nuovo protagonista irrompe in questa tradizione, Alfredo Giunti. Non bresciano e neppure un allievo diretto del Gruppo pedagogico collegato a «Scuola italiana moderna», Giunti è un maestro toscano che, trasferitosi in provincia di Brescia dopo la vincita di un concorso incontra i protagonisti della rivista «Scuola italiana moderna», ne sperimenta sul campo le proposte didattiche, le rielabora genialmente, diventando col tempo il principale erede del metodo naturale propugnato di Marco Agosti che reinventa e rilancia alla luce della nuova realtà imbevuta di attivismo e sempre più attenta agli apporti della psicologia evolutiva (Decroly, Piaget). Il saggio di Scaglia può essere letto attraverso più angolature: la meticolosa ricostruzione del progetto, il contesto nel quale esso prese forma e il suo inquadramento nel dibattito sul futuro dell'allora scuola elementare in una realtà culturale e sociale in rapido mutamento nella quale i Programmi d'insegnamento del 1955 appaiono ormai obsoleti. Giunti e i suoi amici sono motivati dalla preoccupazione che il sapere disciplinare banalmente “fanciullizzato” sfociasse inevitabilmente nel nozionismo. La sua vitalità andava assicurata dall'esercizio della ricerca in chiave interdisciplinare così da intrecciare le singole specificità in stretto rapporto con la realtà, posta alla base della valenza formativa della scuola. Questa andava vista non solo come erogatrice di istruzione, ma anche impegnata sul fronte della maturazione integrale della personalità infantile. Fu in tale prospettiva, detto in estrema sintesi, che prese sostanza teorica e pratica il progetto della scuola come centro di ricerca.

Questa reinterpretazione pedagogica della didattica agostiana-chizzolinia-

na – che incontrò grandi consensi tra i maestri lettori di «Scuola italiana moderna» (fino a raggiungere oltre 100 mila abbonati alla rivista) – non riuscì tuttavia ad affermarsi nella revisione dei Programmi del 1985. Prevalse invece l'influenza delle psico pedagogie anglosassoni d'impronta funzionalistica che nel frattempo, dopo l'indebolimento della ideologizzazione post '68, cominciarono a egemonizzare anche la cultura educativa del nostro paese.

Questa sostanziale sconfitta – anche se non immediatamente evidente – coincideva con la scomparsa degli storici protagonisti delle fortune di «Scuola italiana moderna» (Agosti, Chizzolini, lo stesso Giunti indebolito da salute malferma) e l'emergere di una nuova generazione di studiosi attivi sull'asse Milano-Brescia più interessati agli aspetti metodologici, organizzativi e psicologici, come Aldo Agazzi lamentava, all'indomani dell'approvazione dei Programmi del 1985, in un severo articolo.

9. Antonio Stoppani, scienziato, divulgatore ed educatore

Nella ricorrenza del bicentenario della nascita la poliedrica figura di Antonio Stoppani (1824-1891) è stata ricordata con un convegno e un volume che arricchiscono una già ampia bibliografia. Alla luce del materiale conservato in vari archivi (soprattutto Stresa e Milano), i saggi della nuova pubblicazione illustrano non solo i due aspetti più noti e dibattuti di Stoppani – gli apporti sul piano scientifico e la ricerca incessante su fede e scienza – ma la varietà degli ambiti nei quali fu un attivo protagonista del suo tempo (*Antonio Stoppani; luce dagli archivi nel bicentenario della nascita*, a cura di Benedetta Lisci, Stresa, Edizioni Rosminiane, 2025, pp. 121). Fu letterato, divulgatore, educatore, personaggio di larga notorietà.

Per sciogliere l'apparente contrasto tra fede e scienza l'abate Stoppani, nel rifarsi all'insegnamento di Antonio Rosmini, pose alla base delle sue riflessioni la nozione di verità la cui ricerca mediante l'intelletto non poteva contrastare con la verità cercata attraverso la fede perché «la verità è una sola sia che la si osservi con luce dell'intelletto sia che la si contempi con gli occhi della fede». In coerenza con questa concezione teologica Stoppani fu un sincero cattolico transigente convinto che fede e libertà potessero convivere nella ricerca del bene comune, tesi in controtendenza con gli ambienti dell'intransigentismo (allora in maggioranza) fortemente contrari allo Stato liberale.

Avversò le teorie evoluzioniste, ma sostenne con vigore la validità del metodo scientifico per indagare la realtà e le leggi della Natura. Ideatore del Museo di storia naturale di Milano, fu geologo molto noto e promotore della Società Italiana di scienze naturali.

Il nome di Stoppani appartiene anche, a buon diritto, alla storia della formazione degli italiani. Costante fu il suo impegno per l'unità della lingua nella

pronuncia e nell'ortografia in modo da porre le basi per l'affermazione di un'unica coscienza civile, quella maturata attraverso l'epopea risorgimentale. Il suo apporto più noto sul piano educativo popolare fu la pubblicazione nel 1876 del *Bel paese. Conversazioni sulle bellezze naturali, la geologia e la geografia fisica d'Italia* attraverso cui si propose non solo di illustrare gli aspetti più caratteristici dell'Italia, ma di porre a disposizione della scuola e, più in generale dei lettori, una visione d'insieme di una nazione ancora ai più sconosciuta.

Tra l'ultimo scorcio dell'Ottocento e buona parte del XX secolo il *Bel paese* fu uno dei libri che non solo nella scuola (spesso in edizioni ridotte e semplificate) godettero di maggiore circolazione insieme a *Cuore* e *Pinocchio* e ai testi più popolari del *self helpismo* come *Volere è potere*, *Chi s'aiuta, Dio l'aiuta*, *Il carattere degli italiani*.

Cattolici nella storia italiana. A proposito di una recente e importante pubblicazione

Carla Ghizzoni
Department of Pedagogy
Catholic University of Sacred Heart
in Milan (Italy)
carla.ghizzoni@unicatt.it

Lorenzo Cantatore
Department of Education
University of Roma Tre (Italy)
lorenzo.cantatore@uniroma3.it

Alberto Barausse
Department of Humanities, Social
Sciences and Education
University of Molise
Campobasso (Italy)
barausse@unimol.it

Catholics in Italian history. On a recent and important publication

ABSTRACT: In this paper, the authors aim to reflect on the significance of one of Giorgio Chiosso's most recent works. Drawing on an analysis of the author's book, this provides a welcome opportunity to highlight certain principles and characteristics of the Catholic presence within the Italian school system and to understand the role religion played in Italian state schools. Chiosso's research work also deserves credit for successfully highlighting three formative experiences, three crucial stages in the development of pedagogical self-awareness within the Catholic sphere, three "figures" who left their mark on their era and served as a point of reference for those in our country who have been involved in schooling, instruction, education and training.

EET/TEE KEYWORDS: Catholics; History of Education; School and schooling; Italy; XIX-XX Centuries.

1. *Tra passato e presente*

Il recente libro di Giorgio Chiosso (*Cattolici nella storia della scuola italiana*, Venezia, Marcianum Press, 2025) prende in esame due tematiche alle quali egli ha dedicato molta parte della propria attività di ricerca: la storia della scuola e il contributo del mondo cattolico al dibattito educativo-scolastico¹. Il testo mette a fuoco gli intrecci tra questi due argomenti durante l'Ottocento e il Novecento, attraverso un'indagine sulle «Presenze» e sui «Testimoni» (che corrispondono alle due parti in cui è articolato il libro), ricostruendo tanto le esperienze avviate in ambito cattolico a favore dell'educazione, quanto i protagonisti di questa storia plurisecolare. La ricchezza delle ricerche svolte da Chiosso nel corso di questi decenni confluisce nei diversi capitoli in cui è organizzato il volume e con piena padronanza egli accompagna il lettore in alcuni dei passaggi di quelle vicende. Si tratta di affondi su singoli momenti e personalità, ma l'analisi compiuta, basata sulla letteratura sul tema e su fonti coeve, quali le riviste, la memorialistica e le carte d'archivio, basta a fare scorgere la complessità di una storia non sempre adeguatamente riconosciuta.

La storiografia relativa a educazione, scuola e cattolici è ricca e continua a essere alimentata da nuove indagini. Il merito dell'approccio adottato da Chiosso – ovvero uno dei molti meriti – è sicuramente quello di avere cercato di elaborare una sintesi di ampio respiro che ha colto le continuità, le riprese, i cambiamenti dell'operato dei cattolici. Nello specifico egli ha evidenziato due filoni che segnano tale operato: la promozione dell'istruzione popolare e la difesa della libertà di insegnamento. Le esperienze illustrate si collocano in una «storia di lunga durata» all'interno della quale Chiosso cerca di lumeggiare i nessi fra passato e presente. «Il passato – egli scrive – non è solo premessa del presente, ma fa sentire in modo più o meno rilevante le conseguenze della sedimentazione di principi, ideali, valori, che si sono stratificati nel tempo»².

Emblematica, a questo proposito, la diversa accezione che il concetto di libertà di insegnamento ha assunto nel periodo esaminato. Nelle sintetiche, ma dense pagine dell'*Introduzione* egli ricorda contenuti e significati del dibattito sorto agli inizi dell'Ottocento, proseguito fino alla prima metà del XX secolo su questo tema e che ha visto opposti Stato e Chiesa; la parola d'ordine che guidava il movimento cattolico in questo confronto era la «rivendicazione di un diritto» nei fatti negato alla famiglia e alla Chiesa dalla normativa varata dallo Stato italiano. L'Autore sottolinea il cambio di registro che si verifica con la fine della Seconda guerra mondiale e l'avvento della Repubblica: l'articolo

¹ Tra gli altri, basti segnalare: *I cattolici e la scuola dalla Costituente al centro-sinistra*, Brescia, La Scuola, 1988 e *Profilo storico della pedagogia cristiana in Italia: (XIX e XX secolo)*, Brescia, La Scuola, 2001.

² G. Chiosso, *Cattolici nella storia della scuola italiana*, Venezia, Marcianum Press, 2025, p. 17.

33 della Costituzione inscriveva la libertà della scuola in quella più generale della libertà di insegnamento, espressione a sua volta della libertà della scienza e dell'arte. «Si trattava – scrive Chiosso – di una non secondaria estensione del concetto di insegnamento nella prospettiva di una visione scolastica ripensata non contro lo Stato, ma all'interno di uno Stato non monopolista»³.

Tuttavia, questo cambiamento culturale non riuscì a tradursi in una diversa impostazione del sistema scolastico italiano e il docente torinese richiama la rilevanza della legge n. 62 del 10 marzo 2000 (*Norme per la parità scolastica e disposizioni sul diritto allo studio e all'istruzione*) che, in seguito a un non scontato accordo fra le forze politiche laico-democratiche e quelle cattoliche, prevede che scuole statali, paritarie private e degli enti locali formino «il sistema scolastico nazionale» e tutte concorrano al fine ritenuto prioritario dalla Repubblica italiana, ovvero «l'espansione dell'offerta formativa e la conseguente generalizzazione della domanda di istruzione dall'infanzia lungo tutto l'arco della vita»⁴. Appare evidente come questo testo abbia introdotto nella giurisprudenza scolastica un diverso modo di intendere la libertà della scuola, riguardante non solo gli istituti privati, ma tutte le istituzioni, sia pubbliche che private, non più giustapposte ma tutte chiamate a svolgere un servizio pubblico.

Se, anche in virtù di questo provvedimento, la questione della libertà di insegnamento è andata al di là degli «steccati storicamente tradizionali» e ha perso la centralità assunta in precedenza nei rapporti tra Stato e Chiesa⁵, essa comunque continua a segnare il confronto coevo sull'educazione. Non mi attardo sui motivi di questa persistenza. Preme piuttosto richiamare lo scenario che secondo il Collega si sta delineando ai giorni nostri. A suo giudizio, la libertà della scuola, intesa come «luogo di formazione di persone libere, responsabili, critiche, solidali», rischia di venire superata dall'affermazione di «logiche produttivistiche» e pure «di trasformarsi in un gigantesco mercato della formazione ove l'offerta è commisurata alle richieste dell'utenza»⁶.

Queste tendenze – l'individualismo, per un verso, e il dirigismo su base economica, per un altro – minacciano la libertà della scuola considerata come spazio in cui viene promosso e salvaguardato l'umano, come sottolineato da Papa Francesco. Richiamandosi al concetto di «poliedro educativo» evocato dal pontefice, Chiosso rileva che si assiste ad un più generale indebolimento dei luoghi dell'educazione che ha come conseguenza la mancata umanizzazione e la diminuzione delle opportunità assicurate a ogni persona per la conquista

³ *Ibid.*, p. 22.

⁴ Così recita l'articolo 1: se ne veda il testo in «Gazzetta Ufficiale della Repubblica Italiana», Serie Generale n. 67, 21-03-2000, <<https://www.gazzettaufficiale.it/eli/id/2000/03/21/000G0099/sg>> (ultimo accesso: 24.01.2026).

⁵ Chiosso, *Cattolici nella storia della scuola italiana*, cit., p. 23.

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 26-27.

della libertà. A suo avviso, tali derive possono essere contrastate da due interventi complementari: l'uno delle istituzioni statali e locali e l'altro degli adulti. Alle prime vanno richieste decisioni politiche che sostengano finanziamenti adeguati, iniziative per abbattere o almeno limitare le sperequazioni e che contengano il peso della burocrazia. Allo Stato compete dunque, secondo il dettato costituzionale, una funzione regolatrice del sistema scolastico entro il quale è riconosciuto il principio della libertà di insegnamento. Un provvedimento legislativo di siffatta natura risulta tuttavia insufficiente se non è accompagnato, continua lo studioso, dall'agire di educatori che sappiano interrogarsi sul senso delle cose e del loro impegno e che si pongano nei confronti dei giovani non come «abili tecnici dell'apprendimento», ma come adulti portatori di significati e riferimenti valoriali⁷.

2. *Le «Presenze»*

Molti sono gli spunti di riflessione che il libro offre. Anche per ragioni di spazio, mi soffermerò sulla prima parte dell'opera («Presenze») seguendo l'altro filo conduttore individuato da Chiosso: il contributo dato dai cattolici alla diffusione dell'educazione popolare. All'indomani dell'Unità, nell'ambito dell'istruzione, lo Stato italiano si orientò in una duplice direzione: da un lato, verso i ceti agiati, attraverso il potenziamento dell'istruzione secondaria finalizzata all'accesso all'università; dall'altro, verso le classi sociali più umili, mediante il tentativo di estendere la scuola primaria. Come è noto, il processo di popolarizzazione dell'istruzione incontrò numerosi ostacoli, tra cui le resistenze delle famiglie, prevalentemente di natura economica e culturale. A tale motivazione, si aggiunge l'impegno contraddittorio dello Stato in questo campo, che si tradusse in una marcata disomogeneità territoriale, in un atteggiamento di delega, in un'attenzione poco puntuale e in una legislazione per molti aspetti lacunosa. Sono, infatti, ampiamente documentati i disagi subiti dalla classe magistrale, le difficoltà finanziarie dei comuni nel sostenere le scuole elementari e le ambiguità della normativa inerente all'obbligo scolastico⁸.

Alla luce di tali elementi, Chiosso ricorda come la promozione dell'istruzione popolare non possa essere attribuita esclusivamente all'azione dello Stato.

⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 27-28.

⁸ Ci si limita a segnalare: E. De Fort, *La scuola elementare dall'Unità alla caduta del fascismo*, Bologna, il Mulino, 1996; G. Talamo, *Istruzione ed estensione del suffragio*, in L. Pazzaglia, R. Sani (edd.), *Scuola e società nell'Italia unita. Dalla legge Casati al Centro-sinistra*, Brescia, La Scuola, 2001, pp. 47-74; C. Ghizzoni, *I maestri, la lotta all'analfabetismo e la diffusione dell'istruzione popolare in Italia tra Otto e Novecento*, in A. Ascenzi, R. Sani (edd.), *Inclusione e promozione sociale nel sistema formativo italiano dall'Unità ad oggi*, Milano, FrancoAngeli, 2020, pp. 47-73.

Come evidenziano gli studi sull'argomento, la conquista dell'alfabeto si spiega tenendo conto anche di ragioni di ordine sociale ed economico⁹. Di fatto l'alfabetizzazione dei ceti popolari fu l'esito di una «impresa collettiva» cui concorsero istituzioni pubbliche, statali e locali, iniziative di privati, di società operaie, di forze politiche opposte allo Stato liberale (socialisti, repubblicani e anarchici), della stampa, della letteratura amena¹⁰. Rilevante, in questo contesto, fu anche il contributo dei cattolici. Le ricerche condotte in merito hanno ricostruito l'impegno profuso dai nuovi istituti religiosi, maschili e femminili, maggiormente dedicati all'istruzione popolare rispetto alle congregazioni religiose di antica fondazione¹¹.

L'attenzione dell'Autore si focalizza sulla presenza dei Fratelli delle Scuole Cristiane nel Piemonte preunitario. Essi cominciarono a insegnare nelle scuole municipali torinesi dall'anno scolastico 1831-1832. Il loro arrivo nel Regno sabaudo era stato propiziato dall'intervento di una parte dell'aristocrazia, tra cui spiccano Carlo Tancredi e Giulia di Barolo, e di illustri esponenti del mondo religioso attestati su posizioni conservatrici, ma fermamente convinti della necessità di prodigarsi per il miglioramento delle condizioni di vita dei ceti più umili e per la loro istruzione in quanto la ricristianizzazione della società sarebbe fallita se non fossero stati affrancati dall'ignoranza, ritenuta una delle cause delle vicende rivoluzionarie. Il piano pedagogico, definito nella *Conduite des Écoles Chrésiennes*, con l'insegnamento simultaneo, un'istruzione elementare gratuita, senza il latino, basata sull'uso della lingua volgare, ma arricchita da materie, quali il disegno lineare e la calligrafia, utili per preparare i giovani ad alcune professioni, appariva funzionale al raggiungimento di quegli obiettivi. La cura posta dai lassalliani nel mantenimento della disciplina in classe, la frequenza delle funzioni religiose, un'organizzazione del tempo e dello spazio della scuola in modo che tutte le attività potessero essere monitorate e valutate erano destinate a tranquillizzare chi temeva che, tramite l'istruzione, potessero giungere al popolo idee sovversive.

Chiosso fa notare come questa impostazione, che precisava minutamente i vari aspetti dell'istruzione, che investiva nella formazione dei maestri e che indusse un rinnovamento dei sussidi didattici e la messa a punto di libri di testo che dovevano guidare il lavoro in classe e a casa sia dei docenti sia degli alunni, apparisse molto più moderna della scuola diffusa negli anni Trenta e

⁹ Cfr. G. Vigo, *Gli italiani alla conquista dell'alfabeto*, in S. Soldani, G. Turi (edd.), *Fare gli italiani. Scuola e cultura nell'Italia contemporanea*, I: *La nascita dello Stato nazionale*, Bologna, il Mulino, 1993, pp. 37-66; E. De Fort, *Scuola e analfabetismo nell'Italia del '900*, Bologna, il Mulino, 1995.

¹⁰ Chiosso, *Cattolici nella storia della scuola italiana*, cit., p. 31.

¹¹ Si vedano, tra gli altri, G. Rocca, *Istituti religiosi in Italia tra Otto e Novecento*, in M. Rosa (ed.), *Clero e società nell'Italia contemporanea*, Roma-Bari, Laterza, 1992, pp. 207-256; Id., *La storiografia italiana sulla congregazione religiosa*, in G. Gregorini (ed.), *Religiose, religiosi, economia e società nell'Italia contemporanea*, Milano, Vita & Pensiero, 2008, pp. 29-71.

Quaranta nel Regno di Sardegna, e non solo, dove ci si affidava ancora all'insegnamento individuale e ai maestri mancava una preparazione specifica. Insomma, la proposta di Fratelli delle Scuole Cristiane introduceva sicuramente nel mondo scolastico piemontese elementi innovativi e un'apertura alla moderna pedagogia che circolava all'estero.

Questa superiorità, sul piano della proposta pedagogica, era destinata a essere scalzata di lì a breve dall'affermazione in tutta Europa di un'idea di infanzia diversa da quella che animava i lassalliani dall'avvio di politiche di riforma scolastica che a quella visione attingevano e che perseguivano la creazione di un sistema scolastico laico, volto alla formazione dell'identità nazionale. Sulla scorta di materiale archivistico e documentario coevo, Chiosso ricostruisce le tappe di tale transizione, facendo luce sui risultati dell'inchiesta ministeriale condotta nel 1851 sull'agire dei Fratelli delle Scuole Cristiane nelle scuole municipali di Torino e sulle controargomentazioni di fratel Théoger, direttore di quelle scuole municipali, nel memoriale inviato al Comune.

Alla base dell'operato dei lassalliani vi era un'idea d'infanzia che rinviava alla prospettiva agostiniana: essa era vista come un'età da correggere in quanto inclinata naturalmente al male. Secondo de La Salle era possibile contenere il peccato originale e potenziare la Grazia tramite l'educazione: la scuola era concepita come il luogo in cui la Grazia poteva compiere la propria azione salvifica. Negli istituti dei lassalliani non vi era la possibilità di giocare, di fare ricreazione e di stare con i propri compagni. Ogni istante della giornata era cadenzato da attività didattiche o di vita religiosa. Le aule costituivano la cornice entro la quale contenere le tendenze disordinate e viziate dei bambini.

Ma, mentre i lassalliani avviavano la loro esperienza educativa, nella capitale sabauda cominciavano a circolare idee meno rigide circa l'infanzia, animate dalle riflessioni, tra gli altri, di Pestalozzi, Aporti e Lambruschini. Tali idee erano fatte proprie dagli intellettuali e dai politici impegnati nella definizione del sistema scolastico subalpino, all'origine di quello italiano. Si fronteggiavano dunque due diversi orientamenti pedagogici di cui lo storico torinese tratteggia con perizia gli aspetti caratterizzanti, evidenziando la comune volontà di arginare l'ignoranza fra i ceti popolari, all'origine di miserie morali e materiali. Sia pure con sfumature diverse, studiosi come Rayneri, Aporti, Berti, Rosmini, Boncompagni, erano attenti alla messa a punto di prassi didattiche che valorizzassero la collaborazione, l'intuizione e l'osservazione dei più piccoli. L'approccio invece dei Fratelli delle Scuole Cristiane faceva centro sull'apprendimento mnemonico. Dalla metà degli anni Quaranta, ovvero da quando il Regno sabauda avviava il processo di centralizzazione del sistema scolastico culminato nella promulgazione della legge Boncompagni del 1848, si affermava un contesto in cui difficilmente potevano convivere questi due modelli pedagogici. Non a caso, già nel 1843 il Comune di Torino aveva messo in discussione il monopolio dei Fratelli delle Scuole Cristiane e affidato a maestri laici l'insegnamento in alcune scuole elementari maschili. Aveva così

inizio il declino dei lassalliani culminato nell'inchiesta già ricordata e poi nello scioglimento del loro rapporto con il municipio nel 1855. Al pari di molti altri esponenti del mondo cattolico, i Fratelli delle Scuole Cristiane stentavano a comprendere i cambiamenti in atto e, sulla scorta della loro tradizione pedagogica, non si riconoscevano nelle teorie educative romantiche diffuse anche in Piemonte.

L'analisi del loro lavoro nelle scuole di Torino, anche attraverso il continuo confronto con la realtà educativa dell'epoca, ha il pregio di mettere in luce tanto le difficoltà e le criticità del loro metodo, quanto il contributo dato alla trasformazione della società fra Settecento e Ottocento, in virtù della quale l'analfabetismo veniva vieppiù avvertito come un difetto di cui vergognarsi e la capacità di leggere, scrivere e fare di conto una virtù da coltivare. Chiosso sottolinea che «senza rifugiarsi in una sdegnata e infruttifera nostalgia del passato essi accettarono di misurarsi costruttivamente con una realtà ormai molto diversa da quella che essi avevano conosciuto all'arrivo nella capitale subalpina», giocando un ruolo significativo, in Piemonte così come in altre zone della Penisola, nell'opera, come si è detto corale, di popolarizzazione dell'istruzione¹².

Sempre con l'intento di lumeggiare un altro tassello dell'azione svolta dai cattolici nella promozione dell'educazione dei ceti popolari, Chiosso dedica il secondo capitolo della sezione «Presenze» ai Salesiani e alle Figlie di Maria Ausiliatrice. Sulla scorta della vasta bibliografia inerente ai membri delle congregazioni di Don Bosco, esito in specie delle ricerche condotte dai Salesiani, in particolar modo da Francesco Motto e Grazia Loparco, e di documentazione coeva, egli nota come, dopo la morte del fondatore, il sistema educativo salesiano conosca una significativa espansione e si affermi come una delle risposte più efficaci alla questione giovanile tra Otto e Novecento. Un riconoscimento in tale senso era formulato anche da ambienti esterni alla congregazione. Emblematico il giudizio del *Dizionario illustrato di Pedagogia*, che presentava don Bosco come «benemerito educatore e benefattore della gioventù»¹³, che mostrava interesse e apprezzamento per il sistema preventivo e che illustrava con dovizia di dati le opere salesiane, sottolineando la capacità della congregazione di attrarre i giovani coinvolgendoli in attività ludiche appositamente organizzate.

A fronte del celere diffondersi delle iniziative educative salesiane e della perdurante centralità dell'oratorio, chiamato a confrontarsi con una gioventù che viveva importanti cambiamenti (più ampia alfabetizzazione, più esteso coinvolgimento nel lavoro industriale, facilità di accesso a nuove forme di

¹² Chiosso, *Cattolici nella storia della scuola italiana*, cit., p. 87.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 91. Si vedano: C.F. Savio, *Bosco Giovanni*, in A. Martinazzoli, L. Credaro (edd.), *Dizionario illustrato di pedagogia*, Milano, Vallardi, s.d., Vol. I, pp. 193-194; L. Mapelli, *Salesiani*, in *ibid.*, Vol. III, pp. 439-440.

svago, maggiore politicizzazione), le congregazioni di don Bosco non erano interessate a elaborare una riflessione sulla propria tradizione formativa, in quanto non ne avvertivano la necessità, nella convinzione della completezza di quanto veniva loro trasmesso che era da preservare e riproporre fedelmente. Non è un caso che, agli albori del XX secolo, i primi lavori che si preoccuparono di inscrivere il sistema preventivo in una teoria pedagogica fossero esterni alla congregazione. Basti ricordare l'attenzione di Friedrich Wilhelm Förster che, nella sua opera sull'educazione del carattere, riconosceva la validità del metodo preventivo.

Solo negli anni Venti del Novecento, sebbene con una certa prudenza dettata dal timore che la fondazione di una pedagogia salesiana potesse irrigidire un metodo percepito come ancora vitale, non riducibile a schemi rigidi, furono avviati alcuni tentativi di sistematizzazione dell'esperienza educativa salesiana grazie ai lavori di don Vincenzo Cimatti, di don Francesco Scaloni, autore di un manuale destinato più in generale agli educatori cristiani (1917) e di Agostino Auffray, che diede alle stampe saggi sul metodo preventivo (1925)¹⁴. Ma fu soprattutto dalla metà degli anni Venti, in seguito all'inserimento di don Bosco nei programmi di pedagogia degli istituti magistrali per volontà di Pietro Fedele (1925), alla promulgazione della *Divini Illius Magistri* (1929), alla beatificazione (1929) e alla canonizzazione (1934) di don Bosco, che l'assenza di una riflessione sul sistema educativo salesiano fu evidenziata da parte di autorevoli esponenti del mondo cattolico – in specie Mario Casotti e padre Mario Barbera – come una carenza da colmare nel quadro della necessaria definizione di una pedagogia cattolica capace di confrontarsi con il pensiero contemporaneo e recuperare la secolare tradizione che la Chiesa vantava in questo campo. La risposta della congregazione, tuttavia, si mostrò ancora fragile: è significativa, da questo punto di vista, la scelta della casa editrice della comunità salesiana, ovvero la Società Editrice Internazionale di Torino, di attribuire a Luigi Stefanini la cura della sezione pedagogica del proprio catalogo, a dimostrazione della difficoltà a individuare risorse interne in grado farsi carico di questo compito.

Chiosso opportunamente rileva come tale processo avvenisse durante il ventennio fascista allorché i Salesiani e le Figlie di Maria Ausiltraice erano impegnati a gestire un faticoso equilibrio sul fronte scolastico e, soprattutto, su quello extrascolastico, dovendo fare i conti con le mire egemoniche del regime nell'ambito dell'educazione giovanile. In questo quadro, già indagato dagli storici con particolare riferimento alla soppressione degli Scouts cattolici e alla chiusura dei circoli di Azione Cattolica nel 1931, egli ricorda l'evoluzione

¹⁴ V. Cimatti, *Don Bosco educatore. Contributo alla storia del pensiero e delle istituzioni pedagogiche*, Torino, SEI, 1924; F. Scaloni, *Le jeune éducateur chrétien. Manuel pédagogique selon la pensée du Ven. don Bosco*, Liège, Société Industrielle d'Arts et Métiers, 1917; A. Auffray, *Il metodo educativo del Ven. Giovanni Bosco*, Torino, SEI, 1925.

dell'oratorio che, al fine di evitare ingerenze fasciste, ridusse la propria apertura sociale e politica, conquistata ai primi del '900, e si concentrò su finalità catechistiche come era alle origini. Veniva meno la centralità dell'oratorio che perdeva il primato detenuto a favore delle scuole e dei collegi, la cui espansione era favorita dalla normativa varata dal regime in materia di istituti privati.

Tale quadro, tuttavia, non si tradusse in una situazione di stallo. La congregazione di don Bosco investì le proprie risorse nell'avvio di imprese editoriali volte a sostenere il suo operato. Chiosso ripercorre le vicende di tre periodici promossi in quel frangente, destinati a giovani e a studenti, ovvero «Rivista dei giovani» (1920), «Catechesi» (1931) e «Gymnasium» (1933). Molto diverse fra loro per i fini perseguiti e per i contenuti, nonché, va detto, anche per l'atteggiamento assunto rispetto al fascismo, le riviste – nello specifico la «Rivista dei giovani» e «Gymnasium» – palesarono scarsa attenzione per il sistema preventivo di don Bosco, diversamente da quanto avveniva in precedenza, individuando e proponendo riferimenti culturali esterni alla congregazione.

Se, fino agli anni Venti, i salesiani avevano stentato a intraprendere studi sulla propria tradizione educativa, dagli anni Trenta si constata un diverso orientamento. Fu durante il rettorato di don Pietro Riccaldone (1931-1951) che la congregazione si dotò di strumenti e strutture che avrebbero posto le basi per la fondazione di una pedagogia salesiana. Si pensi alla creazione, agli inizi degli anni Quaranta, della LDC (Libreria Dottrina Cristiana) specializzata in testi e sussidi per la catechesi che si prodigò per il rinnovamento dell'insegnamento religioso, sulla scorta anche del confronto con il pensiero educativo coevo, superando l'atteggiamento autoreferenziale invalso fino ad allora. Nel 1941, in seno al Pontificio Ateneo Salesiano eretto a Torino nel 1940, nasceva l'Istituto Superiore di Pedagogia. Anche grazie alle riviste «Salesianum» (1947) e «Orientamenti pedagogici» (1956), esso permise a una nuova generazione di studiosi di elaborare finalmente una pedagogia salesiana che valorizzava la propria storia e guardava alle teorie educative del tempo. Muovevano qui i primi passi ricercatori del calibro di Pietro Braidò e Gino Corallo, che avrebbero segnato la pedagogia italiana del XX secolo.

Chiude la prima parte sulle «Presenze» il capitolo sul Codice di Camaldoli e l'educazione. Rispetto ai primi due saggi di questa sezione, esso appare tematicamente distinto, per l'attenzione rivolta non a un istituto religioso, ma a un documento programmatico. Sia pure nella diversità, i tre capitoli sono legati dal filo conduttore già richiamato, ovvero l'esame del contributo dato da alcune iniziative cattoliche alla promozione dell'istruzione fra i ceti popolari. Non c'è lo spazio per soffermarsi in modo esteso su queste pagine. Ma basti ricordare che i principi stabiliti dal Codice in merito alla funzione della scuola, intesa come strumento di giustizia sociale e di formazione della cittadinanza, erano destinati a ispirare, anche se con evidenti limiti, l'azione di alcuni dei «Testimoni» evocati nella seconda parte del libro, che si spesero per la popolarizzazione dell'istruzione nel quadro dell'affermazione della società demo-

cratica postbellica. Per gli estensori del Codice, nota Chiosso, «non poteva esserci una società democratica [...] senza una scuola capace di valorizzare le potenzialità di ciascun cittadino e di sostenerne le qualità senza precocemente escludere nessun allievo dalla possibilità di proseguire gli studi»¹⁵. Questo progetto era destinato a essere ripreso e sviluppato, in parte, a partire dagli anni Sessanta e continua a animare le attuali politiche educativo-scolastiche attente alla messa punto di pratiche inclusive.

Lo sguardo sul passato propostoci dall'opera di Chiosso ci porta dunque a riflettere sulle potenzialità, ma pure sui limiti del presente e a interrogarci sulle nostre responsabilità di cittadini in ordine alla creazione di una «scuola giusta». Oltre a questo merito, non scontato in un'opera di ricostruzione storiografica, mi preme rilevare che il lavoro si segnala per la capacità di fare il punto dei risultati raggiunti dalla ricerca su alcuni fronti della storia dell'educazione nel nostro Paese, facendo emergere prospettive di indagine suscettibili di ulteriori approfondimenti. Ricordo, in chiusura, almeno una di queste piste, evidenziata nel capitolo dedicato ai salesiani: vi si fa riferimento al ruolo della suora-maestra impegnata soprattutto nell'ambito dell'educazione infantile e femminile nel XX secolo. Chiosso sottolinea giustamente l'opportunità di scavare in questo ambito, ancora in gran parte inesplorato, se non altro perché – vale la pena farlo notare – per buona parte del Novecento l'educazione infantile fu prevalentemente affidata dalle famiglie italiane a asili e scuole materne gestiti da congregazioni religiose femminili, mancando istituzioni statali e comunali capillarmente diffuse in tutto il territorio.

Carla Ghizzoni

3. Rigore scientifico e carica comunicativa

Quando il lavoro dello storico raggiunge alti livelli di approfondimento e specializzazione e gode di una disinvoltata padronanza delle teorie, delle fonti e dei metodi d'approccio a temi, figure e problemi storiografici, talvolta la scrittura si apre a un di più che è appannaggio di pochi. Questo di più è la capacità di saper ricostruire e trasmettere al lettore atmosfere, ambienti, passioni, tensioni, umori, quasi con vena narrativa. Una congiuntura rara, dove rigore scientifico e carica comunicativa convergono felicemente. È quanto accade a Giorgio Chiosso nel volume *Cattolici nella storia della scuola italiana*, appena pubblicato da Marcianum Press nella collana «Cultura, Educazione, Formazione. Studi storici» diretta da Roberto Sani, che è anche autore della *Prefazione*. In effetti, in questo come in altri lavori della maturità, lo studioso torinese

¹⁵ Chiosso, *Cattolici nella storia della scuola italiana*, cit., p. 47.

dimostra quanto tematiche apparentemente austere e destinate a rimanere nel perimetro degli addetti ai lavori, possano essere restituite al pubblico dei lettori facendo leva sulla loro forza rivelatrice dello spirito complesso e contraddittorio dell'epoca a cui si riferiscono. Una forza che, per le questioni di storia della scuola e dell'educazione, ha quasi sempre a che fare con le tensioni più profonde dell'animo umano, talvolta drammatiche, con la battaglia delle idee, con il vigore dei temperamenti, con la flagranza della vita quotidiana, con l'eterna lotta fra l'astratto e il concreto o, come accade lungo le pagine di questo libro, fra religiosità e laicismo, pubblico e privato, libertà e controllo.

Il volume di Chiosso, che attraversa oltre centocinquant'anni di storia scolastica italiana (dagli anni Venti del XIX secolo agli ultimi decenni del XX, con interessanti spunti di riflessione sul presente), è tutto segnato da una sequenza di scenari disposti sull'asse portante del dibattito pedagogico in ambito cattolico e scanditi da parole-chiave come *libertà, istruzione, società, infanzia, giovani*.

La prima parte del libro è dedicata a quelle che l'autore definisce «presenze», ovvero esperienze che hanno stabilito uno spartiacque per cui, in sede storiografica, si può parlare di un prima e di un dopo. Fra le molte, Chiosso individua tre «presenze» particolarmente significative: il lavoro scolastico dei Fratelli delle Scuole Cristiane nel Piemonte della prima metà dell'Ottocento, l'impegno educativo di don Bosco a fine secolo e il desiderio di pluralismo che affiora dal cosiddetto Codice di Camaldoli, a metà Novecento. Si tratta di tre scenari educativi distanti fra loro nel tempo ma autenticamente radicati nella storia sociale, religiosa, culturale e politica del nostro Paese, tre esperienze generative, tre passaggi cruciali nella maturazione dell'auto-coscienza pedagogica in ambito cattolico, tre «presenze» forti che hanno inciso sulla loro epoca e che hanno costituito un punto di riferimento per coloro che, successivamente, si sono occupati di scuola, istruzione, educazione e formazione. Stiamo parlando di ambienti, di contesti, di confronti e di scontri, di letture e di scritture, di azioni e di teorie su cui Chiosso, con capillare capacità di ricostruzione, dipana il suo racconto e indica traiettorie critico-interpretative utili anche per eventuali ulteriori affondi.

Ragionando sul significato storico dell'azione svolta dai Fratelli delle Scuole Cristiane, Chiosso riesce a discernerne con grande lucidità gli spunti innovativi (evidenti rispetto all'antiquata tradizione scolastica subalpina, ferma su metodi e strumenti didattici settecenteschi, a cominciare dall'antiegualitaria centralità del latino) dalle sacche di confessionalismo e di empirismo mnemonico che, alla fine, ne hanno determinato la conclusione a fronte dell'avanzata della municipalità laica progressista. Premesso che «non si ha idea oggi di cosa significasse a metà del XIX secolo, in termini di prospettiva di vita aver frequentato anche solo per poco tempo la scuola»¹⁶, i tratti più innovativi delle

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 28.

scuole aperte dai Fratelli, costituiti da un'autentica spinta al riscatto sociale attraverso la conquista dell'istruzione di base da parte degli umili, dall'abbattimento del mito della lingua latina come *conditio sine qua non* del percorso scolastico, e ancora dalla straordinaria capacità di allestire manuali scolastici elementari che ubbidivano al nuovo criterio didattico della gradualità e del metodo simultaneo (un fenomeno senza precedenti, soprattutto in materia d'aritmetica), cozzarono fra l'altro con il timore ossessivo dell'allontanamento dall'ubbidienza religiosa dovuto alla visione di un'infanzia più peccaminosa che innocente. Vero è che, come spiega Chiosso, in quegli stessi decenni (siamo nella Torino degli anni '20-'40 dell'Ottocento) negli ambienti intellettuali più all'avanguardia cominciarono a circolare le idee e le pratiche di Pestalozzi, Girard, Naville, Necker de Saussure, Aporti, Lambruschini. Tali fermenti pedagogici, insieme ai contemporanei radicali cambiamenti politici (il grande arbitro della partita fra scuola e politica in questi lustri è il liberale cavourriano Carlo Bon Compagni) non potevano che schiacciare la pur significativa innovatività dei Fratelli lasalliani, prima affiancandole e poi sostituendola del tutto con le scuole pubbliche. Fra l'altro, la campagna di stampa che finì per allontanarli dalla città si basò anche su clamorose denunce, evocative di una materialità educativa non sempre rispettosa della dignità umana:

Un ragazzetto di circa dieci anni per piccola mancanza fu tirato pei capelli, per le orecchie, gettato per terra a pugni ed a calci, battuto con un grosso randello, a talché le grida di quel poveretto si sentivano da lontano¹⁷.

Le fonti cui ricorre Chiosso, articoli di giornale, relazioni municipali, un memoriale del Provinciale di Torino, trattati pedagogici e libri di testo, consentono uno scandaglio completo dei *pro* e dei *contro* avanzati dalle parti contrapposte, coagulantisi attorno a una questione che era «squisitamente politica e riguardava il principio del pluralismo scolastico e, in particolare, quale spazio poteva essere riservato all'iniziativa non pubblica»¹⁸ ma, soprattutto, concerneva l'ostilità e l'immaginario negativo che le forze anticlericali liberali e democratiche misero sempre più in campo contro le scuole gestite dai religiosi. Tuttavia, al netto da queste prese di posizioni prettamente ideologiche, è giusto portare alla luce la parte di dibattito basata su questioni squisitamente pedagogiche. Se uno dei tratti che accomunano in questi anni scuola laica (pubblica) e scuola lasalliana (privata) consiste in una visione dell'istruzione progressivamente sempre più puerocentrica, con convergenze interessanti fra le riflessioni di Aporti e quelle di Rosmini, soprattutto in merito al concetto di "gradazione" degli insegnamenti e degli apprendimenti, d'altra parte, come rileva Chiosso, non sfugge la distanza fra il severo contenimento degli slanci naturali infanti-

¹⁷ A. Bianchi-Giovini, *Gli Ignorantelli*, «L'Opinione», 6 aprile 1851, p. 1 cit. in Chiosso, *Cattolici nella storia della scuola italiana*, cit., p. 64.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 72.

li caratteristico dei lasalliani (Gioberti li chiamava «zotici maestri [...] ispidi aguzzini armati dello staffile»¹⁹), e il rispetto che il pensiero laico dimostra verso il desiderio di ricerca e di scoperta tipico del bambino. In questo senso, la *Conduit*, che era il codice pedagogico-didattico dei Fratelli, fu «molto lontana dal modello educativo materno, naturale, spontaneo, nutrito di sentimento che anima, almeno in via di principio, la pedagogia dei primi decenni del XIX secolo»²⁰. Il pensiero pedagogico laico (Rayneri, Bon Compagni, Berti), nutrito di ragionamenti innovativi che pure provenivano da teorici cattolici (Rosmini, Aporti), si contrappose al magistero dei lasalliani anche e soprattutto sulla base del ruolo che nell'insegnamento ricopriva l'esercizio della memoria, strumento per incamerare nozioni nel caso dei Fratelli delle Scuole Cristiane, dispositivo per nutrire l'intelligenza, l'immaginazione e la creatività del pensiero nel caso dei progressisti. L'apporto pedagogico proveniente dai religiosi Aporti e Rosmini produsse, in tema di istruzione pubblica e libertà d'insegnamento, un compromesso politico per cui libertà, istruzione, «riserva di valori»²¹ cristiani e vigilanza statale cominciarono ad animare quel dibattito istituzionale che attraversa tutto il libro, così come la storia d'Italia. Sono dunque anche queste le prime battute di quella passione della scuola e dell'educazione che, come nello sviluppo di un organismo vivente, vedrà partecipare molte componenti, ora convergenti ora divergenti, ora affette da patologie ora vigorosamente fruttuose, in quello sforzo di «fare gli italiani» che Chiosso sintetizza con parole che restituiscono la varietà della società e della politica del tempo:

Questo è quanto accadde anche nella realtà piemontese tra Restaurazione e Risorgimento. Filantropi in odore di massoneria, preti, aristocratici caritatevoli, borghesi illuminati si trovarono uniti, pur con motivazioni differenti e visioni della società non di rado talora opposte, nell'intento di sconfiggere l'ignoranza ormai percepita come intollerabile sul piano della dignità umana e grave ostacolo per il progresso e lo sviluppo economico e per lo stesso benessere delle popolazioni. Il fronte dell'analfabetismo, dei bisogni elementari insoddisfatti, dell'infanzia abbandonata e sofferente fu così aggredito da più parti. Per la ricostruzione degli eventi sembra non sufficiente ricorrere al criterio che potremmo definire dell'«aut aut» sulla cui base individuare, con il solo metro dell'analisi politico-ideologica, i «progressisti» e i «retrogradi». Se si vuole restare aderenti alla realtà appare più idoneo praticare una lettura ispirata al principio dell'«et et». Un solo sistema di valori (nel nostro caso quelli liberali) non è in grado di giustificare la complessità del processo attraverso cui una società prevalentemente analfabeta comincia a trasformarsi e includere tra i suoi principi fondamentali quello del leggere, dello scrivere e del far di conto²².

Anche quando, sempre in Piemonte, entra in scena don Giovanni Bosco, la questione ruota prevalentemente sul nesso religione-innovazione educativa

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 58-59.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 76.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 80, dove Chiosso cita F. Traniello, *Religione cattolica e Stato nazionale. Dal Risorgimento al secondo dopoguerra*, Bologna, il Mulino, 2007, p. 144.

²² Chiosso, *Cattolici nella storia della scuola italiana*, cit., pp. 86-87.

(quest'ultima basata sul gioco e sul divertimento, che ebbero nell'oratorio il loro spazio d'azione privilegiato) applicato dal prete torinese alla categoria sociale dei giovani e delle giovani, forse da lui per la prima volta (insieme ad altre esperienze europee che Chiosso suggerisce di comparare fra loro) messa a fuoco con tanta chiarezza. Nel passaggio fra Otto e Novecento, in un clima generalmente favorevole alla presa in carico della formazione giovanile e della prevenzione di disfunzioni e disagi educativi, la pubblicistica pedagogica considera il magistero salesiano come una delle più brillanti strade percorribili. Il nodo centrale affrontato da Chiosso, anche in questo caso, è la questione pedagogica o, meglio, l'analisi dei segnali della nascita di una pedagogia salesiana, dopo la fase per così dire "eroica" e prevalentemente empirico-caritatevole del Fondatore e della sua immediata successione (don Michele Rua, don Paolo Albera, don Filippo Rinaldi) e grazie al sopraggiungere di un certo distacco storico maturato nelle più giovani generazioni salesiane. Ma occorre riflettere su come il sistema preventivo salesiano, in opposizione al metodo repressivo, tipico di molti altri ordini educanti, sia potuto diventare un capitolo fondamentale della pedagogia novecentesca, in particolare della pedagogia giovanile, ben al di fuori della congregazione. Insieme ai consensi tedeschi, spagnoli, belgi, francesi, che ne dimostrano un rapido successo europeo, Chiosso sottolinea come in Italia un passo decisivo sia stato compiuto da Giuseppe Lombardo Radice che indicò il modello salesiano nei nuovi programmi per la scuola elementare del 1923, stabilendo una connessione importante fra scuola pubblica e scuola religiosa, un incontro che avrebbe caratterizzato molti capitoli della fortuna storica della sua «scuola serena»²³. Sulla scia di questo *placet* lombardiano, dal 1925 il verbo salesiano, «modello di arte educativa»²⁴, entrerà nei programmi ministeriali per la formazione dei maestri e delle maestre, con conseguente adattamento della produzione manualistica.

La promulgazione dell'enciclica *Divini Illius Magistri* (1929) contribuirà a questo "sdoganamento" dell'azione educativa salesiana all'interno dei ranghi del pensiero pedagogico, insieme a una pletora di altre riflessioni d'ambito cattolico (Mario Casotti *in primis*, Luigi Stefanini con il lavoro editoriale svolto per la Sei, infine la Crociata Catechistica promossa dal rettor maggiore don Piero Ricaldone nel 1939 da cui la via salesiana alla pedagogia, sfociata nella fondazione dell'Istituto Superiore di Pedagogia annesso al Pontificio Ateneo Salesiano di Torino) che affinarono sempre più l'approfondimento teorico-metodologico in risposta alle dottrine "naturalistiche" avanzate dalla pedagogia laica, sostenendo la necessità di supportare il magistero salesiano con una robusta impalcatura speculativa, anche in relazione alle teorie e tecniche più

²³ Cfr. E. Conte, *Un incontro controverso. Giuseppe Lombardo Radice e il Gruppo pedagogico di «Scuola Italiana Moderna» (1920-1950)*, Roma, Studium, 2025.

²⁴ B. Fascie, *Del metodo educativo di don Bosco. Fonti e commenti*, Torino, SEI, 1927, p. 33, cit. in Chiosso, *Cattolici nella storia della scuola italiana*, cit., p. 107.

avanzate della pedagogia contemporanea (attivismo, scuola serena, montessorismo). Nel valutare questa apertura della parola salesiana al mondo, Chiosso, con obbiettiva analisi delle fonti pubblicistiche, fa anche riferimento alla difficile convivenza con il fascismo e con le sue organizzazioni giovanili. Inevitabili la contrapposizione e il rischio della sopraffazione, in un clima teso che non sempre ha consentito ai seguaci di don Bosco, «pragmaticamente flessibili»²⁵ (come le riviste di don Antonio Cojazzi) o in aperto consenso («Gymnasium» di don Gian Luigi Zuretti), di salvare le apparenze, determinando anche una crisi dell'oratorio e del suo spirito originario, tradito da un'involuzione catechistica.

Due aspetti da valorizzare in quest'ambito di studi e su cui Chiosso indica importanti piste di ricerca sono l'attività salesiana nel campo dell'educazione/istruzione femminile con le Figlie di Maria Ausiliatrice e il profilo della suora-maestra nelle scuole per l'infanzia ed elementari. Scrive lo studioso:

Anche per quanto riguarda il mondo femminile l'oratorio festivo svolse un ruolo centrale, descritto con una suggestiva metafora come una «tavola di salvezza» per le giovani. Le ragazze che popolavano gli oratori erano in genere operaie, domestiche, cameriere, sartine spesso sole e bisognose di spunti di riferimento che non fossero le sale da ballo o le osterie. Non sempre la famiglia presso la quale le giovani prestavano servizio o il laboratorio ove lavoravano costituiva un ambiente affidabile specie sotto il profilo morale e religioso²⁶.

È anche su questo terreno sociale, che sembra tratto da un romanzo naturalista francese, che il magistero salesiano si mostrò, nei limiti delle sue possibilità, all'avanguardia, aperto a una visione nuova dell'integrazione sociale e dei diritti femminili in tema di formazione preventiva, facendo leva, tuttavia e ovviamente, sul principio della maternità ammantato di spirito profondamente antiemancipativo e ponendosi poi, anche su questo territorio, in concorrenza (seppur in consonanza per quanto riguarda il contenimento delle spinte evolutive e la tutela della famiglia tradizionale) con l'organizzazione del Partito nazionale fascista. Ma la maestra-suora, invece, è una figura ancora molto da indagare e di grande interesse perché, come accenna Chiosso, rappresenta un crocevia fra pedagogie di diversa estrazione (sorelle Agazzi, Montessori, Lombardo Radice). La formazione delle maestre-suore, che spesso lambisce gli studi universitari con la frequenza del Magistero romano, consente di tracciare la storia di nuove forme di intellettualità femminile, inedite nel mondo cattolico e che, pur mantenendosi nel contesto di base (istruzione popolare, vocazione alla carità), rappresentano indubbiamente spinte in avanti in tema di formazione della donna insegnante e del suo rapporto con lo studio e con la scrittura anche dopo la conquista del diploma.

Il terzo nucleo di «presenze» lo troviamo all'altezza della Liberazione e all'av-

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 113.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 124.

vio della ricostruzione postbellica. È ancora il momento di bilanci e di esami di coscienza per i cristiani attenti all'educazione e Chiosso ne cerca i passaggi in cui la già indicata «riserva di valori», in barba alle sterili contrapposizioni ideologiche, ha tentato di intercettare la possibilità del bene comune attraverso obbiettivi politici nutriti di dialogo con le «dottrine irreligiose»²⁷. In gestazione ancor prima della Liberazione, il Codice di Camaldoli, pubblicato nel 1945, fu l'espressione di questo sforzo ricostruttivo in ambito sociale da parte dei cattolici: «si trattava [...] di rendere l'insegnamento della Chiesa accessibile a tutti e favorire nuovi stili di presenza cristiana»²⁸. Se gli assi portanti del documento erano la dignità della persona umana, la libertà politica e la giustizia sociale vissuti in una prospettiva economica di taglio anticapitalistico a favore dei ceti subalterni, allora il discorso educativo diventava fondamentale. Ad esso è dedicata la terza parte del Codice (24 articoli, finora sorprendentemente trascurati dalla ricerca storico-educativa), stilata prevalentemente da Gesualdo Nosengo, un cattolico democratico di cui Chiosso ha potuto consultare i diari inediti. Al netto dalla ripresa di antichi temi come quello della «illiceità di ogni monopolio statale» e dell'«insufficienza della scuola laica»²⁹, il Codice insisteva sul forte nesso fra scuola e vita sociale affinché «l'accesso alla cultura superiore non sia impedito a nessuno per mancanza di mezzi»³⁰. Secondo Chiosso si tratta di un passaggio profondamente innovativo rispetto alla tradizione scolastica italiana, selettiva per antonomasia: «Insistiti erano i richiami alla connessione tra giustizia scolastica e società democratica e alla scuola giusta come preconditione per il consolidamento dei principi democratici»³¹. Un dettato che sarà ampiamente ripreso dalla Costituzione e che ha già al centro l'idea di comunità (tra le fonti c'è senz'altro il personalismo comunitario di Emmanuel Mounier) e di uno Stato al servizio della società. Ubbidendo al suo consolidato metodo storiografico, Chiosso allarga lo sguardo dal documento (il Codice di Camaldoli) a ciò che, al momento della sua pubblicazione e negli anni immediatamente successivi, accadeva in ambito cattolico-scolastico. L'obiettivo è quello di indagare come l'indirizzo più «eversivo» indicato dal Codice si sia diffuso nella rete pedagogica di quegli anni, dal rinascite associazionismo degli insegnanti al dibattito in seno alla Assemblea costituente. La figura di Nosengo, del quale si esamina con attenzione una relazione del 1945, rivela una luminosa apertura che Chiosso sottolinea in quanto filo rosso del dialogo fra forze contrapposte: «non bisognava diffidare pregiudizialmente dell'azione scolastica dello Stato e occorreva accettarla come una grande opportunità per sconfiggere analfabetismo, ignoranza, miseria e cioè quelli che

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 141.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 144.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 153.

³⁰ *Ibid.*

³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 157.

allora apparivano i grandi mali dell'Italia post-fascista»³². Un orientamento pluralista e collaterale (visto con sospetto e diffidenza dai cattolici sostenitori del confessionalismo scolastico) che faceva molto affidamento sulla coscienza sociale e critico-culturale, nonché sulla responsabilità professionale degli insegnanti e che fu all'origine dell'art. 33 della Costituzione, per molti (sia cattolici sia laici) subito come «fastidioso»³³. Come già nei capitoli precedenti, anche qui Chiosso non fa sconti nell'analizzare posizioni del cattolicesimo intransigente, confermandosi, come scrive Roberto Sani in *Prefazione*, confermandosi studioso d'area cattolica ma «estraneo ad ogni forma d'astratta mitizzazione e d'indebita esaltazione della riflessione pedagogica e dell'operato educativo e scolastico della Chiesa»³⁴. Il tema della costruzione di una coscienza democratica negli insegnanti cattolici appare come una grande sfida pacifica che mette in gioco passioni e sentimenti per superare quella corsa alla «conquista» dello Stato impostata, per esempio, dall'Azione Cattolica, «con il rischio della perdita di ogni distinzione tra religione e politica e la fatica a riconoscere che alla democrazia era necessariamente associata la dinamica pluralistica»³⁵. Non era invece questa la traiettoria indicata da Nosengo nel Codice, e condivisa dall'Associazione italiana maestri cattolici di Maria Badaloni (che, non a caso, sarà a lungo sottosegretaria alla Pubblica istruzione, seconda donna italiana a ricoprire questo ruolo in un governo della Repubblica), era semmai quella già adombrata, ancora una volta, da Giuseppe Lombardo Radice nella visione di una scuola che va verso il popolo. Infatti, come ci hanno insegnato precedenti indagini di Chiosso³⁶, l'attenzione pedagogica al sociale tipica dell'intellettuale siciliano, era penetrata e circolata fin dagli anni Venti, come un fenomeno carsico, resistendo al fascismo, fra i maestri e le maestre italiani, esercitando un notevole *appeal* anche nel contesto cattolico. Non sorprende, quindi, che Chiosso ne intercetti i segnali ancora negli anni della Ricostruzione. Era una

antica e mai sopita tradizione che nella pedagogia sociale di Lombardo Radice aveva un saldo fondamento. Per esempio il maestro di Vittorio Chizzolini [...] presentato con tratti quasi lirici nel *Manuale di educazione popolare* del 1950 [...] non era molto lontano dal maestro romanticamente descritto da Lombardo Radice nelle pagine di *Come si uccidono le anime*.

Il largo consenso dei maestri negli anni '30 e '40 all'impianto scolastico della «scuola serena» di Lombardo Radice nonostante la scomunica del fascismo, spingeva a concepire la scuola come centro vitale di una comunità raccolta intorno ai suoi insegnanti. L'intreccio

³² *Ibid.*, p. 165.

³³ Sull'art. 33 della Costituzione cfr., da ultimo, F. Borruso, *Istruzione e scuola: gli articoli 33 e 34 della Costituzione*, in *Lessico per la Repubblica. Dal Risorgimento all'integrazione europea*, diretto da M. Ridolfi, Bologna, il Mulino, 2025, pp. 703-705.

³⁴ R. Sani, *Prefazione*, in Chiosso, *Cattolici nella storia della scuola italiana*, cit., p. 11.

³⁵ Chiosso, *Cattolici nella storia della scuola italiana*, cit., p. 169.

³⁶ *Id.*, *Il fascismo e i maestri*, Milano, Mondadori, 2023.

tra scuola e comunità di vita costituì, anche nella prima stagione postfascista un fondamentale punto di riferimento³⁷.

Dell'onda lunga lombardiana, sulla scia di questa robusta ipotesi di Chiosso, mi spingerei a valorizzare la funzione di cerniera svolta fra cattolici democratici e laici attenti all'autorevolezza dell'infanzia e dei suoi linguaggi fino a tutti gli anni Cinquanta. Ne potrebbe essere spia, limitandoci al contesto familiare, l'apertura al dialogo con i cattolici sostenuta più volte, con passione politica, sì, ma soprattutto umana, e senza pregiudizi, da Lucio Lombardo Radice.

Certamente, come abbiamo detto, questo è anche un libro da cui affiorano passioni umane, culturali, civili, politiche, pedagogiche. Introducendo la sezione dedicata ai «testimoni», Giorgio Chiosso ci spiega che «la storia scolastica non è fatta soltanto da leggi e regolamenti, di dibattiti politici e riflessioni pedagogiche, essa si nutre anche, e forse soprattutto, della passione civile ed educativa delle persone cui è demandato il delicato compito di orientare la formazione di milioni di bambini e giovani»³⁸.

Affiorano così dalle pagine del volume le figure di Guido Gonella, Giovanni Gozzer, Aldo Agazzi e Luigi Giussani, diversissime fra loro ma tutte accomunate da una straordinaria forza morale e da una tensione politica, ancora una volta orientata alla ricerca di soluzioni educative per la costruzione di una società migliore e pluralista.

La riabilitazione storiografica di Guido Gonella, ministro democristiano della Pubblica istruzione a lungo liquidato con giudizi sommari, è forse uno dei passaggi più rilevanti del libro. Se uno dei *leitmotiv* di queste ricerche chiossiane è la conquista dell'istruzione da parte delle fasce sociali più svantaggiate, lo studioso torinese attribuisce al ministero Gonella, con l'istituzione della Scuola popolare nel 1947 e con il contrasto dell'evasione scolastica, il merito della «più sistematica battaglia contro l'analfabetismo intrapresa dall'Unità d'Italia in poi»³⁹. Si trattò, in definitiva, di un'azione di governo che, contrariamente a quanto si è pensato a lungo negli ambienti laici e di sinistra, «non mise mano allo smantellamento della scuola di Stato e le sue iniziative andarono invece proprio nel senso del rafforzamento della presenza dello Stato»⁴⁰. Pur partito da premesse marcatamente filo-confessionali (si veda il discorso pronunciato al primo congresso nazionale della DC nel 1946), Gonella, una volta diventato ministro, seppe abilmente sfilarsi da quella necessaria rassicurazione rivolta al mondo ecclesiastico. L'inchiesta sulle condizioni della scuola italiana e il progetto di riforma, di fatto, andarono in una direzione diversa, cercando

³⁷ Id., *Cattolici nella storia della scuola italiana*, cit., pp. 176-177.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 183.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 187.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 189.

cioè di indagare a fondo la società italiana, i suoi mutamenti e i suoi bisogni educativi all'indomani della catastrofe fascista e bellica. Su questo, probabilmente, Gonella fu vicino a Badaloni, a Nosengo e all'impostazione del Codice di Camaldoli: rendere la scuola funzionale allo sviluppo della società democratica, contrastare l'incancrenita impostazione selettiva gentiliana che tendeva ad allontanare i più fragili dai banchi scolastici. Per Gonella, affiancato da Giovanni Calò, «la riforma avrebbe dovuto assicurare una scuola ispirata ai principi della democrazia personalistica, della giustizia sociale e della libertà della scuola e dei valori cristiani, tenendo conto delle nuove esigenze della realtà democratica e sociale, ma al tempo stesso rinunciando ad essere troppo innovatrice rispetto agli assetti ordinamentali esistenti e alle prassi pedagogiche correnti. Questo, detto in altro modo, significava salvare il patrimonio della scuola statale»⁴¹. L'idea era quella di stabilire una continuità con la tradizione scolastica liberale pre-fascista e pre-gentiliana, confermando nel cristianesimo quella «riserva di valori» più volte evocata nelle pagine di questo libro, cioè una koinè culturale «di tradizione umanistica a base filosofica e letteraria»⁴² su cui si sarebbero incontrate le frange meno intransigenti sia dei cattolici sia dei laici. Se la scuola pubblica ne usciva salva e garantita, l'impianto amministrativo ministeriale integro, l'ipotesi sulla scuola media unica non riusciva ancora a esprimersi con pienezza seppur con una gradualità (tre rami) che, se applicata, avrebbe ritardato meno, forse, il pieno compimento della riforma del 1962. Anche la questione della parità scolastica, affrontata nel progetto di riforma conservando allo Stato il diritto di iniziativa, rappresentava un compromesso che insospettì tanto i cattolici quanto i laici. L'affossamento della riforma, dovuto a motivi politici ed economici, insieme alla conclusione del ministero Gonella nel 1951, fu probabilmente un'occasione mancata e il motivo di ritardi ulteriori negli sviluppi che la scuola italiana avrebbe vissuto a partire dal decennio successivo, a cominciare dal tema della sua libertà. È il 1964 quando Giovanni Gozzer, vera e propria eminenza grigia della Pubblica Istruzione per oltre un ventennio, cattolico dallo spirito libero, pubblica il volume *I cattolici e la scuola*. Nel percorso indicato da Chiosso, questo libro rappresenta un tentativo di superamento della trita questione scuola statale *vs* scuola non statale, affermando il principio della libertà su una base più radicale (che escludeva la pretesa di sostegni economici da parte delle iniziative private!), sulla via della nascente programmazione scolastica e mantenendo la scuola «equidistante dalle ideologie di parte»⁴³. L'utopia della disideologizzazione ricalcava modelli internazionali, ben conosciuti da Gozzer (è forse il primo esperto italiano di sistemi scolastici a godere di un'ampia e profonda conoscenza delle esperienze estere), sulla base dei quali egli elaborò il modello di un insegnante che non

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 203.

⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 205.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 222.

avrebbe più indottrinato ma che avrebbe messo gli allievi nella condizione di una piena realizzazione umana e professionale e li avrebbe resi protagonisti di un autentico processo di «integrazione sociale»⁴⁴. Alla luce di questa prospettiva «l'impegno di creare scuole non poteva dunque coincidere 'con l'impegno educativo della Chiesa'»⁴⁵, a ciò erano dedicate altre istituzioni e iniziative. Il dibattito che scaturì dalla pubblicazione di Gozzer e di cui Chiosso tratteggia le battute fondamentali, con aspre critiche e riserve sia da parte cattolica che laica, si perse poi nella potente ideologizzazione scolastica degli anni della contestazione. Tuttavia, oggi, a distanza di un sessantennio, e nel pieno di rivoluzioni tecnologiche non prive di nervature ideologiche, le sollecitazioni gozzeriane sono un'eredità più viva che mai. Le domande, tuttora brucianti, sono «se sia possibile una scuola senza ideologia, come si possa configurare il rapporto tra scuola e finalità educative, come gestire l'equilibrio tra l'autorità culturale degli insegnanti e la libertà personale ancora in costruzione degli allievi»⁴⁶.

Anche il volume *Problematiche attuali della pedagogia e lineamenti di pedagogia sociale* di Aldo Agazzi (1968) insiste sul rapporto fra scuola e società e concepisce quest'ultima come comunità educante in chiave antifunzionalista, sottraendo la pedagogia alle logiche dell'economia e del conflittualismo marxista. Dunque, ancora gli insegnanti e l'urgenza di un mutamento della loro preparazione e mentalità, sono al centro del processo alla scuola, come del resto era accaduto in modo più fragoroso nella *Lettera milaniana* e nel lavoro di Marzio Barbagli e Marcello Dei dedicato a *Le vestali della classe media*.

La terza opera su cui si appunta l'attenzione di Chiosso per presentare un ulteriore «testimone» di storia dell'educazione del Novecento è *Il rischio educativo* di don Luigi Giussani (1977). Di nuovo ci troviamo di fronte a una forte presa di posizione pedagogica rispetto ai mutamenti della scuola. In questo caso è sotto esame il rapporto con la tradizione, il passato, la memoria e la capacità di saperli ereditare per metterli in gioco nella modernizzazione, nel tentativo di sottrarre valori e principi fondativi (siamo nell'ambito di quella irrinunciabile «riserva di valori» più volte menzionata) dallo schiacciamento esercitato dall'individualismo e dall'utilitarismo dilaganti. Quanto proponeva il fondatore di Comunione e Liberazione era un percorso fortemente curvato sull'esperienza dove «l'evento educativo [...] è una conquista della libertà personale che emerge dal basso generata dall'incontro tra maestro e allievo: una libertà non 'data', ma che 'diviene' lungo un percorso che comporta il graduale distacco dall'educatore e la conquista dell'autonomia della persona»⁴⁷. Parole che ricordano sorprendentemente alcuni passaggi di Giuseppe Lombardo Ra-

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 226.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 235.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 276.

dice sul rapporto maestro-allievo, sull'educazione come eterno divenire, sul rapporto fra tradizione e innovazione, su autorità e libertà⁴⁸. Per Giussani il «rischio» è nell'uso libero delle parole «tradizione», «perfezione», «autorità» al cospetto della realtà e dell'esperienza che richiedono analisi critica attraverso l'esercizio dell'intelligenza e del confronto, impongono scelte e mostrano all'umanità il mistero dell'infinito. Sul recupero del pensiero giussaniano l'analisi di Chiosso si fa vibrante, densa di passione insieme culturale ed emotiva, e ai panni dello storico dell'educazione si sostituiscono quelli dell'intellettuale perplesso di fronte a «questa lunga notte del mondo»⁴⁹ dove l'educazione appare sempre più subordinata al mercato e la scuola rischia una «radicale de-istituzionalizzazione»⁵⁰. Tale involuzione, condizionata anche dai nuovi scenari dell'intelligenza artificiale, comporterebbe

la riduzione di chi apprende a semplice utente/cliente con l'annullamento dello spazio vitale del confronto con ciò che vive fuori di noi e fa crescere la nostra umanità: il contatto con la realtà vissuta quotidianamente, ben diversa e più complessa di quella virtuale e non tanto o non solo la rete di persone con cui stabiliamo rapporti di mera funzionalità⁵¹.

Se ne deduce che la lunga storia della battaglia per una scuola libera e dell'avvicinarsi di blocchi ideologici cattolici e laici, niente affatto monolitici e talvolta felicemente permeabili fra loro, continua a suggerirci di preservare quella «riserva di valori» di cui l'umanità non può fare a meno e dei quali l'educazione dovrebbe essere eternamente garante, a cominciare dalla formazione degli insegnanti che, infine, sono i veri arbitri dei destini scolastici dei giovani e delle giovani.

Lorenzo Cantatore

4. Nel solco di una lunga stagione storiografica

Giorgio Chiosso torna a richiamare la nostra attenzione con un nuovo volume che raccoglie gli scritti di questi ultimi anni relativi ad uno degli ambiti di indagine che hanno connotato la sua feconda esperienza di studioso. *I cattolici nella storia della scuola italiana* presenta una meditata e articolata riflessione intorno ad una delle aree che hanno segnato le vicende culturali e politiche degli ultimi due secoli. La riflessione dello studioso torinese ruota intorno a due assi tematici, quello della libertà d'insegnamento e quello dello sviluppo

⁴⁸ G. Lombardo Radice, *L'ideale educativo e la scuola nazionale. Lezioni di pedagogia generale fondata sul concetto di autoeducazione*, Palermo, Sandron, 1916.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 284.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 25.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*

dell'istruzione popolare, per articolare in due parti distinte per illustrare alcune esperienze in campo educativo e gli itinerari di diversi testimoni che hanno segnato, sotto diversi aspetti, l'esperienza dei cattolici nella scuola italiana.

Come ricorda Roberto Sani nella prefazione, il merito di Chiosso è di aver promosso una ricostruzione non in termini autoreferenziali o di una storia interna ai cattolici, ma nel contesto «della più complessiva vicenda politica, culturale e civile della società italiana degli ultimi due secoli»⁵². In tal senso lo studioso torinese si riallaccia a importanti filoni storiografici di questi ultimi trent'anni orientati a far luce sul contributo offerto dalla Chiesa, dal cattolicesimo sociale e politico, alla crescita sociale e civile, oltretutto religiosa, degli italiani nel corso dell'Otto e Novecento. Da un lato vengono recuperate le riflessioni e le suggestioni che furono elaborate sin dalla seconda metà degli anni Ottanta dai progetti di ricerca a forte carattere interdisciplinare promossi dagli studiosi dell'Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore di Milano⁵³. Dall'altra le analisi di Chiosso si riallacciano allo sviluppo di indagini dedicate all'approfondimento dell'operato e delle iniziative in campo educativo degli istituti religiosi maschili e femminili nell'Italia moderna e contemporanea⁵⁴.

5. *Le congregazioni religiose e l'impegno per l'istruzione popolare*

Nella prima parte del volume vengono prese in considerazione le esperienze dei Fratelli delle scuole cristiane e dei salesiani. Della congregazione lassalliana viene ricostruito il passaggio dell'agire dei religiosi nel contesto del riformismo politico avviato dalle élite liberali nel Piemonte preunitario e, in particolare, l'evoluzione dalla fase della «stima» a quella delle «critiche». Fin dalla loro introduzione nel contesto torinese nel 1829, fortemente sostenuta dalla élite politica sabauda, i Fratelli delle scuole cristiane, protagonisti di una inedita forma di istruzione popolare, furono accompagnati dalla fama di essere maestri di grande competenza, e nel corso dei due decenni successivi videro crescere il prestigio delle loro scuole grazie alla riconosciuta efficacia dell'organizzazione

⁵² Chiosso, *Cattolici nella storia della scuola italiana*, cit., p. 11.

⁵³ Penso, in particolare, ai seguenti volumi L. Pazzaglia (ed.), *Chiesa e progetto educativo nell'Italia del secondo dopoguerra (1945-1958)*, Brescia, La Scuola, 1988; Id. (ed.), *Chiesa e prospettive educative in Italia tra Restaurazione e unificazione*, Brescia, La Scuola, 1994; Id. (ed.), *Cattolici, educazione e trasformazioni socio-culturali in Italia tra Otto e Novecento*, Brescia, La Scuola, 1999; Id. (ed.), *Chiesa, cultura ed educazione tra le due guerre*, Brescia La Scuola, 2001. Per la ricostruzione di quella feconda stagione di studi si veda il recente contributo di R. Sani, *Contributo ad una storia della storiografia pedagogica e educativa di orientamento cattolico nell'Italia del secondo dopoguerra*, «History of Education & Children's Literature», vol. XX, n. 2, 2025, pp. 127-145.

⁵⁴ Per una rassegna degli studi si veda R. Sani, *Ad Maiorem Dei Gloriam*, Macerata, eum, 2009.

scolastica, regolamentata dalla *Conduite*, e dei modelli educativi alimentati dalla spiritualità lassalliana. Ma tra gli anni Trenta e Quaranta iniziarono a manifestarsi segnali di critica nei confronti delle iniziative lassalliane da parte della élite politica organizzata intorno alla Società d'istruzione e d'educazione e al periodico «L'Educatore primario». Le vicende puntualmente ricostruite da Chiosso attraverso il ricorso a fonti inedite mettono in luce il sorgere di progressive resistenze in seno alla componente moderata che intendeva sostenere un indirizzo di politica scolastica fondato sullo sviluppo delle scuole municipali piuttosto che di quelle lassalliane; ma anche le reazioni di difesa degli esponenti della congregazione religiosa come quelle esposte nell'inedito memoriale predisposto da fratel Theoger. Chiosso ridimensiona il peso che la storiografia interna lassalliana ha voluto attribuire al ruolo propulsivo nei confronti del riformismo scolastico e pedagogico subalpino degli anni '40 e '50, mettendo in evidenza anche il confronto tra i diversi approcci pedagogici presenti in quel contesto, destinati a propugnare e veicolare una differente idea di infanzia e di pratiche educative. Nel quadro dell'impegno delle nuove congregazioni religiose, Chiosso si sofferma, poi, ad esaminare il contributo dei seguaci di don Bosco nel contesto del secondo Ottocento e primo Novecento. In particolare, lo studioso dedica ampio spazio alle iniziative di diffusione del metodo preventivo interpretato come originale risposta alle nuove domande educative per il mondo giovanile di estrazione popolare sorte in quel periodo. L'analisi si concentra su aspetti diversi vissuti dalla congregazione durante gli anni dei rettorati a partire da quello iniziale di don Rua, per poi passare a quelli di don Albera, di don Rinaldi, di don Ricaldone. Un periodo che registrò una forte espansione di nuove istituzioni educative come collegi, oratori, scuole professionali, convitti ma durante il quale costante fu l'attenzione alla individuazione di pratiche educative originali ed efficaci per l'educazione dei giovani appartenenti alle fasce delle classi subalterne. Ma Chiosso si sofferma ad analizzare i limiti di questi primi decenni dell'impegno da parte dei salesiani, tra cui le difficoltà nella maturazione di una adeguata riflessione pedagogica a fronte di un orientamento ed un approccio più pragmatici e "apologetici" tesi a confermare la validità della prassi educativa di don Bosco. Un limite che sarà superato solo lentamente, soprattutto nel periodo a cavallo tra le due guerre, per un insieme di fattori sia esterni sia interni alla congregazione che Chiosso esamina approfonditamente: le spinte generate all'interno del contesto pedagogico europeo, l'operazione culturale avviata all'inizio degli anni Venti dagli esponenti del neoidealismo, soprattutto di Lombardo Radice, la crescita di una nuova generazione di salesiani più disponibili a confrontarsi con gli orientamenti pedagogici del proprio tempo. Chiosso attribuisce parte del ritardo nella elaborazione di una concezione pedagogica non solo alle resistenze culturali interne al mondo salesiano ma anche alle conseguenze determinate dalla nuova realtà politico sociale del regime fascista «più complessa e più

difficile»⁵⁵ con le quali anche la congregazione religiosa salesiana, come più in generale il cattolicesimo e la Chiesa di Pio XI⁵⁶, dovettero misurarsi. L'atteggiamento pragmatico, pur connotato anche da manifestazioni di consenso esteriore verso il regime, non intendeva assecondare l'affermazione del modello educativo fascista e rinunciare ad affermare il valore del metodo preventivo. Un orientamento rafforzato anche dal modo in cui i salesiani vissero e rilessero l'enciclica *Divini Illius Magistri* che, nel 1929, riaffermava le tradizionali rivendicazioni del diritto della Chiesa e della famiglia in campo educativo contro le tendenze stataliste e tornava a denunciare le teorie naturaliste in campo pedagogico. Si tratta di un approccio che concorse ad alimentare in seno ai salesiani la proposta di modelli etico religiosi ed educativi piuttosto estranei o comunque separati rispetto alle iniziative ed alla propaganda ideologica e politica del regime, al processo di nazionalizzazione e alle strategie educative di massa messe in campo dal totalitarismo fascista⁵⁷.

In questo contesto si misero in moto, però, anche dinamiche e iniziative innovative destinate a sostenere la maturazione di una maggiore fisionomia pedagogica. Tra le diverse iniziative individuate da Chiosso in questo periodo vengono annoverate quelle di carattere editoriale come la creazione di una collana per la SEI con il parallelo coinvolgimento di pedagogisti di un certo spessore come Luigi Stefanini; la nascita di periodici scarsamente studiati dalla storiografia come «La Rivista dei giovani», «Catechesi», «Gymnasium», dall'orientamento non del tutto omogeneo ma che sembrerebbero confermare la presenza di elementi comuni ad altre esperienze editoriali di carattere educativo popolare del mondo cattolico tra le due guerre⁵⁸.

Significativa e puntuale è anche la ricostruzione del ruolo parallelo tenuto dal ramo femminile della congregazione quello delle suore Figlie di Maria Ausiliatrice. Il campo d'azione della congregazione fu quello dell'educazione e della scolarizzazione femminile. Le religiose manifestarono, infatti, un impegno crescente nella realizzazione di strutture destinate a veicolare dei modelli educativi rispondenti alle nuove sfide che i processi di modernizzazione producevano anche all'interno del mondo femminile a seguito della accresciuta scolarizzazione, dell'incremento delle opportunità di lavoro extradomestico, delle sollecitazioni che scaturivano dalla diffusione della stampa specializzata

⁵⁵ Chiosso, *Cattolici nella storia della scuola italiana*, cit., p. 110.

⁵⁶ Sulla figura di Pio XI si rinvia ad Achille Ratti *Pape Pie XI*, Roma, École Française, 1996; A. Giovagnoli, *Nazionalità e universalità nella Chiesa di Pio XI*, in *Chiesa, cultura e educazione in Italia tra le due guerre*, a cura di L. Pazzaglia, Brescia, La Scuola, 2003, pp. 13-26. Per quanto riguarda l'enciclica si veda A. Acerbi, *L'insegnamento di Pio XI sull'educazione cristiana*, in *ibid.*, pp. 27-53.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 113.

⁵⁸ Per quanto riguarda le iniziative editoriali del mondo cattolico tra le due guerre si rinvia a R. Sani, *L'editoria educativo-popolare cattolica tra le due guerre. Itinerari e proposte*, in *Chiesa, cultura e educazione in Italia tra le due guerre*, cit., pp. 329-358.

e della cinematografia. Di qui l'esigenza di ripensare alle rigide pratiche del controllo e della reclusione per offrire al mondo femminile di estrazione popolare, dei modelli educativi capaci di valorizzare una fisionomia più attiva della donna pur all'interno di una prospettiva che non rinunciava a denunciare i pericoli della modernità, l'adozione degli stili di vita indotti dai modelli femminili borghesi o da quelli dell'emancipazionismo femminista ritenuti responsabili di un allontanamento dal tradizionale modello di madre e moglie. Una sollecitazione che, oltre a rispondere agli inviti del pontefice negli anni Trenta, registrava anche la convergenza con il fascismo che, attraverso le campagne di difesa del modello tradizionale di famiglia, impiegò notevoli sforzi per contenere gli effetti della modernizzazione in ambito femminile prodotti dalle stesse dinamiche della irregimentazione totalitaria.

Considerevole fu, poi, l'impegno nel campo dell'istruzione e della formazione delle classi popolari. Nel corso degli anni Trenta, crescente fu l'istituzione di scuole infantili, di scuole elementari e di scuole professionali; l'attribuzione di centralità alla figura della suora maestra e il perseguimento della regolarizzazione della situazione giuridica e professionale delle suore attraverso il meccanismo del pareggiamento. Una strategia che connotò sin dalla fase post unitaria molta parte del mondo delle congregazioni religiose impegnate in campo scolastico⁵⁹ e che ora, nel nuovo contesto primo novecentesco, si arricchiva di nuovi percorsi quali il fiancheggiamento al movimento magistrale cattolico raccolto intorno alla Associazione magistrale "Nicolò Tommaseo", le sinergie con l'Associazione Educatrice Italiana per la formazione delle maestre di scuola materna, il contatto con la casa editrice bresciana La Scuola, la circolazione più ampia della pedagogia puerocentrica, la diffusione del metodo agazziano nelle pratiche delle scuole materne salesiane, il confronto con la visione scolastica di Lombardo Radice, nuovi canali formativi come l'istruzione magistrale salesiana dopo la riforma del 1923.

6. Cattolici tra nuove responsabilità e crisi in un contesto in trasformazione

La prima parte dello studio si chiude con l'analisi del codice di Camaldoli che, come è noto, fu elaborato tra l'aprile del 1943 e il 1945; un momento storico fondamentale nel quale la Chiesa di Pio XII si poneva come maestra di civiltà e il pontefice si ergeva a faro e unico punto di riferimento etico per un

⁵⁹ Cfr. R. Sani, *Stato, Chiesa e scuola dal 1861 al 1870*, in Id., *Sub specie educationis. Studi e ricerche su istruzione, istituzioni scolastiche e processi culturali e formativi nell'Italia contemporanea*, Macerata, eum, 2011, pp. 299-344.

occidente scosso dalle vicende del secondo conflitto mondiale⁶⁰. Un periodo durante il quale lo stesso Pio XII, attraverso i suoi discorsi e radiomessaggi, soprattutto tra il 1941 ed il 1944, si distinse nel delineare un disegno di rinnovata presenza della Chiesa nella società moderna, mosso da un afflato profondamente religioso ma che faceva compiere al magistero sociale della Chiesa un significativo salto di qualità ponendo le premesse del superamento della tradizionale concezione ideologica per approdare ad una apertura al tema della democrazia centrata sulla persona umana⁶¹. Chiosso non si limita a ricostruire le origini e gli sviluppi della stesura del testo, ripercorsi dall'indagine storiografica prevalentemente per la portata dal punto di vista economico, sociale e politico, nella formazione della nuova classe dirigente cattolica⁶² destinata ad assumere inedite responsabilità nel governo del Paese; ma si sofferma ad individuare ed analizzare gli aspetti, rimasti marginali, legati all'educazione ed alla scolarizzazione. Chiosso richiama il valore del documento per il processo di maturazione in seno alle componenti del cattolicesimo democratico, delle posizioni che sarebbero emerse in vista delle ipotesi di riordinamento della scuola fondate sui principi della centralità della persona e della giustizia scolastica. Chiosso, fa luce sulla molteplicità dei contributi che concorsero alla stesura – Baroni prima e Nosengo poi – e sulla complessa dialettica interna agli ambienti del cattolicesimo organizzato. Lo studioso si avvale delle ricerche che in questi ultimi decenni hanno permesso di articolare la diversità di posizioni all'interno degli ambienti del cattolicesimo organizzato, tra cui spiccavano quelle di padre Gemelli e dell'Università Cattolica e quelle degli ambienti romani del movimento laureati di Azione cattolica.

Ma lo studioso torinese si sofferma anche sulle matrici religiose e culturali che ispirarono gli estensori della sezione pedagogica del testo, richiamando non solo il debito verso gli orientamenti più classici e tradizionali di derivazione pontificia, ma anche l'impostazione tomista e il contributo delle riflessioni pedagogiche di De Hovre e Maritain, intellettuali che in quegli anni influirono particolarmente nei settori degli universitari cattolici nell'intento di delineare un nuovo progetto di cristianità su cui già Scoppola aveva scritto pagine illu-

⁶⁰ Sul ruolo di Pio XII si rinvia agli studi di A. Riccardi (ed.), *Pio XII*, Bari, Laterza, 1984; Id., *Le chiese di Pio XII*, Bari, Laterza 1986. Per una valutazione sulla storiografia del pontificato si rimanda a F. Traniello, *Pio XII tra mito e storia*, in *Pio XII*, cit., pp. 5-29.

⁶¹ Per questi aspetti indagati in maniera approfondita dalla storiografia degli ultimi decenni si rinvia agli studi di A. Acerbi, *La Chiesa nel tempo. Sguardi sui progetti di relazioni tra Chiesa e società civile negli ultimi cento anni*, Milano, Vita & Pensiero, 1977; P. Scoppola *La nuova cristianità perduta*, Roma, Edizioni Studium, 1986; A. Riccardi *La Chiesa di Pio XII, educatrice di uomini e di popoli, tra certezze e crisi*, in *Chiesa e progetto educativo nell'Italia del secondo dopoguerra (1945-1958)*, Brescia, La Scuola, 1988, pp. 9-36.

⁶² R. Moro, *La formazione della classe dirigente cattolica*, Bologna, il Mulino, 1982; A. Giovagnoli, *Le premesse della ricostruzione. Tradizione e modernità nella classe dirigente cattolica del dopoguerra*, Milano, Nuovo Istituto Editoriale Italiano, 1982.

minanti⁶³; fino ad individuare la presenza dell'influenza delle tesi di Mounier che furono alla base dello sviluppo della parte più innovativa del documento, ponendo le basi per un superamento delle posizioni che avevano ispirato gli orientamenti non solo educativi ma anche di politica scolastica esplorati dai cattolici nei decenni dell'Italia liberale⁶⁴. Rigorosa è la disamina svolta da Chiosso intorno all'incidenza del testo camaldolese sugli orientamenti di nuovi soggetti come le organizzazioni professionali degli insegnanti cattolici; sulla maturazione di una mentalità protesa a «concepire la scuola come un segmento non separato dalla vita sociale e strategico per la formazione della società democratica»⁶⁵; o alla scarsa influenza esercitata sullo spazio politico scolastico democristiano soprattutto dopo la grande mobilitazione elettorale del 18 aprile 1948.

La riflessione sul testo camaldolese rappresenta un capitolo di transizione alla seconda parte del volume finalizzata ad approfondire gli itinerari di alcune figure che hanno connotato le vicende del cattolicesimo italiano nel secondo Novecento in campo educativo e scolastico. L'attenzione prestata da Chiosso a figure come quelle di Guido Gonella, Giovanni Gozzer, Aldo Agazzi, Luigi Giussani, riflettono sicuramente il rilancio, sul versante storiografico, degli studi di carattere prosopografico che hanno avuto proprio in Chiosso uno dei principali artefici nel corso di questo ultimo quindicennio⁶⁶. Nell'introdurre la sezione lo studioso piemontese ricorda, giustamente, come la storia dei processi di scolarizzazione «non è fatta soltanto da leggi e regolamenti, di dibattiti politici e riflessioni pedagogiche, essa si nutre anche, e forse soprattutto, della passione civile ed educativa delle persone cui è demandato il delicato compito di orientare la formazione di milioni di bambini e giovani»⁶⁷. Ragioni che hanno mosso lo studioso ad indagare le scelte politiche, le convinzioni e le motivazioni che animarono alcune tra le figure più significative del panorama del cattolicesimo del secondo Novecento. La prima delle figure prese in considerazione è quella di Guido Gonella che per lungo tempo è stato considerato, da una storiografia fortemente condizionata in senso ideologico⁶⁸, subalterno al disegno confessionale ispirato dalla Chiesa e che solo recenti scavi più atten-

⁶³ Cfr. P. Scoppola, *La nuova cristianità perduta*, Roma, Studium, 1986.

⁶⁴ Chiosso, *Cattolici nella storia della scuola italiana*, cit., p. 159.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 179.

⁶⁶ G. Chiosso, R. Sani (dirr.), *Dizionario Biografico dell'Educazione 1800-2000*, 2 voll., Milano, Editrice Bibliografica, 2013. Sulle motivazioni dell'opera si rinvia a Idd., *Conservare la memoria. Per un dizionario biografico dell'educazione*, «History of Education & Children's Literature», vol. IV, n. 2, 2009, pp. 461-464.

⁶⁷ Chiosso, *Cattolici nella storia della scuola italiana*, cit., p. 183.

⁶⁸ Lo stesso Chiosso cita alcuni classici lavori della storiografia scolastica di matrice laica e marxista come quelli di T. Tomasi, *La scuola italiana dalla dittatura alla repubblica*, Roma, Editori Riuniti, 1976; L. Ambrosoli, *La scuola in Italia dal dopoguerra ad oggi*, Bologna, il Mulino, 1982; A. Semeraro, *Il mito della riforma. La parabola laica nella storia educativa della Repubblica*, Scandicci (Firenze), La Nuova Italia, 1993.

ti alle fonti ed alla complessità del contesto, ai quali hanno contribuito, tra gli altri, proprio le indagini di Chiosso e Sani, hanno restituito una ricostruzione più innovativa sviluppando l'intuizione che già fu di Scoppola di una lettura dell'esperienza ministeriale di Gonella inscritta nel riformismo degasperiano finalizzata ad assicurare una linea di continuità alla scuola statale di uno stato democratico fondato sul consenso popolare e sull'idea di popolo come protagonista e artefice delle proprie fortune. Lo storico piemontese non si limita a riprendere alcuni suoi importanti contributi degli anni Ottanta di ricostruzione del profilo e dell'agire come ministro di Gonella⁶⁹, ma integra quegli apporti con altri che nel corso di questi ultimi anni hanno scavato ulteriormente l'esperienza ministeriale del politico democristiano e che confermano le nuove chiavi di lettura⁷⁰.

Ma nel quadro degli approfondimenti relativi all'impegno politico e amministrativo della nuova classe dirigente espressione del cattolicesimo democratico, l'opera di Chiosso riserva spazio al ruolo di Giovanni Gozzer, una figura particolarmente rilevante nella definizione delle politiche scolastiche degli anni Sessanta e primi anni Settanta, rispetto alla quale, a parte alcune eccezioni⁷¹, si è registrata una forte disattenzione della storiografia. L'animatore di molteplici iniziative ed estensore di diversi documenti che furono alla base dell'impianto delle politiche scolastiche condotte dalla classe dirigente democristiana e dei governi di centro-sinistra, è oggetto di attenzione da parte di Chiosso che dedica particolare attenzione al contributo offerto dal funzionario trentino al dibattito sulla libertà della scuola analizzando con rigore i presupposti che mossero Gozzer alla stesura del testo *I cattolici e la scuola* pubblicato nel 1964. La ricostruzione di Chiosso, oltre a restituire spessore storico critico al profilo dell'alto dirigente dotato di grande influenza, ricolloca la figura di Gozzer nell'evoluzione del contesto degli anni Sessanta che coinvolse il cattolicesimo, tanto sul versante ecclesiale quanto su quello politico. La prospettiva suggerita da Gozzer, infatti, muoveva da un modo diverso di concepire la libertà d'insegnamento, nel quadro dei rapporti tra scuola e società nello stato democratico da lui inteso come strumento di servizio della società civile. Presupposti che lo portarono ad opporsi non solo a forme di statalismo in nome di una presunta neutralità ideologica -secondo la tradizione liberale- ma anche a sostenere una prospettiva al di fuori degli schemi più classici del cattolicesimo ottocentesco e sturziano volta all'affermazione di un modello di scuola pluralista e del dia-

⁶⁹ Faccio riferimento, in particolare, a G. Chiosso, *I cattolici e la scuola dalla Costituente al centro-sinistra*, Brescia, La scuola, 1988.

⁷⁰ Cfr. A. Gaudio, *La politica scolastica dei cattolici. Dai programmi all'azione di governo 1943-1953*, Brescia, La Scuola, 1991; G. Bertagna et alii, *Guido Gonella tra Governo, Parlamento e Partito*, Soveria Mannelli, Rubettino, 2 voll., 2007; E. Scaglia, *Giovanni Calò. Nella pedagogia italiana del '900*, Brescia, La Scuola, 2013.

⁷¹ Si segnala, in tal senso, lo studio curato da A. Sanzo, *Giovanni Gozzer e la riforma della scuola italiana del dopoguerra*, Roma, RomaTre Press, 2024.

logo che non identificava ed esauriva l'educazione cristiana con il circuito delle scuole cattoliche e assegnava centralità al ruolo degli insegnanti.

Accanto all'esperto trentino Chiosso si sofferma sul profilo di Aldo Agazzi concentrando la riflessione sul contributo offerto dallo studioso dell'università cattolica nella stagione che vide il Paese conoscere gli sviluppi dell'istruzione di massa. Chiosso ripercorre i mutamenti di una stagione inedita non solo per l'avvio della esperienza politica del centro-sinistra ma anche per il processo di profonda e rapida trasformazione tanto della struttura produttiva, con il passaggio dell'Italia da economia basata sul settore agricolo a economia industriale, quanto dei comportamenti destinati ad incidere anche sul versante delle mentalità e del mondo giovanile in particolare, e che sfociarono nella protesta studentesca. Mutamenti destinati ad incidere anche sul versante culturale con il tramonto del modello umanistico gentiliano, il sorgere delle culture di stampo critico-radical e lo sviluppo di una democrazia come esperienza comunitaria con profonde ricadute sul piano delle istituzioni scolastiche chiamate a misurarsi con le prospettive della istruzione di massa e con le molteplici domande di cambiamento orientate verso una domanda di maggior partecipazione democratica alla vita scolastica. È all'interno di questo scenario che Chiosso, pur tenendo conto dei contributi fino ad oggi pubblicati sulla figura del pedagogista personalista bergamasco, esplora con inedita attenzione una fase significativa dell'impegno culturale e militante di Agazzi, quella destinata ad elaborare una prospettiva innovativa dove le diverse componenti -anche ideologiche- della società erano sollecitate a collocarsi in un orizzonte educativo per governare i processi di modernizzazione consumistica attraverso «un robusto e condiviso progetto educativo ispirato alla doppia finalità del bene della persona e del bene comune»⁷². Un impegno che lo avrebbe portato a configurare la costruzione della gestione comunitaria della scuola e a sostenere la produzione legislativa sui decreti delegati del 1973-1974 con la istituzione degli organismi scolastici collegiali, dove la partecipazione dei genitori, degli insegnanti e dei rappresentanti della società civile alla gestione della scuola era vista come espressione dell'idea di democrazia come esperienza comunitaria. Agazzi assegnava alla scuola della partecipazione il compito di far crescere la coscienza democratica e sociale nel paese attraverso il radicamento di esperienze di socialità comunitaria come antidoto all'individualismo e contenimento delle spinte ideologizzanti molto forti in quel contesto. Un disegno compromesso dall'indebolimento della partecipazione scolastica che si sarebbe manifestato negli anni seguenti. Un processo legato, fra le altre cose, ad un profondo cambiamento dello scenario, che interessò la politica, la scuola e le culture pedagogiche e che Agazzi, come rileva con grande acutezza Chiosso, non riuscì a cogliere.

⁷² Chiosso, *Cattolici nella storia della scuola italiana*, cit., p. 247.

Il volume di Chiosso si chiude con la presentazione dell'itinerario di Don Giussani che in quello stesso scenario colse l'esigenza di elaborare e sperimentare nuove risposte alle domande educative, soprattutto del mondo giovanile. Lo studioso recupera e dà sviluppo alle prime considerazioni svolte nell'ambito di un convegno che si svolse a Torino nel 2007 intorno alla figura del sacerdote lombardo – congiuntamente ad altri intellettuali⁷³ – in cui collocava la riflessione giussaniana nell'alveo del filone della tradizione culturale e pedagogica cristiana di stampo personalista sviluppatasi nel secondo Novecento. Chiosso si sofferma su un momento specifico dell'itinerario del fondatore del movimento di Comunione e Liberazione, quello legato alle origini del testo *Il rischio educativo*, edito nel 1977. Ma la riflessione educativa di don Giussani, rileva Chiosso, risulta connotata da una vigorosa dimensione progettuale capace di riproporre la centralità dell'uomo come valore e come persona e di concepire il processo educativo come assunzione di una costellazione di significati oltre che di abilità e di conoscenze. La portata della proposta giussaniana viene riletta alla luce delle profonde «transizioni»⁷⁴ che connotarono gli ultimi decenni del secolo segnati dal declino dell'educazione e dall'avanzare dei processi di secolarizzazione sullo sfondo del passaggio dalle spinte antisistema agli anni del riflusso e alla caduta delle grandi narrazioni ideologiche con il ritorno al privato e alla riscoperta delle spinte soggettivistiche; e che registrava l'ingresso nella scuola e nelle scienze dell'educazione del metodismo delle psicopedagogie anglosassoni e delle teorie del management e l'intreccio con le nuove prospettive elaborate a livello europeo – soprattutto dopo la nascita della UE – della società della conoscenza. Chiosso analizza l'impianto della proposta educativa elaborata nel testo di don Giussani fondato su due pilastri fondamentali quali quello della «centralità dell'esperienza associata alla realtà», inclusa quella religiosa, e «la relazione interpersonale» quale condizione irrinunciabile del processo educativo. Una proposta che intendeva valorizzare la dimensione della tradizione, non in forma dogmatica e vincolante, ma quale base per esperire la propria capacità critica, radice per l'esercizio della propria libertà ed autonomia. Nella riflessione giussaniana sul dialogo tra educatore ed educando Chiosso rileva l'accettazione del rischio e lo sviluppo di una pedagogia della responsabilità e della libertà. Le riflessioni di Chiosso forniscono una chiave interpretativa inedita della proposta elaborata da don Giussani che sicuramente si caratterizzò in controtendenza rispetto alle riflessioni pedagogiche dominanti negli ultimi decenni del Novecento. Ma che necessiterebbero anche di un ulteriore approfondimento per una migliore comprensione delle riflessioni del sacerdote lombardo in ordine alle dinamiche di carattere sociale e politico che ispirarono, in quello stesso periodo, le posizioni di Comunione e Liberazione

⁷³ Id. (ed.), *Sperare nell'uomo. Giussani, Morin, MacIntyre e la questione educativa*, Torino, SEI, 2009.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 270.

interprete di una dimensione attivistica e movimentistica dell'impegno del giovane cristiano capace di animare quella che è stata definita una «prospettiva agonistica e militante della fede cattolica», connotata da posizioni sul piano culturale di contrasto radicale ad alcune espressioni della modernità e da dure polemiche contro le forme del processo di secolarizzazione⁷⁵.

In conclusione, i casi di studio esaminati da Chiosso offrono un rilevante contributo alla ricostruzione del complesso ed articolato ruolo del cattolicesimo nella storia dell'educazione di questi ultimi due secoli. Un percorso che non esaurisce, certo, l'ampia gamma di esperienze ed itinerari che, sul piano educativo e scolastico, la Chiesa ed il mondo cattolico hanno percorso; ma che rappresenta un punto di riferimento imprescindibile per la ricerca storico educativa orientata ad individuare il concorso dei cattolici alla più generale e complessa storia religiosa e civile non solo italiana.

Alberto Barausse

⁷⁵ G. De Luna, *Una proposta insidiata da nuove realtà*, in *ibid.*, p. 45.

Una maestra per contadini ed emigrati. L'esperienza di Cleofe Forti in un recente volume di Anna Pia Bidolli

Carmela Covato
Honorary Professor
University of Roma Tre (Italy)
carmela.covato@uniroma3.it

A teacher for farmers and emigrants. Cleofe Forti's story, as analyzed in a recent book by Anna Pia Bidolli.

ABSTRACT: The focus of this contribution is a historiographical and historical-educational reflection on Anna Pia Bidolli's volume *Cleofe Forti. Una maestra per contadini ed emigrati. Dall'Agro romano alle Americhe* [Cleofe Forti. *A Teacher for Peasants and Emigrants. From the Agro Romano to the Americas*] (Città di Castello, LuoghInteriori, 2024). The aim is to highlight the story – reconstructed in the book with wide-ranging documentary evidence – of the extraordinary figure of Cleofe Forti (1888-1972). Starting from her pioneering teaching in Calabria and the Agro Romano, she subsequently crossed national borders to undertake, as a teacher in Italian schools abroad, a truly exceptional pedagogical experience – particularly remarkable for a woman of her time – carried out in Constantinople, Alexandria of Egypt, North America, Canada, and Argentina. The subject is situated within the broader historical and political debate on the role of Italian schools abroad.

EET/TEE KEYWORDS: Cleofe Forti; Female Teacher; Italian Emigrants; Italian Schools Abroad; XIX-XX Centuries.

Si deve a Anna Pia Bidolli l'aver svolto un'attenta, documentata – e direi persino amorevole – ricostruzione storica e biografica della figura di Cleofe Forti (1888-1972), nel suo recente volume dal titolo *Cleofe Forti. Una maestra per contadini ed emigrati. Dall'Agro romano alle Americhe* (Città di Castello, LuoghInteriori, 2024, pp. 377)¹. Grazie alla sua indagine condotta con grande rigore metodologico, è stato così possibile sottrarre all'oblio la storia di una

¹ Il volume è corredato da una interessante *Premessa* di Salvatore Italia, Consigliere centrale

donna incredibilmente emancipata in un contesto storico ancora dominato da forti contraddizioni sociali e di genere, di una maestra straordinaria che avviò la sua coraggiosa esperienza di insegnamento prima, dal 1909 al 1912, in Calabria a San Demetrio Corone dove era presente una comunità di origine albanese, per proseguirla, successivamente, a Pantano Borghese nella campagna romana e a Genazzano dal 1912 al 1925, in una realtà rurale segnata dalla malaria, ma animata dall'opera delle Scuole per i contadini dell'Agro romano².

Ben presto, Cleofe Forti, tuttavia, varcò i confini nazionali per vivere la sua esperienza di insegnamento nelle scuole italiane all'estero in una prospettiva internazionale, al di fuori di ogni circoscritta realtà territoriale e localistica, sempre attenta alla condizione degli ultimi e dei più emarginati, lontana dalle strettoie del regime fascista o quanto meno dalla sua più diretta influenza. Cleofe Forti iniziò questa nuova avventura a Salonicco e Beirut (1925-1927), per poi proseguire a Costantinopoli e ad Alessandria d'Egitto (1927-1934), a New Orleans (1934-1936) a Vancouver e poi a Boston (1937-1941) fino a Mendoza in Argentina (1941-1947). Al ritorno in Italia nel 1947 ha continuato a insegnare fino al 1951.

Il sottotitolo stesso del volume (*Una maestra per contadini ed emigrati. Dall'Agro romano alle Americhe*) ci introduce con grande efficacia in una realtà fuori dal comune sia per l'identità dei destinatari del suo insegnamento, vale a dire i figli dei contadini, prima, e i figli degli emigrati poi, che si configurano come significative espressioni della periferia educativa e sociale del tempo, sia per la dimensione internazionale della sua opera di insegnante, realizzatasi in un incredibile viaggio verso terre remote e anche molto diverse fra di loro, nel coraggio di andare oltre, lontana dalla sua realtà familiare e dal suo ambiente di provenienza. Nell'avventurarsi nel mondo, Cleofe Forti visse senza dubbio un'esperienza eccezionale per una donna e per una maestra di allora.

Se è vero che le maestre, nella scuola dell'Italia post-unitaria, ebbero quasi sempre la necessità di lasciare il proprio luogo e la propria famiglia d'origine per andare a insegnare in paesi lontani, affrontando difficoltà di ogni tipo, a partire dall'ostilità dei locali verso una figura femminile ritenuta bizzarra, scomoda, originale e insolita – su questo tema disponiamo di un'ampia lette-

della Società Dante Alighieri, da una Appendice fotografica, dall'Indice dei nomi e da una Bibliografia.

² Presso il Museo della Scuola e dell'educazione "Mauro Laeng" dell'Università degli studi Roma Tre si conservano i carteggi ora confluiti nell'Archivio dell'Ente per i contadini dell'Agro romano. Per un quadro di sintesi dell'esperienza dell'Ente e dei suoi protagonisti, cfr. G. Alatri, *Dal chinino all'alfabeto. Igiene, istruzione e bonifiche nella campagna romana*, Roma, Fratelli Palombi, 2000. Sulla storia delle origini del Museo, cfr. A. Sanzo, *Storia del Museo d'Istruzione e di educazione. Tessera dopo tessera*, con una Prefazione di Lorenzo Cantatore, Roma, Anicia, 2020.

ratura³ – l'esperienza di mobilità restava però confinata nei percorsi dell'emigrazione interna.

Anche per Cleofe Forti, la prima esperienza di insegnamento, pur svolgendosi in Italia, avvenne, come si è detto, lontano dalla sua famiglia e fu rivolta ai figli dei contadini analfabeti in Calabria e nell'Agro romano, prima di affrontare la straordinaria esperienza delle scuole italiane all'estero⁴.

L'attenzione storiografica nei confronti della figura della maestra nella storia della scuola dell'Italia post-unitaria ha avuto negli ultimi decenni sviluppi assai significativi, grazie al ricorso a nuove fonti e ad approcci interpretativi tendenti a ricostruire le vite reali e la materialità della vita scolastica di allora⁵.

Un interessante esempio di rinnovamento storiografico nel campo della storia delle istituzioni scolastiche risale ad una esperienza promossa negli anni Novanta del secolo scorso da Giuseppe Talamo e Marino Raichich, ai quali si deve la fondazione di una collana edita dall'Archivio centrale dello Stato «Fonti per la storia della scuola», nel cui ambito ogni volume ha rappresentato l'esito, molto raro per allora, di una collaborazione fra studiosi del settore e archivisti ed è stato finalizzato alla pubblicazione di una scelta di fonti d'archivio. Cito questa esperienza sia perché il primo volume fu dedicato alla storia dell'istruzione normale che aveva come scopo, com'è noto, la formazione di maestri e maestre della scuola elementare dell'Italia post-unitaria, curato da me e da Anna Anna Sorge⁶, ma anche perché a questa importante impresa storiografica ha partecipato Anna Pia Bidolli, autrice del volume in oggetto,

³ Ho trattato questa tematica in C. Covato, *Un'identità divisa. Essere maestra in Italia fra Otto e Novecento*, Roma, Archivio Guido Izzi, 1996 e, più di recente, in Ead., *Female Teachers in Italy in the 19th and 20th Centuries. The Teacher Training Schools in Literary Narratives and Archive papers: Destiny or Emancipation?*, in J. Meda, R. Sani (edd.), *The School and Its Many Past: Collective Memories of School*, Macerata, eum, 2024, Vol. 3, pp. 607-616. Cfr., anche M. Colucci, S. Gallo (edd.), *In cattedra con la valigia. Gli insegnanti tra stabilizzazione e mobilità*, Roma, Donzelli, 2017.

⁴ Per comprendere il complesso e composito ruolo delle scuole italiane all'estero dall'Otto al Novecento, è di grande rilievo storiografico il lavoro svolto sul tema, da A. Barausse, «*Esportare la lingua del Belpaese*». *Le scuole italiane all'estero dall'Unità ai primi anni del fascismo (1861-1925)*, «History of Education & Children's Literature», vol. XVII, n. 2, 2022, pp. 89-143. Di grande interesse, R. Sani, *La Santa sede e l'emigrazione italiana all'estero tra Ottocento e Novecento. Tra esperienze pastorali e impegno per la presentazione dell'identità nazionale*, Roma, Studium, 2021 e si veda anche, P. Salvetti, *Le scuole italiane all'estero*, in P. Bevilacqua, A. De Clementi, E. Franzina (edd.), *Storia dell'emigrazione italiana. Arrivi*, Roma, Donzelli editore, 2002, Vol. 2, pp. 535-549.

⁵ Per un approfondimento della funzione delle istituzioni formative e scolastiche nella storia della scuola italiana, vedi R. Sani, *Sub specie educationis. Studi e ricerche su istruzione, istituzioni scolastiche e processi culturali nell'Italia contemporanea*, Macerata, eum, 2011.

⁶ C. Covato, A.M. Sorge (edd.), *L'istruzione normale dalla Legge Casati all'età giolittiana*, Roma, Ministero per i beni culturali e ambientali, 1994.

con uno studio originale sulla storia dell'istruzione agraria, curato insieme a Simonetta Soldani⁷.

Successivamente, la saggistica sul tema si è davvero molto ampliata ed è stata caratterizzata dal ricorso ad una sempre più ricca pluralità di fonti, (dalla letteratura, ai diari scolastici, dalle biografie e alle autobiografie...) che hanno consentito ricostruzioni sempre più reali e approfondite del fenomeno⁸.

«Sparsa di tanti triboli», definì Aristide Gabelli, pedagogista di ispirazione positivista e allora provveditore centrale presso il Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione, la carriera del maestro, a tal punto da allettare solo le donne⁹.

E così fu.

A partire da un numero inizialmente contenuto, nei primi anni post-unitari, la presenza delle maestre sul finire dell'Ottocento, in Italia, era quantitativamente superiore di gran lunga a quella dei maestri maschi. Ritenute più docili e considerate naturalmente inclini alle cure materne, a lungo retribuite 1/3 meno dei maestri uomini, le donne che intrapresero l'insegnamento si avvalsero di una formazione culturale circoscritta nella scuola normale triennale, istituita dalle Legge Casati del 1859, composta da classi distinte per sesso, che non consentiva l'accesso all'università ma che permise ad alcune ragazze del ceto medio e piccolo borghese di andare oltre la sola istruzione elementare.

Le prime maestre della scuola dell'Italia post-unitaria affrontarono lunghi viaggi per raggiungere la loro sede d'insegnamento; fronteggiarono pregiudizi e ostilità di ogni tipo, sperimentando un'autonomia economica e una vicenda esistenziale assai ardua, sempre declinata fra destino e libertà, marginalità e emancipazione.

Negli anni in cui l'assurdo suicidio della maestra Italia Donati – avvenuto nel 1886 – ingiustamente accusata di essere l'amante del Sindaco di Lamporecchio, il paese dove insegnava, destò nell'opinione pubblica sconcerto e compassione, la sentenza della Corte di Cassazione (1884) che negò a Lydia Pöett, la prima donna laureata in Giurisprudenza in Italia, l'iscrizione all'Ordine degli Avvocati, precedentemente ottenuta, proprio per il suo essere donna e per la fragilità delle sue fibre, venne, al contrario, accolta con favore perché percepita come un argine nei confronti di una "pretesa" femminile considerata eccessiva.

Non solo molte testimonianze letterarie, fra Otto e Novecento, ma anche

⁷ A.P. Bidolli, S. Soldani (edd), *L'istruzione agraria (1861-1928)*, Roma, Ministero per i beni culturali e ambientali, 2001.

⁸ Si veda, a questo proposito, fra gli altri S. Soldani, *Nascita della maestra elementare* in Ead., G. Turi (edd.), *Fare gli italiani. Scuola e culturale nell'Italia contemporanea*, Bologna, il Mulino, 1993, 67-130; A. Ascenzi, *Drammi privati e pubbliche virtù. La maestra italiana dell'Ottocento. Tra narrazione letteraria e cronaca giornalistica*, Pisa, Edizioni ETS, 2019.

⁹ «La carriera del maestro, sparsa di tanti triboli qual è, alletta ancora la donna, mentre invece spaventa gli uomini» (A. Gabelli, *L'Italia e l'istruzione femminile*, «La nuova Antologia», vol. XV, n. V, 1870, p. 154).

svariate fonti autobiografiche raccontano del divario esistente fra le aspirazioni di una giovane maestra e la cruda realtà. Si legge, ad esempio in una testimonianza raccolta da Marcello Dei:

Era il 1° febbraio del 1924, avevo vent'anni e partii entusiasta come alla conquista di un regno, per raggiungere la sospirata scuola, ottenuta dopo il difficile concorso per titoli ed esami. Avevo un paio di scarpette di vernice con i tacchi alti, un bel vestito ed un cappello di velluto largo, come si addiceva allora alle maestre [...]. La prima grande delusione la provai quando vidi un vecchio montanaro che mi attendeva con due asini e mi indicò la "strada" cioè il letto del fiume, abbastanza ricco d'acqua per lo sciogliersi della neve. Piansi allora e non volevo salire sull'asino, ma dovetti ubbidire [...] e malsicura e paurosa, mi dimenavo gridando e invocando la mamma¹⁰.

In questo contesto di rinnovato interesse storiografico nei confronti dell'esperienza magistrale, si inquadra, dunque, l'importante contributo di Anna Pia Bidolli che ci introduce con la sua ricerca sulla figura di una maestra eccezionale, Cleofe Forti, protagonista, a partire dal suo essere maestra, di imprese pedagogiche e umane davvero eccezionali. Straordinario ed eccezionale è anche il percorso di ricerca dell'Autrice che si è giovato della consultazione di numerosi archivi e da un'ampia saggistica storiografica¹¹.

Cleofe Forti svolse, come si è detto, le prime esperienze scolastiche in un piccolo comune della Calabria per recarsi poi a insegnare nell'Agro romano – una realtà alla quale resterà emotivamente sempre molto legata e dove, grazie all'operato del Comitato per le scuole per i contadini, tramite il quale un gruppo di intellettuali che si sono configurati come «garibaldini dell'alfabeto» operarono a partire dai primi del Novecento per combattere la malaria attraverso l'igiene e l'alfabeto (penso a Sibilla Aleramo, Angelo e Anna Celli, Giovanni Cena, Alessandro Marcucci, Duilio Cambellotti). Per approfondire questa esperienza Anna Pia Bidolli ha potuto consultare, in particolare, un fondo conservato presso il MuSEd – Museo della scuola e dell'educazione "Mauro Laeng" dell'Università Roma Tre, attualmente diretto da Lorenzo Cantatore – donato nel 2009 per iniziativa dell'ultima esponente rimasta della famiglia e unica erede dei carteggi, Rossana Forti. Il materiale è stato organizzato cronologicamente per argomenti, al momento della donazione.

È stato così intrapreso un percorso di ricerca avviato in prima battuta presso il Museo della scuola e dell'educazione proseguito attraverso altre istituzioni come l'Archivio centrale dello Stato, l'Archivio Apostolico Vaticano, l'Archivio nazionale Dante Alighieri, e soprattutto l'Archivio Storico Diplomatico

¹⁰ M. Dei, *Colletto bianco, grembiule nero. Gli insegnanti elementari italiani tra l'inizio del secolo e il secondo dopoguerra*, Bologna, il Mulino, 1984, p. 130.

¹¹ Cito, fra gli archivi consultati: l'Archivio Apostolico Vaticano; l'Archivio Centrale dello Stato, Società nazionale Dante Alighieri; l'Archivio Storico-diplomatico del Ministero degli Affari esteri e della cooperazione internazionale; il MuSEd, Museo della scuola e dell'educazione "Mauro Laeng"; Archivio Cleofe Forti 1900-1972.

dove le serie relative alle scuole italiane all'estero hanno permesso di seguire tutto il cammino professionale¹².

In questo contesto, non si può sottacere la dimensione umana da cui prende le mosse l'interesse di Bidolli per Cleofe Forti: l'averla cioè conosciuta fin da bambina, essendo vicina di casa di lei a Roma, ed essere stata, dunque, partecipe dei suoi ricordi, dei racconti, dei consigli sugli studi sempre orientati a diventare cittadini consapevoli e costruttori di una società democratica.

L'autrice sente la responsabilità e il fascino di contestualizzarne i ricordi dando loro luce storica e spessore conoscitivo.

Ma quali furono gli studi compiuti da Cleofe Forti precedentemente alle prime esperienze di insegnamento?

Cleofe Forti – precisa Bidolli – si iscrisse alla scuola normale femminile “Giovanna Milli” di Roma e nel 1907 conseguì il diploma di licenza e l'abilitazione all'insegnamento elementare. Si iscrisse poi alla Scuola pedagogica universitaria presso la Facoltà di lettere e filosofia dell'Ateneo romano, dove si era appassionata alle lezioni del pedagogista Luigi Credaro.

Questa esperienza fu poi interrotta a causa dell'accettazione dell'impiego in Calabria, motivata da necessità familiari¹³.

L'esperienza didattica intrapresa successivamente nell'Agro romano fu caratterizzata per Cleofe Forti, come sottolinea Bidolli, da una impronta laica e democratica accompagnata dalla fiducia nella funzione dell'istruzione come emancipazione dei guitti. Affrontò, per questo, difficoltà e disagi compensati solo dal verificare il progresso che questo significava per l'esistenza di molte persone.

Nel clima pieno di aspettative di quegli anni – precisa Bidolli – maturava l'adesione di Cleofe al progetto lavorativo nell'Agro romano [...]. La destinazione a lei assegnata fu la tenuta di Pantano Vecchio o Borghese situata a Sud di Roma fra la via Casilina e la via Prenestina, in parte nel comune romano e in parte in quello di Montecompatri. Il latifondo apparteneva ai principi Borghese dal 1613 [...]. La gestione era sempre stata data agli affittuari che si avvalevano di contadini stabili e di quelli stagionali i “guitti” provenienti da zone del Lazio, dell'Abruzzo e della Campania e sistemati nei villaggi di capanne¹⁴.

Le lezioni erano tenute sia nel casale sia nelle capanne.

Nell'anno scolastico 1910-1911 era entrata in funzione anche la “baracca”, una struttura mobile riprodotte gli elementi essenziali di una classe progettata per essere spostata sul territorio dove maggiore fosse la presenza di alunni¹⁵.

¹² Bidolli, *Cleofe Forti...*, cit., p. 21. Nel 2022, è stato, inoltre, donato al MuSEd un nucleo di una decina di lettere autografe, tutte scritte, tranne una, alla famiglia del fratello che viveva a Napoli e di grande interesse per la ricostruzione di alcuni aspetti della sua personalità.

¹³ Bidolli, *Cleofe Forti...*, cit., pp. 26-27.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 41.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 45.

Cleofe Forti ricordava spesso come fosse stato reciprocamente traumatico l'impatto con la realtà di Pantano. Per lei la miseria di quei luoghi era inimmaginabile, ma anche per i contadini l'incontro con una "maestra" che il prete e il fattore avevano preannunciata come figura carica di aspetti diabolici. Tanto più sconvolgente era il fatto – come sottolinea Bidolli – che l'intrusa, che veniva ad infrangere un ordine tramandato per secoli, fosse una giovane donna di 24 anni di bell'aspetto, nubile e per giunta non seguace della Santa Romana Chiesa.

L'esperienza di insegnamento a Pantano le richiese grande impegno in condizioni veramente estreme. Contestualmente, nel 1913 partecipò ad un concorso bandito dal Ministero degli Esteri per l'insegnamento all'estero. Ottenne l'idoneità, che ebbe la possibilità di utilizzare tuttavia solo nel 1925¹⁶.

La qualità dell'impegno della maestra Forti è confermata anche nel rapporto della questura di Roma steso nel 1927 a seguito di una indagine sollecitata dal Ministero degli Esteri, da cui dipendeva da due anni per via di alcune lettere anonime che ne calunniavano il comportamento.

Il documento riferisce infatti che Cleofe svolse sempre attività altamente educative e patriottiche sia presso i ragazzi affidati alle sue cure, quale maestra elementare, sia presso le famiglie dei suoi scolari. Inoltre, durante la guerra si occupò alacramente dell'assistenza civile alle famiglie dei richiamati, e organizzò parecchie manifestazioni per infondere negli animi dei contadini, la fede nella vittoria delle nostre armi. La Forti fu ben voluta da tutti gli abitanti del Pantano Borghese e da quanti ebbero l'occasione di conoscerla¹⁷.

Va inoltre ricordato il diploma di Benemerenzza per l'organizzazione civile insieme alla Croce d'argento rilasciato dal sindaco di Roma il 20 aprile 1920. L'impegno di Forti, sottolinea ancora Bidolli, si inquadra in una missione civile che non suscita sorpresa dal momento che la sua presenza nella malarica campagna romana nasceva dalla volontà di aiutare persone vittime di condizioni di vita assai dure. Fu attiva anche durante la fase di mobilitazione e di proteste verificatesi nel 1919 da parte della popolazione locale che diede vita a manifestazioni, cortei, occupazioni e trattative durante le quali fu vicina ai contadini aiutandoli anche a prendere contatti con la proprietà e nel mettere a punto le loro richieste¹⁸.

Prima di iniziare l'insegnamento all'estero, la maestra Forti chiede il trasferimento per l'anno scolastico 1923-1924 a Genazzano a 50 Km da Roma vicino Frosinone.

Sperava così di allontanarsi dalla non gradita corte di un uomo conosciuto durante la sua breve militanza nella sezione fascista di Laghetto. Egli, infatti, viste respinte le sue richieste cominciò a perseguitarla.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 47.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 49.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 55.

Non si tratta di un episodio banale perché ci riconduce alle dure e davvero non facili condizioni di vita delle maestre spesso oggetto di insidie e di maldicenze, come clamorosamente dimostrato dal suicidio di Italia Donati, cui si è fatto già riferimento¹⁹.

Sicuramente anche il comportamento assillante dell'uomo influì nella scelta di andare all'estero, ma l'allontanamento dall'Italia fu soprattutto una forma d'esilio – sottolinea Bidolli – da un paese ormai avviato ad un futuro politico che non condivideva. Fu soprattutto il delitto Matteotti a darle la spinta a intraprendere un'esperienza lavorativa fuori d'Italia. L'aver constatato la mancata reazione del paese di fronte all'uccisione del parlamentare le fece capire che il regime si era ormai consolidato e l'unico modo per sentirlo meno atroce era uscire dai confini nazionali²⁰.

Con il 1925 si apre per Cleofe un percorso di vita totalmente nuovo che, dopo 12 anni trascorsi nella campagna romana, la proietta verso terre lontane.

Le prime mete, come si è detto, furono Salonicco e Beirut (1925-1927).

Ma come conciliare lo spirito di autonomia con le direttive ministeriali? Molte furono le difficoltà affrontate, qui non sintetizzabili ma narrate nel volume con grande precisione e capacità narrativa.

La realtà delle scuole italiane all'estero, d'altra parte, è stata oggetto di indagini assai significative e qui già citate. La loro genesi va certamente collegata all'entità del fenomeno migratorio che in Italia ha assunto dimensioni davvero molto significative dal punto di vista quantitativo e sociale²¹.

Negli studi del settore, molta attenzione è riservata al percorso legislativo delle scuole italiane all'estero – a partire dalla prima legge organica datata 8 agosto 1889 e alla successiva evoluzione fino agli anni del fascismo. Diverse furono le finalità susseguite nel tempo: dal consolidamento dell'identità e della cultura italiana, dalla diffusione della lingua nazionale – i migranti erano spesso analfabeti o semi analfabeti e parlavano solo in dialetto – all'obbligo scolastico fino ad arrivare, successivamente, al mandato ideologico del regime. L'ampia saggistica storiografica non è stata sempre sufficientemente attenta agli aspetti legati alle motivazioni personali, spesso diversamente connotate, che hanno spinto gli insegnanti e le insegnanti a compiere la scelta di insegnare nelle scuole italiane all'estero, in un contesto interpretativo che ha privilegiato gli aspetti legislativi, politici, pedagogici e organizzativi.

A questa lacuna, pone rimedio Anna Pia Bidolli con grande competenza e scrupolo storiografico.

La sua indagine si configura, infatti, come una narrazione biografica che, nel ricostruire la vita di Cleofe Forti, realizza un nesso inscindibile fra i vissuti

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 56.

²⁰ *Ibid.*

²¹ Per un approfondimento del tema, M. Colucci, S. Gallo, *L'emigrazione italiana. Storia e documenti*, Brescia, Morcelliana, 2015.

esistenziali ed identitari di una donna fuori dal comune e le caratteristiche eccezionali dei contesti sociali in cui ha svolto il suo insegnamento.

Cleofe Forti appare come un anti-modello rispetto alla realtà e all'*ideal* tipo della maestra nella scuola dell'Italia post-unitaria, cui si è già fatto riferimento. Donna autonoma, intraprendente, decisa ad allontanarsi dall'Italia con ogni probabilità perché in dissenso con i principi del regime fascista, sempre in viaggio in paesi lontani, capace di conquistarsi la stima dei suoi interlocutori e la fiducia degli italiani emigrati cui si rivolgeva il suo operato.

Lo spirito autonomo di Cleofe l'aveva spinto a uscire dal limitato spazio della campagna romana per affrontare la vastità del mondo. La decisione meritava di essere meglio chiarita anche in rapporto alle remore che ancora negli anni Venti si nutrivano verso le donne lavoratrici. Il progetto era riconducibile alla volontà di porre una distanza nei confronti del regime ormai affermatosi nel paese²².

Sebbene accettare di insegnare fuori d'Italia significasse rispettare un mandato legato all'essere espressione di un regime che affidava alle scuole italiane all'estero un compito di propaganda, una possibile risposta alla questione, secondo Bidolli, era quella dell'essere la personalità di Cleofe Forti caratterizzata da un forte senso dello Stato e della convinta adesione alla missione di elevare culturalmente una popolazione di italiani migrati spesso ignoranti, rissosi, oggetto di pregiudizi che li collocavano ai livelli più bassi della scala sociale.

Come è stato più volte sottolineato, all'interno di questo percorso, Cleofe Forti rinuncia fra l'altro a realizzarsi nella vita privata come moglie e madre, antepoendo la sua vocazione professionale alla prospettiva di esclusiva realizzazione nella vita familiare come prevedeva una cultura, allora ancora dominante, di impronta fortemente patriarcale.

Si apre a questo proposito un tema di grande interesse storico e sociale, per altro già oggetto di significative riflessioni.

L'esperienza di emancipazione che rappresentò per le ragazze del ceto popolare o della piccola borghesia diventare maestra, proseguire gli studi oltre l'istruzione elementare e accedere ad una professione, quantunque discriminata sul piano salariale e assai contenuta dal punto di vista culturale – si pensi alle caratteristiche culturali minimaliste delle scuole normali²³ – era conciliabile con la vita di madre? In Italia non era vietato per legge alle maestre sposarsi, come lo fu, ad esempio, in Austria, fino ai primi del Novecento ma di fatto sì perché una donna che viaggiava, lavorava lontana dal suo paese non era, molto spesso, considerata del tutto affidabile dal punto di vista del costume – sebbene preferite dai sindaci ai maestri maschi a volte sindacalizzati e meno inclini ad accettare salari molto bassi – sia perché non avrebbe potuto adem-

²² *Ibid.*, p. 21.

²³ Cfr. a questo proposito, Covato, *Un'identità divisa...*, cit.

piere pienamente ai compiti domestici sia perché affrontava necessariamente situazioni promiscue.

L'esperienza all'estero appare connotata da caratteristiche e contesti sociali anche assai diversi fra di loro, come tutto il volume mette in luce analiticamente e relativamente a ciascuna realtà, evidenziando una straordinaria capacità di conquistare la fiducia dei migrati e di agire in modo efficace in ogni contesto, grazie agli aiuti ricevuti non solo dallo stato ma anche da altre istituzioni, fra le quali spicca l'operato della Società Dante Alighieri, come nel volume si mette ben in evidenza.

La narrazione di questo lungo periodo era costellata da una molteplicità di aneddoti dove si alternavano difficoltà e successi: l'esperienza negativa della permanenza a New Orleans dove a metà degli anni Trenta si concentravano dei gruppi di mafiosi tra i più pericolosi; l'umiliazione allo scoppio della guerra di essere prelevata dalla polizia canadese e di essere riportata negli Stati Uniti. Non le erano mancate le soddisfazioni – scrive Bidolli – ed era particolarmente orgogliosa di essere riuscita a tener aperta con tutti i suoi corsi la scuola XXI Aprile di Mendoza, l'unica tra quelle all'estero rimaste funzionante tra il 1943 e il 1945 quando gli avvenimenti bellici avevano drasticamente annullato i finanziamenti governativi. Il lungo periodo fuori dall'Italia le aveva dato l'occasione di conoscere realtà multietniche di città come Salonicco, Costantinopoli, Alessandria d'Egitto, ricche di attività commerciali e di storia. Era stata anche testimone di cambiamenti straordinari come quelli introdotti in Turchia da Kamal Atatürk. Parlava dell'America come luogo delle grandi opportunità per il progresso economico e sociale, per le libertà che si respiravano²⁴.

L'esperienza all'estero terminò nel 1947 con il rientro in Italia, dove concluse la sua esperienza di insegnante nel 1951.

La ricerca di Bidolli ricostruisce mirabilmente la storia di una maestra animata da una straordinaria passione pedagogica e civile, laica e militante, dotata di grande coraggio, di formidabile empatia verso i più umili e di una indomabile autonomia di pensiero. Quanto di più lontano dalla retorica, alimentata da pesanti dispositivi legislativi scanditi da interdetti e divieti anche nel campo dell'insegnamento al cui interno il regime tentò di sequestrare la realtà e l'immaginario dell'identità femminile.

²⁴ Bidolli, *Cleofe Forti...*, cit., pp. 20-21.

Critical evaluation of *Messenger* by Lois Lowry

Mokhtar Benzaid
University of Algiers
mokhtar.benzaid@univ-alger2.dz

ABSTRACT: Lois Lowry's *Messenger* forms part of a utopian/dystopian trilogy aimed at young readers, depicting an ideal village surrounded by a threatening forest. The narrative follows Matty, a messenger with the power to heal, on his mission to save Kira. Through Gérard Genette's narrative perspective, the reading reveals an omniscient narrator and a structure that alternates between scene and summary. The village and forest form a dual framework symbolizing the fragility of utopia in the face of selfishness, while Matty embodies the values of altruism and sacrifice in a profoundly educational and humanistic vision.

EET/TEE KEYWORDS: Moral Education; Children's Literature and Pedagogy; Lois Lowry; Narratology (Gérard Genette); Utopia and dystopia.

The novel *Messenger* (2004) by the American writer Lois Lowry, published in its seventh edition in 2014 by Harper Collins Children's Books with a length of nearly two hundred pages, constitutes part of a series directed at young readers and constructs a world situated between utopia and dystopia through the portrayal of a secret village surrounded by a desolate forest. The text follows the path of the protagonist Matty the messenger, a boy endowed with a magical healing power, on his perilous journey through the forest to rescue Kira before the village closes its gates.

This review adopts a narratological approach through the perspective of Gérard Genette, focusing on the nature of the narrator, the modes of narration, and the techniques of dialogue and summary in order to reveal how the text constructs a utopian and dystopian world suited to the young reader.

The village in *Messenger* represents a modern reworking of the idea of the «ideal city» as formulated by Plato, yet the text reveals from the very beginning the fragility of this ideal model. The utopian space that grants newcomers full rights and promises them safety and equality quickly proves to be condi-

tioned by both natural and symbolic obstacles, foremost among them the forest that surrounds and guards the village. If the forest is read through the lens of Genette's narratology, it is not merely a spatial frame but a narrative device that regulates entry and exit and establishes a tense relationship between the inside, which is the ideal society, and the outside, which is the rejected world. In this sense, the village and the forest together function as a binary narrative structure that reproduces the dialectic of utopia and dystopia. What begins as a space of tolerance and altruism swiftly turns into a mechanism of exclusion when the logic of selfishness and the desire to close borders infiltrates the community. Matty's journey to bring Kira back is not only an adventure plot but also a test of the «ideal society's» ability to confront its own internal contradictions, which makes the text closer to a critical discourse on the impossibility of utopian perfection.

The narrator in *Messenger* is positioned outside the story as a non-participating voice with internal knowledge of the characters' psychology. This corresponds to what Genette terms zero focalization, where the narrator's knowledge exceeds that of any character. This narrative choice does more than recount events. It provides the text with interpretive authority that allows it to penetrate the inner lives of the characters and expose their inner conflicts, which strengthens the pedagogical dimension directed toward the young reader. One example of this anxiety is the secret the Leader kept from Seer when he saw Matty in danger: «he had not told the blind man. But while he had watched Matty, Kira, and the puppy enter Forest, he had been able to see, too that Forest was shifting, moving, thickening, and preparing to destroy them»¹.

On the level of narrative mode, the novel simultaneously employs the techniques of scene versus summary and alternation. The text begins with daily scenes that reveal Matty's routine as a central character, then opens up to flashback passages that illuminate the past of other characters, such as Matty, Seer, and the gatherer. This variety does not serve an informative function alone but works to expand the scope of the story by presenting the characters in the light of their past, so that each present action is saturated with memory. In this way, what Genette calls the network effect of plot is achieved, where individual trajectories intersect within a single fabric that reflects the nature of the village as an interconnected community built on interdependence.

The technique of summary in *Messenger* reveals a dual narrative awareness. On the one hand, it performs a condensing function that accelerates the rhythm of the story, but on the other hand, it is sometimes exploited to create new suspense. The narrator's sentence quoted from the Leader, «they have been doing this for several days»², is not a neutral condensation but rather opens new narrative paths, as the text later returns to detail what took

¹ Lois Lowry, *Messenger*, 7th ed., Great Britain, Harper Collins Children's Books, 2014.

² *Ibid.*, p. 146.

place during those days. In this sense, the summary shifts from being a tool of temporal compression to a device of delay that postpones knowledge and pushes the reader to anticipate what is to come. Alongside this, the novelist uses dialogues, which break the monologic voice of the omniscient narrator and introduce polyphony. The dialogues begin in the novel after a few opening paragraphs with Matty and Seer.

The construction of Matty's character does not rely on external features as much as on internal development, which is a notable narrative choice. The almost sole reference to his age, «Matty was no longer a boy, but not yet a man. Sometimes, standing outside the homeplace, he measured himself against the window»³, places the reader before a character positioned between childhood and manhood, a narrative site that allows for the representation of transformation and growth. The absence of physiological detail is not a deficiency but a strategy that leaves space for the reader to participate in imagining the hero, while this gap is filled through dynamic internal traits: the rebellious and playful tendencies of adolescence, the desire to own a «gaming machine»⁴, and a gradual trajectory toward maturity and responsibility.

When Matty is entrusted with the role of messenger, the act of moving between villages is not merely a practical function but carries symbolic weight. It signals the trust that the community places in his character and his capacity to fulfill the vital role of communication. And if his aspiration to the title of Messenger was never realized, his ultimate sacrifice reveals that his true title is healer, which suggests that heroism in this novel is measured not by social recognition but by the ability to sacrifice and act selflessly.

Themes in *Messenger* are not presented as ready-made moral lessons but are constructed within the narrative fabric through the dialectic of the individual and the community. The ideal society built on simplicity and sharing is paralleled with the deviation of some characters toward selfishness, which is captured in Jean's remark about her father: «Jean began to cry softly. 'Yes,' she said. 'he has traded his deepest self'»⁵. This sentence is not simply a reference to an individual change but a narrative condensation of the transformation of communal values into individualistic drives that threaten the utopian structure of the village. Thus, characters and events are mobilized as instruments to deconstruct the stability of utopia and expose its fragility in the face of impulses of possession and greed. As for the themes of solidarity, cooperation, and sacrifice, they are not presented as direct moral preaching but are embodied through the trajectory of the hero who sacrifices himself for the survival of the community. This gives the text a veiled dystopian dimension that reveals that utopia can only be preserved through collective action and individual altruism.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 1.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 23.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 76.

In addition to its narrative construction, *Messenger* fulfills an educational function that invites the young reader to reflect on moral responsibility and human empathy. Through Matty's transformation from a playful adolescent into a self-sacrificing figure, Lois Lowry constructs a model of moral education consistent with contemporary theories in children's literature that emphasize the development of ethical awareness among youth. The novel appears to adopt the pedagogical principle that children's literature should convey values indirectly, stimulating critical thinking and emotional awareness rather than prescribing lessons overtly. In this way, *Messenger* contributes to a long-standing tradition that regards children's literature as a means of civic and moral education, demonstrating how narrative imagination can deepen the reader's understanding of community, solidarity, and self-knowledge.

When *Messenger* is read alongside Lois Lowry's earlier works such as *The Giver* and *Gathering Blue*, it becomes clear that the novel continues to employ literary imagination to present a utopian vision within children's literature. While *The Giver* addresses the suppression of emotions based on the belief that erasing memory and denying feelings can prevent suffering, it ultimately reveals that the elimination of these human dimensions comes at a heavy cost, namely the loss of the essential value that gives meaning to human existence. *Gathering Blue*, on the other hand, focuses on how creativity can be transformed from a form of freedom and expression into an authoritarian tool of control and the reconstruction of a false vision of the world. *Messenger* brings together both dilemmas, exposing the moral cost of isolation and closure in contrast with the right to connection and openness, and the tension between selfishness and altruism. From this perspective, the novel can be seen as a continuation of a literary trajectory that strives to affirm human values and to reflect on the challenge of making the most ethical choices in modern societies.

Lowry's text succeeds in building its narrative worlds using imagination and the marvelous, yet the value of this construction lies not only in spectacle but in the way these elements are harnessed to intensify the ethical vision of the work. Simple and direct language is not merely a fit for the intended young audience but a narrative choice that enables the transmission of major values such as altruism, resistance to greed, and the fight against evil without a complicated linguistic medium. Nevertheless, the simplicity of narration does not conceal the fragility of the plot, as the sudden transition from the conflict of closing the village to the confrontation with the forest reveals a certain imbalance in managing narrative tension. Even so, the novel succeeds in producing an ideal human model that embodies good in its struggle with evil, granting it a symbolic dimension that transcends young readership to interrogate collective values in any society.

Università sotto esame. Alcune riflessioni sul sistema universitario italiano contemporaneo a partire da una recente pubblicazione

Luigiaurelio Pomante
Department of Education, Cultural
Heritage and Tourism
University of Macerata (Italy)
luigiaurelio.pomante@unimc.it

University under examination. Some reflections on the contemporary Italian university system starting from a recent publication

ABSTRACT: This article intends to start a reflection on some of the main problems of the contemporary Italian University starting from the historiographical analysis of the recent volume *Università sotto esame*. It aims to investigate the state of health of the university institution, focusing on some key issues and some transformations that have affected the system in recent decades also considering the consequences on a cultural, social, economic and professional level.

EET/TEE KEYWORDS: History of University; Social transformations; Historiographical debate; Italy; XX-XXI Centuries.

Nella rinnovata stagione di studi dedicata all'istruzione superiore in età contemporanea¹ ben si colloca il recente agile volume di Carlo Cappa e Andrea Gavosto, *Università sotto esame*², saggio critico assolutamente degno di considerazione da parte di chiunque cerchi di comprendere lo stato attuale del

¹ Si vedano in proposito 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 e S. Montecchiani, *The Italian University System in the Aftermath of National Unification. Background, Reforms Trends and New Goals*, «History of Education & Children's Literature», vol. XX, n. 1, 2025, pp. 431-448.

² C. Cappa, A. Gavosto, *Università sotto esame*, Bologna, il Mulino, 2025.

sistema universitario italiano e provi altresì ad immaginare ipotetici percorsi di riforma. Il testo, che affronta con lucidità e giusta capacità di analisi critica il tema della qualità dell'università italiana, collocandolo in una prospettiva insieme storica, socio-economica e pedagogica, anche grazie all'inedita collaborazione tra un umanista, esperto di educazione comparata e storia dell'educazione e un economista, appare stimolante nelle proposte e utile a tutti coloro che siano interessati alle dinamiche dell'istruzione superiore. Il libro si colloca a buon diritto nel filone di quegli studi che ha provato a denunciare la crisi di identità dell'istruzione superiore³, sospesa tra missione formativa, ricerca scientifica e pressioni burocratiche, focalizzando la propria attenzione critica sulle diverse politiche di riforma avviate nel corso degli anni ma non sempre incisive, sui nuovi meccanismi di valutazione, sulla gestione delle risorse e sull'impatto della crescente competizione sulla qualità della didattica e della ricerca.

Proprio con l'obiettivo, dunque, di rilanciare e ampliare il dibattito sul ruolo dell'Università in Italia, un dibattito che a giudizio degli autori si è «rivelato di corto respiro e sterile»⁴, la riflessione del volume prende avvio dall'analisi di quelle che sono considerate tre sfide epocali che gli atenei italiani stanno affrontando e da cui, in buona misura, dipenderanno le sorti degli studi superiori nei decenni futuri: il numero insufficiente di laureati e le loro inadeguate competenze, la crisi demografica e il ruolo sempre più preponderante assunto dalle università telematiche. L'opera mette pertanto in evidenza come l'università, da luogo di produzione e trasmissione del sapere, sia sempre più orientata verso logiche manageriali, con effetti ambivalenti: da un lato una maggiore attenzione alla trasparenza e all'efficienza; dall'altro il rischio di ridurre la complessità del lavoro accademico a indicatori quantitativi. Del resto, questo recente netto mutamento di fisionomia dell'Università italiana, già ipotizzato anni addietro dalle riflessioni lungimiranti di alcuni intellettuali interessati al tema⁵, ben si ricollega a quella lenta ma progressiva trasformazione del sistema universitario italiano avviatasi nei primi decenni repubblicani e che solo sul finire del millennio ha trovato pieno compimento.

Come è noto, infatti, sul finire degli anni Sessanta, si assisté all'accentuazione in maniera quanto mai marcata della stridente contraddizione tra un tipo di Università d'élite, sempre più difficile e anacronistico da far sopravvivere,

³ Nella più recente corposa produzione edita nel corso dell'ultimo ventennio meritano particolare menzione per rigore metodologico e serio approccio storiografico soprattutto i lavori di A. Graziosi, *L'università per tutti. Riforme e crisi del sistema universitario italiano*, Bologna, il Mulino, 2010 e P. Prodi, *Università dentro e fuori*, Bologna, il Mulino, 2013.

⁴ Cfr. Cappa, Gavosto, *Università sotto esame*, cit., p. 7.

⁵ Si veda L. Pomante, «Da luogo di alta cultura a 'scuola di mestiere'». *Le riflessioni di Gianfranco Miglio sull'Università italiana in un importante convegno del Rotary Club di Milano Centro del 1969*, «History of Education & Children's Literature», vol. XVIII, n. 2, 2023, pp. 311-338.

ed un nuovo quasi imprevisto sistema di Università di massa che però non disponeva ancora, oltre che di un adeguato organico docente, anche di strutture edilizie, di aule, di laboratori ed attrezzature didattiche e di ricerca in numeri tali da riuscire a sostenere un incremento imponente di nuove matricole, determinato da una politica ministeriale fondata su provvedimenti tampone, il cui intento sembrava rispondere più alle preoccupazioni di contenere, con timide e contraddittorie concessioni, i sussulti contestativi che non a un coerente sforzo per promuovere, finalmente, una trasformazione reale della scuola e dell'Università. Tale passaggio da un tipo di Università ad un'altra, tuttavia, si sarebbe realizzato purtroppo in modo caotico negli anni successivi secondo percorsi non meditati né definiti, senza valutare in alcun modo le conseguenze, anche gravi, che una tale politica avrebbe portato sulla qualità della formazione e sulla disoccupazione intellettuale giovanile⁶.

Ripartendo proprio da questa mutata fisionomia dell'Università italiana, il testo di Cappa e Gavosto ha cercato di soffermarsi su cosa di buono vada necessariamente salvato di questa università di massa più volte rimodellata dal legislatore e quanto invece sia ormai da rottamare definitivamente per riportare il sistema italiano a dei livelli di accettabile competitività nel quadro europeo. Per riuscire nella sua *mission* il volume adotta un apprezzabile approccio interdisciplinare: accanto a riferimenti sociologici e pedagogici, gli autori inseriscono elementi di economia dell'istruzione, politiche pubbliche e analisi organizzativa. Proprio questa pluralità di sguardi rappresenta uno dei principali punti di forza dell'opera, perché consente di evitare una lettura settoriale e di cogliere la complessità dell'università come sistema.

La trattazione è generalmente suddivisa in sezioni tematiche che spaziano dalla governance degli atenei alla valutazione della ricerca, dal finanziamento pubblico alla crescente precarizzazione dei percorsi accademici. Ogni capitolo alterna così inquadramenti teorici, esempi concreti, confronti internazionali e riflessioni critiche.

Una delle questioni centrali sollevate nel volume riguarda soprattutto l'impatto dei nuovi sistemi di valutazione sugli atenei. Gli autori evidenziano come indicatori quantitativi – pubblicazioni, citazioni, attrazione di fondi, performance didattiche – abbiano finito per orientare in modo sempre più determinante le scelte strategiche delle università. La critica principale è che tali strumenti, pur utili per introdurre criteri di trasparenza e responsabilità, tendano sempre più a ridurre la complessità dell'attività accademica a misure parziali

⁶ Sulle trasformazioni dell'Università italiana nella seconda metà del Novecento si vedano, solo per citare alcuni tra i lavori più recenti, L. Governali, *L'università nei primi quarant'anni della Repubblica italiana 1946-1986*, Bologna, il Mulino, 2018; L. Pomante, *L'Università della Repubblica (1946-1980). Quarant'anni di storia dell'istruzione superiore in Italia*, Bologna, il Mulino, 2022; A. Mansi, *L'università di massa in Italia. Una trasformazione senza modernizzazione*, Pisa, Pacini, 2024.

e talvolta distorsive. La valutazione, invece di favorire qualità e innovazione, rischia in questo modo di incentivare comportamenti meramente adattivi: produzione veloce di articoli, riduzione del tempo dedicato a didattica e tutorato, scarsa propensione a ricerche esplorative o di lungo respiro. Il volume mette inoltre opportunamente in luce come la governance universitaria, sempre più modellata su logiche aziendalistiche, possa indebolire partecipazione democratica e autonomia scientifica, trasferendo ruoli decisionali in una sfera manageriale spesso poco rappresentativa della comunità accademica.

Un'altra parte centrale del testo riguarda il nodo del finanziamento dell'Università. In proposito gli autori evidenziano come la combinazione tra riduzione (o stagnazione) delle risorse pubbliche e crescente competizione per fondi esterni abbia ampliato la distanza tra atenei forti e atenei deboli. Le università con maggior capitale sociale e connessioni internazionali tendono così ad attrarre ulteriori fondi, mentre quelle periferiche faticano a uscire da cicli di sottofinanziamento. Questa dinamica, secondo il volume, produce un sistema polarizzato e incapace di garantire pari opportunità formative sull'intero territorio. L'università rischia così di perdere il suo ruolo di motore di mobilità sociale, soprattutto per le fasce studentesche meno avvantaggiate.

Interessante è anche il *focus* sulla didattica con la descrizione di un'università contemporanea che rischia di mettere in secondo piano la formazione rispetto agli obiettivi di performance e visibilità. Il rapporto con gli studenti oscilla sempre più tra richieste di professionalizzazione immediata e necessità di salvaguardare la dimensione critica e culturale della formazione universitaria. Viene pertanto criticata la retorica dell'"occupabilità" come criterio quasi esclusivo della bontà di un corso di laurea, con il rischio di snaturare la missione educativa dell'università e di subordinare il sapere a logiche di mercato.

Originale, a giudizio di chi scrive che tra i primi ormai più di un decennio fa si è occupato di studi sul tema⁷, la parte dedicata alle università telematiche, la cui esplosione dell'ultimo quinquennio ne ha fatto dei «formidabili antagonisti» delle università tradizionali, attraendo percentuali sempre più elevate di studenti e imponendo al sistema d'istruzione superiore di ripensare l'idea stessa di università in un contesto in rapidissima trasformazione. Del resto, la predisposizione e la progressiva implementazione dell'*e-learning* e delle metodologie per la didattica a distanza – specie dopo l'emergenza pandemica da Covid-19 – costituiscono oramai una delle questioni ineludibili e centrali per la politica universitaria nazionale. Esse, ad oggi, non corrispondono solo ad

⁷ Si veda L. Pomante, *In presenza e a distanza. Il ruolo dell'insegnamento a distanza nel sistema universitario italiano nell'ultimo ventennio*, in A. Romano (ed.), *Dalla lectura all'e-learning*, Bologna, Clueb, 2015, pp. 407-423; S. Montecchiani, L. Pomante, *Il sistema universitario italiano nella transizione digitale: tra forme di innovazione didattica e sviluppo delle università telematiche*, in M. Parricchi, P. Malavasi (edd.), *Educazione Territori Natura. Formare al tempo della transizione ecologica, digitale e interculturale*, Lecce, Pensa MultiMedia, 2025, pp. 985-990.

esigenze puramente “pratiche”, ma rappresentano altresì un importante strumento per l’inclusione e per l’ampliamento dei “bacini universitari”; allo stesso tempo, esse si propongono come un osservatorio privilegiato per l’analisi della reale portata delle scelte operate negli ultimi anni dai vari governi e dalle varie sedi accademiche su questi diversi fronti.

La seconda parte del volume non si limita tuttavia alla diagnosi, ma articola proposte concrete, misurate e accompagnate da simulazioni e confronti internazionali. È qui che emerge la complementarità degli autori: Gavosto offre la cornice economica e comparativa, Cappa la prospettiva pedagogica ed esperienziale. Così si insiste sull’idea che la didattica non possa essere considerata una funzione ancillare rispetto alla ricerca e si propongono, ad esempio, formazione pedagogica obbligatoria per i docenti; uso consapevole delle tecnologie didattiche; nuove modalità di tutorato e accompagnamento dello studente; monitoraggio serio degli esiti formativi, non basato solo su questionari quantitativi. Sui finanziamenti, invece, si suggeriscono un incremento strutturale delle risorse pubbliche; borse di studio più ampie e meglio distribuite; una riforma del sistema di contribuzione più equa nonché una revisione del riparto del FFO per evitare di accentuare la distanza tra atenei forti e deboli. Sul tema del reclutamento, inoltre, la proposta di Cappa e Gavosto ruota attorno a tre pilastri: procedure trasparenti e realmente aperte; percorsi chiari di tenure-track e una mobilità internazionale che sia requisito e non come eccezione.

Pur indulgendo troppo in alcuni passaggi in suggestioni e suggerimenti comunque già noti e di facile presa prima ancora sull’opinione pubblica che sul mondo accademico, senza alcun dubbio uno dei punti di forza del testo di Cappa e Gavosto è infine rappresentato dalla capacità di combinare rigore analitico e chiarezza espositiva: dati, esempi e casi di studio risultano infatti ben integrati nel testo senza mai appesantire la lettura, permettendo così anche ai non specialisti (platea alla quale il volume sembra strizzare particolarmente l’occhio) di comprendere le dinamiche di fondo.

L'educazione nelle prime regole monastiche. Spunti di riflessione a partire da un recente contributo

Maria Ortenzi
Department of Education, Cultural
Heritage and Tourism
University of Macerata (Italy)
m.ortenzi4@unimc.it

Education in the first monastic rules. Some reflections starting from a recent volume

ABSTRACT: This work intends to propose some historiographical reflections on the role of the first monastic rules in the educational field starting from the contents of a recent volume by Luca Odini. In particular, we focus on the role of monasticism which is interpreted not only as a spiritual or institutional phenomenon, but as a structured educational experience, capable of offering a systematic response to the search for meaning and order that runs through man's existence.

EET/TEE KEYWORDS: History of Education; Monastic rules; Medieval iconography; Italy; IV-VIII Centuries.

Un contributo sicuramente originale che arricchisce ulteriormente la nuova e feconda stagione di studi di ambito storico pedagogico. Il recente volume di Luca Odini, *Il nostro cuore è simile a un mulino che gira sempre. La vita dell'uomo e l'educazione nelle prime regole monastiche*, pubblicato nella collana *Teoria e storia dell'educazione. Emblemata*¹, si colloca nel solco degli studi storico-pedagogici che indagano il rapporto tra forme di vita religiosa e processi educativi². L'autore propone una rilettura delle istituzioni religiose me-

¹ L. Odini, «*Il nostro cuore è simile a un mulino che gira sempre*». *La vita dell'uomo e l'educazione nelle prime regole monastiche*, Lecce, Pensa MultiMedia, 2025.

² Si ricordano in particolare sul versante della bibliografia italiana i sempre validi lavori di C. Xodo, *Cultura e pedagogia nel monachesimo alto medievale: Divinae vacare lectioni*, Brescia, La Scuola, 1990 e di A. Giallongo, *Il bambino medievale*, Bari, Dedalo, 1997 mentre sul fronte internazionale si segnalano G. Ferzoco, C. Muessig, *Medieval monastic education*,

dievali che ne supera l'interpretazione esclusivamente spirituale o disciplinare, per metterne in luce la funzione di luoghi strutturati di formazione umana.

Il titolo del volume richiama l'espressione patristica *Cor etenim nostrum simile est molendino semper molenti*, assunta come chiave ermeneutica dell'intero lavoro. Attraverso questa metafora, Odini tematizza l'istanza antropologica dell'unità interiore, intesa come integrazione delle dimensioni cognitiva, affettiva e comportamentale dell'esperienza umana. In tale prospettiva, il monachesimo viene interpretato non soltanto come fenomeno spirituale o istituzionale, ma come esperienza educativa strutturata, capace di offrire una risposta organica alla ricerca di senso e di ordine che attraversa l'esistenza dell'uomo.

L'indagine si concentra sulle prime regole monastiche occidentali, ponendo al centro una questione pedagogica fondamentale: in che modo la vita monastica abbia contribuito a configurare un'idea di educazione concepita come processo globale, continuo e comunitario, in grado di coinvolgere l'interiorità, il comportamento e la dimensione relazionale dell'individuo³. L'ipotesi di fondo che orienta il lavoro è che tali regole non possano essere lette esclusivamente come testi normativi o giuridico-disciplinari, ma vadano comprese come dispositivi educativi orientati alla trasformazione integrale della persona. In questa direzione, la metafora del "mulino che gira sempre" diviene espressione dell'antropologia monastica sottesa al progetto educativo: il cuore umano è costantemente in movimento e richiede un'educazione capace di orientarne le dinamiche interiori, piuttosto che di reprimerle.

Nel primo capitolo l'autore propone un'analisi comparativa delle principali regole monastiche di area occidentale, soffermandosi sulle rispettive implicazioni pedagogiche. Le figure di Agostino, dei quattro Padri, di Macario, di Benedetto e di Colombano vengono esaminate in relazione alle loro concezioni della formazione monastica, mettendo in evidenza convergenze e specificità⁴. L'analisi mostra come tali regole configurino autentici progetti educativi, finalizzati alla progressiva interiorizzazione di pratiche e valori quali l'obbedienza, la disciplina del tempo, la vigilanza dei pensieri e la vita comunitaria. La prima parte del lavoro mostra efficacemente come l'allegoria del mulino non si limiti a un intento edificante, ma restituisca una vera e propria antropologia pedagogica, nella quale mente, corpo e interiorità sono costantemente sorvegliati, disciplinati e orientati. Il cuore che macina senza sosta rimanda a un'idea di educazione continua, che coinvolge l'intera vita dell'uomo e che richiede

Londra, Leicester University Press, 2000 e L. Larsen, S. Rubenson (edd.), *Monastic Education in Late Antiquity*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2018.

³ Utile in tal senso anche la lettura del volume di P. Riché, *Educazione e cultura nell'Occidente barbarico dal VI al VIII secolo*, Roma, Armando, 1996.

⁴ Si veda anche G. Penco, *Il monachesimo. Fuggirono il mondo, salvarono la civiltà, custodirono il mistero*, Milano, Mondadori, 2000.

vigilanza, esercizio e discernimento. In questa prospettiva, la distinzione tra i diversi “cereali” – frumento, orzo e avena – permette di cogliere una gerarchia dei pensieri e delle pratiche educative, dal livello più alto della contemplazione fino al graduale abbandono dei vizi, senza tuttavia escludere alcuna dimensione dell’esperienza umana.

Il secondo capitolo è dedicato all’analisi del rapporto tra dimensione normativa e prassi educativa, con particolare attenzione ai processi attraverso cui le prescrizioni regolative vengono tradotte nella vita quotidiana dei monaci. Odini esamina l’incidenza delle regole sulla strutturazione delle attività fondamentali – studio, preghiera, lavoro e cura del corpo – nonché sulle modalità di esercizio della libertà personale all’interno dell’orizzonte comunitario. L’indagine si estende inoltre al ruolo dell’infanzia e delle esperienze educative precoci, considerate influenti nelle scelte vocazionali, anche alla luce delle tensioni e delle criticità connesse a pratiche di accesso alla vita monastica talora caratterizzate da condizionamenti esterni. Nella sua seconda parte, l’autore amplia l’analisi collocando la metafora all’interno della storia del monachesimo e, più in generale, della storia dell’educazione occidentale. In modo convincente viene messa in discussione una certa tradizione storiografica che ha relegato il monachesimo ai margini della riflessione pedagogica, considerandolo ambito di esclusivo interesse per storici della Chiesa o agiografi. Al contrario, il lavoro sostiene come la cultura monastica abbia accompagnato, influenzato e in molti casi anticipato lo sviluppo delle principali istituzioni educative, dalla cura dell’infanzia fino alla formazione superiore⁵.

Il contributo principale del lavoro risiede nella capacità di mostrare come le regole monastiche possano essere interpretate come progetti educativi complessi, nei quali la dimensione spirituale, morale e sociale risultano strettamente interconnesse. L’autore mostra come la pedagogia monastica possa essere interpretata come un’immersione profonda nelle esigenze dell’umano, orientata a un equilibrio dinamico tra libertà e disciplina, individualità e vita comunitaria, interiorità e azione. In questo senso, la tensione escatologica che caratterizza l’esperienza monastica non appare come un limite all’umanità, ma come una forza propulsiva che stimola l’uomo a interrogarsi sui propri confini e sulle proprie potenzialità. In questo senso, Odini offre una rilettura del monachesimo come laboratorio pedagogico pre-moderno, capace di anticipare modelli di formazione integrale che troveranno piena elaborazione nella riflessione pedagogica contemporanea.

Particolarmente significativa è l’attenzione riservata alla tensione educativa tra norma e libertà interiore: la regola non è intesa come mera imposizione esterna, ma come struttura abilitante un percorso di maturazione personale,

⁵ Si veda anche il lavoro di P. Rosso, *La scuola nel Medioevo*, Roma, Carocci, 2018.

superando interpretazioni riduttive del monachesimo come spazio di obbedienza passiva.

Il volume, la cui struttura argomentativa risulta coerente, è redatto con uno stile rigoroso e al tempo stesso accessibile, rivolto a un pubblico accademico composto da studenti universitari, dottorandi e studiosi di storia dell'educazione, pedagogia generale e storia della spiritualità.

In conclusione, l'opera di Luca Odini rappresenta un contributo solido e stimolante alla storia dell'educazione, distinguendosi per l'attenzione riservata alla dimensione propriamente formativa delle regole monastiche. Il volume restituisce al monachesimo il suo ruolo di uno dei primi tentativi sistematici di educazione integrale dell'uomo in Occidente e si configura come una lettura rilevante per chi intenda approfondire il rapporto tra educazione, vita comunitaria e costruzione della soggettività in prospettiva storica, facendo emerge l'idea di un'educazione che accompagna tutti i momenti della vita e che coinvolge l'uomo nella sua totalità.

Forum / Discussioni

Chronicles of Learning: Trend Analysis and Clustering in the History of Education

Amir Karimi
Department of History
Faculty of Law and Social Sciences
University of Tabriz
East Azarbaijan (Iran)
amirkarimizanjani1379@gmail.com

ABSTRACT: This study conducts a comprehensive bibliometric analysis of educational literature from 1976 to 2025, revealing significant research output and impact trends. The findings indicate a period of low article production from the late 1970s to the early 2000s, with notable citation peaks in 1981 and 1986. However, since the 2010s, there has been a marked increase in published articles, accompanied by a decline in average citations per article, suggesting a saturation of literature. The keyword co-occurrence analysis highlights a shift from historical perspectives to emerging themes such as rural education and gender issues, particularly from 2012 onward. The study identifies a well-defined hierarchy in which the «history of education» cluster remains central, underscoring its foundational role in the field. In contrast, the period from 2016 to 2025 exhibits diversification in research inquiries, with new clusters emerging around case studies and qualitative approaches. Despite this diversification, the analysis reveals a lack of significant citation spikes in newer topics, indicating potential stagnation. Overall, this research underscores the dynamic evolution of educational literature, emphasizing the need for ongoing inquiry into contemporary themes and their relevance in addressing current educational challenges. Future studies should enhance the visibility and impact of emerging topics within this increasingly saturated academic landscape.

EET/TEE KEYWORDS: History of Education; Bibliometric analysis; Thematic evaluation; Trends analysis; XX-XXI Centuries.

Introduction

The history of education traces the evolution of formal and informal learning systems from ancient civilizations to contemporary society, highlighting the development of pedagogical theories, curricula, and educational institutions¹. Initially rooted in transmitting cultural knowledge and skills, education has progressively incorporated scientific methodologies, fostering critical thinking and innovation². This historical progression has introduced new dimensions to the scientific community by promoting interdisciplinary collaboration, enhancing research methodologies, and facilitating the dissemination of knowledge³. As education adapts to technological advancements and societal needs, it plays a crucial role in shaping future scientific inquiry and fostering a more informed and engaged populace.

The history of education significantly influences modern society, particularly with the emergence of modern technologies, by reshaping pedagogical approaches and learning environments⁴. As educational practices evolve, they increasingly integrate digital tools and resources, facilitating personalized learning experiences and expanding access to information⁵. This historical context underscores the transition from traditional, rote memorization methods to more interactive, student-centered learning paradigms emphasizing critical thinking, collaboration, and creativity⁶. Moreover, incorporating tech-

¹ R. Collins, *Comparative and Historical Patterns of Education*, «Handbook of the Sociology of Education», November 27, 2000, pp. 213-239, <https://doi.org/10.1007/0-387-36424-2_10> (last access: 10.09.2025).

² V.M. Vesterinen, M.A. Manassero-Mas, Á. Vázquez-Alonso, *History, Philosophy, and Sociology of Science and Science-Technology-Society Traditions in Science Education: Continuities and Discontinuities*, «International Handbook of Research in History, Philosophy and Science Teaching», January 1, 2014, pp. 1895-1925, <https://doi.org/10.1007/978-94-007-7654-8_58> (last access: 10.09.2025).

³ J. MacDonald, A. Black, *Disciplinary Knowledge Practices in Distance Education*, «Arts and Humanities in Higher Education», vol. 9, n. 1, February 2010, pp. 69-86, <<https://doi.org/10.1177/1474022209349828>> (last access: 10.09.2025); J. Newman, *Promoting Interdisciplinary Research Collaboration: A Systematic Review, a Critical Literature Review, and a Pathway Forward*, «Social Epistemology», vol. 38, n. 2, March 3, 2024, pp. 135-151, <<https://doi.org/10.1080/02691728.2023.2172694>> (last access: 10.10.2025).

⁴ Kinshuk et alii, *Evolution Is Not Enough: Revolutionizing Current Learning Environments to Smart Learning Environments*, «International Journal of Artificial Intelligence in Education», vol. 26, n. 2, June 1, 2016, pp. 561-581, <<https://doi.org/10.1007/S40593-016-0108-X/METRICS>> (last access: 10.10.2025).

⁵ J.A. García-Martínez et alii, *Digital Tools and Personal Learning Environments: An Analysis in Higher Education*, «Sustainability 2020», vol. 12, n. 19, October 4, 2020, p. 8180, <<https://doi.org/10.3390/SU12198180>> (last access: 10.09.2025).

⁶ Z. Zhang, *Revolutionizing Education: The Transformative Power of Educational Technology in Online Learning*, in *Proceedings of the 2024 3rd International Conference on Humanities, Wisdom Education and Service Management (HWESM 2024)*, 2024, pp. 523-529, <https://doi.org/10.2991/978-2-38476-253-8_62> (last access: 10.09.2025).

nology in education fosters lifelong learning and adaptability, essential skills in a rapidly changing job market⁷. Consequently, the historical evolution of education informs current teaching practices and enhances individuals' capacity to navigate and contribute to an increasingly complex and interconnected world.

Identifying trends in the publication of articles within the history of education is crucial for understanding the evolving landscape of educational theories, practices, and policies. By analyzing publication patterns, researchers can discern shifts in focus areas, emerging methodologies, and the impact of socio-political contexts on educational discourse⁸. This trend analysis informs current educational practices and guides future research agendas, ensuring they remain relevant and responsive to contemporary challenges⁹. Then, neglecting to pay attention to these trends can stagnate knowledge, where outdated practices persist, and innovative solutions to pressing educational issues are overlooked. This oversight hinders educational equity and effectiveness advancement, ultimately impacting the quality of education provided to learners in diverse contexts.

The history of education has evolved through various dimensions across different periods, reflecting societal changes and advancements in pedagogical theories. Before the 21st century, education was primarily characterized by traditional, teacher-centered approaches, with a strong emphasis on rote learning and standardized curricula, often influenced by industrialization and the need for a skilled workforce. From 2000 to the onset of the COVID-19 pandemic, the dimensions of education shifted towards more learner-centered methodologies, incorporating technology and digital resources, facilitating personal-

⁷ J. Kim, C. Young Park, *Education, Skill Training, and Lifelong Learning in the Era of Technological Revolution: A Review*, «Asian-Pacific Economic Literature», vol. 34, n. 2, November 1, 2020, pp. 3-19, <<https://doi.org/10.1111/APEL.12299>> (last access: 10.09.2025); J. Hutson, J. Ceballos, *Rethinking Education in the Age of AI: The Importance of Developing Durable Skills in the Industry 4.0*, «Journal of Information Economics», vol. 1, n. 2, July 1, 2023, pp. 26-35, <<https://doi.org/10.58567/jie01020002>> (last access: 10.09.2025).

⁸ A. Yazdi, A. Karimi, S. Mystakidis, *Gamification in Online Education: A Visual Bibliometric Network Analysis*, «Information», vol. 15, n. 2, February 1, 2024, p. 81, <<https://doi.org/10.3390/INFO15020081>> (last access: 10.09.2025); I. Maryani, A. Karimi, K. Fathi, *Museums as a Valuable Platform for Teaching History: A Scientometric Review*, «European Journal of Education», vol. 60, n. 3, September 2025, <<https://doi.org/10.1111/EJED.70146>> (last access: 10.09.2025).

⁹ D. Herhausen *et alii*, *Machine Learning in Marketing: Recent Progress and Future Research Directions*, «Journal of Business Research», vol. 170, January 1, 2024, p. 114254, <<https://doi.org/10.1016/J.JBUSRES.2023.114254>> (last access: 10.09.2025); D. Ifenthaler *et alii*, *Putting Learning Back into Learning Analytics: Actions for Policy Makers, Researchers, and Practitioners*, «Educational Technology Research and Development», vol. 69, n. 4, August 1, 2021, pp. 2131-2150, <<https://doi.org/10.1007/S11423-020-09909-8/TABLES/2>> (last access: 10.09.2025).

ized learning experiences and greater access to information. This period also saw an increased focus on inclusivity and diversity in educational settings. Since the pandemic, the analysis of educational dimensions has expanded to include the impact of remote learning, the digital divide, mental health considerations, and the necessity for adaptive teaching strategies to accommodate diverse learning environments. Moving forward, it is essential to consider the integration of social-emotional learning, global citizenship education, and the role of artificial intelligence in shaping future educational practices.

The History of Education has experienced significant changes over the decades, marked by increased scholarly output and new thematic focuses. From 1967 to 2005, research in the History of Education was limited, focusing primarily on traditional educational narratives. Roda-Segarra, Payà Rico, and Hernández Huerta (2022) conducted a bibliometric analysis of 11 relevant journals, indicating that this period established a foundation for future research but lacked collaborative networks. Early studies mainly addressed historical accounts of educational systems, often reflecting national contexts without significant international dialogue¹⁰. A pivotal change occurred in 2006, with a marked increase in research production that fostered internationalization and transnational research networks. Gómez-Carrasco *et alii* (2022) identified a shift toward Historical Thinking and Historical Consciousness as central themes in history education research, leading to the emergence of five topic clusters emphasizing critical engagement with historical sources and the social functions of history in shaping identity and civic responsibility¹¹.

We have seen further evolution in recent years, particularly in integrating digital humanities. Roda-Segarra *et alii* (2024) introduced Hecumen, a digital tool to address bibliographic gaps and enhance the accessibility of historical education research. This point reflects a broader trend toward utilizing technology to improve scholarly visibility¹². Additionally, establishing the Observatory for the History of Education in 2019 sought to reflect on contemporary theories and issues, especially in light of the challenges posed by the COVID-19 pandemic¹³. Hernández Huerta *et alii* (2019) examined research

¹⁰ J. Roda-Segarra, A. Payà Rico, J.L. Hernández Huerta, *The History of Education through Specialised Journals: Themes, Scientific Production and Bibliometrics (1967-2022)*, «Social and Education History», vol. 12, n. 1, February 23, 2023, pp. 85-117, <<https://doi.org/10.17583/HSE.11028>> (last access: 10.09.2025).

¹¹ C.J. Gómez-Carrasco *et alii*, *A Review of Literature on History Education: An Analysis of the Conceptual, Intellectual and Social Structure of a Knowledge Domain (2000-2019)*, «European Journal of Education», vol. 57, n. 3, September 1, 2022, pp. 497-511, <<https://doi.org/10.1111/EJED.12508>> (last access: 10.09.2025).

¹² J. Roda-Segarra *et alii*, *History of Education Meets Digital Humanities: A Field-Specific Finding Aid to Review Past and Present Research*, «History of Education», vol. 53, n. 5, September 2, 2024, pp. 893-913, <<https://doi.org/10.1080/0046760X.2024.2337896>> (last access: 10.09.2025).

¹³ L. Somogyvári, M. Bittar, T. Hamel, *Observatory for the History of Education: Looking*

dissemination within the Iberian Peninsula, highlighting the roles of academic societies, journals, and conferences in shaping the communication landscape of the History of Education¹⁴. Their study underscored the importance of participatory spaces for debate and collective knowledge construction, which is essential for advancing the field in regional contexts.

The literature on the History of Education illustrates a dynamic landscape characterized by increasing scholarly output, thematic diversification, and digital tool integration. The shift from a national to a more international and collaborative approach has enriched the field, allowing for a broader understanding of educational histories. Future research should continue to address collaboration challenges and the need for cohesive understanding, particularly as the discipline adapts to a rapidly changing educational landscape. The focus on Historical Thinking and Historical Consciousness suggests promising directions for future studies, equipping educators and students to navigate complex societal issues.

The research background in the History of Education literature review reveals significant shortcomings in addressing critical questions regarding the field's evolution and current state. While it acknowledges the increase in scholarly output and thematic diversification, it fails to provide accurate answers to essential inquiries such as the current state of academic literature (RQ1) and the contributions of keyword clustering to understanding historical educational practices (RQ2). Furthermore, the review does not adequately explore the trends identified through scientometric map analysis (RQ3) or the insights gained from citation analysis regarding prevailing trends and influences in the discipline (RQ4). This lack of comprehensive analysis leaves a gap in understanding how these developments have shaped the field and highlights the need for a more focused investigation into these specific research questions to enhance the overall discourse in the History of Education.

Consequently, this article aims to comprehensively review the scientometric analysis of articles published in «History of Education». This analysis is structured around the following research questions:

RQ1. What is the current state of scholarly literature about the history of education?

at the Past, Analysing the Present and Reflecting on the Future—a Transnational Perspective, «Paedagogica Historica», vol. 59, n. 5, 2023: pp. 837-846, <<https://doi.org/10.1080/00309230.2021.1962927>> (last access: 10.09.2025).

¹⁴ J.L. Hernández Huerta, S. González Gómez, I. Pérez Miranda, *History of Education in the Iberian Peninsula (2014-2019). Societies, Journals and Conferences in Spain and Portugal. L'histoire de l'éducation Dans La Péninsule Ibérique (2014-2019): Associations Savantes, Revues et Colloques En France et En Espagne*, «Histoire de l'éducation», n. 154, December 31, 2022, pp. 177-206, <<https://doi.org/10.4000/HISTOIRE-EDUCATION.5730>> (last access: 10.09.2025).

- RQ2. How does keyword clustering contribute to our understanding of the historical development of educational practices and theories?
- RQ3. What trends are identified and illustrated through scientometric map analysis within the history of education?
- RQ4. What insights does citation analysis of scholarly articles in the history of education yield regarding prevailing trends and influences in the discipline?

Methodology

Bibliometric Analysis

Bibliometric analysis is a quantitative research method that utilizes statistical tools to evaluate and analyze published literature within a specific field or discipline¹⁵. By examining various metrics such as publication frequency, citation counts, authorship patterns, and journal impact factors, bibliometric analysis helps to identify trends, emerging topics, and the intellectual structure of a research area¹⁶. This method benefits researchers and policymakers as it provides insights into the evolution of knowledge, the influence of specific works or authors, and the collaborative networks that shape scientific discourse¹⁷. Consequently, bibliometric analysis is a valuable tool for recognizing shifts in research focus, assessing the impact of scholarly contributions, and guiding future research directions.

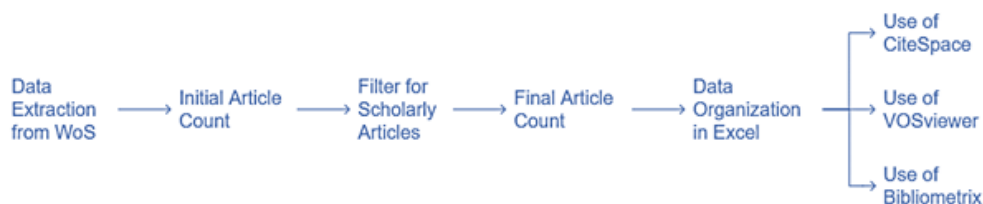
¹⁵ C.J. Gómez-Carrasco *et alii*, *A Review of Literature on History Education: An Analysis of the Conceptual, Intellectual and Social Structure of a Knowledge Domain (2000–2019)*, «European Journal of Education», vol. 57, n. 3, September 1, 2022, pp. 497-511, <<https://doi.org/10.1111/EJED.12508>> (last access: 10.09.2025); J. Monteagudo-Fernández, C.J. Gómez-Carrasco, Á. Chaparro-Sainz, *Heritage Education and Research in Museums. Conceptual, Intellectual and Social Structure within a Knowledge Domain (2000-2019)*, «Sustainability», vol. 13, n. 12, June 11, 2021, p. 6667, <<https://doi.org/10.3390/SU13126667>> (last access: 10.09.2025).

¹⁶ W. Hassan, A. Eliene Duarte, *Bibliometric Analysis: A Few Suggestions*, «Current Problems in Cardiology», vol. 49, n. 8, August 1, 2024, pp. 102640, <<https://doi.org/10.1016/J.CPCARDIOL.2024.102640>> (last access: 10.09.2025); N. Donthu *et alii*, *How to Conduct a Bibliometric Analysis: An Overview and Guidelines*, «Journal of Business Research», vol. 133, September 1, 2021, pp. 285-296, <<https://doi.org/10.1016/J.JBUSRES.2021.04.070>> (last access: 10.09.2025).

¹⁷ M.L. Kumar, R.J. George, P.S. Anisha, *Bibliometric Analysis for Medical Research*, «Indian Journal of Psychological Medicine», vol. 45, n. 3, May 1, 2023, pp. 277-282, <https://doi.org/10.1177/02537176221103617/ASSET/FBFD93F-3BAE-4C35-A560-93EC2F806325/ASSETS/IMAGES/LARGE/10.1177_02537176221103617-FIG2.JPG> (last access: 20.09.2025).

Search Strategy and Data Collection

The study employed data from the Web of Science (WoS) database, extracted on April 6, 2025, to investigate specific research inquiries. WoS was chosen over Scopus due to its broader array of pertinent articles¹⁸. The collected data facilitated the creation of a comprehensive and interdisciplinary citation profile, utilizing Excel for data organization and employing tools such as CiteSpace, VOSviewer, and Bibliometrix to generate network diagrams in line with methodologies used in prior research. Furthermore, traditional descriptive methods previously applied in this field have proven inadequate for addressing emerging challenges. The inclusion criteria were established: initially, a search using the keyword «History of Education» yielded 2,145 articles without any restrictions. To refine the article's focus to scholarly articles exclusively, the restriction “articles only” was applied, increasing to 1.590 articles. After a thorough review and eliminating irrelevant entries, the final count of articles was reduced to 1.500. The data extraction process from the WoS database employed a targeted search strategy that incorporated specific keywords, as illustrated in Figure 1. The discipline of scientometrics relies on various essential software applications for data analysis and visualization, including Microsoft Excel (2013), CiteSpace (6.3.1), VOSviewer (VOS) (1.6.20), and the Bibliometrix package (3.1.4), which operates within the R programming environment (3.6.3). These software tools are crucial in bibliometrics, offering distinct functionalities catering to diverse analytical needs.

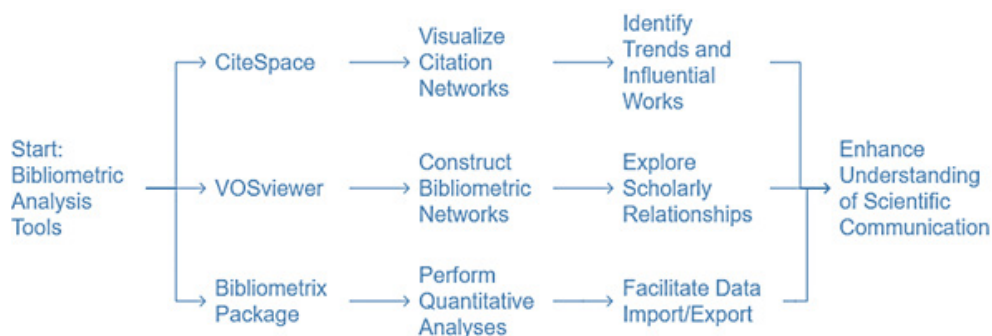


The methodological data collection and analysis strategy

CiteSpace (6.3.1), VOSviewer (1.6.20), and the Bibliometrix package (3.1.4) are prominent tools utilized in bibliometric analysis and visualization, each offering unique functionalities for researchers. CiteSpace is designed to visualize

¹⁸ L. Yan, W. Zhiping, *Mapping the Literature on Academic Publishing: A Bibliometric Analysis on WOS*, «SAGE Open», vol. 13, n. 1, January 1, 2023, <https://doi.org/10.1177/21582440231158562/SUPPL_FILE/SJ-DOCX-1-SGO-10.1177_21582440231158562.DOCX> (last access: 20.09.2025).

scientific literature's structure and dynamics, enabling users to identify trends, emerging topics, and influential works through its citation network analysis capabilities¹⁹. VOSviewer, on the other hand, specializes in constructing and visualizing bibliometric networks, such as co-authorship, co-citation, and keyword co-occurrence networks, providing an intuitive interface for exploring complex relationships within scholarly data²⁰. The Bibliometrix package, implemented in R, offers a comprehensive suite of tools for quantitative research in bibliometrics, allowing users to perform various analyses, including citation analysis, collaboration networks, and thematic mapping, while also facilitating the import and export of bibliographic data²¹. These tools enhance the understanding of scientific communication and knowledge dissemination across disciplines.



Pic. 2. Data visualization software.

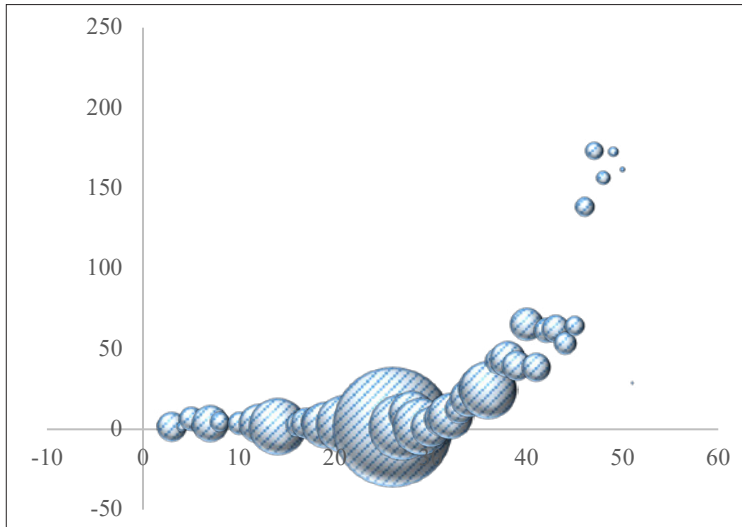
¹⁹ C. Chen, *Science Mapping: A Systematic Review of the Literature*, «Journal of Data and Information Science», vol. 2, n. 2, May 1, 2017, <<https://doi.org/10.1515/JDIS-2017-0006>> (last access: 20.09.2025); C. Chen, L. Leydesdorff, *Patterns of Connections and Movements in Dual-Map Overlays: A New Method of Publication Portfolio Analysis*, «Journal of the American Society for Information Science and Technology», vol. 65, n. 2, 2014, pp. 334-351, <<https://doi.org/10.1002/ASI.22968>> (last access: 20.09.2025).

²⁰ N. Jan van Eck, L. Waltman, *Visualizing Bibliometric Networks*, «Measuring Scholarly Impact», 2014, pp. 285-320, <https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-10377-8_13> (last access: 20.09.2025).

²¹ M. Aria, C. Cuccurullo, *Bibliometrix: An R-Tool for Comprehensive Science Mapping Analysis*, «Journal of Informetrics», vol. 11, n. 4, 2017, pp. 959-975, <<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.joi.2017.08.007>> (last access: 20.09.2025).

Result

Performance Information



Pic. 3. Annual Production and Citation.

Tab. 1. Primary information about the collected documents.

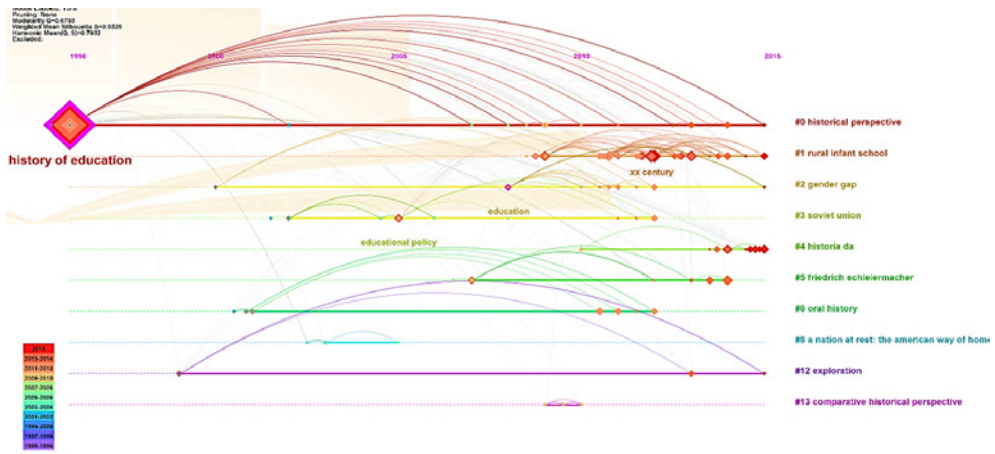
Description	Results
Timespan	1976:2025
Sources (Journals, Books, etc)	480
Documents	1500
Annual Growth Rate %	4.74
Document Average Age	7.82
Average citations per doc	3.079
References	63188
Keywords Plus (ID)	541
Author's Keywords (DE)	3624
Authors	1881
Authors of single-authored docs	720
Single-authored docs	913
Co-Authors per Doc	1.6
International co-authorships %	8.533

The data presented in the article on the history of education reveals a complex and evolving system of educational articles published over several de-

acades, characterized by fluctuations in the number of articles and their mean total citations per article (MeanTCperArt). Initially, the late 1970s and early 1980s show a relatively low output of articles, with notable peaks in citation rates, particularly in 1981 and 1986, suggesting that particular articles during these years had a significant impact or relevance. The 1990s exhibit a more consistent production of articles, with a notable spike in citations in 1995, indicating a possible shift in educational discourse or the emergence of influential research. The early 2000s continue this trend, with 2000 marking an extraordinary citation peak, likely reflecting a pivotal moment in educational research. However, as we progress into the 2010s and beyond, there is a marked increase in the number of articles published, particularly in 2020 and 2021, yet this is accompanied by a decline in mean citations per article, suggesting that while more research is being produced, it may not be receiving the same level of impact or recognition as earlier works. The data indicates a potential saturation of educational literature, where the sheer volume of articles dilutes individual contributions' significance. Furthermore, the downward trend in mean citations per article from 2020 onwards raises questions about the quality and relevance of recent publications.

The analysis of the essay on the history of education, as presented in Table 1, reveals a comprehensive overview of the academic landscape within this field from 1976 to 2025. With 480 sources contributing to 1,500 documents, the annual growth rate of 4.74% indicates a steady increase in scholarly output, suggesting a growing interest and investment in educational research. The average age of documents at 7.82 years implies a relatively recent body of work reflecting contemporary educational issues and innovations. The average citations per document, standing at 3.079, suggests that while the research is being produced significantly, the impact of individual papers was modest, indicating potential challenges in achieving widespread recognition or influence. The total of 63,188 references highlights the extensive interconnectivity and reliance on prior research within the field, while the presence of 541 Keywords Plus and 3,624 Author's Keywords indicates a diverse range of topics and themes being explored. The authorship data reveals a collaborative environment, with 1,881 authors contributing to the literature, of which 720 have produced single-authored documents, suggesting a balance between individual and collaborative research efforts. The average of 1.6 co-authors per document and the 8.533% rate of international co-authorships further emphasize the collaborative nature of educational research, potentially enhancing the quality and breadth of the findings.

Clustering Trend

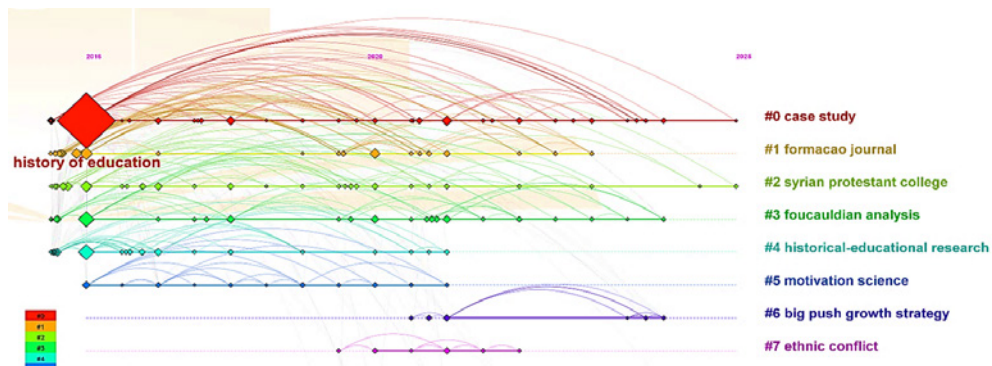


Keyword co-occurrence analysis of the history of education (1976-2015)

The analysis of the significant clusters reveals a diverse range of topics, with the largest cluster focusing on «historical perspective», indicating a substantial interest in historical analysis, particularly around 2009. Following this, the second cluster, «rural infant school», suggests a focus on educational themes, emerging in 2012, while the third cluster, «gender gap», also from 2012, highlights ongoing discussions about gender issues. Other notable clusters include «soviet union», which reflects historical geopolitical studies from 2006, and «Friedrich Schleiermacher», indicating philosophical or theological inquiries from 2011. The presence of clusters like «oral history» and «exploration» further emphasizes a blend of historical narrative and inquiry into human experiences. The clusters illustrate a rich tapestry of academic interests, highlighting historical and educational themes across various years.

The analysis of citation counts, degree, centrality, and sigma across various clusters reveals a clear hierarchy of significance within the educational research landscape. The «history of education» in Cluster #0 stands out prominently, leading in citation counts (172), degree (139), centrality (0.89), and sigma (1.00), indicating its foundational role in the field. In Cluster #1, topics such as «XIX-XX centuries» and «XX century» show moderate citation counts and degree, but they lack the centrality and sigma scores of the top-ranked item. Educational policy in Cluster #3 also demonstrates notable importance, ranking fourth in citation counts and degree while maintaining a consistent sigma score of 1.00. Other clusters, such as Cluster #2 with «education» and Cluster #6 with «special education», exhibit strong sigma scores, suggesting their relevance in educational discourse despite lower citation counts. The data

illustrates that while the «history of education» is the most influential, other topics contribute significantly to the academic dialogue, particularly in specialized areas like educational policy and special education.



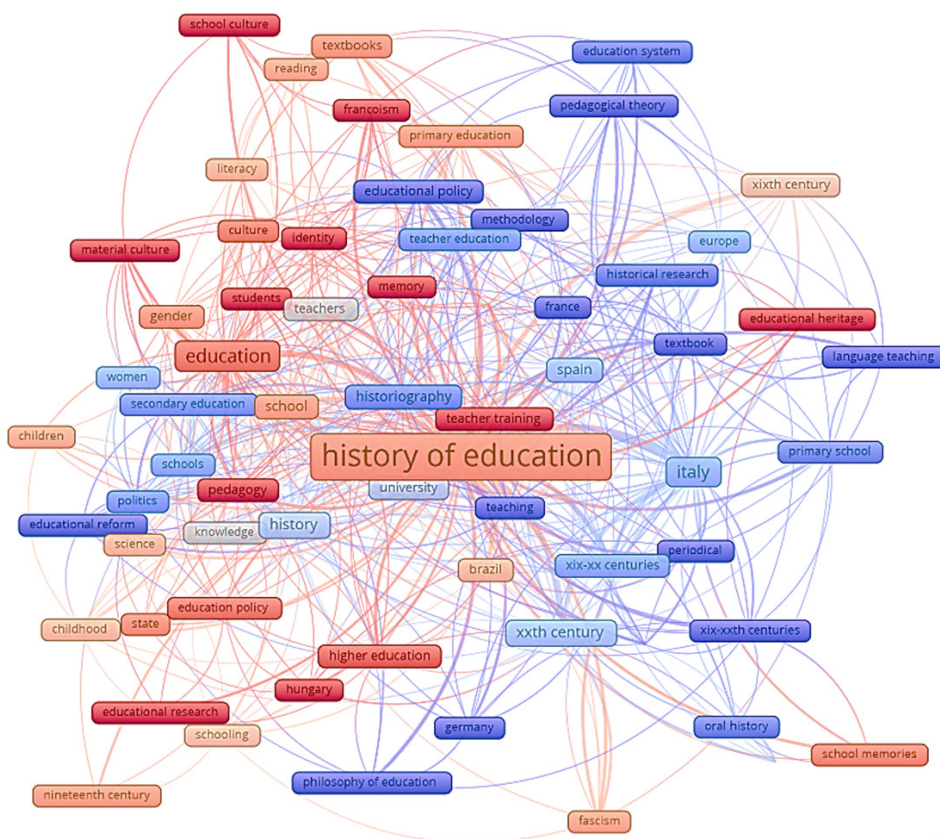
Keyword co-occurrence analysis of the history of education (2016-2025)

The network analysis reveals a structure comprising 11 clusters, with the most significant seven clusters exhibiting distinct themes and characteristics. Cluster #0, labeled as a «case study», is the most extensive, with 57 members focusing on historical education topics, while Cluster #1, «formacao journal», encompasses 38 members and emphasizes scientific production in education. The third cluster, «Syrian protestant college», highlights 19th-century educational themes with 37 members. The fourth cluster, «Foucauldian analysis», explores educational research and cultural aspects with 34 members. Cluster #4, «historical-educational research», delves into public memory and educational heritage with 31 members. Smaller clusters, such as «motivation science» and «big push growth strategy», contain 13 and 10 members, respectively, focusing on motivation in education and strategic growth in educational contexts. Each cluster is characterized by a silhouette value of 0, indicating a lack of clear separation between members, suggesting that while they are grouped by thematic relevance, the boundaries between clusters may be fluid.

The analysis of citation counts, bursts, degree, centrality, and sigma across various clusters reveals a clear hierarchy of the significance of education-related topics. The «history of education» in Cluster #0 stands out prominently with the highest citation count of 632, indicating its substantial influence and recognition in academic discourse. In contrast, other topics such as «XX century» and «education» have significantly lower citation counts of 48 and 42, respectively. Notably, all items exhibit a burst value of 0.00, suggesting a lack of recent spikes in interest or activity. In terms of degree, «history of educa-

tion» again leads with a degree of 136, followed by «school» and «history» in Cluster #1, which have degrees of 36 and 35, respectively. Centrality metrics further emphasize the importance of «history of education», which has a centrality score of 1.05, while other topics like «school» and «education» follow with lower scores. Lastly, all top-ranked items share a sigma value 1.00, indicating consistent relevance across the clusters. Overall, the data underscores the dominant role of historical perspectives in educational research, highlighting the relative obscurity of other topics within the academic landscape.

Keywords Trend

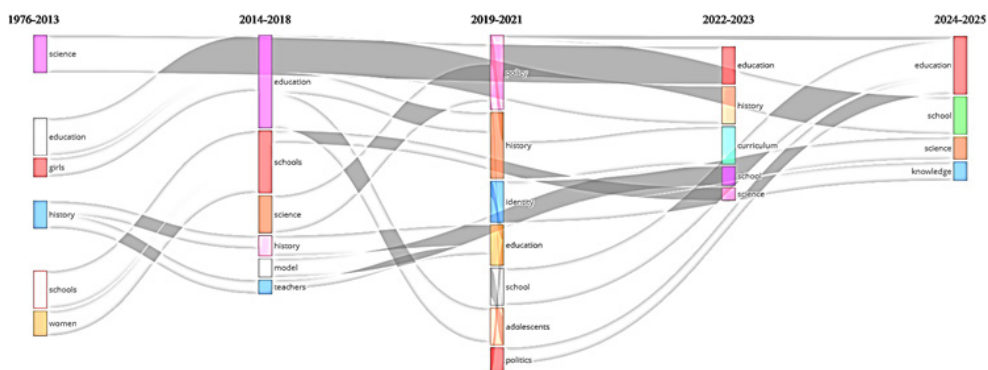


Overlay visualization map

In the context of the history of education, several keywords emerge as particularly strategic, indicating potential motors and trends for future research.

Notably, «history of education» (1561 occurrences) and «education» (937 occurrences) serve as foundational concepts that anchor the field. Additionally, «educational policy» (1049 occurrences) and «curriculum» (724 occurrences) are critical for understanding the frameworks that shape educational systems. Emerging themes such as «gender» (1351 occurrences), «identity» (1757 occurrences), and «cultural identity» (711 occurrences) suggest a growing interest in the intersection of education with social constructs and personal narratives. Furthermore, keywords like «higher education» (1462 occurrences) and «teacher education» (3532 occurrences) indicate a focus on the evolving roles of educators and institutions in shaping educational landscapes. As these themes continue to develop, they drive future inquiries into the complexities of educational history and its implications for contemporary practices.

The coverage analysis (Pic. 6) reveals that keywords can be divided into two categories. The first category, denoted by a light oil blue color, includes foundational and supportive concepts that have gained importance within the field. This cluster features terms such as oral history (2016 Apy), educational reform (2015 Avr.pub.year), cultural identity (2015 Apy), primary school (2016 Apy), and textbook (2014 Apy). These keywords are crucial for comprehending the broader context of technological progress in education and health. In contrast, the second category, marked in red, consists of emerging and innovative keywords that, as suggested by the topic map analysis, have the potential to either gain or lose relevance over time. This group encompasses terms such as memory (2021 Apy), identity (2021 Apy), school culture (2021 Apy), higher education (2019 Apy), educational heritage (2020 Apy), material culture (2020 Apy), pedagogy (2021 Apy), and Francoism (2019 Apy).



Thematic evaluation

The analysis of the essay on the history of education, as illustrated by the transitions in keywords from 1976 to 2025, reveals significant thematic shifts and continuities in educational discourse over time. The data indicates that

from 1976 to 2013, the focus was predominantly on foundational concepts such as «education», «girls», «history», «schools», and «science», reflecting a broad interest in the historical and social dimensions of education. However, the period from 2014 to 2018 shows a nuanced shift towards more specific themes, including «school» and «teachers», suggesting an increased emphasis on the practical aspects of education and the roles of educators. The subsequent transition from 2019 to 2021 introduces new dimensions such as «children», «politics», and «identity», indicating a growing recognition of the socio-political context of education and the importance of diverse identities within educational settings. As we move into 2022-2023, the keywords reflect a consolidation of these themes, with a continued focus on «education», «school», and «curriculum», while also incorporating concepts like «knowledge» and «pedagogy», which highlight the evolving nature of educational practices and theories. The final transition to 2024-2025 suggests a potential return to foundational themes, with a sustained emphasis on «education» and «science», while also integrating contemporary issues such as «state» and «knowledge».

References Trend

Tab. 2. The ten most influential articles in the history of education (1976-2019).

Paper	Source	TC	TC per Year	Normalized TC
22	<i>Journal of computer-assisted learning</i>	214	13.38	11.68
23	<i>Review of educational research</i>	164	6.31	2.00
24	<i>American Educational Research Journal</i>	104	11.56	25.10
25	<i>American Educational Research Journal</i>	59	1.90	3.23

(segue)

²² A. Collins, R. Halverson, *The Second Educational Revolution: Rethinking Education in the Age of Technology*, «Journal of Computer Assisted Learning», vol. 26, n. 1, February 1, 2010, pp. 18-27, <<https://doi.org/10.1111/J.1365-2729.2009.00339.X>> (last access: 20.09.2025).

²³ V. Siddle Walker, *Valued Segregated Schools for African American Children in the South, 1935-1969: A Review of Common Themes and Characteristics*, «Review of Educational Research», vol. 70, n. 3, 2000, pp. 253-285, <<https://doi.org/10.3102/00346543070003253>> (last access: 20.09.2025).

²⁴ D.K. Cohen, J.D. Mehta, *Why Reform Sometimes Succeeds: Understanding the Conditions That Produce Reforms That Last*, «American Educational Research Journal», vol. 54, n. 4, August 1, 2017, pp. 644-690, <<https://doi.org/10.3102/0002831217700078>> (last access: 20.09.2025).

²⁵ J. Garrison, *Deweyan Pragmatism and the Epistemology of Contemporary Social Constructivism*, «American Educational Research Journal», vol. 32, n. 4, December 1995, pp. 716-740, <<https://doi.org/10.3102/00028312032004716>> (last access: 20.09.2025).

Paper	Source	TC	TC per Year	Normalized TC
26	<i>International Review of Research in Open and Distance Learning open access</i>	57	4.75	9.82
27	<i>Language & History</i>	56	4.67	9.65
28	<i>Curriculum Inquiry</i>	54	3.38	2.95
29	<i>Journal of Philosophy of Education</i>	53	2.65	4.68
30	<i>PloS one</i>	47	3.92	8.10
31	<i>Review of educational research</i>	40	1.60	1.63

The analysis of citation metrics for the listed papers reveals varying levels of impact and recognition within the educational research community. Collins and Halverson (2010) lead with a total citation count (TC) of 214, indicating significant influence, particularly with a high normalized TC of 11.68, suggesting sustained relevance over time³². Cohen and Mehta (2017) also demonstrate a strong impact with a normalized TC of 25.10, reflecting their work's importance in understanding educational reform³³.

The collection of articles presents a multifaceted exploration of educational paradigms, historical contexts, and reform dynamics, reflecting the evolving landscape of education. Collins and Halverson (2010) argue for a transformative educational approach in the digital age, emphasizing integrating technolo-

²⁶ S. Bulfin, L. Pangrazio, N. Selwyn, *Making 'MOOCs': The Construction of a New Digital Higher Education within News Media Discourse*, «International Review of Research in Open and Distributed Learning», vol. 15, n. 5, 2014, pp. 290-305, <<https://doi.org/10.19173/IRRODL.V15I5.1856>> (last access: 20.09.2025).

²⁷ A.P.R. Howatt, R. Smith, *The History of Teaching English as a Foreign Language, from a British and European Perspective*, «Language & History», vol. 57, n. 1, May 1, 2014, pp. 75-95, <<https://doi.org/10.1179/1759753614Z.000000000028>> (last access: 10.09.2025).

²⁸ A. Cook-Sather, *Students as Learners and Teachers: Taking Responsibility, Transforming Education, and Redefining Accountability*, «Curriculum Inquiry», vol. 40, n. 4, September 2010, pp. 555-575, <<https://doi.org/10.1111/J.1467-873X.2010.00501.X>> (last access: 20.10.2025).

²⁹ D. Bridges, *The Disciplines and Discipline of Educational Research*, «Journal of Philosophy of Education», vol. 40, n. 2, July 10, 2006, pp. 259-272, <<https://doi.org/10.1111/J.1467-9752.2006.00503.X>> (last access: 20.09.2025).

³⁰ A. Goodman, A. Heshmati, I. Koupil, *Family History of Education Predicts Eating Disorders across Multiple Generations among 2 Million Swedish Males and Females*, «PLOS ONE», vol. 9, n. 8, August 27, 2014, p. e106475, <<https://doi.org/10.1371/JOURNAL.PONE.0106475>> (last access: 20.10.2025).

³¹ J.L. Paul, K. Marfo, *Preparation of Educational Researchers in Philosophical Foundations of Inquiry*, «Review of Educational Research», vol. 71, n. 4, 2001, pp. 525-547, <<https://doi.org/10.3102/00346543071004525>> (last access: 20.09.2025).

³² Collins, Halverson, *The Second Educational Revolution: Rethinking Education in the Age of Technology*, cit.

³³ Cohen, Mehta, *Why Reform Sometimes Succeeds: Understanding the Conditions That Produce Reforms That Last*, cit.

gy into learning environments³⁴. Walker (2000) provides a historical analysis of segregated schools for African American children, highlighting the complex interplay of value and identity in marginalized educational settings³⁵. Cohen and Mehta (2017) investigate the conditions that lead to successful and sustainable educational reforms, suggesting that understanding these factors is essential for effective change³⁶. Garrison (1995) connects Deweyan pragmatism with contemporary social constructivism, offering a philosophical lens to view educational practices³⁷. Bulfin *et alii* (2014) examine the rise of MOOCs and their portrayal in media, indicating a shift in higher education dynamics³⁸. Howatt and Smith (2014) trace the historical development of English language teaching, providing insights into pedagogical evolution³⁹. Cook-Sather (2010) advocates for student agency in learning, promoting a model where students are both learners and teachers⁴⁰. Bridges (2006) discusses the disciplinary nature of educational research, emphasizing the importance of philosophical inquiry⁴¹. Goodman et al. (2014) reveal the intergenerational impact of educational history on health outcomes, linking educational experiences to broader societal issues⁴². Lastly, Paul and Marfo (2001) address the need for a solid philosophical foundation in preparing educational researchers, underscoring the importance of inquiry in educational practice⁴³. Together, these articles contribute to a comprehensive understanding of the complexities and interconnections within the field of education.

³⁴ Collins, Halverson, *The Second Educational Revolution: Rethinking Education in the Age of Technology*, cit.

³⁵ Walker, *Valued Segregated Schools for African American Children in the South, 1935-1969: A Review of Common Themes and Characteristics*, cit.

³⁶ Cohen, Mehta, *Why Reform Sometimes Succeeds: Understanding the Conditions That Produce Reforms That Last*, cit.

³⁷ Garrison, *Deweyan Pragmatism and the Epistemology of Contemporary Social Constructivism*, cit.

³⁸ Bulfin, Pangrazio, Selwyn, *Making 'MOOCs': The Construction of a New Digital Higher Education within News Media Discourse*, cit.

³⁹ Howatt, Smith, *The History of Teaching English as a Foreign Language, from a British and European Perspective*, cit.

⁴⁰ Cook-Sather, *Students as Learners and Teachers: Taking Responsibility, Transforming Education, and Redefining Accountability*, cit.

⁴¹ Bridges, *The Disciplines and Discipline of Educational Research*, cit.

⁴² Goodman, Heshmati, Koupil, *Family History of Education Predicts Eating Disorders across Multiple Generations among 2 Million Swedish Males and Females*, cit.

⁴³ Paul, Marfo, *Preparation of Educational Researchers in Philosophical Foundations of Inquiry*, cit.

Tab. 3. The five most influential articles in the history of education (2020-2025).

Paper	Source	TC	TC per Year	Normalized TC
44	Critical Studies in Education	53	10.60	33.17
45	Phi Delta Kappan	39	7.80	24.41
46	Oxford Review of Education	26	4.33	13.64
47	Paedagogica Historica	24	4.00	12.59
48	Journal of Vocational Education & Training	21	3.50	11.02

The citation metrics for the listed papers indicate varying levels of impact within the educational research community. Ozga (2021) leads with a total citation count (TC) of 53 and a high normalized TC of 33.17, suggesting significant influence and relevance in critical policy discussions. Coburn *et alii* (2021) follow with 39 citations and a normalized TC of 24.41, reflecting their contribution to research-practice partnerships. Kirby (2020) and Ydesen & Grek (2020) show moderate citation counts, indicating a growing interest in historical perspectives on dyslexia and OECD influence, respectively. Martínez-Morales and Marhuenda-Fluixá (2020) have the lowest metrics, suggesting their work on vocational education is still gaining traction.

The selected articles collectively engage with critical themes in educational policy, historical perspectives, and the dynamics of research-practice partnerships. Ozga (2021) critiques the development of policy sociology, emphasizing the need to interrogate the assumptions and power structures underlying educational policies. Coburn, Penuel, and Farrell (2021) advocate for research-practice partnerships to foster educational improvement, highlighting the importance of collaboration between researchers and practitioners to bridge the gap between theory and practice. Kirby (2020) provides a historical

⁴⁴ J. Ozga, *Problematising Policy: The Development of (Critical) Policy Sociology*, «Critical Studies in Education» vol. 62, n. 3, May 27, 2021, pp. 290-305, <<https://doi.org/10.1080/17508487.2019.1697718>> (last access: 10.09.2025).

⁴⁵ C.E. Coburn, W.R. Penuel, C.C. Farrell, *Fostering Educational Improvement with Research-Practice Partnerships*, «Phi Delta Kappan», vol. 102, n. 7, April 1, 2021, pp. 14-19, <<https://doi.org/10.1177/00317217211007332>> (last access: 20.09.2025).

⁴⁶ P. Kirby, *Dyslexia Debated, Then and Now: A Historical Perspective on the Dyslexia Debate*, «Oxford Review of Education», vol. 46, n. 4, July 3, 2020, pp. 472-486, <<https://doi.org/10.1080/03054985.2020.1747418>> (last access: 20.09.2025).

⁴⁷ C. Ydesen, S. Grek, *Securing Organisational Survival: A Historical Inquiry into the OECD's Work in Education during the 1960s*, «Paedagogica Historica», vol. 56, n. 3, May 3, 2020, pp. 412-427, <<https://doi.org/10.1080/00309230.2019.1604774>> (last access: 20.09.2025).

⁴⁸ I. Martínez-Morales, F. Marhuenda-Fluixá, *Vocational Education and Training in Spain: Steady Improvement and Increasing Value*, «Journal of Vocational Education & Training», vol. 72, n. 2, April 2, 2020, pp. 209-227, <<https://doi.org/10.1080/13636820.2020.1729840>> (last access: 10.09.2025).

analysis of the dyslexia debate, illustrating how perceptions and understandings of dyslexia have evolved, which informs current educational practices. Ydesen and Grek (2020) delve into the OECD's historical role in shaping educational policies during the 1960s, revealing how international organizations influence national education systems. Lastly, Martínez-Morales and Marhuenda-Fluixá (2020) discuss the advancements in vocational education and training in Spain, noting its growing significance and value in the educational landscape. Together, these articles contribute to a nuanced understanding of the complexities of educational policy, the interplay between historical context and contemporary practices, and the importance of collaborative approaches to educational improvement.

Discussion

The study of educational literature from 1976 to 2025 reveals significant trends in research output and impact. There was low article production from the late 1970s to the early 2000s, with citation peaks in 1981 and 1986. However, since the 2010s, there has been a significant increase in published articles but a decline in average citations per article, suggesting saturation within literature. As the other studies approve this finding⁴⁹.

The analysis of keyword co-occurrence in the history of education from 1976 to 2025 reveals significant shifts in research trends over the decades. In the earlier period (1976-2015), the focus was predominantly on historical perspectives, with a notable peak in interest around 2009, alongside emerging themes such as rural education and gender issues from 2012⁵⁰.

The bibliometric data reveal a well-defined hierarchy in which the «history of education» cluster occupies a central and foundational position. This cluster underscores its continued and growing recognition among scholars, as historical perspectives have long provided the analytical framework necessary for understanding educational traditions. Seminal works on teacher education

⁴⁹ Roda-Segarra, Rico, Huerta, *The History of Education through Specialised Journals: Themes, Scientific Production and Bibliometrics* (1967-2022), cit.; J.L. Hernández Huerta, S. González Gómez, I. Pérez Miranda, *History of Education in the Iberian Peninsula* (2014-2019). *Societies, Journals and Conferences in Spain and Portugal*, «Histoire de l'éducation», n. 154, December 31, 2020, pp. 177-206, <<https://doi.org/10.4000/HISTOIRE-EDUCATION.5730>> (last access: 22.09.2025).

⁵⁰ M. Cekiso *et alii*, *Factors Affecting Grade 6 Learners' Reading Performance in a Rural School in Maluti, South Africa*, «Reading and Writing (South Africa)», vol. 13, n. 1, 2022, <<https://doi.org/10.4102/RW.V13I1.327>> (last access: 22.09.2025); G. Chisamya *et alii*, *Gender and Education for All: Progress and Problems in Achieving Gender Equity*, «International Journal of Educational Development», vol. 32, n. 6, November 1, 2012, pp. 743-755, <<https://doi.org/10.1016/J.IJEDUDEV.2011.10.004>> (last access: 20.09.2025).

highlight themes related to the historiography of education, illustrating how history has shaped debates about curriculum and policy⁵¹. Studies focusing on the pedagogical challenges associated with teaching history, such as those addressing truth and reconciliation, further exemplify the importance of historical inquiry within education⁵².

In contrast to this historically dominant cluster, the period spanning 2016-2025 exhibits a marked diversification of educational inquiries. The emergence of distinct clusters reflects a broadening of research force, where topics such as case studies and specific publication outlets have gained prominence. For instance, the appearance of a «case study» cluster aligns with qualitative research approaches that underline unique instances of educational change, as described in detailed investigations of educational practice transformations⁵³. The thematic analyses of the «Educação & Formação Journal» have revealed evolving educational discussions, reaffirming the journal's role as a significant platform for academic discourse within the field⁵⁴.

Moreover, the diversification noted in this later period parallels trends observed in emerging domains such as telecollaborative learning, where new methodological approaches and cross-disciplinary integrations have been highlighted⁵⁵. However, the overall analysis also reveals an absence of significant citation spikes across several newer topics, suggesting that despite the broader array of themes, some areas might be experiencing a degree of stagnation or slower developmental momentum relative to the robust legacy of historical studies. Thus, while the «history of education» continues to dominate the academic landscape, the evolving research landscape indicates both the promise and challenges of integrating novel themes into the broader field of educational inquiry.

The analysis of keyword trends in the history of education highlights a dynamic evolution concerning thematic focus over the decades. From 1976 to 2013, the discourse predominantly revolved around foundational concepts

⁵¹ L. Lefty, *Teacher Education and Teachers' Colleges*, «Handbook of Historical Studies in Education: Debates, Tensions, and Directions», 2019, pp. 1-15.

⁵² J. Miles, *Teaching History for Truth and Reconciliation: The Challenges and Opportunities of Narrativity, Temporality, and Identity*, «McGill Journal of Education», vol. 53, n. 2, March 29, 2019, <<https://doi.org/10.7202/1058399AR>> (last access: 20.09.2025).

⁵³ S.K. Kado, I. Lindemann, G. Brand, *Supporting Pacific Clinicians' Medical Education Practice Change through Faculty Development: A Qualitative Case Study*, «Focus on Health Professional Education: A Multi-Professional Journal», September 30, 2022, pp. 1-17, <<https://doi.org/10.11157/FOHPE.V23I3.598>> (last access: 10.09.2025).

⁵⁴ L. Machado *et alii*, *Educação & Formação Journal: Balance of Scientific Production (2016-2018)*, «Revista Tempos e Espaços Em Educação», vol. 13, n. 32, 2020, p. 12, <<https://doi.org/10.20952/revtee.v13i32.12926>> (last access: 10.09.2025).

⁵⁵ R. O'Dowd, *Emerging Trends and New Directions in Telecollaborative Learning*, «CALICO Journal», vol. 33, n. 3, November 4, 2016, pp. 291-310, <<https://doi.org/10.1558/CJ.V33I3.30747;CTYPE:STRING:JOURNAL>> (last access: 20.09.2025).

such as «education», «girls», «history», «schools», and «science», indicating significant interest in the historical and social dimensions of education. These themes reflect an engagement with education's fundamental structures and societal roles and align with the socio-political contexts influencing education systems⁵⁶. The scholarly focus during this period underscores the need for a nuanced understanding of educational frameworks in various socio-historical conditions, as evidenced by works examining educational practices across different cultures and political climates⁵⁷.

A marked shift occurred between 2014 and 2018 when the emphasis transitioned towards more specific themes, notably «school» and «teachers». This period reflects a growing interest in the practical aspects of education, including the roles and identities of educators, as documented in studies exploring the pressures faced by new teacher educators and their professional integration into educational systems⁵⁸. The research recognizes educators as pivotal to the learning process and the implementation of effective educational practices, which align with ongoing discussions about teacher identity and educator roles in contemporary education⁵⁹.

The period from 2019 to 2021 marked further evolution, with emerging themes such as «children», «politics», and «identity», signifying an increasing acknowledgment of the socio-political context and the importance of diverse identities within educational settings. Education is a powerful agent for so-

⁵⁶ N. de Podestá, S. Berg, *Ew University: Liberal Education and Arts in Brazil*, in *5th International Conference on Higher Education Advances*, 2019, <<https://doi.org/10.4995/head19.2019.9514>> (last access: 20.09.2025); N.V. Sitnikova, A.D. Nikolaeva – European Proceedings of, *The Specifics Of The Portrait Of A Nomadic Teacher (Educator)*, in *Europeanproceedings.com* NV Sitnikova, AD NikolaevaEuropean Proceedings of Social and Behavioural, *Sciences.europeanproceedings.com*, n. 126, June 3, 2022, pp. 886-896, <<https://doi.org/10.15405/EPBSBS.2022.06.98>> (last access: 20.09.2025).

⁵⁷ Sitnikova, *The Specifics Of The Portrait Of A Nomadic Teacher (Educator)*, cit.; K.H. Mok, P.T. Ng, K.H. Mok, *Singapore's Global Education Hub AmbitionsUniversity Governance Change and Transnational Higher Education*, «International Journal of Educational Management», vol. 22, n. 6, August 15, 2008, pp. 527-546, <<https://doi.org/10.1108/09513540810895444>> (last access: 20.09.2025).

⁵⁸ B. Ponet, *Interrogating the Role of Teacher Educators in the Reduction of Inequalities in Education*, in *AERA 2023 Annual MeetingAt: Chicago*, 2023, <<https://doi.org/10.3102/2061382>> (last access: 20.09.2025); J. Murray, T. Male, *Becoming a Teacher Educator: Evidence from the Field*, «Teaching and Teacher Education», vol. 21, n. 2, February 1, 2005, pp. 125-142, <<https://doi.org/10.1016/J.TATE.2004.12.006>> (last access: 20.09.2025); P Poti et alii, *The Role of Educators and Education Personnel in Increasing the Quality of Education in STKIP Weeetebula, Indonesia*, in *Cyberleninka.RuP Poti, J Rohkmat, L Muhaim-iTraektoriâ Nauki= Path of Science*, 2023.*cyberleninka.ru*, vol. 9, n. 1, January 31, 2023, pp. 2072-2077, <<https://doi.org/10.22178/POS.89-18>> (last access: 20.09.2025).

⁵⁹ K. Livingston, *Teacher Educators: Hidden Professionals?*, «European Journal of Education», vol. 49, n. 2, June 1, 2014, pp. 218-232, <<https://doi.org/10.1111/EJED.12074>> (last access: 20.09.2025); Ponet, *Interrogating the Role of Teacher Educators in the Reduction of Inequalities in Education*, cit.

cio-political socialization, shaping political attitudes and fostering civic engagement among learners⁶⁰. The interplay between education and political contexts is critical, as literature highlights education's role in promoting participation and engagement within democratic frameworks⁶¹.

As we approach 2022-2023, the focus appears to consolidate around core concepts such as «education», «school», and «curriculum» while also incorporating contemporary ideas like «knowledge» and «pedagogy». This point reflects an ongoing discourse concerning the relevance of curricular content and pedagogical methods in fostering effective educational environments⁶². Moreover, integrating technology and acknowledging its impact on education highlight the necessity for adapting educational practices to keep pace with changing societal demands and technological advancements⁶³.

Looking forward to 2024-2025, anticipated trends suggest a potential return to foundational themes, maintaining a significant emphasis on «education» and «science» alongside contemporary issues like «state» and «knowledge». This trajectory indicates a complex interplay between established educational frameworks and emerging socio-cultural dynamics, suggesting a rich landscape for future research (Eacott, 2015; Hodge, 2017)⁶⁴. The need for continuous examination of these themes speaks to the evolving nature of edu-

⁶⁰ I. Seventilofa, *The Relationship between Academic Achievement and Political Views in Indonesia*, «Ganec Swara», vol. 18, n. 2, 2024, <<https://doi.org/10.35327/gara.v18i2.902>> (last access: 20.09.2025); D. Sunshine Hillygus, *The Missing Link: Exploring the Relationship between Higher Education and Political Engagement*, «Political Behavior» vol. 27, n. 1, March 2005, pp. 25-47, <<https://doi.org/10.1007/S11109-005-3075-8/METRICS>> (last access: 20.09.2025).

⁶¹ Hillygus, *The Missing Link: Exploring the Relationship between Higher Education and Political Engagement*; T.S. Dee, *Are There Civic Returns to Education?*, «Journal of Public Economics», vol. 88, n. 9-10, August 1, 2004, pp. 1697-1720, <<https://doi.org/10.1016/J.JPU-BECO.2003.11.002>> (last access: 20.09.2025).

⁶² Z. Walker, *Special Education Teacher Preparation in Singapore's Dual Education System*, «Teacher Education and Special Education», vol. 39, n. 3, August 1, 2016, pp. 178-190, <<https://doi.org/10.1177/0888406415622251>> (last access: 20.09.2025); Murray, Male, *Becoming a Teacher Educator: Evidence from the Field*, cit.; Poti et alii, *The Role of Educators and Education Personnel in Increasing the Quality of Education in STKIP Weeetebula, Indonesia*, cit.

⁶³ B. Fainholc, *Teaching and Learning in the Knowledge Society*, «Encounters on Education», n. 6, 2005, pp. 87-105, <<https://www.memoria.fahce.unlp.edu.ar/library?a=d&c=arti&d=Jpr16923>> (last access: 20.09.2025).

⁶⁴ S. Eacott, *Educational Leadership Relationally: A Theory and Methodology for Educational Leadership, Management and Administration*, in *Educational Leadership Relationally: A Theory and Methodology for Educational Leadership, Management and Administration*, January 1, 2015, pp. 1-151, <<https://doi.org/10.1007/978-94-6209-911-1>> (last access: 20.09.2025); S. Hodge, *Standardised Curriculum and Hermeneutics: The Case of Australian Vocational Educators*, «Journal of Curriculum Studies», vol. 50, n. 1, January 2, 2018, pp. 38-55, <<https://doi.org/10.1080/00220272.2016.1278042>> (last access: 10.09.2025).

cation as it responds to historical contexts and modern exigencies. These are similar to other research⁶⁵.

The analysis of citation metrics from the 1976-2019 and 2020-2025 periods reveals notable shifts in the focus and impact of educational research. In the earlier period, the most influential articles, such as Collins and Halverson (2010) and Cohen and Mehta (2017), emphasized the integration of technology in education and the dynamics of educational reform, respectively, with high total citation counts and normalized citation rates indicating their sustained relevance. The themes explored were broad, encompassing historical contexts, pedagogical evolution, and the philosophical underpinnings of educational practices. In contrast, the more recent articles from 2020-2025, led by Ozga (2021) and Coburn et al. (2021), reflect a shift toward critical policy analysis and the importance of research-practice partnerships, suggesting a growing emphasis on the practical implications of educational research. The normalized citation rates in this latter period are notably high, particularly for Ozga, indicating a substantial impact on contemporary discussions around educational policy. This evolution signifies a transition from a primarily theoretical exploration of educational paradigms to a more applied focus on policy and practice, highlighting the increasing relevance of collaborative approaches in addressing current educational challenges.

New areas in the history of world education have emerged in response to global challenges and advancements in technology, reflecting a more interconnected and interdisciplinary approach⁶⁶. These include the exploration of digital education and the impact of technology on learning environments, which has gained prominence with the rise of online learning platforms and digital resources⁶⁷. Additionally, a growing focus on global citizenship education emphasizes fostering student awareness and understanding of diverse cultures and international issues⁶⁸. Integrating social justice and equity in educational narratives has also become a critical area of study, addressing historical in-

⁶⁵ Roda-Segarra, Rico, Huerta, *The History of Education through Specialised Journals: Themes, Scientific Production and Bibliometrics* (1967-2022), cit.; Gómez-Carrasco et alii, *A Review of Literature on History Education: An Analysis of the Conceptual, Intellectual and Social Structure of a Knowledge Domain* (2000-2019), cit.

⁶⁶ S. Hanisch, D. Eirdosh, *Teaching for the Interdisciplinary Understanding of Evolutionary Concepts*, «Synthese Library», vol. 478, n. 2023, pp. 147-180, <https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-031-33358-3_8> (last access: 22.09.2025).

⁶⁷ E. Lacka, T.C. Wong, *Examining the Impact of Digital Technologies on Students' Higher Education Outcomes: The Case of the Virtual Learning Environment and Social Media*, «Studies in Higher Education», vol. 46, n. 8, 2021, pp. 1621-1634, <<https://doi.org/10.1080/03075079.2019.1698533>> (last access: 22.09.2025).

⁶⁸ C. Mosisa Hunduma, Y. Seyoum, *Multicultural Education and Global Citizenship: Literature Review*, «Multidisciplinary Reviews», vol. 7, n. 10, June 28, 2024, p. 2024223, <<https://doi.org/10.31893/MULTIREV.2024223>> (last access: 22.09.2025).

equalities and advocating for inclusive practices⁶⁹. Furthermore, examining educational responses to crises, such as the COVID-19 pandemic, has opened new avenues for research into resilience and adaptability in educational systems worldwide. These emerging areas reflect a shift towards understanding education as a dynamic and evolving process influenced by cultural, technological, and societal changes.

Conclusion

In conclusion, the bibliometric analysis of the history of education from 1976 to 2025 reveals significant trends and shifts in scholarly output and citation patterns. The steady annual growth rate of 4.74% and the production of 1,500 documents across 480 sources indicate a robust and expanding field of educational research. However, the average number of citations per document, at 3.079, suggests that while the volume of research is increasing, the impact of individual articles may be diminishing, raising concerns about the quality and recognition of recent contributions. The analysis highlights a dynamic landscape characterized by thematic clusters that reflect evolving academic interests, with a notable emphasis on historical perspectives, educational policy, and socio-political contexts. The emergence of keywords related to identity, gender, and educational reform signals a shift towards more nuanced discussions within the field.

Furthermore, the collaborative nature of authorship, evidenced by a significant percentage of international co-authorships, underscores the importance of diverse perspectives in enriching educational discourse. Overall, this research provides valuable insights into the complexities of educational literature, emphasizing the need for ongoing inquiry into the relevance and impact of contemporary educational research as it navigates an increasingly saturated academic environment. Future studies should focus on enhancing the visibility and influence of emerging topics to ensure that the field continues to address pressing educational challenges effectively.

This research is subject to several limitations that impact the comprehensiveness and generalizability of its findings. Firstly, the scope of the literature is confined to articles published in 2025, which may not fully capture the evolving nature of the subject matter beyond that year. Additionally, the reliance on the Web of Science database restricts the breadth of sources considered, potentially omitting relevant studies available in other databases. Furthermore,

⁶⁹ N.R. Wild, *Teaching for Social Justice: A Teacher Researcher's Journey and Evolution*, «The Reading Teacher», vol. 77, n. 3, November 1, 2023, pp. 360-370, <<https://doi.org/10.1002/TRTR.2252>> (last access: 20.09.2025).

focusing on articles as the sole publication type excludes valuable insights in different formats, such as conference proceedings, reports, or books. To enhance the robustness of this research, it would be beneficial to incorporate data from alternative databases such as Google Scholar, Scopus, Emerald, and GStore, which could provide a more diverse array of scholarly contributions and perspectives.

Sul senso della storia della scuola in Giacomo Cives*

Marco Antonio D'Arcangeli
Department of Human Sciences
University of L'Aquila (Italy)
marcoantonio.darcangeli@univaq.it

On the meaning of school history in Giacomo Cives

ABSTRACT: The contribution briefly illustrates the meaning of the historiographical studies of schools and educational institutions in united Italy in the context of historiographical-educational research and in the overall intellectual itinerary of Giacomo Cives (Rome, 1927-2022), highlighting the centrality of its cultural and political commitment to school reform as a tool for democratization of Italian life and society.

EET/TEE KEYWORDS: Giacomo Cives; Historiography of schools and educational institutions; Pedagogical historiography; Italy; XX Century.

Introduzione

Nella bibliografia di Giacomo Cives il numero dei contributi dedicati esclusivamente o in misura preponderante alla storia della scuola risulta in definitiva abbastanza limitato¹. Ben diversa si presenta la situazione per la storia della

* L'invito, oltremodo gradito, di Roberto Sani e di Carmela Covato, di prendere parte al numero monografico di «HECL» su *Mezzo secolo di ricerca storico-educativa in Italia. Protagonisti, itinerari, esperienze* (vol. XX, n. 2, 2025) – dedicato alla celebrazione del ventennale della fondazione di questo prestigioso periodico, trattando il tema dei rapporti fra *Giacomo Cives* (Roma, 22 marzo 1927 – 4 gennaio 2022) e *la ricerca storico-scolastica a Roma*, si è trasformato, nel corso della stesura del contributo, in un'occasione per sviluppare alcune riflessioni di carattere generale sul senso del lavoro storiografico nel complesso delle ricerche, degli studi, delle attività, delle iniziative ecc. di questo intellettuale, già emerito di Storia della pedagogia de “La Sapienza” capitolina. Non essendo stato possibile, per ragioni di spazio e di attinenza all'argomento assegnato, inserirle nel breve saggio di cui sopra, queste righe vengono ora proposte in un testo a parte, grazie alla benevola comprensione e generosa ospitalità, di nuovo, di Roberto Sani e di «HECL». Con l'auspicio e la speranza di fare cosa utile e apprezzata.

¹ Cfr. *Bibliografia degli scritti di Giacomo Cives*, in *Educazione e modernità pedagogica*.

pedagogia o delle idee sull'educazione, che occupa una posizione di rilievo, ma non di incontrastata protagonista, nel contesto di una produzione scientifica caratterizzata da una abbondanza e ricchezza di interessi veramente singolari, annoverando – oltre alle prove letterarie e di critica filosofica giovanili – anche titoli di didattica e metodologia, pedagogia generale e filosofia dell'educazione, letteratura dell'infanzia, politica scolastica e sindacalismo magistrale, ecc. Nel complesso, dunque, benché prevalente la ricerca storiografica sull'educazione rappresenta solo un aspetto della multiforme attività intellettuale di Cives – e in questa, quantitativamente, quella scolastica si trova in una posizione nettamente subordinata. Qualitativamente, però, a due titoli, fra quelli che ne fanno parte, difficilmente si potrebbe negare un posto di assoluto rilievo nella storia della disciplina: alludiamo ai due volumi dell'antologia *Cento anni di vita scolastica in Italia. Ispezioni e inchieste*, da Cives scrupolosamente raccolte, presentate e commentate – il primo volume, *da Gino Capponi a Giuseppe Lombardo Radice*, pubblicato nel 1960, e il secondo, *dall'idealismo a oggi*, uscito nel 1967 (entrambi per i tipi di Armando, Roma) – e a *La scuola italiana dall'Unità ai nostri giorni*, fortunata opera collaborativa da lui curata nel 1990 (Scandicci, Firenze, La Nuova Italia). E l'eccellenza di merito di questi suoi “prodotti” ha fatto (e fa) sì che nonostante la suddetta scarsità numerica, Cives sia stato (e sia) annoverato nella *communis opinio* degli “addetti ai lavori” fra gli storici della scuola, anzi, appunto, fra i maggiori storici della scuola del nostro secondo '900. Restano tuttavia da comprendere le ragioni della “forza” di queste opere – nel quadro “interno” del suaccennato dislivello, quasi paradossale, fra “quantità” e “qualità” – e della loro riuscita, del loro successo “esterno”. Compiti che non possono essere assolti, domande alle quali non è possibile rispondere, però, a nostro parere, se non oltrepassando punti di vista e orizzonti esclusivamente disciplinari, o settoriali.

1. *Cives e l'«esercizio autobiografico»*

Dal 2022 a oggi, vale a dire nei quasi quattro anni trascorsi dalla sua scomparsa, solo un volume antologico e, autori i curatori di quest'ultimo, un esiguo numero di contributi², si sono aggiunti alla letteratura critica disponibile su

Studi in onore di Giacomo Cives, Pisa, ETS, 2004, pp. 527-605. Pubblicata a ridosso del suo pensionamento, questa *Bibliografia* giunge sino al 2002; le conclusioni che consente di trarre, sopra enunciate, possono ritenersi valide anche per gli ultimi lustri della sua lunga vita, nei quali Cives conservò una notevole operosità intellettuale, ma non modificò la gerarchia dei suoi interessi, anzi se mai accentuò la sua predilezione per la storia delle idee. Un aggiornamento e integrazione della bibliografia di Cives è in preparazione a cura dello scrivente e della dott.ssa Claudia Cirella, dottoranda LUMSA.

² Cfr. M.A. D'Arcangeli, F. Pesci, P. Tralbalzini (edd.), *Giacomo Cives. Mediazione pedago-*

Giacomo Cives: così che l'analisi e l'interpretazione del suo pensiero e della sua opera restano concentrati e si esauriscono, in pratica, in due testi, frutto di iniziative di natura celebrativa, organizzate in occasione e a seguito del suo definitivo congedo dall'insegnamento universitario, nel 2002³.

L'«esercizio autobiografico» nel quale, come è noto, Cives si è cimentato, con continuità, a partire dal 1993 e per circa un ventennio⁴, ci ha lasciato in eredità un *corpus* di scritti che testimoniano – come evidenziano le modifiche e le varianti, semantiche e «sintattiche» intervenute nel tempo fra le diverse «scritture di sé», per la verità però ancora da sottoporre a una analisi circostanziata – di un duraturo sforzo prodotto per «animare l'elaborazione del proprio pensiero», sulla scia di Edgar Morin, o, in altri termini, di un coraggioso tentativo di auto-chiarificazione dei termini e del senso de *L'impegno di una vita. Per l'educazione* (come recita il titolo di uno più riusciti fra questi contributi, risalente al 2010)⁵. Ne è risultato, fra ricostruzioni complessive e affondi su aspetti tematicamente e/o cronologicamente parziali della sua parabola biografica e intellettuale⁶, un quadro molto nitido, ben strutturato, pienamente coerente: ma questa, che dovrebbe rappresentare una risorsa – peraltro non disponibile, almeno con questa consistenza, per altri autori – sembra in definitiva non aver giovato al lavoro critico: l'impressione è che abbia finito per limitarlo, in qualche modo «appagando» gli interpreti. Ma è evidente come questo ambito della sua produzione scientifica, che riflette un

gica e educazione attiva, Roma, Studium, 2022; e P. Trabalzini, *La collaborazione di Giacomo Cives con Vita dell'infanzia: riflessioni su Maria Montessori*, F. Pesci, *Una pedagogia della mediazione e dell'integrazione*, M.A. D'Arcangeli, *Giacomo Cives, o della «controstoria» dell'istruzione e della pedagogia italiane*, nella sezione *Per Giacomo Cives*, in *Passaggi di Frontiera. La Storia dell'Educazione: confini, identità, esplorazioni*, Messina, Messina University Press, 2024, rispettivamente alle pp. 683-692, 693-701, 703-723.

³ Cfr. *Educazione e modernità pedagogica. Studi in onore di Giacomo Cives*, Pisa, ETS, 2003; F. Pinto Minerva (ed.), *La ricerca educativa tra pedagogia e didattica. Itinerari di Giacomo Cives*, Bari, Progedit, 2006 (atti – con altri scritti – del Convegno, dall'identica intitolazione, tenutosi presso la Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia dell'Università di Foggia il 22 gennaio 2004).

⁴ I termini *a quo* e *ad quem* di questo «esercizio» possono essere identificati in G. Cives, *Storicità, democrazia e mediazione nell'educazione*, in B. Serpe, G. Trebisacce (edd.), *La mia pedagogia*, Cosenza, Jonia editrice, 1993, pp. 103-140, e in Id., *La mia scuola dal fascismo alla Liberazione*, «Annali di storia dell'educazione e delle istituzioni scolastiche», vol. XIX, 2012, pp. 265-273 (di cui ci siamo occupati, su questa stessa rivista, in altra occasione). Numerosi, fra questi contributi, saranno ripubblicati in Id., *Leggere e scrivere (e insegnare)*, Roma, Università, 2014 e in Id., *Pedagogisti e educatori tra scuola e università*, Firenze, Firenze University Press, 2018. In generale, sul tema, cfr. il nostro cit. *Giacomo Cives, o della «controstoria»...*, pp. 716-717, le note e i relativi riferimenti bibliografici.

⁵ G. Cives, *L'impegno di una vita. Per l'educazione*, nota introduttiva di A. Mariani, F. Pinto Minerva, Lecce-Brescia, Pensa Multimedia, 2010; si tratta dell'ultima rivisitazione completa del proprio itinerario biografico e intellettuale offerta dallo studioso romano. Per il riferimento a Morin, e il senso della «costruzione della propria autobiografia», cfr. *ibid.*, pp. 77-78.

⁶ Fra questi sondaggi in ambiti specifici va ricordato Id., *La mia riflessione sull'educazione. Perseveranza e applicazione*, «Pedagogia e Vita», vol. 68, n. 5-6, settembre-dicembre 2010, pp. 77-93, poi in Id., *Leggere e scrivere (e insegnare)*, cit., pp. 173-192.

tratto peculiare della sua personalità intellettuale, debba essere considerata un punto di partenza, non d'arrivo; una fonte, certo fondamentale, ineludibile, ma da trattare con tutte le cautele richieste dalla coincidenza dell'«autore» e dell'«eroe» e dalla «mediazione» fra queste due istanze che si realizza nel farsi del testo e che in ogni caso, in quanto documento, è altro da e non può essere confuso con l'analisi e il giudizio storiografici.

Di fronte all'assenza di significative novità nello “stato dell'arte”, chi scrive si è permesso di proporre l'adozione (in via esplorativa, sperimentale) della categoria della *scomodità*⁷ per caratterizzare non soltanto la direzione e il senso della storiografia dell'educazione di Cives (esemplarmente incarnati da *Cento anni di vita scolastica in Italia. Ispezioni e inchieste* e da *La scuola italiana dall'Unità ai nostri giorni* – opere dalle quali scaturisce una «ricostruzione della vicenda del nostro sistema d'istruzione nella quale si evidenziano, piuttosto, le occasioni mancate, i sentieri interrotti, i nodi irrisolti», e nelle quali di dà voce, e risalto, alle «personalità che le hanno messe in luce, denunziate»), ma anche, soprattutto, della sua pedagogia e del complesso dell'attività di questo intellettuale, unanimemente riconosciuto fra i protagonisti, tanto degli studi e delle ricerche negli ambiti teorico-pratico/metodologico e storico-critico della «enciclopedia pedagogica», quanto del confronto delle idee e della elaborazione di proposte sul terreno politico-scolastico, dell'Italia del secondo dopoguerra. Qui aggiungeremo una precisazione che accenna a un ulteriore sviluppo di questa ipotesi, considerando che la *scomodità* è un effetto, un risultato in qualche modo “oggettivo” di un modo di intendere la ricerca e cultura, in prima istanza, come *strumenti* di intervento e di *trasformazione* della vita sociale, politica, civile (in Cives, nella direzione indicata dalla Costituzione repubblicana del 1948).

2. Gli assi disciplinari negli studi e nella produzione di Cives

Negli studi e negli scritti di Cives è possibile rintracciare tre assi o “punti di vista” disciplinari: quello filosofico-pedagogico (elettivo, che ne caratterizza la formazione), quello didattico (legato alla sua professione di maestro – dal 1944 – direttore didattico – dal 1958 – ispettore centrale per l'istruzione elementare – dal 1968 al '75) e quello storiografico (sempre coltivato, ma la cui – sempre relativa, come vedremo – autonomia si afferma nella maturità). Per lo più, i suoi prodotti scientifici evidenziano una compresenza di questi interessi; allo stesso tempo, è possibile suddividere il suo itinerario intellettuale sulla base della preminenza di una determinata angolazione disciplinare. Ma

⁷ Cfr. il cit. nostro *Giacomo Cives, o della «controstoria» dell'istruzione e della pedagogia italiane*.

– ed è questo il punto centrale – il “collante” di questi saperi, il luogo della sintesi, è *la scuola*: meglio, *l'azione (politica*, in senso lato ma anche in senso stretto) *di riforma della scuola* stessa, intesa come ineludibile premessa della ri-costruzione della società. Questa fusione, questa convergenza operativa, è la nostra tesi, non si realizzò, unicamente, nella lunga (e in parte almeno vittoriosa) battaglia condotta da Cives per la *scuola integrata, o a pieno tempo*⁸. La storiografia, dunque, al pari della pedagogia, al pari della didattica, ecc., ha rappresentato costantemente, *in primis*, uno strumento d'azione *per la scuola*. E la scuola, dunque, è stata *sempre* presente nei suoi scritti. E con lei la sua storia, la storia della scuola. È un fatto, in ogni caso, che la trattazione, l'analisi storiografica dei temi trattati si rinviene in tutti i suoi lavori⁹; e in misura più marcata quando l'occuparsi di scuola è, esplicitamente (implicitamente, lo è sempre, in Cives: come in Credaro, come in Dewey), dedicarsi alla formazione degli insegnanti¹⁰. Ma il discorso non è tutto qui, nei «contenuti manifesti».

«La storia dunque soccorre ad intendere il senso e le radici dei problemi. E aiuta gli uomini animati da ragione e buona volontà a risolverli»¹¹. Nella conclusione della presentazione de *La scuola italiana dell'Unità ai nostri giorni*, Cives evidenziava la fondamentale direzione di senso del *fare storia* – pur nel diversificarsi delle opzioni ideali – di una generazione di intellettuali, che egli rappresentò in maniera esemplare: di una stagione che lo studioso romano contribuì in misura decisiva ad avviare – dopo le opere di Borghi e Bertoni Jovine (non a caso richiamate in apertura di quelle pagine introduttive), testi fondativi anche nel fissarne l'iniziale articolazione in «storia delle idee» e «storia politico-istituzionale» – con il suo *Ispezioni e inchieste*; e di cui il volume collettivo del 1990 – azzardiamo – rappresentò il “canto del cigno”, insieme il compimento e l'annuncio dell'*Aufhebung*¹².

⁸ Cfr. G. Cives, *Scuola integrata e servizio scolastico*, Firenze, La Nuova Italia, 1967; seconda edizione ampliata, Firenze, La Nuova Italia, 1974 (ristampata nel 1976). E si veda anche G. Cives (ed.), *La scuola di base. Continuità e integrazione*, Scandicci (Firenze), La Nuova Italia, 1986.

⁹ A cominciare dalla prima monografia, *Programmi e didattica, oggi. Commento ai nuovi programmi per la scuola primaria*, Roma, Bonacci, 1956 (dedicata ai cd. programmi Ermini): si v., *ibid.*, il Capitolo I, *Programmi e didattica, oggi*, pp. 9-36.

¹⁰ Si veda ad es. G. Cives, *L'istruzione primaria com'era, com'è, come sarà*, Bologna, Malipiero, 1960. Cives rimarrà sempre convinto sostenitore della «funzione decisiva e insostituibile nel mondo moderno», della scuola, *pubblica*, per la formazione di «personalità complete e integrate, autonome [...]» ecc. e l'edificazione di una società democratica, sostenendo che per questa ragione non fossero «concesse fughe alla pedagogia, che deve dedicare le sue maggiori forze proprio a potenziare, innovare, arricchire la scuola, a collegarla nei suoi modi specifici alla vita [...] e alla società». Cfr., in *La mia prospettiva pedagogica*, in Id., *Pedagogia del cuore e della ragione*, Bari, Giuseppe Laterza, 1994, le pp. 243-245 [pp. 216-250].

¹¹ G. Cives, *Introduzione*, in Id. (ed.), *La scuola italiana dell'Unità ai nostri giorni*, Scandicci (Firenze), La Nuova Italia, 1990, p. XVIII [pp. IX-XVIII].

¹² Insieme «espositiva» e «critica» – strumento di formazione per gli insegnanti e di ricerca per gli “addetti ai lavori”; caratterizzata da una notevole varietà di temi e di punti di vi-

Un *transito* che però, almeno a nostro avviso, ancora non può dirsi pienamente compiuto – e, di conseguenza, non può esserlo la *sintesi*, per restare in ambiente hegeliano, fra una *histoire* dell'educazione che se mai era stata, “allo stato puro”, *evenementielle*, si era comunque concentrata e quasi esaurita e risolta nei due piani poco sopra ricordati, e quella successiva, che oltrepassando quelle “colonne d'Ercole” si è diretta dal “generale” al “particolare”, dal “macro” al “micro”, dal “centro” alla “periferia”, dall’“oggettivo” al “soggettivo”, dal “necessario” all’“accidentale”, ecc.: in breve, una storiografia dei problemi e dei processi, capace di rimuovere i *silenzi* e di fare emergere nuovi (novità relativa, ovviamente, agli studi precedenti) soggetti, oggetti, “luoghi”, apparati, dispositivi ecc. dell'educazione/educativi – volta alle *pratiche*, alle *culture* (anche *materiali*), ai *costumi* e alle *mentalità*, alle *materie* e ai *mezzi*, ai *vissuti* e alle *memorie* (individuali, collettive, istituzionali) dell'educazione, nello sforzo di cogliere la concretezza, anche puntuale, del suo farsi. Lungo questo cammino, in una prorompente espansione di studi e di ricerche (e quindi non senza difficoltà) negli ultimi decenni la storiografia dell'educazione sembrerebbe essere riuscita, progressivamente, a costruire una sua “identità”: un *mondo della sicurezza* dalle frontiere relativamente stabili, dalle attribuzioni sostanzialmente certe – privilegiando, però, e in misura crescente (ed è qui il “rovescio della medaglia”, almeno a nostro parere), la denotazione sulla connotazione, il significato sul senso, l'estensione sulla intensione, e, almeno in parte, anche la spiegazione sulla comprensione, i “fatti” sulle “teorie”. Si profila come opportuna, se non necessaria, l'apertura di una fase insieme “ri-costruttiva” e “costituente” della disciplina, di (auto)comprensione non solo epistemologica e metodologica, ma anche e soprattutto “deontologica”, riguardante, cioè, le sue finalità, le sue “intenzionalità”: per sostanziare la quale, potrebbe essere senz'altro d'aiuto, quale possibile e plausibile strumento di “presa di coscienza”, una ripresa degli studi di storia della storiografia dell'educazione, fermi, se pensiamo a lavori di carattere sistematico, a oltre trent'anni fa¹³. Pensiamo, naturalmente, a una storia della storiografia dell'educazione non autoreferenziale, bensì innestata non solo nella storia delle idee,

sta sull'oggetto «sistema scolastico» e da un innovativo approccio interdisciplinare, realizzato mediante la collaborazione degli storici della pedagogia e della scuola con gli «storici-storici» dell'età moderna e contemporanea, e con studiosi di altre aree disciplinari, anche non umanistiche (anche qui, volendo sostenere una tendenza in atto e promuovere l'avanzamento dello “stato dell'arte”) – varietà di settori scientifici cui si accompagnava una articolata e “democratica” composizione “per gradi accademici” dei collaboratori – l'opera sembrava richiamare, per struttura e finalità, nell'ambito storiografico, quel confronto con la *complessità* avviato da Cives, in quello stesso periodo, sul terreno filosofico-epistemologico: il termine, fra l'altro, figurava in corsivo nell'*Introduzione* (*ibid.*, p. XIII), esplicitamente adottato per denotare la «visione storiografica» di riferimento del testo (cfr. *ibid.*, pp. XII-XIII).

¹³ Pensiamo a F. Cambi, *La ricerca storico-educativa in Italia: 1945-1990*, Milano, Mursia, 1992. In questa direzione sembrano orientarsi, in modo molto promettente, fra gli altri, Juri Meda e Matteo Morandi.

la storia culturale, ma anche in quella politica e sociale, e da queste innervata, sostanziata. E solo una analisi e una interpretazione di questo tenore potranno restituirci, ad esempio – per tornare al tema di queste pagine – il senso (e quindi il valore) della storiografia dell'educazione di Giacomo Cives – anche perché la sua vicenda personale e intellettuale è testimonianza esemplare della unità indissolubile e quindi della reciproca “imprescindibilità” di tutte quelle “storie” (e storiografie).

Notices / Recensioni

Notices Recensioni

Franca Vezzani e Arrigo Desideri, *Rispondimi subito... Lettere di una madrina di guerra e del suo figlioccio durante il II conflitto mondiale*, a cura di Mauro Desideri e postfazione di Carmen Betti, Roma, Anicia, 2025, 207 pp.

Non cospicue sono le tracce storiografiche che, fino ad ora, sono state dedicate al fenomeno del madrinato di guerra, ovvero alla corrispondenza che, nel corso dei due conflitti novecenteschi, legò ufficiali e sottufficiali dell'esercito a sconosciute signore e signorine del ceto medio e della borghesia italiana. Al recente articolo che, sull'argomento, Carmen Betti ha pubblicato proprio su questa rivista («*Infermiere dell'anima*». *Madrine del soldato o di guerra e altre forme di maternage nel I e nel II conflitto mondiale*, «HECL», vol. XX, n. 1, 2025, pp. 311-29) pochi sono i contributi che possiamo aggiungere: tra questi, a ricoprire un ruolo di indubbia – e pionieristica – rilevanza è il saggio di Augusta Molinari *La buona signora e i poveri soldati. Lettere a una madrina di guerra (1915-1918)* (Torino, Paravia, 2018).

Diversi possono essere i motivi per giustificare tali assenze. La mancanza di una gestione centralizzata del servizio ha sicuramente giocato un ruolo importante nello scoraggiare eventuali ricerche. Gestito durante la Grande Guerra da giornalisti intraprendenti e associazioni femminili, e, durante la Seconda Guerra Mondiale, dai gruppi femminili fascisti,

lo scambio di missive tra “madrine” e “figliocci” sfuggiva sistematicamente alle maglie delle istituzioni statali, configurandosi come un processo “molecolare” privo di archivi e sedi centralizzate. Ma un ruolo altrettanto rilevante nel confinare il madrinato all'interno di una certa marginalità storiografica fu determinato dalla diffidenza che gran parte delle gerarchie ecclesiastiche, se non della popolazione, destinò alla diffusione di tale pratica. Molti, infatti, erano i dubbi e i timori che in un paese tradizionalmente cattolico e moralmente rigido come l'Italia poteva suscitare una corrispondenza, alla pari, tra un giovane e una giovane tendenzialmente liberi, soprattutto perché non filtrata da figure intermedie.

Per questi motivi, la pubblicazione di fonti – necessariamente microstoriche – riveste un'importanza cruciale per la ricostruzione del fenomeno. In quest'ottica è necessario valutare il contributo dato dal recente *Rispondimi subito... Lettere di una madrina di guerra e del suo figlioccio durante il II conflitto mondiale*, che, curato da Mauro Desideri e con postfazione di Carmen Betti, racchiude la prima parte di una lunga corrispondenza: quella che, dall'ottobre 1941 al 1945, intrattennero i genitori del curatore, ovvero la fiorentina Franca Vezzani e il pietrasantino (ma residente a lungo a Napoli) Arrigo Desideri. Delle oltre millecinquecento lettere e cartoline postali rinvenute, infatti, questo volume ospita le missive intercorse tra l'ottobre 1941 e

i giorni successivi al loro primo incontro “dal vivo”, avvenuto nel febbraio del 1942.

Fidanzatasi proprio durante i primi mesi del loro scambio epistolare, la coppia convolò a nozze nel 1947, dimostrando, attraverso l'esempio delle proprie personali vicende, la forza e la coerenza che questa pratica rivestiva nelle vite dei suoi protagonisti. Come scrive Carmen Betti nella sua Postfazione, «tali lettere sono la prova provata di quanto quel tipo di corrispondenza fosse preziosa e insostituibile per chi era al fronte o in attesa di andarvi» (p. 196). La corrispondenza, tanto con la propria famiglia quanto con una sconosciuta, giovane (e forse avvenente) “madrina”, contribuiva non poco ad alleviare l'incertezza e l'ansia di chi, come il ventiduenne Arrigo Desideri, trascorreva la sua giornata in esercitazioni di prassi senza sapere quando sarebbe partito per il fronte. Ma, contemporaneamente, le informazioni sulla vita militare e sulla guerra potevano acquisire un certo fascino in chi, come l'allora diciassettenne Franca Vezzani, scriveva di aver «trascorso una vita molto tranquilla senza né veri dolori né gioie» (p. 46).

E del resto, quella anagrafica non era l'unica disparità tra i due corrispondenti: studente al quarto anno di Giurisprudenza presso l'Università di Napoli, Arrigo Desideri disponeva presumibilmente di un bagaglio culturale più ampio di quello della sua madrina, entrata nel mondo del lavoro dopo aver conseguito la licenza di scuola di avviamento commerciale.

Ma a pesare erano soprattutto le differenze di genere, che, strutturalmente caratterizzanti i rapporti tra i due sessi nell'Italia tardo-fascista, emergevano soprattutto nel diverso modo di porsi dei due scriventi: benché i termini “madrina” e “figlioccio” sembrino suggerire un margine di manovra più ampio per il

primo polo della diade, ben diverso è il quadro che traspare dalle missive. Se infatti nelle lunghissime lettere di Desideri non infrequente è il ricorso a imperativi e indicativi, quelle – più brevi – di Vezzani indulgono spesso in fragili condizionali. Sono, questi ultimi, modi verbali pronti a riflettere iati effettivi nelle capacità di azione: infatti di Arrigo è la prima mossa verso la formazione della coppia; sempre di Arrigo è stata l'idea di tenere nascosta ai genitori, almeno per i primi tempi e pur con la debole contrarietà di Franca, la relazione affettiva.

Nonostante la scarsa attenzione riservata fino ad ora a questo tema, è quindi possibile notare come la corrispondenza tra madrine e figliocci durante la Prima e la Seconda Guerra Mondiale sia prodiga di dettagli sulla storia sociale e culturale, tutti interessantissimi, da indagare più approfonditamente. L'augurio dunque è che possano trovare pubblicazione altre corrispondenze di questo genere, in modo che il panorama storiografico, arricchitosi, possa fornire agli storici un congruo numero di fonti a cui dedicare la propria attenzione.

Chiara Martinelli

Piergiovanni Genovesi, *La Marcia sulla Minerva. Il domino politico della «più fascista» delle riforme 1922-1924*, Catanzaro, Rubbettino Editore, 2025, 175 pp.

Il volume si compone di cinque densi capitoli, oltre ad una *Introduzione*, ad un *Epilogo* e ad una ricca *Appendice iconografica*, con illustrazioni tratte da «L'Asino», la nota rivista satirica di orientamento socialista (1892-1925). Esso merita sicuramente di essere segnalato, nonostante la ricchissima letteratura già esistente sulla riforma del 1923 e sul

primo governo Mussolini. E ciò perché conduce a rileggere in controluce e anche sotto traccia, l'importante biennio fra il '22 e il '24, in cui il sistema scolastico venne trasformato da capo a piedi: impalcatura, regole amministrative, introduzione dell'esame di stato, abbinamenti delle materie nei diversi percorsi, stato giuridico dei docenti, loro retribuzione e, in specie, re-introduzione, dopo quasi cinquant'anni, dell'insegnamento religioso nelle scuole elementari come obbligatorio, e altro ancora.

Un intervento così radicale che un articolo apparso al riguardo l'8 dicembre del '23 su «Il Popolo d'Italia» era stato non a caso icasticamente intitolato, da Regina Terruzzi, un'intellettuale non certo di punta ma ben introdotta negli ambienti fascisti per un'antica amicizia con Mussolini, come *Marcia sulla Minerva*: espressione che esprime con efficacia il sommovimento prodottosi (pp. 5-6). L' A. tuttavia avverte subito che al centro del volume «non vi è l'analisi dettagliata della riforma Gentile, né la vita del filosofo, né tanto meno la sua morte, né il suo pensiero filosofico». Il focus è rappresentato invece dalle «dinamiche politiche, che, nell'arco temporale della permanenza di Gentile alla guida della Minerva tra il 1° novembre 1922 e il 1° luglio 1924, si svilupparono attorno alla riforma gentiliana (...)» (p. 7). Dunque, un approccio di breve durata, ma originale e ricco, come si vedrà, di interessanti esiti storiografici.

Il discorso prende le mosse da una ricostruzione, a grandi linee, dell'evoluzione che ha interessato il sistema scolastico disegnato dalla legge Casati del 1859, varata com'è noto in vista dell'ormai imminente processo unitario, ed evidenzia la timida ed anche lenta ma progressiva attenzione riservata nel corso del secondo Ottocento alla scuola, attenzione che

venne a intensificarsi con il nuovo secolo, fino a costituirsi in Parlamento e fuori, una sorta di “partito della scuola”, di carattere trasversale, con l'indubbio merito di mantenere alto il dibattito, anche se all'atto pratico produsse assai poco sul piano legislativo (p. 29).

Alla fine del primo conflitto mondiale, anche per effetto del ruolo assegnato alla scuola dalla propaganda bellicistica, il dibattito riprese di nuovo con enfasi, per effetto da un lato delle forze socialiste, che riuscirono addirittura a far giungere un proprio esponente – Agostino Berenini – alla carica di ministro della p. i., e per l'irrompere sulla scena, dall'altro, di nuovi soggetti politici, come il Partito popolare e il movimento fascista, nonché per il delinearsi di inediti *ralliement*, in virtù di specifici obiettivi condivisi, pur in presenza di prospettive politiche nettamente divergenti, come nel caso degli idealisti e dei cattolici (p. 38).

Dopo questa analisi preliminare, Genovesi passa ad occuparsi nello specifico di Gentile, non esplorandone però, come si è detto, l'operato ma le dinamiche che si attivarono intorno al suo esserci, fin dal momento della chiamata e della risposta affermativa del noto filosofo: alcune subito ben visibili, altre invece più silenti e sottese. Stando alla stampa di quei giorni, il ministro predestinato pareva essere Dario Lupi, cui fu invece assegnato l'incarico di Sottosegretario alla P.I. Questi era sì un fascista-doc ma aveva una macchia, quella di essere un “fratello” della loggia massonica di Piazza del Gesù, nata per scissione dal Grande Oriente di Palazzo Giustiniani in occasione del dibattito sulla mozione Bissolati nel 1908, senz'altro più incline ad aperture nei confronti della Santa Sede ma vista sempre con diffidenza da Oltre-Tevere (p. 49).

L'inattesa, anzi sorprendente ed anche poco gradita nomina di Gentile da parte

di molti fascisti, i cui pochi capisaldi in materia di istruzione divergevano nettamente da quelli gentiliani (p. 40), lasciò non meno stupefatti molti intellettuali liberali afascisti ed anche antifascisti, come Salvemini, che si posero per così dire in attesa, pur non sciogliendo le loro riserve nei confronti del nuovo governo post-marcia (pp. 53-54). È già stato ripetutamente scritto che tale operazione, indiscutibilmente scaltra sul piano politico, si fondava su di una doppia, reciproca strumentalizzazione, ma Genovesi va oltre tale assunto, senz'altro fondato, per circostanziare più in profondità il senso e soprattutto gli effetti di tale "chiamata", gettando così nuova luce sul processo di «legittimazione» che ne derivò per Mussolini in primis e per lo stesso fascismo (p. 55).

In breve, al duce o al suo eventuale suggeritore, non sfuggiva che Gentile, oltre a riscuotere consensi presso l'intelligenza dell'epoca, fra cui Croce in primis, aveva assunto posizioni non sgradite in Vaticano, cui Mussolini guardava come ad una sorta di stella polare per consolidare la propria operazione e risolvere l'annosa "questione romana". Infatti, fin dal lontano congresso FNISM di Napoli del 1907, Gentile, lasciando molti degli astanti costernati, aveva riconosciuto un valore formativo fondamentale alla religione in una certa fascia d'età, definendola come una specie di *philosophia inferior*, mentre in tempi più recenti, si era fatto paladino di due idee, quella dell'esame di Stato per tutti gli studenti, e non più solo per i frequentati gli istituti privati, e quella delle «poche scuole ma buone», da cui derivavano indirettamente indubbi effetti ai fini della cosiddetta ri-cristianizzazione dell'Italia, dopo la lunga ondata laicistica del liberalismo ottocentesco. Chiaramente gli obiettivi di Gentile non erano convergenti con quelli

della Santa Sede: basta solo ricordare la dura reazione che ebbe in occasione del Concordato del '29, ma in questa fase, la sua idea elitaria anzi classista, ben sintetizzata dalla frase-slogan delle «poche scuole ma buone», la cui realizzazione presupponeva l'espulsione dei cosiddetti «*fruges consumere nati*», ossia la cosiddetta zavorra studentesca, apriva una vera e propria prateria per le scuole private che all'epoca erano in Italia, quasi tutte, gestite da ordini religiosi.

La convergenza che venne presto a configurarsi fra gli obiettivi di Gentile e seguaci, e quelli degli elementi più conservatori del mondo cattolico, prontamente rilevati da «L'Asino» con vignette di un sarcasmo tanto impietoso quanto efficace, ebbe, ovviamente, immediati riecheggianti anche sulla stampa cattolica più conservatrice, di cui Genovesi riferisce con puntualità, citando brani che denotano interesse e apprezzamento crescenti. E tale nuovo stormir di fronde nel mondo cattolico si intensificò via via, grazie ai decreti-legge che Gentile prese ad emanare a ripetizione a partire dalla primavera del '23, in virtù dei pieni poteri conferiti al Governo in materia di riforma amministrativa, decreti che confermavano i suoi assunti, ovvero il recepimento dell'esame di Stato e la reintroduzione della religione come obbligatoria nelle scuole elementari.

Non a caso, negli ambienti cattolici guadagnò terreno l'idea di non confondere «il Partito fascista con il governo fascista» (p. 72), mentre i Popolari di lì a poco si spaccavano, don Sturzo veniva messo da parte e i contatti fra Santa Sede e governo si intensificavano, non solo tramite padre Tacchi-Venturi ma anche con l'autorevole cardinal di Stato Pietro Gasparri, convalidando automaticamente, pur senza proclami, il governo in carica (p. 81).

Questo, in sintesi, è il primo dei tasselli accuratamente ricostruiti da Piergiorgio Genovesi, che spiegano con grande efficacia il ruolo avuto da Gentile e dalla sua riforma nell'innescare il processo di «legittimazione» del primo governo, di coalizione, retto da Mussolini nonché, più in generale, del fascismo post-marcia su Roma. Molte altre ancora sono le analitiche, sottili e acute riflessioni svolte al riguardo, su cui non possiamo ovviamente intrattenerci. Ci preme richiamare invece altri due passaggi a nostro avviso dirimenti, che gettano nuova luce sul prosieguo del suddetto processo di consolidamento politico, il quale ovviamente non avvenne senza intoppi: l'uno si situa nella prima fase di applicazione della riforma Gentile e l'altro nel clima destabilizzato dal delitto Matteotti.

Il disappunto o per lo meno lo scarso consenso che in ambito fascista circondò Gentile fin dall'atto della nomina, registrò fra gli studenti, in larga misura simpatizzanti o fascisti *tout court*, i toni più vivaci e manifesti. Questi, fin dalla nascita del Movimento dei fasci il 23 marzo del '19, avevano trovato nel leader massimo del movimento *audience* e sostegno, ampiamente ricambiati, fino a costituire, com'è risaputo, organizzazioni proprie in diverse città universitarie, le ben note Avanguardie studentesche, trasformate poi, con disappunto degli studenti, in Avanguardie giovanili fasciste, aperte anche ai giovani dei campi e delle officine (p. 112). Orbene, la maggior parte di quei giovani non aveva proprio digerito che alla Minerva fosse andato uno che con il fascismo non aveva mai avuto alcun legame e che con energico piglio e disinvoltamente si fosse dato a raddoppiare le tasse, a introdurre l'esame di stato, a limitare fortemente l'accesso ai vari percorsi di studio, e via dicendo. Non bastò loro che il filosofo di Castelvetro si

fosse cautelativamente tesserato al PNF fin dalla primavera del '23 allo scopo di mettere un argine alle tensioni che gli si infittivano intorno e in specie fra la cosiddetta gioventù studiosa.

E all'atto dell'entrata in vigore della riforma, gli studenti non stettero a guardare, unendo le loro rumorose rimozioni al disappunto e alle contestazioni espresse dalle famiglie e dagli ambienti industriali. Comunque fu soprattutto il dissenso studentesco ad estendersi velocemente tanto al Centro che al Nord e al Sud, con minacce di occupazioni di scuole e di atenei (p. 114). Ci fu chi, fra gli avversari politici, non mancò di sperare che quel dissenso potesse incrinare la stabilità della compagine governativa (p. 127), ma a Mussolini non sfuggiva che le proteste, come evidenzia opportunamente l'A., sottendevano non già sentimenti antifascisti, ma un energico dissenso corporativo, di categoria.

Certo, per un movimento, poi partito, la cui bandiera era stata l'ordine e che si era fatto strada a suon di manganellate e olio di ricino, quella situazione era sconveniente e intollerabile cosicché Mussolini, anche pressato dalle ansie di Gentile, non mancò di intervenire. Lo fece con il solito metodo del bastone e della carota, come evidenzia molto puntualmente Genovesi. Se da un lato inviò tramite telegramma al prefetto di Napoli, dove avrebbe dovuto aver luogo una grande manifestazione, l'apodittica minaccia della serrata degli atenei per un anno intero, definì altresì con risolutezza la riforma Gentile come «la più fascista delle riforme approvate dal suo governo». Non poteva esserci blindatura più energica.

Il *diktat*, è noto, non tardò a sortire l'esito atteso, ma Genovesi, anche in questo caso non si ferma all'effetto, per sondare se Mussolini la pensasse davvero così. Procedendo al recupero di una serie

di tracce al riguardo, egli giunge a concludere che fin da quel periodo il duce, contrariamente all'imperativo categorico espresso, aveva sulla riforma pesanti riserve, sottolineate, a suo parere, dal modo stesso di denominarla, sempre e soltanto, *Riforma Gentile*, nel non casuale intento di tenere ben distinte le responsabilità del filosofo e le sue, nonché quelle dell'intero governo (p. 122). Il *diktat*, sempre secondo Genovesi, aveva in realtà un altro scopo, quello di rimettere nei ranghi gli studenti, che già in precedenti circostanze avevano manifestato un residuale protagonismo autonomistico, ormai inaccettabile. E proseguendo nell'analisi, l'A. documenta inoltre che il duce non tardò a lasciar capire ai rappresentanti degli studenti, che non sarebbero state impossibili delle modifiche, proponendosi in tal modo come mediatore e prendendo contestualmente le distanze dallo scomodo ministro (p. 131).

Si trattò ovviamente di uno sganciamento morbido quello del duce, potremmo dire *soft* e a piccoli passi, processo che conobbe il suo momento culminante o risolutivo il 1° luglio del 1924: un periodo – evidenzia l'A. – nient'affatto casuale. La settimana prima infatti, il 24 giugno, il Senato aveva votato la fiducia per il nuovo governo Mussolini, dopo le contestate elezioni del precedente mese di aprile, per il quale si esprime favorevolmente lo stesso Croce, nonostante si fosse in piena bagarre per il delitto Matteotti, complice, forse, la riconferma di Gentile. Ma di lì a una settimana da quel voto, Mussolini ufficializzò l'accoglimento delle dimissioni del contestato ministro, consegnategli in precedenza da lui stesso, nell'intento di favorire la distensione del clima politico ed anche di difendere la "sua" riforma.

In cuor suo Gentile pensava che Mussolini mai avrebbe reso orfana, in una fa-

se di tanta delicatezza come quella iniziale, la riforma. Ma per il duce, il filosofo di Castelvetro non solo aveva completato il proprio compito ma rappresentava ormai, date le sue manifeste rigidità, soltanto un ingombro, sia in relazione ai rapporti con il Vaticano, sia riguardo ad un inevitabile allentamento delle strettoie scolastiche introdotte, così di riattivare il ritorno nella scuola statale dei figli della piccola e media borghesia, notoriamente lo zoccolo duro del fascismo, ed anche per tenerceli il più possibile, allo scopo di meglio fidelizzarli ideologicamente.

Pertanto, egli gli diede le massime rassicurazioni, accettando persino il nome suggeritogli del successore, quello di Alessandro Casati, evitando così dissapori ed eccessive contrarietà, per l'esterno. L'intervento riformatore ebbe poi, com'è noto, il suo corso, non nell'immediato ma dopo il fatidico 3 gennaio '25, ovvero dopo che Casati ebbe rassegnato a sua volta le dimissioni e alla Minerva si era insediato l'antigentiliano Pietro Fedele, fascista e cattolico (p. 137). È altresì noto il trattamento che ricevette Gentile durante la discussione in Senato del bilancio della P.I., quando nel febbraio '25 fu fatto segno di ripetuti attacchi e lui si paragonò a San Sebastiano, trafitto da tutte le frecce (p. 148). Tuttavia i ritocchi alla riforma furono fatti con il bisturi, come sottolinea efficacemente Genovesi, nell'intento di non intaccare la facciata, modificandone però la sostanza, il contenuto. Ma, lo si accennava, Gentile rappresentava non di meno un ostacolo sulla strada del dialogo appena schiusosi con il Vaticano, data l'intrattabilità circa l'estensione della religione nella scuola secondaria, territorio esclusivo per lui dello studio filosofico.

Questi aspetti sono già noti e ripetutamente approfonditi, e non è pertanto il caso di insistervi ulteriormente. Ma dai

passaggi precedenti, si evince senza ombra di dubbio la raffinata analisi di Genovesi, che è venuta focalizzando aspetti che meglio evidenziano le complesse logiche che si attivarono nel cruciale biennio esaminato. Nelle pagine successive il discorso prosegue con un'ampia rilettura de «L'Asino», la rivista satirica, come accennato, di ispirazione socialista, ormai diretta però da un soltanto dei due fondatori nel lontano 1892, ovvero dal solo Gabriele Galantara, essendo l'altro, Bruno Podrecca, diventato nel frattempo fascista.

Dalla documentazione raccolta e dal relativo approfondimento, emerge che il nuovo *team* del periodico trovò molti spunti per i propri servizi nel biennio analizzato e che mise a nudo con grande efficacia e con pungente sarcasmo, la furia iconoclastica del neo-ministro, che, vi si sosteneva, si traduceva in provvedimenti più distruttori che riformatori. Nel contempo vi si evidenziava anche come la conclamata risolutezza e rigidità gentiliane non fossero affatto aliene da macroscopici e vistosi compromessi.

In breve, a Gentile, riprodotto spesso con fez in testa e bottiglietta di olio di ricino in mano, furono riservate molte vignette davvero salaci, alcune riportate nell'Appendice, spesso più efficaci e taglienti delle parole nel mettere a nudo le palesi contraddizioni insite nelle riflessioni talvolta assai fumose e fuorvianti del filosofo di Castelvetro. Fra le molte riprodotte, se ne richiama una, relativa all'insegnamento religioso appena reintrodotta come obbligatorio nelle scuole elementari, comparsa nel fascicolo del «20 ottobre (...) dal titolo *Cristo nelle scuole* [che] si proponeva di far risaltare ancora una volta l'inconciliabilità tra «le due morali in conflitto: la morale cristiana e quella ... fascista». Dalla cattedra il maestro Gentile – fez, occhialini, baffi e

pizzetto – si rivolgeva ai giovani scolari sollecitando il canto di «bombe, sempre bombe e colpi di pugnale...», mentre alle sue spalle Cristo in croce dice[va] «amatevi come fratelli...» (p. 101). Le parole da sole non sarebbero state altrettanto performanti.

Ovviamente, in riferimento a questo originale capitolo e alla non comune *Appendice iconografica*, ci sarebbe molto altro da enucleare ed evidenziare e così pure per le altre parti dell'intero volume, ma credo che quello che sono venuta osservando possa dare un'idea degli aspetti di novità contenuti e possa bastare a confortare il mio invito a leggere il testo.

Carmen Betti

Matte Buchardt (ed.), *Educational Secularization within Europe and Beyond: The Political Projects of Modernizing Religion Through Education Reform*, Studies in the History of Education and Culture 6, De Gruyter Oldenbourg, Berlin/Boston 2025, 296 pp.

The twelve essays in this volume address a complex topic still relatively underexplored in the fields of educational and school historiography. The topic is educational secularization, understood as a political project aimed at modernizing religion through schooling and education reforms. These investigations originated from the research network *Reform in Education* (2020-2024), which was funded by the Swedish Research Council.

In her introductory chapter, the volume's editor, Mette Buchardt, Director of the Centre for Education Policy Research at Aalborg University (Denmark), emphasizes the controversial nature of the term "secularization" and the multi-

ple meanings attributed to it in academic contexts and public and political debate. These meanings range from the separation of religion and state and the decline and dissolution of religion to progress linked to the liberation of humanity from the chains of superstition or, conversely, to the loss of thought and belief.

The first issue examined concerns the almost automatic association of the concept of secularization in Europe with the model of *laïcité*, which emerged in France following the Napoleonic Revolution and was consolidated during the Third Republic (1870-1940), and its related references to the Enlightenment. The research presented in the volume demonstrates that, from the perspective of educational and school historiography, the issue of educational secularization is far broader and more articulated than its association with *laïcité* and cannot in any way be reduced to such a limited and stereotyped vision. This outcome has been achieved through the methodological adoption of the proposal to “regionalize” the themes addressed in relation to the specific contexts in which they emerged to grasp – in the complex variety of political, cultural, social and pedagogical dimensions involved – the processes of transformation in the relationship between religion, state, schooling and education before and after the French Revolution and the enactment of secular laws in France. Schooling and education are conceived as battlefields and arenas of negotiation of the political project of secularization with the aim of highlighting the specific features of the secularizing efforts undertaken and the new forms of educational practice and pedagogical reflection introduced.

The volume’s various chapters examine numerous European countries (France, Great Britain, Germany, the

Italian territories that belonged to the Kingdom of Lombardy–Venetia, Ireland, Slovakia, Sweden, Turkey, Soviet Ukraine and Hungary). Africa is represented by Senegal and the Middle East by Lebanon. The chronological span, depending on the case, ranges from the early modern period to the post–Cold War era. This choice reflects a non-reductive temporal perspective, mindful of the challenge posed by the «provincialization of modernity». This selection of countries excluded Spain, Portugal, Latin America, the regions of Eastern Christianity, the Balkans and Prussia. It is hoped that these areas will be addressed in future research.

From an epistemological standpoint, the investigations presented are characterized by an interdisciplinary approach of intersecting contributions from various disciplines, including history, the historical sociology of education, church history, the history of religions and political history, aiming to understand and explore the profound transformations that have occurred in the fields of religion and education and their relationship with states.

The wide-ranging investigations cover the medicalization of schooling (Stieger), visual representation of the emotions of parents and children (Dekker), nation-building processes and the education of the heart (Tröhler), the tension between religious and secular ethics in school textbooks (Polenghi), the gradual demise of convent schooling (Raftery, Delaney), instruction in the principles of secular morality and the role of the school (Wright), language policies (Muratović), the transition between liberal Protestantism and secularism (Sabra), atheistic education (Kyselov), reformed Christian education as a welfare state tool (Hellström), an example of spiritual socialist

education (Buchardt) and the “pendulum” of secularization and de-secularization (Kaščák, Neumann, Danišková). A historical focus is used to interpret the complex relationship between religion, state and schooling in a way that avoids limiting perspectives – whether those aimed at asserting the disappearance of religion under the pressures of modernization and rationalization or those that equate secularization with the deinstitutionalization of religion understood as the closure of religious institutions.

Two theses are discussed through the different parts of the volume. The first is the assertion that the effects of secularization in the fields of schooling and education represent an example – still not adequately explored – of the broader change that has taken place since the early modern period in the relationship between religion and the public sphere (above all, the state). An interesting case study mentioned in the text refers to the Italian contemporary historian Emilio Gentile’s research on fascism as a political religion, brought together in his well-known volume *Il culto del littorio: la sacralizzazione della politica nell’Italia fascista* (1993). Overall, this volume seeks to highlight the consequences of secularization for moral education and citizenship formation as well as the role played by new actors who emerged on the public scene and the alliances that arose unexpectedly at the intersection of secularization and educational reform processes.

The second thesis concerns overcoming the cultural prejudice – long present even in academic studies conducted during the twentieth century – that excluded religion as an integral part of the modernization process, since it was considered diametrically opposed to the principle of progress and thus to moder-

nity. This volume seeks to move beyond this impasse by presenting the terms «reform» and «to reform» as synonyms for «modernization».

Educational modernity is understood as closely connected to educational secularization, with the awareness that the politics of modernization cannot be reduced to the separation of religion and state alone but also includes the strengthening, transformation and renewal of religion, the state and the processes of schooling and education. Thus, all the studies presented in the volume – while considering the specificity of the contexts examined – focus on the contents of the secularization process as a political project and on its repercussions in the spheres of school, education, society and citizenship.

Evelina Scaglia

Alessandro Breccia, Luigiaurelio Pomante (edd.), *Il Consiglio Superiore della Pubblica Istruzione e il governo del sistema universitario in età repubblicana*, Bologna, il Mulino, 2025, 206 pp.

Il recente volume *Il Consiglio Superiore della Pubblica Istruzione e il governo del sistema universitario in età repubblicana* si inserisce a buon diritto nel filone di studi dedicati alla storia delle istituzioni educative italiane ed in particolare alla storia dell’Università e dell’istruzione superiore, riuscendo ad offrire un’analisi puntuale sul ruolo svolto dal Consiglio Superiore della Pubblica Istruzione (CSPI) nel processo di definizione e regolazione del sistema universitario dalla nascita della Repubblica in poi. L’opera, che trae spunto dai lavori preliminari presentati nel convegno di studi svoltosi presso l’Università degli Studi di Mace-

rata nel maggio 2024, ricostruisce con rigore storico-istituzionale l'evoluzione del CSPI, mettendone in luce la funzione consultiva e di raccordo tra mondo accademico e potere politico-amministrativo. Particolare attenzione è riservata dagli autori dei contributi (Melis, Giorgi, Mineo, Moretti, Focardi, Bonini, Salustri, Pomante, Mariuzzo, Gaetani, Morosini, Breccia) al contesto costituzionale repubblicano, entro il quale il Consiglio ha operato come organismo chiamato a bilanciare, non senza tensioni, i principi di autonomia universitaria, libertà di insegnamento e indirizzo politico del governo centrale. Uno dei principali punti di forza del lavoro curato da Breccia e Pomante, entrambi riconosciuti studiosi di storia dell'Università e dell'istruzione superiore, risiede nell'accurata analisi delle fonti normative e documentarie, che consente all'autore di seguire le trasformazioni del CSPI in relazione alle riforme dell'istruzione universitaria e ai mutamenti del sistema politico italiano. Il Consiglio emerge così non come semplice organo tecnico, ma come spazio di mediazione istituzionale, talvolta attraversato da conflitti ideologici e corporativi, specchio delle più ampie dinamiche tra Stato, università e società. Di particolare interesse è altresì l'attenzione dedicata ai limiti strutturali del CSPI: la sua natura consultiva, la discontinuità del suo peso effettivo nelle decisioni governative e il progressivo ridimensionamento della sua centralità a fronte dell'affermarsi di nuovi modelli di governance universitaria, soprattutto a partire dagli ultimi decenni del Novecento. In questo senso, l'opera offre anche spunti critici sul processo di managerializzazione dell'Università e sulla ridefinizione dei rapporti tra autonomia e controllo pubblico. Nel suo complesso il volume rappresenta un contributo originale, solido e ben documen-

tato alla comprensione del governo del sistema universitario in età repubblicana e riesce ad aprire nuove prospettive di ricerca sull'identità del Consiglio Superiore della Pubblica Istruzione, riconosciuto come un organo istituzionale e documentario centrale nella vita delle istituzioni universitarie di un paese che cerca di conciliare modernizzazione, equità e autonomia, nonostante l'evoluzione continua nel tempo, del sistema educativo italiano, il quale ha sempre cercato di coniugare l'interesse pubblico con l'autonomia delle istituzioni scolastiche e universitarie. La dialettica tra centralizzazione e decentrazione, tra un controllo statale forte e la spinta verso una gestione autonoma e meritocratica delle università, resta un tema aperto che continua a influenzare il dibattito sull'istruzione superiore in Italia. Pur privilegiando un approccio istituzionale, infine, il lavoro si distingue per chiarezza argomentativa e profondità analitica, risultando utile non solo agli storici dell'educazione, ma anche a giuristi, politologi e studiosi delle politiche pubbliche.

Maria Ortenzi

Stefania Paoli (ed.), *Ippolito Amicarelli. Preside Rettore del Convitto di Napoli (1865-1889). Da documenti dell'Archivio storico del Convitto di Napoli 1875-1882*, Napoli, Giannini Editore, 2025, 295 pp.

Il lavoro di ricerca curato da Stefania Paoli si propone di indagare e ricostruire le prassi istituzionali messe in campo sul finire del XIX secolo all'interno di uno dei più importanti Convitti dell'area meridionale, basandosi sull'analisi e sullo studio di un ampio novero di fonti archivistiche. Il contributo, inoltre,

si avvale delle presentazioni di Silvana Dovere, Rettore del Convitto Nazionale "Vittorio Emanuele II" di Napoli e Dirigente scolastico delle scuole annesse, e di Emanuela Ferrante, Assessore allo Sport e alle Pari Opportunità del Comune di Napoli. Il volume è l'esito di un progetto anche didattico, avviato nell'anno scolastico 2022/2023, che ha visto il coinvolgimento degli studenti dell'attuale classe III B del Liceo classico europeo.

Il cuore del lavoro di ricerca risiede nella trascrizione e nella schedatura sistematica dei verbali del Consiglio di Amministrazione del Convitto "Vittorio Emanuele" di Napoli tra il 19 marzo 1875 e il 9 marzo 1882, durante il rettorato di Ippolito Amicarelli. La documentazione esaminata è parte integrante del patrimonio conservato presso l'Archivio Storico del Convitto Nazionale di Napoli (ASCNNa), la cui trascrizione delle fonti, come sottolineato dalla curatrice, ha permesso valutazioni critiche e confronti tra la storia locale e la storia nazionale, all'interno del testo è di fatto presentata la materialità del documento d'archivio come strumento di indagine primaria. Paoli riserva alla trascrizione dei verbali, alla strutturazione e alla compilazione delle schede sinottiche, ad opera delle studentesse e degli studenti stessi, la parte più ampia del volume a cui fa precedere una sezione introduttiva che spazia dalla prosopografia dei quadri dirigenti all'assetto finanziario, fino al regolamento della vita convittuale tra disciplina, decoro, igiene e approvvigionamento. Fulcro da cui si sviluppa lo studio è il protagonista Ippolito Amicarelli, Preside-Rettore dell'istituto dal 1865 al 1889, il ritratto biografico che ne emerge, suffragato anche dalle memorie di Francesco D'Ovidio (*Rimpianti*, 1903), ci restituisce l'archetipo di un educatore patriota del Risorgimento; Amicarelli viene

presentato sotto una duplice prospettiva, da un lato, l'introduzione ne ripercorre i natali e i momenti salienti nel contesto della storia del Paese, sacerdote molisano nato ad Agnone nel 1823 (pp. 19-20), fervente antiborbonico, perseguitato politico e successivamente deputato nel primo Parlamento italiano per la Destra Storica nel 1861 (p. 16). Un profilo da cui affiora anche un fine intellettuale, autore nel 1858 di un saggio in due volumi intitolato *Della lingua e dello stile italiano. Lezioni* opera di storia della letteratura in due volumi che testimonia il suo profondo interesse per la questione della lingua come strumento di unificazione nazionale (p. 17). Dall'altro, la rappresentazione del Rettore-Preside che il lettore conosce attraverso le fonti dei verbali, un amministratore attento, scrupoloso e mai arrendevole alla guida dell'istituto e dell'educazione dei suoi abitanti. Infatti, gran parte delle energie del Consiglio, come si evince dalla documentazione, era assorbita da contenziosi legali per l'esazione degli affitti e dei canoni enfiteutici legati a fondi rustici e urbani sparsi sul territorio laziale e campano (pp. 23-24). Molti locali dell'ex Collegio dei Gesuiti, assegnati al Convitto ma non utilizzati direttamente per l'istruzione, erano stati dati in affitto a soggetti privati, come la tipografia di Antonio Morano o lo scultore Uriele Vitolo (pp. 26-27). L'Intendenza di Finanza ne reclamava la proprietà e le relative rendite, sostenendo che i beni esuberanti ai bisogni didattici dovessero rientrare nella disponibilità dello Stato, in base alla legge del 22 aprile 1869 n. 5606 (pp. 27, 176). La difesa ostinata di queste entrate da parte di Amicarelli e dei suoi consiglieri testimonia le costanti frizioni tra centro e periferia nella gestione del patrimonio pubblico post-unitario (pp. 28-29, 185, 192, 207, 224, 227).

Altrettanto stringente traspare la

questione delle rette, si nota come il Convitto faticava a riscuotere le rette trimestrali anticipate di 800 lire (pp. 25, 59), e il Consiglio di Amministrazione era costretto a deliberare dilazioni o ad affrontare i debiti contratti dai padri degli alunni o dal personale. Da queste dinamiche emerge che l'amministrazione del Rettore-Presidente era sì improntata a un'inflessibile tutela della reputazione del luogo, ma si coniugava con una spiccata sensibilità verso quegli alunni lodevoli e disciplinati che, come nel caso del giovane De Matera, si trovavano in temporanea difficoltà economica (p. 110).

Per comprendere oltre alla figura, l'operato di Amicarelli e del suo Consiglio di Amministrazione, composto da figure di spicco dell'*intelligenza* e della politica napoletana, è imprescindibile la lettura delle pagine riguardanti la vita convittuale, le cui dinamiche riflettevano la *mens legis* della *Legge Casati* (Legge 13 novembre 1859, n. 3725) e del *Regolamento pei Convitti nazionali* (Regio Decreto 25 agosto 1860, n. 4292). L'imponente apparato del personale tra cui medico, censore, istitutori, camerieri, cuochi e guardarobieri, rifletteva l'impalcatura gerarchica imposta dal Ministero (p. 31). Il *Regolamento* del 1860, infatti, prevedeva oltre al Rettore, un Direttore spirituale, un Censore di disciplina e una schiera di Istitutori che dovevano risiedere nei dormitori e mangiare con i convittori, fungendo da costante presidio morale e materiale (artt. 2, 28, 36, 39). E, in tale contesto, sono le carte contabili che fungono da sismografo della storia nazionale, nella parte dedicata all'approvvigionamento, Paoli fornisce la stesura della tabella storica dei prezzi (Tav. 1, pp. 34-36) che riflettono in tempo reale le fluttuazioni macroeconomiche nazionali e internazionali. Le difficoltà del Consiglio nel calmierare i costi tra il

1875 e il 1878 sono la diretta conseguenza della Tassa sul macinato introdotta dalla Destra storica, ma anche dei timori speculativi indotti dalla Guerra d'Oriente tra Russia e Impero Ottomano (pp. 33, 90, 170). Solo nei primi anni Ottanta, in coincidenza con i provvedimenti di progressiva abolizione della tassa varati dal governo Depretis, si registra nei bilanci del Convitto una stabilizzazione al ribasso dei prezzi del pane e delle farine (p. 11, Tav. 1, pp. 34-36). L'elenco meticoloso delle derrate fornisce, peraltro, una preziosa fonte sulla dieta, l'alimentazione e sulla dimensione culturale legata al cibo dell'epoca.

Una menzione particolare spetta allo spazio dedicato all'assetto disciplinare, significativa è la trascrizione del verbale datato 19 marzo 1875, che decreta l'espulsione di due alunni i quali, fingendosi malati per eludere le lezioni, si erano nascosti in una soffitta destando «grave commozione» e «prodotto grave scandalo nel Convitto» (p. 54). Il regime disciplinare post-unitario, pur avendo bandito con il *Regolamento* del 1860 le pene corporali, manteneva un rigore inflessibile basato su sanzioni morali e privative, dai pasti separati in silenzio, al divieto delle visite, fino allo stazionamento nella «camera di riflessione» e, *in extrema ratio*, l'espulsione. Le *Norme* interne del 1867 riportate nell'opera (pp. 39-46) confermano questo clima e fanno emergere un quadro organizzativo di stampo spiccatamente militare. L'ammissione, riservata a fanciulli di fede cattolica dai sette anni in su, prevedeva un corredo obbligatorio che, accanto alla tradizionale biancheria, imponeva dotazioni emblematiche quali il «Fucile con baionetta», la «Daga con centurino» e il «Kepy con pennacchino» (p. 40). L'intera giornata, che aveva inizio alle 5:30 del mattino per concludersi alle 21:00 (p.

39), era scandita rigidamente dai rintocchi del tamburo (p. 41), alternando ore di studio, lezioni curriculari, pasti e un vasto assortimento di discipline extra-curriculari quali calligrafia, disegno, declamazione, scherma, ballo, esercizi militari e ginnastica (p. 39). L'obiettivo principe dei Convitti era rispondere alle esigenze di *state-building*, pertanto, le direttive educative dell'istituto miravano a impartire una formazione integrale per plasmare cittadini onesti, chiamati in futuro a onorare la «comune patria italiana» (p. 41). Si attuava, così, un modello di istruzione inscindibile dall'educazione morale, in linea con le istanze di consolidamento identitario nazionale: l'obiettivo era modellare il carattere prima ancora dell'intelletto, attraverso il rigore dello studio e la disciplina quotidiana, si mirava a forgiare la coscienza del futuro cittadino, ogni apprendimento doveva essere sussunto in una solida rettitudine e in un senso del dovere verso la collettività.

Sono documentate inoltre le disposizioni relative ai momenti di svago, restituendo una dimensione prossima al presente della giovinezza dei convittori, seppur le norme promuovevano un divertimento misurato, consentendo esplicitamente di cimentarsi nel gioco «della Dama, del Domino, degli Scacchi e qualche altro che i Superiori stimeranno conveniente» (p. 44). In questo processo di formazione anche culturale, l'uso del dialetto era severamente interdetto, i giovani dovevano sforzarsi di parlare unicamente la lingua nazionale: «è proibito espressamente usare il proprio dialetto: gli alunni, in ogni tempo, in ogni luogo, con ogni persona, staranno attenti a parlare, con correzione e senz'affettazione la comune lingua italiana» (p. 41).

Ma anche la regolamentazione del corpo e dei comportamenti rientrava nei

precetti, per tutelare l'ordine, era fatto divieto assoluto ai convittori di possedere denaro, orologi o oggetti preziosi, così come era esplicitamente proibito detenere giornali che trattassero argomenti di politica (pp. 42-43). A garanzia di questa complessa impalcatura etico-disciplinare vi era la vigilanza ininterrotta dei Prefetti, incaricati di assolvere al compito di dirigere ed educare i fanciulli in ogni momento (p. 45). Notevole, infine, l'impegno di Amicarelli per il decoro e l'igiene del Convitto, un imperativo dettato da una preoccupazione reale, poiché la documentazione attesta il frequente insorgere di epidemie, in particolare di febbri tifoidi e reumatiche, che costringevano talora a differire il rientro degli allievi per scongiurare il contagio (pp. 50, 160, 200), i progetti sono testimoniati ad esempio dalle spese per la costruzione di una nuova sala di Ginnastica (pp. 13, 156), in ottemperanza alla *Legge che rende obbligatorio l'insegnamento della ginnastica educativa nelle scuole* (Legge 7 luglio 1878, n. 4442), voluta fortemente dal Ministro Francesco De Sanctis attraverso cui l'insegnamento della ginnastica divenne obbligatorio in tutte le scuole di ogni ordine e grado. Conseguisce una correlazione tra le istanze della modernità e l'esigenza di salubrità degli ambienti, binomio che ha guidato la riorganizzazione degli spazi educativi e delle prassi gestionali per tutto il finire del XIX secolo.

Dunque, il volume curato da Stefania Paoli si configura come un valido strumento di indagine storico-educativa, che consente di ricostruire in maniera puntuale la strada percorsa dal Convitto Vittorio Emanuele II sotto l'egida di Ippolito Amicarelli; così come si evince dalla documentazione riportata, la cronaca amministrativa dell'istituto si eleva a specchio fedele delle ambizioni, delle

ristrettezze, delle normative e delle fatiche che accompagnarono la costruzione materiale e culturale della nuova Italia, confermando l'assunto per cui le grandi trasformazioni istituzionali si inverano e

si decodificano anche attraverso la faticosa, quotidiana gestione dei microcosmi che le compongono.

Luana Capriotti

Peer-review policy / Referaggio

All papers submitted for publication are passed on to two anonymous Italian and foreign referees (double-blind peer review), which are chosen by the Editor on the base of their expertise. For further information see the website:

Tutti gli articoli inviati alla redazione vengono sottoposti a referaggio anonimo da parte di due esperti, italiani e stranieri, selezionati dal Direttore sulla base delle competenze e interessi di ricerca. Ulteriori informazioni sul sito:

<<http://www.hecl.it>>

Referees for the year / Revisori per l'anno 2026

Anna Ascenzi (Università degli studi di Macerata, Italy); Gianfranco Bandini (Università degli studi di Firenze, Italy); Alberto Barausse (Università degli studi del Molise, Italy); Milena Bernardi (Università degli Studi di Bologna, Italy); Paolo Bianchini (Università degli studi di Torino, Italy); Pino Boero (Università degli studi di Genova, Italy); Edoardo Bressan (Università degli studi di Macerata, Italy); Antonella Cagnolati (Università degli studi di Foggia, Italy); Lorenzo Cantatore (Università degli studi di Roma Tre, Italy); Dorena Caroli (Università degli studi di Macerata, Italy); Antonio Castillo Gómez (Universidad de Alcalá, Spain); Giorgio Chiosso (Università degli studi di Torino, Italy); Mariella Colin (Université de Caen, France); Maria Carmen Colmenar Orzaes (Universidad Complutense de Madrid, Spain); Carmela Covato (Università degli studi di Roma Tre, Italy); Michela D'Alessio (Università degli studi della Basilicata, Italy); Mirella D'Ascenzo (Università degli studi di Bologna, Italy); Annamaria Ducci (Accademia di Belle Arti di Carrara, Italy); Agustín Benito Escolano (Universidad de Valladolid, Spain); Weiping Fang (Zhejiang Normal University, China); Sabrina Fava (Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore di Milano, Italy); Carla Ghizzoni (Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore, Italy); Martine Gilsoul (Università Pontificia Salesiana, Italy); Teresa González Pérez (Universidad de La Laguna, Spain); Jan Gunčaga (University of Ružomberok, Slovakia); Silvina Gvirtz (Universidad de San Andrés, Argentina); Robert Hampel (University of Delaware, USA); Elemér Kelemen (Hungarian Academy

of Sciences, Hungary); Pigga Keskitalo (Sámi University College, Norway); Adriana Kičková (University in Nitra, Slovakia); Moysés Kuhlmann Jr. (Universidade Católica de Santos São Paulo – Brasil); Francisco Javier Laspalas (Universidad de Navarra, Spain); Daniel Lindmark (Umea University, Sweden); Juri Meda (Università degli studi di Macerata, Italy); Maria Cristina Morandini (Università degli studi di Torino, Italy); Gabriela Ossenbach Sauter (UNED, Spain); Michel Ostenc (Université de Angers, France); Riccardo Pagano (Università degli studi di Bari, Italy); Merja Pakuniemi (Institute of Migration – Finland); Elisabetta Patrizi (Università degli studi di Macerata, Italy); Furio Pesci (Università La Sapienza di Roma, Italy); Helena Pimenta Rocha (Universidade Estadual de Campinas, Brasil); Pablo Pineau (Universidad de Buenos Aires, Argentina); Joaquim Pintassilgo (Universidade de Lisboa, Portugal); Tiziana Pironi (Università degli Studi di Bologna, Italy); Chiara Piva (Università “Ca’ Foscari” di Venezia, Italy); Simonetta Polenghi (Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore, Italy); Edvard Protner (Università degli studi di Maribor – Slovenia); Erika Sarivaara (Sámi University – Norway); Marika Savukoski (Municipality of Pyhärinta – Finland); Gabriella Seveso (Università degli Studi di Milano «Bicocca», Italy); Miguel Somoza Rodriguez (UNED, Spain); Bernat Sureda Garcia (Universidad de las Islas Baleares, Spain); Fabio Targhetta (Università degli studi di Macerata, Italy); Ariclé Vechia (Universidade Tuiuti do Paraná-Curitiba, Brazil); Javier Vergara (UNED, Spain).

Databases / Banche Dati

Hecl is indexed in the following databases:

Hecl è indicizzata nelle seguenti banche dati:

ACNP-Catalogo Italiano dei Periodici; BSN-Bibliografia Storica Nazionale; EBSCO-Historical Abstracts; SCOPUS-Elsevier; EIO-Editoria Italiana On line; ERIC-Education Resources Information Center; ERIH PLUS- The European Reference Index for the Humanities and the Social Sciences; ESSPER-Spoglio dei periodici italiani di economia, diritto, scienze sociali e storia; GENAMICS-Genamics JournalSeek; Google Scholar; ISI WEB OF SCIENCE-Clarivate Analytics; NOVA-University of Newcastle (Australia); Banca dati riviste-Istituto Internazionale F. Datini; Rivista di Storia della Chiesa in Italia; Progetto Riviste On Line; Storia Moderna (<<http://www.stmoderna.it>>); ULRICH'S Periodicals Directory.

