Cristina Yanes-Cabrera · Juri Meda
Antonio Viñao   *Editors*

School
Memories

New Trends in the History of Education

Springer

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Chapter 1
School Memory: Historiographical Balance and Heuristics Perspectives

Juri Meda and Antonio Viñao

Memory is quite the rage. Just when, in our fruitless effort to defy forgetting we have started to store everything electronically in the expectation that it will be retrievable whenever we need it, memory has become the focus of attention, not only of various fields of social sciences but also there is an aim to recover the old intention of the trustworthiness of what is narrated, although accompanied by a need to remember what was silenced by history itself, the duty to give a voice to those who were not given one. It is because of this fashion that we have begun to ask ourselves whether "school memory" exists, and what it is, and what methodology should be used to analyze it and what precisely its heuristic perspectives might be.

1.1 Toward a Shared Definition of School Memory

The scientific community is anything but unanimous in its interpretation of the concept of school memory, as was made patently clear by the fact that during the international symposium *School Memories. New Trends in Historical Research into Education: Heuristic Perspectives and Methodological Issues* (Seville—22–23 September, 2015), many colleagues had sent in proposals that were not relevant or had sought clarification and preparatory reading matter in order to define this issue more generally and set it in a clearer theoretical framework.

So, what exactly is understood by "school memory"? While there is no univocal definition we believe that we can state that school memory can be basically

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understood in two different ways: first as an individual way of reflection about one's own school experience, as in the reconstruction of the self; and then as an individual, collective and/or public practice of remembrance of a common school past. Actually, the term is also used in a third sense, albeit inappropriately, as in the social memory that is transmitted/constructed by the school and the educational system of a specific country (Bourdieu and Passeron 1970; Bruner 1996), which has until now been studied more outside the sphere of history of education, and in particular by researchers interested in analyzing cultural learning processes (Viñao Frago 2001; Myers and Grosvenor 2014), or in the research into the "public use of history" promoted within schools considered as places of social reproduction.

In order to avoid this quite widely held error, we wish to clarify that when we speak of "school memory" we are not referring to the memory transmitted by the school but to memory related to the school, school times and teaching, i.e. the memory that individuals, communities and society have built up about the school world and the educational process. This gains full meaning in societies where schooling is generalized and where school experiences are daily happenings, for at least five hours a day, for most of the population during the period of compulsory education (Meda 2014, p. 519); in short, when schooling has become in childhood, adolescence and youth a common experience at a biographical, generational and social level. A lived experience that will remain strongly formalized both in the individual and the collective memory.

Of the two forms of "school memory" experts in didactics and teaching methodology are particularly interested in the individual reflection on one's own school experiences. Such a reflexive memory can reduce the epistemological mortgage, accruing from the previous experience and weighing on the way in which future teachers will "do school", and allow them to restructure their own teaching on solid scientific bases (Rousmaniere 2000).

Historians of education, on the other hand, are more interested in a conception of memory—taken from some well known studies on cultural memory (Halbwachs 1950; Assmann 1992, 1999)—as a practice of individual remembrance or collective and public commemoration of a common school past, based on the analysis of the self-representation of themselves provided by the teachers and students in their individual memoirs[1] and on the representation of the school and the teaching offered by the cultural industry[2] and by the world of information and

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[1]The forms of *individual school memory* are diaries, autobiographies, memoirs (Viñao Frago 1999, 2009) and the personal recollections included in oral testimonies (Frank 1992; Dei 1994; Altenbaugh 1997; Dougherty 1999; Suárez Pazos 2002; Gardner 2003; Cunningham and Gardner 2004; Bittencourt Almeida 2009; Barausse 2013), which could be used later to make publishing and multimedia products in the promotion of a *collective school memory*.

[2]The forms of *collective school memory* in this case are those conveyed through literary fiction and popular fiction (Ascenzi 2012), through the theatre and the cinema (Cohen 1996; May and Ramsland 2007; May 2010; Girotti et al. 2014), as well as, more generally, through images (Del Pozo Andrés 2006; Colleldemont 2010).

communication,[3] along with that developed by official commemorations promoted by public institutions in accordance with a specific memory policy and the public use of the past (Cunningham 2000).[4]

This last research perspective in particular enables a deep analysis of an aspect whose historical reach has yet to be correctly situated by historians: how the perception of the public status of education as well as the public image of the School and of the national education system has evolved within a larger or smaller community.

1.2 School Memory as a Historical Object

The interest in school memory as an object of history by education historiographers has matured during the early years of the twenty-first century thanks to a deep renewal of the epistemological fundaments and the heuristic objectives in this field of study, accompanied by the growing attention accorded by generalist historians to the politics of memory and the public use of the history in Modern and Contemporary Times (see, for example, the works of Eric Hobsbawm, Pierre Nora and Richard Terdiman). The Spanish scientific community has played a leading role in this historiographic process, thanks in the main to the pioneer works of Escolano Benito (2002, 2011a) and Viñao Frago (2005), who undertook the research of the complex relationship between "school memory" and "school culture" which, a few years earlier, Dominique Julia had brought to the fore in the education history debate when he defined its forms and structures (Julia 1995).

In 2009, the French historian Pierre Caspard posed the issue of the growing breach between the sophisticated historiographic analyses of the historians of education and the schematizations of the historical *vulgate* (memory) in an attempt to define the genealogical relation between the school of today and that of the past, with the conclusion that history is in some way at the service of memory (Caspard 2009). In 2010 Antonio Viñao picked up these reflections by Caspard on the politics of education memory in an article published in *Educatio Siglo XXI*, and showed how in recent years the education historiographers in Spain and France had been influenced by historical anniversaries of State school events which had been

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[3]In this case the forms of *collective school memory* are those conveyed through daily newspapers and the popular press and also through television (Crook 1999), plus those conveyed through new information and communication media.

[4]The forms of public school memory are the creation of "places of school memory" (Nora 1984–1992; Connerton 1989, 2009), such as school museums, school memorials; in streets, squares and school buildings which bear the names of teachers, educators and pedagogy experts; the unveiling of plaques, busts and monuments; the awarding of decorations and distinctions; issues of stamps and commemorative coins; the funereal celebrations promoted by professional associations and public institutions in accordance with a specific memory (obituaries, funeral prayers, commemorative leaflets and other posthumous testimonies to the memory of deceased teachers, epitaphs and gravestones, etc.). Regarding the latter, see, especially, the recent: Ascenzi and Sani (2016).

extended to other types of memory, such as the commemorations periodically promoted by historical schools to document their education tradition or the musealization of the educational heritage, which is considered to be a true "mnemonic concretion" and an agent of commemoration (Viñao Frago 2010).

In 2011, Agustín Escolano published an article in a Brazilian journal in which he again put forward his view, which is characterized by the central position of the individual's school memory, which is directly related to the subject's own construction of his or her narrative identity (drawing on Ricœur) and the formation of the autobiographical memory. Escolano brings together the skills learnt in the school, converting them into procedural memories (knowing how to read and write, etc.). According to Escolano Benito (2011b), all of this contributes to defining our identity and enabled us to recognize ourselves in a "shared *Bildung*" within a specific social community.

In 2012, Antonio Viñao devoted another article to memory, which was also published in a Brazilian journal, in which he focused on material and immaterial historical-school heritage—the heuristic potential of which had been described by Yanes-Cabrera (2007, 2010)—and indicated its possible applications: antiquarian, nostalgic, therapeutic (in reference to the first experiments carried out by Agustín Escolano in Berlanga de Duero with sufferers of Alzheimer's), didactic and historiographic. What Viñao Frago (2012) proposed was not so much a sample of the ways of remembering but more a clear analysis of the uses of memory, in an effort to define the drifts that this new area of study might have for historical research (e.g. compulsive collecting, nostalgia[5] or uncritical fetishism), thus delegitimizing its scientific results.

To date in the twenty-first century historiographic reflection, especially in Iberia and Latin America, has adopted the proposals set out in the works cited above, and has begun to devote efforts to studying school memory, with the focus in particular on the individual memoirs of the actors in school life (diaries, autobiographies, oral testimonies, etc.) and on the "informing objects" of the school's empirical culture (Sacchetto 1986), all of which are used to glean more information—that is not of the standard type according to school legislation and educational theories—on school practices in the classroom, rituals, disciplinary measures of teachers, and the like.[6] Thus, there is a growing sector in the history of education that is willing to study school memory as a useful resource for deciphering the "black box of schooling", since—based on the empirical and material nature, rather than theoretical, of the school,[7]—it could account for what really went on in the classrooms, even in the case of issues that while not officially documented are known to have occurred (corporal punishment, "prohibited" practices and other teaching taboos).

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[5]On the influence of nostalgia in the reconstruction of the past, see: Shaw and Chase (1989).

[6]At the same time, the "commemorative policies of the school", in which the reflection of Caspard and Viñao had centered, have received less attention, in spite of their involving the use of alternative interpretative paradigms and methodological hybridizations the least.

[7]Such as that envisaged by the law, the school curricula and the teaching currents.

Even so, the authors of these first studies have limited themselves to a large extent to drawing on individuals' school memoirs, be they material (diaries, autobiographies, etc.) or immaterial (oral testimonies, etc.), as sources for a history of education seen in the classical and traditional sense, which does not change its epistemological horizons but use different sources in order to study school life in the past.

The spread of the heuristic spectrum of the "school memory", seen as a historical process rather than as a mere historical source, has changed the perspective significantly, because it is no longer just a testimony of the school past, but a new object of study for the historian, who sees it not just "from within" (what the school was like, or at least how it portrayed itself), but also "from without" (how it was perceived by the elite and by civil society) so getting a view of the educational system from society as a whole.

While individual memoirs can be understood individually or compared as sources, the collective memory can only be studied as a "process", since it consists of a social reconstruction of the past deriving from the fusion of the "experienced school past" (recalled by direct participants) and the "constructed school past" (recalled by observers, readers and spectators).[8] In this sense, the collective memory comes genetically from the collective imaginarium, whose symbolic materials can derive both from the cultural legacy of a specific community or can be new cultural formations produced by the culture industry or by the information and communication world.

If, for example, we wish to understand the reasons that teaching activism has been represented in a specific way in a film comedy, we have to take into account the stereotypes and prejudices in fashion regarding this teaching movement at the time the film was shot. This entails analyzing not only popular culture, literature or television broadcasts, but also advertising, newspapers and magazines.

From this perspective, the start of an initial systematic campaign of studies on the "collective school memory" would allow us to revert to the standpoint from which the analysis of the history of the school phenomenon is undertaken. The social significance of this is not determined only by the cultural superstructure built up by the ruling classes and perpetuated through a specific policy of memory ('public memory of school'), but also by the most widely spread stereotypes in each society and the moment in time. We can say that the school, as a "practically universal experience in the context of culturally advanced democratic societies" (Escolano Benito 2011b, p. 12) is not just a historical phenomenon, but a real "imaginarium category".

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[8]In other words "culture consumers".

1.3   School Memory and the New Horizons for the History of Education

Having established what exactly the school memory is, we now try to define the consequences of its critical study. Basically we consider that there could be two repercussions: the production of new historical knowledge and the redefining of the cultural horizons of the history of education.

We have already established to what extent and how school memory can become a historical object and how it can be used by historians of education to learn more—in a qualitative meaning—about the school of the past and its practices, habits and rituals. We have also shown how the school of the past (how it really was) should be an object of historical research in education, as also should the representation that was made of it, the social perception that was generalized of it and the most common stereotypes about it. In fact, studying the ways in which these phenomena are recalled and portrayed will not only reveal to us the effective social and cultural dimension of this historical phenomenon, it will also help us to define the reasons behind some of the clichés that still beset the school archetype.

We have noted that another consequence of a critical study of the school memory could be the redefining of the cultural horizons of the history of education. The school memory can, indeed, be used to study the past, as well as to define how the present views the past, interprets it or reinterprets it. In this sense, from a historical-educational viewpoint, school memory does not interest us merely as a means of accessing the school past but also as the key to understanding what today's society knows, or thinks it knows, about the schools of the past, and how close this is to the truth or is the result of prejudices and stereotypes that are deeply rooted in the common mindset and are difficult to eradicate.

Given this complicated set of reasons, a critical study of the school memory may serve to broaden the horizons of history of education research, thus enabling us to study the relation between the past and the present and to apply our heuristic paradigms to broader timescale: the "long past", i.e. the past that survives as an undercurrent in the present.[9]

This heuristic extension also responds to a need of national and international political institutions that are interested in the past and its genetic relation to the present. Viñao claims that in the study of school memory "historians of education have found a fertile field of funded research which can, moreover, be developed thanks to its compatibility and the mutual support it enjoys with the uses of memory referred to earlier[10]; unlike other fields, it satisfies social and institutional demands alike" (Viñao Frago 2012, p. 11).

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[9]Escolano also refers to this "historical time" when he argues the need to adopt the archaeological approach to "decipher and understand the hidden codes that lie in the material remains of education" (Escolano 2012, p. 493).

[10]The antiquarian, nostalgic, therapeutic, didactic and historiographic use.

We believe that in a time of deep institutional redefining of the systems of university research evaluation and funding, this is an aspect that cannot be put to one side, as it can place the history of education at the center of a new historiographic campaign that promises to be highly prolific and economically attractive.

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Chapter 2
Exploring New Ways of Studying School Memories: The Engraving as a Blind Spot of the History of Education

María del Mar del Pozo Andrés and Sjaak Braster

2.1 Introduction

Soldiers raising the American flag on Iwo Jima. A naked girl fleeing from a napalm bombardment in Vietnam. A man standing in front of a column of tanks on Tiananmen Square in Beijing. These are a few examples of images that have become global icons of historical events known to different generations of people. Because a diverse group of people know them and attribute the same meaning to them, these images are also known as iconic photographs and have come to form part of a collective memory. Some iconic photographs have become famous because they reflected important historical events. But in other cases they may be related to the world of fashion, sport, music, movies, and so on. An intriguing question is whether there are iconic images representing education. Or, from the perspective of the history of education: are there images portraying school life that deserve the adjective "iconic"? This article is about an image that we believe is iconic, one that we found after browsing through public and private collections of paintings, engravings, etchings, and lithographs in the United States and in several European countries, covering a span of over two decennia. It depicts a group of children having a raucous time in a school classroom, unaware that their teacher, who can be seen in the doorway returning with a cane in his hand, can see what they are up to. We have provisionally labelled this picture as iconic because it was found, over the course of more than a century, in numerous collections, in several countries and in countless variations.

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In order to examine the issue of iconic images more closely, we need to give a definition of an iconic photograph. Kleppe (2013) mentions two important points regarding their distribution: first of all, they have been reproduced many times, and secondly, that these are reproductions not only of the works in their original form, but also of their many variations. Some of the characteristics relating to their reception are that they can evoke emotions, and above all they have a symbolic meaning that for most observers is immediately obvious. But this meaning may change over time and ultimately depends upon the context in which the image is framed. Finally, iconic photographs refer to archetypes, have the potential to be archetypes themselves and thus represent more than what is being displayed. In this sense they are like religious icons that make the invisible visible.

Iconic images can obviously only exist in a time that Walter Benjamin has described as "an age of mechanical reproduction" (Benjamin 1935). If an image cannot be reproduced then it cannot, by definition, acquire an iconic status. The introduction of photographic techniques in particular has led to a situation in which, according to Benjamin, original and authentic works of art have lost their "aura" because of the fact that they can be reproduced in great quantities. But we mustn't forget that long before the invention of photography, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, mechanical reproduction existed in the form of the mass production of prints. We should also mention the use of steel in place of copper or wood for the making of engravings, and the use of stone plates for printing lithographs. The print, predating the photograph, had already proved to be "the most democratic medium in the history of arts" because it entered "the homes of the poor and the rich, the ruler and the ruled" (Eichenberg 1976, p. 4). In this respect prints, i.e. engravings, etchings, and lithographs, deserve more attention from historians of education as a source for understanding education in general, and for analysing school memories in the nineteenth century in particular.

In this article we will try to give an answer to the question of whether or not one single image of the school can truly be defined as "iconic". We will do this by first describing the indicators that define the reception, distribution and impact of this image, secondly by interpreting the symbolic meaning of the image in question, and finally, by analysing the reasons that made this work the iconic image of the school in the nineteenth century. The relevance of this exercise can be found in the connection between iconic images and the collective memory. By studying an image of a school that was frequently reproduced in different times and places we can tap into people's memories and describe the features of a school as a globalized concept.

2.2 The Reproduction and Transnational Circulation of "The School in an Uproar"

In the Spring of 1809 the recently constituted Associated Artists in Water Colours held one of its first exhibits in the galleries of Old Bond Street. The critics called attention to the works that had most impressed them, and among these was one

titled *Picture of Youth*, a name that may have been inspired by a book published the previous year (The Academy 1808).

Connoisseurs were not drawn to this work for its artistic merits; in fact they made mention of "the feebleness of the drawing" and considered that its use of light and shadows "detract greatly from its general merits". As it turned out, the artist was awarded a respectable second place, behind the great English water colour masters such as Wilkie and Bird (Bond-Street Exhibition 1809, p. 493). What really caught the attention of the experts as well as the general public was the theme of *Picture of Youth* and its representation of an image that was considered "a Comedy". The subject is a classroom in "a country school", shown at a moment when the teacher has left and the children are behaving wildly. "And surely never before was picture so replete with those incidents of infantile fun and frolic upon which imagination dwells, as it looks back with fond regret" (Review of Works of Art 1809, p. 183). The work undoubtedly succeeded at evoking school day reminiscences among the observers, but even more so it seems to have stimulated their senses, as the execution allows you to practically hear the children laughing. The subjects and their expressions evoke a rich array of feelings and emotions, while it is hard not to imagine the punishments that will be dealt out when the teacher, who is on his way back to the classroom, finds his class having a rollicking, full-fledged party, with mirth and ridicule of the teacher included.

The author of this water colour is Henry James Richter (1772–1857). Richter's embrace of the democratic conception of art was evident (Hemingway 1992, pp. 102–103); he believed in painting subjects and themes taken from modern life and in creating art that appealed "not to the learned antiquary, not to the curious amateur, nor to the technical admiration of mere professors, but to the general sense, to the feelings and understanding of the common people" (Richter 1817, p. 57). This conviction led him to choose scenes from domestic and daily life, creating works that found an increasing demand in the art market as well as ready buyers among the burgeoning middle class, which had taken to purchasing original artwork to decorate their homes. The water colour *Picture of Youth* was acquired immediately by William Chamberlayne (1760–1829), MP for Southampton. Pertaining to a private collection, *Picture of Youth* was as a result only very rarely shown to the general public. Unfortunately, the original version of the water colour was lost.

Studies in cultural transfer attempt to quantify the reception given to a literary or intellectual work by examining the way it has been interpreted, adapted, translated, cited, copied or imitated. In the case of an original art work, we would evaluate the degree of reception by determining whether and to what extent it was copied in other formats and reproduced by means of any of the engraving techniques used starting at the beginning of the nineteenth century. Engraving has been described as a "translation" of a painting, a process in which the engraver doesn't attempt "to reproduce" the work as much as "to interpret" it; the engraver tries to convey the way he or she has perceived the work and to provide the viewer with an experience that resembles as much as possible a contact with the original (Michel 2007, p. 595). Our first criteria, therefore, for evaluating the reception of a work of art

should involve determining whether an attempt was made to turn it into a "classic" by reproducing it countless times with the aid of new copying techniques. A painter's success, in fact, was measured in good part by the number of his or her works that were made into engravings: "a painter's reputation was often decided by the popularity of the engraving rather than the success of the painting" (Engen 1975, p. 10). And the choice of the engraver was crucial; as the work's "translator", a good engraver could turn a mediocre work of art into something of great demand or, by the same token, convert a masterpiece into something banal, vapid and utterly unsellable.

With these considerations in mind we can trace the trajectory of the water colour *Picture of Youth*. In 1811 the Directors of the Liverpool Academy decided to publish, on an annual basis, "an engraving of a subject in history, or landscape", choosing for that first year "Mr. Richter's much admired picture called *A Picture of Youth* (Monthly Retrospect 1811, p. 57). The project was not carried out, leading some art critics to speculate in subsequent years as to why "Richter's drawing of the School Boys […] does not appear among our English subjects, as a print" (Anti-Jaundice 1820, p. 716); there seemed to be a consensus that the work would have been very well received by those who valued artwork based on everyday life.

Henry Richter, possibly in reaction to such commentaries, decided to do an engraving of the work himself, an unusual step for him and something which he doesn't seem to have done with any other of his works. In July of 1822 the press announced that the painter had begun "the publication of Illustrations of his Works" (Intelligence, Literary, Scientific & c. 1822, p. 123). The first series consisted of a portfolio of four engravings drawn on stone by the artist himself along with a cover page. On this cover, the size of a small vignette, was an engraved copy of the original water colour owned by William Chamberlayne, to whom the entire collection was dedicated. The other four engravings, in large format, magnified specific scenes from the work, each scene—with no caption and identified only by a number—having its own entity. Here the artist expanded upon the work's title, calling the series *A Picture of Youth, or The School in an Uproar*. The second part of the title was the name for which it would become famous and popular, which it did immediately. The reasons for this popularity are expressed best by critics of the time: the original work "has lived in our memory" ever since it was first shown in 1809, leaving a lasting impression on viewers thanks to its "comic familiarity", because "the subject is so intimately connected with our early associations", because virtually everyone was able to understand the iconic language so well, identifying with it and wanting to have it (Fine Arts 1822, p. 425).

The portfolio was published by Rudolph Ackermann (1764–1834), who in the first decades of the nineteenth century expanded his publishing business throughout the European and American markets. Richter's work thus became known to an international public, and over the course of several decades his name and works appear in a number of different gallery catalogues. Two of the engravings from this portfolio, one depicting the unexpected arrival of the teacher and the other showing

a boy "riding" one of the classroom benches, were copied countless times in a much smaller format to be published as copper-plate etchings in medallion portraits or as part of engraving collections such as those published by Samuel Maunders around 1830. Numbers 13 and 14 from this collection, titled *The Angry Schoolmaster* and *The Idle Scholar*, were reduced versions of Richter's original engravings, although the artist's name is nowhere to be found on them. Many other editions—some undoubtedly pirated—would appear in subsequent years without copy or publication references. In an attempt to highlight the comic figure of the teacher, many of these copies sport the title *The Enraged Schoolmaster*.

Henry Richter does not seem to have worried much about pirated copies of his portfolio, in part because he was involved in a new project. In April of 1823, during the Nineteenth Exhibition of the Society of Painters in Water-Colours, Richter unveiled a new water colour titled *A Picture of Youth; or, the School in an Uproar, a second picture on the subject*. The author himself presented it as a copy of the original work owned by Chamberlayne, saying that it "has been made for the express purpose of its being engraved" (The Nineteenth Exhibition 1823, p. 539). This delighted the art critics, who were convinced that it was bound to become as popular as the first rendition, and who were certain of "its welcome reception by the public" (Water Colour 1823, p. 286). Again, they lauded the work's success at evoking the emotions and sense of nostalgia in its viewers, who took great pleasure in reconnecting with the joy and innocence of childhood. Some of the reviewers continued to call the work by its original name, *A Picture of Youth* (Exhibition 1823, p. 379); others preferred using the full name; but the great majority opted for a name that was short and sweet, *The School in an Uproar*, the title by which it would be known during the years of its greatest popularity. Of this water colour we only have one image that was published, courtesy of Sotheby's (Solkin 2008, p. 116). However we cannot rule out the possibility that the painter himself made more copies of his work, even in oil.

On April 11, 1825 a mezzotint engraving of Richter's water colour appeared with a slightly modified title: *The Village School in an Uproar*. Its author, Charles Turner (1774–1857), was one of the most well-known artists in his field (Whitman 1907, p. 17). His fame owed in part to his work method, which involved using etched outlines as a foundation for his mezzotint plates. Using this, he achieved much greater nuance, which was especially useful for the conveyance of emotions. The critics certainly saw it this way, remarking that "all the humour of the scene is preserved", "the unbroken circle of mischief is kept up", "and the character of the countenances and uproar is very happily multiplied by these impressions from a sister Art" (Fine Arts 1825, p. 556).

The Village School in an Uproar as painted by Richter and engraved by Turner became wildly popular, and the best way to get an idea of the impact that it had is by resorting to productivity indicators. First of all, the technique, steel mezzotint, allowed for an initial edition of up to 1500 good impressions, but technical advances quickly increased this number. The original plates, once used, could be

restored or copied and then sold to other printers, who could then continue turning out more copies of the same work. The first edition of *The Village School in an Uproar* was published by Hurst & Co. (1825), but when this company folded all of its immense print stock was acquired by Moon, Boys and Graves. These print publishers did excellent business re-editing parts of their stock, including re-editions of Richter and Turner, something they continued to do with each new phase and incarnation of their publishing venture, as Hodgson, Boys and Graves or as Thomas Boys by himself. The engraving also appears in the catalogues of Colnaghi and Puckle and of Edward Puckle, and it would seem that it continued to be published, judging from the evidence in a gazette from 1864 that describes it as a recent print.

The success of this print is representative of changing tendencies in the bourgeois and middle class of its time, when members of this class were no longer content to see such works in the setting of a gallery or collection. Decorating one's house with such artwork had become a feasible option. A study of the auctions in the U.K. between 1830 and 1890 show that *The Village School in an Uproar* could be found in the houses of many English gentlemen and that in at least half of the sales the print was framed and formed part of the furnishings of the house. One of the reasons for its use as a decorative element had to do with its familiarity; it had become a staple of print shops and of the print exhibits that flourished starting in the 1820s. One of the most exotic of these shows was that of the "black walnut tree", a unique exhibit space that was actually fashioned out of an enormous, hollowed out walnut trunk. It travelled to New York, Philadelphia and London in 1827 and 1828 and was seen by more than one hundred thousand people in the United States alone. Inside of the tree, which was decorated in the style of a Drawing Room, was space for some thirty people to admire the three hundred or so prints that were displayed. These included engravings of the world's principal cities, caricatures by Hogarth as well as portraits and works based on an array of subjects. The only print with an educational theme, not surprisingly, was "The Village School in an Uproar".

So far we have only taken into account only the original print by Richter/Turner, but it is impossible to calculate the number of pirated copies that may have been made over the course of the nineteenth century, to say nothing of the caricatures inspired by the composition. Some of these caricatures employed a modified style and depicted variations of the children's activities, as in the case of *The Village School in an Uproar*, published by John Bysh in the 1830s. The Turner version was even printed on objects for everyday use such as pocket handkerchiefs, prompting one of Richter's friends to pay the painter a back-handed complement: "Now your fame will be blown all over the world" (Store 1894, p. 30). From 1853 until at least 1907, numerous theatre companies and comical ballet troupes such as that of Harry Boleno incorporated into their performances a *tableau vivant* "representing the well-known picture of *The Village School in an Uproar*" (South London Palace 1871, p. 3), which the audiences seem to have found hilarious. The last reproduction of Richter's print for which we have evidence, executed with an especially

speedy copying system in 1900 (The Village School in an Uproar 1900, n.p.), was hailed as "a charming old picture" (The Daily Mail 1900, p. 5), emphasizing its classic or *vintage* character.

The print's success was not limited to Great Britain, its international popularity attesting to the extraordinary impact that it had. To go no further, the U.K. enjoyed a fluid circulation of ideas with France, thanks to a robust market in printed images. The first appearance of Richter's print in the U.K. in 1825 coincided with the publication in France of an engraving in aquatint titled *Le Vacarme dans l'École* (Fig. 2.1), made after Richter's water colour by Jean Pierre Marie Jazet (1788–1871). All evidence points to this print being as popular in France as it was in England. In the first place, a number of different editions were published, beginning in 1825. Another French print from the time, *Le désordre dans l'École*, while constituting another variation on Richter's work, makes no reference to Richter, Jazet or any other artist. The subject and inspiration of the work also lies behind other school images, such as *L'Ordre rétabli dans l'école*, "inventé" by Lemercier and made into a lithograph by Esbrard. This work, in its composition and by virtue of the date of its publication—1825—is clearly modelled after Richter's. Finally, we can find *Le Vacarme dans l'École* printed on decorative objects such as porcelain vases.

Fig. 2.1 *Le Vacarme dans l'École* by Jean Pierre Marie Jazet, published in 1825, after Henry James Richter's water colour. Private collection: S. Braster and M.M. del Pozo

Yet another indication of the print's international impact was its inclusion in various collections and portfolios published in London and Paris between 1828 and 1837 in French and English and which purported to show the most representative British and European art of the time. Each selected work was reproduced in a drawing "executed on steel in the first style of outline", with a description in both languages, the collection being sold in collectible instalments which could eventually be assembled into complete volumes. The first of these volumes, consisting of 1071 masterpieces of European art etched by the French engraver Etienne Achille Réveil, contained only two works with education as a theme: the known work *The Schoolmaster* by Van Ostade and *The School in an Uproar* or *L'école en desordre*, by Richter (Fig. 2.2) (Réveil 1828–1834, p. 479). The next two volumes brought together 288 prints by the outstanding English artists of the previous one hundred years. Again, the only one with education as its theme was the print based on Richter's original. It carried the title *The village school in uproar* or *L'école en désordre*, and its engraving was attributed to the French architect and drawer Charles Pierre Joseph Normand (1765–1840) (Hamilton 1831–1832, 1837, p. 152).

Fig. 2.2 *The School in an Uproar* or *L'école en desordre*, by Henry James Richter, published in Réveil 1828–1834, p. 479. Private collection: S. Braster and M.M. del Pozo

The print found its way into the United States through the work of a sole engraver, George B. Ellis. The medium chosen for its circulation was a special kind of booklet—an "annual"—that had become very popular as a Christmas gift. Annuals were "expressly designed to serve as tokens of remembrance, friendship, or affection" (Renier 1964, p. 5). In the United States, where the work was known as *The Village School in an Uproar*, these annuals were practically the only means by which the engraving circulated. Between 1829 and 1831 George B. Ellis published it, as far as we know, in *The Casket*, in *The Gift*, in *The Atlantic Souvenir* and in *The Lady's Book*. It was very well received, with special praise given to the care taken with the drawing, which featured greater precision owing to the technique used. But what really spurred enthusiasm for the work was the subject: "We can look at this scene over and over. […] No explanation is necessary; the whole story is before us" (The Annuals 1831, p. 177). It seems that the theme of the print even stimulated people's literary imaginations; one article provided an elaborate narrative foretelling a hypothetical future for each and every one of the characters depicted in the print (The School 1831, pp. 57–58).

Most of the prints made of this work in the different countries where it became popular were intended for the bourgeoisie and middle-class consumers. Towards the end of the nineteenth century, however, an edition was made that was especially designed for buyers of more modest means. It was a German publisher, the Scholz House of Mainz, who included it in 1876 in its two-volume publication of *Vom Christ-Kind*, a collection of prints of animals, soldiers, theatrical scenes and rural scenes. The print numbered 145(n) was accompanied by a caption in four languages: *Der Dorfschullehrer*, *El maestro de escuela de un pueblo*, *Le maître d'école du village* and *Il maestro di scuola del villaggio*, denoting an interest in attracting potential buyers from Mediterranean countries in particular. And despite the fact that the title had been changed and that the children's clothes were updated, once again the prototype was the same old watercolour, even if the name of Richter was nowhere to be found. Scholz was known for having lithograph machines that could turn out huge print runs on very cheap paper, allowing them to offer popular prints at prices that were much more affordable for the working class than the illustrated magazines. When Joe Scholz took over the business, and especially between 1871 and 1890, all of the publisher's products—consisting of illustrations printed in a variety of formats, from children's books to puzzles—were mass-produced and worldwide consumed. In line with this business philosophy, their decision to publish the print *The School in an Uproar* attests to the fact that it was still considered a *trending topic* for a vast, international public.

Fig. 2.3 Drawing on stone by Henry James Richter. First series, number III of the portfolio *Illustrations of the works of Henry Richter*, published in 1822. Private collection: S. Braster and M. M. del Pozo

2.3 Interpretations of *the School in an Uproar*: Educational Objects and Symbolic Meanings

In order to define the iconic status of the *The School in an Uproar* we must study the image itself in depth. What do we see, and what does it all mean? The best starting point would be the five drawings on stone that Henry Richter made himself and that were part of the portfolio *Illustrations of the works of Henry Richter*,

published in 1822. The front page of the portfolio showed the complete, original water colour. Inside were four detailed lithographs of separate scenes from the work, from left to right:

– Litho. I: a boy sitting on a bench and swinging a switch (Fig. 2.3).
– Litho. II: a boy sitting on the teacher's chair wearing the teacher's robe, cap and spectacles and pretending to read a book, with two boys standing in front of him and two behind him.
– Litho. III: a boy upending a bench, causing two other boys to fall on the floor.
– Litho. IV: a boy trying to warn his classmates that the teacher is standing in the doorway while two other boys are engaged making a drawing on the other side of the door, accompanied by a fourth boy throwing a book in the air (Fig. 2.4).

Fig. 2.4 Drawing on stone by Henry James Richter First series, number V of the portfolio *Illustrations of the works of Henry Richter*, published in 1822. Private collection: S. Braster and M. M. del Pozo

In all there are 13 boys in the school room, all about the same age. Most of them are obviously contravening school norms. There are indications of their defiance in all four lithographs:

– Litho. I: the switch that is meant to be used as an instrument for punishing pupils functions as a whip, while the bench where pupils normally do their reading is being used as a hobby-horse; a slate that is meant for writing exercises shows the results of a game of tic-tac-toe.
– Litho. II: the cap and the high chair that symbolize the teacher' status are being used to make fun of him; a flask of ink that is normally used together with a quill for learning how to write is being emptied on the head of the pupil that is impersonating the teacher; the boy spilling the ink does not have the quill in his hands, but in his mouth; one boy is challenging the "teacher" by standing in a defiant pose and laughing at him; another one mocks this "teacher" by sticking out his tongue; on the wall there is writing from another popular game called hangman or gallows;
– Litho. III: the boy that is falling on the floor (and losing his apple in the process) breaks another slate with his knee, while a hidden abacus (probably shielded from view by the falling boy) also appears to be broken, as its beads are scattered all over the floor;
– Litho. IV: a piece of chalk, meant for writing on a slate or a blackboard, is being used to draw a caricature of the teacher's angry face on the door, and finally, a book's purpose is clearly not to be tossed into the air.

In conclusion, the typical objects found in an ordinary school appear in the image, but with completely different functions in every instance. The same can be said about the books that appear in the image; two books are flying through the room with pages torn out while six more are lying on the floor. Only three books are being handled properly: one is in the hands of the boy pretending to be the teacher while the other two are lying on a shelf on the wall. Of the eleven books five are identifiable:

– Litho. I: a copy book for practicing calligraphy. On the first line we see the sentence "Zeno loved Silence", followed by five more lines, all of them copied incorrectly, indicating poor schoolwork;
– Litho. II: an alphabet book designed for very young children to teach them how to read and write;
– Litho. III: a book of Aesop's Fables; a "spelling-book" for learning grammar written by Thomas Dilworth, an English school master of the eighteenth century who produced several schoolbooks that became very popular in Great Britain and the United States; and a mathematics book.

On the basis of the list of books, and considering the variety of educational material that is present in the school room, we can conclude that at the beginning of the nineteenth century a school was about reading, writing, and arithmetic.

All relevant items for these subjects are systematically presented in the image. But there is more.

Moral education also seemed to be part of the curriculum: children were supposed to read the moralistic fables of Aesop. And they were also introduced to another ancient Greek: the philosopher Zeno of Elea, who loved silence above all other values, and "doubtless [was] one of the [school] master's favourite maxims" (Solkin 2008, p. 117). In addition to encouraging silence, the school stood for order and discipline; the presence of the switch is proof of that. The cane carried by the teacher is another example. The importance of fulfilling one's obligations is also expressed by the words written on the strap attached to the bench that is being used as a hobby-horse: "England expects every man to do his duty". It was Nelson's penultimate signal to the fleet before the battle of Trafalgar, and the affirmation was familiar to every Englishman. Nelson did his duty: the commander died in action, but the English won the battle. The English boy playing on the bench is obviously not carrying out his scholarly duty.

Another text in the image that calls for closer scrutiny is written on the wall as the term that is supposed to be guessed in the hangman game: "tuzzi muzzy". Nowadays dictionaries define this term as meaning "a garland of flowers", but in Victorian times the term had another meaning too: "the female pudend" (Partridge 2006, p. 5690). So, in our innocently titled *A Picture of Youth* we have a reference to the woman's sexual organs, written on the wall like graffiti. Henry Richter must have thought that young children like the ones in the drawing would get a thrill out of using such an inappropriate word in a game.

Finally, we must also comment on two other types of symbols that appear in the image. The first is the apple that slips from the child that is falling to the floor, and that is about to disappear through a hole in the wooden floorboards. The apple represents the forbidden fruit of the Garden of Eden. It is a symbol of the fall into sin, or of the sin itself. While the children are about to be punished for their sins by the teacher, the apple is about to disappear through a hole in the floor.

The most peculiar symbol in this work however is the circled dot that is drawn twice on the wall under the hangman game, once on the bench that is being used as a hobby-horse and three times on the wooden writing desk. The point in a circle is a symbol of great importance in Freemasonry. In the so-called Monitors, written for apprentices entering the order, we are told that the point represents an individual brother, while the circle stands for the boundary line of his duty to God and man.

In conclusion, the main idea of the picture is the tension between the rebellion of children against the school on the one hand, and the need for silence, obedience, and discipline for teaching children how to read, write, and do math on the other. It also shows that at the beginning of the nineteenth century children were still taught the old way: the textbooks date from the eighteenth century, ancient Greek stories are still part of the curriculum and the teaching materials are the same as the ones used in the seventeenth century. The method for restoring order, i.e. by physically punishing the pupils, is even more old fashioned. People regarding these scenes were in a sense looking into the past. The image showed that there was a battle going on, between the old and the new. A battle symbolised also by the position of

the books in the scene: flying through the room and scattered all over the floor. It is not unlikely that Henry Richter found part of his inspiration for composing his picture in a woodcut from Jonathan Swift's *The Battle of the Books*, a short satire published in 1704 that depicted a literal battle between books in the King's Library. Swift's story came to represent the quarrel between the Ancients, who stressed the importance of ancient Greek culture, and the Moderns, who were inspired by new scientific discoveries.

2.4   *The School in an Uproar*: The Making of an Iconic Image of the School

In the last section of this paper we are going to discuss some of the underlying reasons that made an essentially whimsical, genre water colour depicting an everyday scene with caricatural traits come to be admired by a vast public, ultimately becoming the iconic image of the school for much of the nineteenth century.

It is quite likely that in the year of its creation, 1809, the symbolic significance of the work would have been very clear to its more educated viewers. The approach to education in Great Britain was dominated at the time by Bell and Lancaster's monitorial system, which undertook to educate the masses in the cheapest and most efficient way possible, by means of a method designed to discipline minds and spirits through a complicated system of instructors who relied on the students themselves. Richter provided a humorous contrast, an undisciplined classroom in which the students had taken control and were gleefully and creatively doing what they wanted. In our opinion, this image contained many signs that show a hidden criticism of the "new" monitorial system, that was still based on a disciplinary model and therefore awakening the wish for rebellion of the children. Even the central figure of the child pretending to be the schoolteacher can be interpreted as a caricature of the instructor-student. Richter's known admiration and passion for Kant and his hyper-modern naturalist mind, which led him to affirm that each work of art "is a history in itself, told in a peculiar language of its own" (Richter 1817, p. 33), support this interpretation.

Much of the bourgeoisie, in particular those more versed in the visual tradition of the interpretation of Hogarth's prints, would have perceived an additional symbolic significance in Richter's water colour. Satirical prints from the end of the eighteenth century had conferred a certain political dimension to the school, one in which "the schoolroom frequently signifies society or the state […], with the pupils as a society or members of parliament, and the teachers as the legislature, executive or judiciary" (Müller 2009, p. 111). Given that politicians were often depicted with bodies of children, viewers would easily have seen in *The School in an Uproar* a group of rebellious members of parliament and would have been enthralled in anticipation of the thrashing that these rebels were going to receive from the returning schoolmaster's cane. The image seems to have been as powerful in France as it was in

England, even creating a "mirror effect", i.e. parliamentary sessions themselves came to be identified with the print. A French newspaper, describing the "joyeux chaos" that had taken hold of one particular parliamentary debate, compared it to "les écoliers de la célèbre gravure anglaise qui représente le vacarme dans l'école", offering in the footnote its own English translation, "uproar in the school" (Nettement 1838, p. 109). Some years later an English newspaper would refresh its readers' memories with scenes from the famous print, recalling how the returning teacher, "cane in hand", "have yielded delight and amusement to thousands". The memory acquired additional significance when a similar scene actually occurred in the House of Commons; during a recess, and with the Speaker absent, an MP jumped out of his chair and then "he assumed the character of the first Commoner". The laughter of those present grew into an uproar when suddenly the Speaker did return (Scene 1851, p. 6).

In the realm of pedagogical discourse, *The School in an Uproar* carried markedly negative connotations, as it contributed to a stereotype that made school teachers out to be objects of ridicule. There were even those who suggested that the logical interpretation for many viewers would be that if the teacher was absent and the children had been left on their own it was because he had been out drinking in the pub "Waggon and Horses" (Rhys 1868, pp. 4–5). This particular commentary was never elaborated on, and for the most part the speculation about the reasons for the teacher's absence were rather discreet, suggesting that it was likely during recess and that he had only left momentarily. However, teachers' unexplained absences from class did seem to be a part of the collective memory in late eighteenth-century England, owing in part to the fact that the meagre salaries offered in the profession gave many teachers no choice but to look for side jobs—"ancillary occupations"—after or even during class hours (McKendrick et al. 1982, p. 297). In the nineteenth century this absenteeism came to be identified exclusively with rural schools, presumably because secondary occupations would have been much closer at hand. This would explain the change in the title of the work after 1825.

What ultimately consecrated *The School in an Uproar* as a truly iconic image was its archetypical nature and the way that it showed a scene that was still fresh in people's collective memory, namely, the chaos that ensued when a teacher left the classroom and the consequences that would come with his unexpected return. Richter's merit lies in his having been the first person to create an image that not only aroused emotions and feelings in his audience but which appealed directly to their nostalgia for an episode of their lives that they remembered with the greatest affection. It thus became an archetype, the model on which countless variations—copied, imitated or caricatured—were based. We could even say that the work established a new category of its own within art work dealing with educational themes.

We may ask ourselves why nineteenth century society did not have a iconic image of the school corresponding to the choreography that we take to be characteristic of the school culture. Abraham Raimbach, a printer who was a schoolfellow of Richter's in the Library School of St. Martin's, offered some reflections on this period of his life: "Men are apt to look back on their school-days

as a period of unmingled enjoyment, or at least of great comparative happiness" (Raimbach 2011, p. 4). When we, historians of education, study the nineteenth century, we tend to focus above all on the discipline, order and punishment that dominated school life. In examining new documentary sources such as prints we are forced to modify some of our notions of a long-past childhood, one that preferred to shape its memory out of the joyous, gleeful moments prior to the inevitable punishment.

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Chapter 3
Picture Postcards as a Tool for Constructing and Reconstructing Educational Memory (Spain, 19th–20th Centuries)

Antonio Viñao and María José Martínez Ruiz-Funes

This paper is part of a broader piece of research into picture postcards and the school and educational world in Spain at the end of the 19th and for a good part of the 20th century. Here we focus especially on their role as a tool for constructing educational memory and as a possible resource for reconstructing and analyzing the same. We will forego even a brief history of this. The only historical references included are those that are necessary in contextualizing what we seek to demonstrate. Likewise, aspects such as a highly detailed study of postcards as a historical and educational source or a comparative or specific analysis of some of the modalities described in the typology that concludes this paper are left to further studies.

3.1 Origins and Dissemination of a Socially and Internationally Normalized Communication Product

The various definitions or characterizations of the postcard as an object usually take into account its mounting, the content (not always) and its postal use or function. They do not, in the main, consider other uses, such as collectors' items, commercial advertising, political propaganda, or their testimony, for example, to a person's

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having been in a certain place. This paper deals with picture postcards, i.e. those whose front contains one or more images and, on occasions, a brief text that refers to the image or images depicted, and, until the 1905 agreement of the Universal Postal Union, there was also space for a written message, and, on the obverse side, an area reserved for the stamp and postmark, the name and address of the addressee and, on occasions, some concise information about the printer, the photographer, the content of the picture on the front or even, in those of the 1960s, the legal deposit office. The paper therefore excludes postcards with no pictures, sometimes referred to as "plain postcards" which came into circulation in the Austro-Hungarian Empire in 1869 and in Spain in 1873.

As Riego (1997, p. 22) has described, the picture postcard appeared at the end of the 19th century as a result of the confluence and interaction of three elements:

> a postal exchange system organized by States that normalized and facilitated its legal social dissemination; a shared code of international scope that understood printed images as a vehicle for the transmission of cultural values; and, finally, the technological development in printing had made it possible to reproduce images photomechanically in large numbers and at a low cost. These three premises date from the twentieth century, when the necessary steps were taken that would lead to the birth of the *picture postcard*. It was to be a characteristic product or our century [Editor's note: 20th century]; however, it did not appear out of nothing, but was due to the norms of cultural sociability that had been hatched earlier among the bourgeoisie.

Thus, a new product whose aim was first and foremost to communicate brief texts of a commercial nature and at a reasonable price had arrived, and was, progressively, to become an open means of cultural communication between individuals of all manner of subjects. Potentially, at least, the front of the postcard would be able to contain anything whatsoever: a whole universe of images taken from the real world or drawing on the imagination could, finally, be produced, disseminated, sent, exchanged and collected (Guereña 2005, pp. 46–58). The title of Andrea Rapisarda's book, *Il mondo in cartolina, 1898–1918* [The world in postcards, 1898–1918], reflects perfectly the, in theory unlimited, thematic diversity and the new awareness of having the whole world within one's reach from the comfort of one's own home, either as a collector or simply as the owner or receiver of picture postcards.

Yet, "as occurs with any technical product, once the postcard outgrew its specialized area of commercial communication", it moved into "new social uses" and redefined "existing ones" (Riego 1997, p. 25). In the words of Kossoy (2014, p. 181), its arrival

> represented a real revolution in the history of culture. The mental images of the so-called real world and those of the individual and collective fantasy universe were finally made available to the masses. This portable, abundantly illustrated world was a prime candidate for collections with its endless stream of subjects and would finally satiate the public's imaginarium.

3.2 The Picture Postcard: A Multi-faced Object

The picture postcard can be considered and studied as just another postal item, i.e. as means of correspondence; but also as a collectors' item or as an item for documental analysis, or even as a means of socio-cultural expression, either from a general perspective or within a particular sector, activity, theme, group, institutions or people. The possibilities abound. Or maybe as just another commercial activity with its own publishers, photographers, sellers, purchasers, etc. While noting all of these, this paper is interested in three other, closely related, aspects:

– As photography, in terms of all that surrounds its production, materialization, reception and interpretation.
– As an element that along with other images makes up the social imaginarium and, therefore the individual, institutional and social memory.
– As a means of expression, as regards its commissioning and production, and as a means of communication between people. Related to all this, there is also the element of advertising, propaganda and marketing.

3.3 The Picture Postcard as Photography

The front of the picture postcard contains usually one or more photographs. As a photographic image, any consideration and analysis could include all that is valid regarding photography as a whole. Moreover, in our particular case of school photographs, it is an object that has in recent years, in the "visual", "iconic" or "pictorial turn", been the subject of a wealth of research into its use as a historical-educational resource with its own possibilities and limitations.

Photography, with its mechanical and automatic nature, was from its beginnings seen as a mirror—mimesis—of what is real. In contrast to other forms of representation, such as painting, whose "realist" function photography was to take over, thus allowing it to develop along more fictional and imaginary lines, photography was seen as the faithful reflection of what had occurred. But it was not long before this was being called into question. Indeed, photography not only does not reflect, nor is, reality, it transforms it and creates its own new reality. It is a representation or interpretation of reality, not a copy of it. This interpretation is derived through the use of a specific (photographic) code or language, and the participation of many people, including that of the photographer. The same reality can be seen, captured photographically in, theoretically, an infinite number of forms. All photography is, therefore, "a random, cultural, ideological and perpetually encoded creation" (Dubois 1986, p. 51) and, as such, has to be read and interpreted. It is, therefore, open to various readings.

While this is true, what defines photography is its nature as a footprint or index of what it inevitably recalls. "A photograph passes for incontrovertible proof that a given thing happened. The picture may distort, but there is always a presumption

that something exists, or did exist, which is like what's in the picture" (Sontag 1979, p. 5). Beyond any coding, photography records, witnesses, the existence of what was photographed; it brings with it the weight of the reality that was captured, its visualizable presence. It may even show some staging or preparation. It therefore produces an effect of reality while testifying to the existence of the act of its production, which points to an intention or a purpose, to a reality and a context.

What is the price of producing this effect of reality? The immobilization of what has been captured its being fixed in time and in a specific space, a slice of space and time:

> The photographic image-act interrupts, stops, fixes, immobilizes, separates, removes from time and captures a single instance. Likewise, spatially, it fractions, chooses, extracts, isolates, captures a portion of a whole (Dubois 1986, p. 141).

These recorded bits of space and time are cuttings from real space and time that are frozen, fossilized, perpetuated and therefore transformed. The photographic act selects and hence extracts. In any photograph something is included and something is excluded. The impossibility of capturing beyond the moment, of photographing continuity is compensated at times by a series of images or by prolonging the exposure with the intention of capturing movement. The impossibility of taking in the whole photographable space, the limitation of framing the picture, is offset by a series of frames, which are but a drop in the ocean, or by the inclusion of elements that hint of what lies beyond the field of view and, at the same time, directly or indirectly, present a fragment or trace of that. In one way or another, the photographic act selects: it includes and it excludes. What is left out, the silences—other spaces, other moments, other realities—which if included might condition the reading of what has been photographed, is a part of the price to be paid for immortalizing what dies, for granting a new and different life to what disappears by showing its tracks.

Yet the picture postcard is more than just a photograph. It is another reality that is built on the photograph: a commercial product that can be used in a variety of ways, among them its basic nature as postal item that combines a photographic image or images with brief texts. This image-text relation runs from the case in which the text is merely a pretext for communicating something through an image—the image is what is important—to those where the image is merely an accompanying element of the written message and may bear no relation at all to the written message.

In this sense, the picture postcard refers to, or contains, four spheres of reality:

– The reality photographed, which is now lost in time, even though on occasions it remains in the same place, as in the case of buildings or school spaces that have not been demolished or reformed. In one way or another, the photograph always points to some pre-existing reality.
– The reality constructed or created by the photograph itself.
– A further reality, likewise constructed, but in this case by an editor or printer according to what that professional seeks or according to what has been commissioned regarding its production.

– Finally, there are the various realities that arise from its uses over time, which in the case of postcards can include the act and the intentions regarding its purchasing and sending—reflected or not in a written text—and those in the act, interpretations and uses of their recipients or those who purchase them to contemplate them or collect them.

3.4 Social Imaginarium, Photography and Memory

One of the "most important and meaningful manifestations of the collective memory" is "the appearance" in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries of

> photography, which stirs up memory, multiplying it and democratizing it, bestowing it with a precision and visual truth never before attained, and so it conserves the memory of time and chronological evolution. […]

> Along with the photographs taken by individuals we now add the purchase of postcards. Together, they make up the new family archives, the family iconographic records (Le Goff 1991, pp. 171–173).

However, there is a difference. Photographs are in general limited to the personal and family milieu, albeit with the occasional foray into other areas thanks, especially, to the commercialization of printed reproductions of photographs in the nineteenth century and then, in the twentieth century, to the growth in travel and holidaying and the arrival of simpler, affordable cameras. On the other hand, picture postcards offer, in theory, the world in images and can be exchanged by post or among collectors, not to mention a broader expression of social and cultural values which determine which images can and should be "postcarded", and those which we wish, select or have available to send to another along with a few words. In short, the picture postcard extends and conforms the social imaginarium understood, in its strictest sense, as the set of images available to the members of a given society at a given time or, if one prefers, the visual memory of that society—the social and individual memory—where memory is understood as:

– A store of images relating to one aspect, subject, object or certain part of the social reality; in our case education and, in particular, the school world.
– A store of both constructed and socially available images and of created and imagined images arising from these, i.e. the mental representations that the constructed and socially available images suggest, in our case about the school world.
– A store of images associated with certain episodes, moments and places and with the biography of an individual or a group of members, among them that of the educational and academic institutions where we received our schooling.
– An element which at the same time subjects, conditions and limits the imagination and the reality produced by those images which we can or are allowed to see. Offered in previously selected fragments, it draws out almost all the past from the visual memory available.

– A space, therefore, of conflict and struggle in the production and dissemination of the available images, and also of advertising and publicity related to the topics and aspects recreated and constructed visually.

Photography, in our case the picture postcard, stimulates "the mind to recall, to reconstruct and to imagine". It is the "memory of the individual, of the community, of customs, of the social fact, of the urban landscape, of nature". Among other reasons, this is because "the scene recorded in the image will never again be repeated" (Kossoy 2014, p. 145). What remains is a trace or footprint of that scene. To summarize:

> The photograph *is* memory and it intermingles with it. It is a bottomless well of information and emotion. It is a visual memory of the physical and natural world, of individual and social life. It is a record that enshrines the chosen and reflected image (because it endures) of an infinitesimal portion of the space of the outside world. It is also the abrupt suspension of the unerring advance of the hands of the clock. It is the document that retains the fleeting image of a single instant of a ceaselessly flowing life (Kossoy 2014, p. 145).

What does the picture postcard add to this recordatory function of the photograph? It adds the wish to disseminate, thanks to an official postal service, or to collect images captured for commercial, artistic, ideological, advertising or propagandistic reasons and hence, give a certain sense and direction to both the individual and to the social or collective memory, and in our case to the institutional, or school one. So, the picture postcard reinforces, broadens and democratizes the recordatory function of the photograph.

From a general perspective, those who produce or commission this "shop window" of each country that picture postcards make up are those who determine what is "best" and "most characteristic" of that country, what can be "shown to all", and, likewise, what should not or does not deserve to disseminated (Riego 1997, p. 27).

3.5 A Means of Interpersonal Expression and Communication: Advertising, Propaganda and Marketing

The picture postcard is a means of interpersonal expression and communication; a means which, as has been said, reflects, or is, the product of certain social and cultural values which it reinforces and memorializes. In our case, the educational institutions, or their patrons or the entities on which they depend, aware of the creative and productive function picture postcards had for memory, began to commission the production of albums or postcards with the express idea of preserving, creating and constructing memory. Resorting to mottos such as "Souvenir from…", sometimes printed on the front cover of the album much in the manner of the wording used on those of cities or certain places, were a sign of the link between card-image and memory (Fig. 3.1).

Whether expressly stated or not, this recordatory desire demanded that any educational institution that used this new tool first commissioned from a printers' and from a specific photographer some specific images of itself, and not others, that conveyed the image it wished to offer and create. Picture postcards thus became an element that made up the individual and social image-memory of the institution to which they referred. They acted as a visiting card and a presentation in society. They showed how the institution wished to be seen, visualized and remembered socially. The edition of booklets and wallets with a specific number of postcards, or loose postcards, presupposed a specific desire to influence and condition the social image-memory of the institution. Likewise, the selection of the images reflected a specific conception to be presented to society. Any study of these postcards must, therefore, bear in mind:

– The purpose behind the desire to publish images.
– The choice of images in each case.
– The formation of some norm for the common places to be shown and the order in which to show them, which was widely adopted by the educational institutions and the printing houses.
– The differences in the choice and order of the album or wallet according to the type of institution—formal or welfare education, the level of education, whether it was state or private, for boys or for girls, etc.—or the purpose for which a series of pictures was commissioned.

All of these in relation to the various stakeholders in the process: the commissioners—in this case, the educational establishment or its owners; the producer—the printing house; the photographer; and those who acquired and used them for whatever purpose—postal correspondence, collecting, souvenir, etc.

As regards the commissioning, production and use, postcards, both plain and, especially, picture postcards, were used as a means of advertising and for propaganda almost from the very outset. Among the publishers related to the world of teaching, Bastinos (1873) and Calleja (c. 1902) would use this advertising tool (Carrasco Marqués 2004, p. 15, 2013, p. 31). There were five facts or aspects, listed below, that explain why teaching centers commissioned booklets or wallets with

separate cards that either unfolded or were loose, for recordatory purposes, of course, but also for advertising, propaganda and marketing—especially early on by religious schools, but soon after by other welfare teaching establishments, school camps and state schools (Fig. 3.2).

Fig. 3.2 A postcard of the Calleja Publishing House (c. 1902)

The first is the hypothesis that in more than one case the commissioners were schools of religious orders or congregations whose members hailed from France—Brothers if the Christian Schools or Lasallians, the Company of Maria or Marianists—fleeing the anti-congregationalist laws of Waldeck-Rousseau (1901) and Combes (1902), or those whose origins were in that country where the practice was already used and known. Thus, for example, the first postcards from the Lasallian School "Nuestra Señora de la Bonanova", in Barcelona, dated 1902–1903, were commissioned by its director, Brother Adolph Alfred, who was of French origin, from the printer A. Berger Frères de París (Hill Giménez 2009, p. 13). Or that the three well known postcards if the Madrid "Collège du Sacré-Coeur de Jésus", run by the Daughters of Charity, a congregation of French origin, were produced until 1904 in Paris by David from photographs of Levallois (Carrasco Marqués 2013, p. 53). From a broader perspective, were this to be confirmed, this would be just another case of transfer, an import, of a practice already in use in teaching establishments, generally private, in other European countries. A proof of this transfer is that among the first picture postcards printed by Hauser and Menet, a Madrid editor of picture cards, here are two, dated 1898 and 1902, from the school "El Porvenir", built between 1892 and 1897 by the German Evangelist pastor Federico Fliedner, and another of the evangelist chapel and schools in the Madrid quarter of Chamberí, which were built by English pastors (Carrasco Marqués 2013, pp. 52 and 67).

The second is that once the practice had been introduced, there was little choice but to follow it for its symbolic prestige and its success on the "market" of potential school customers.

The third was that it was an indirect and subtle way of advertising. Obviously nobody said openly that the commissioning and production of the picture postcards were for motives of advertising or publicity, rather they were to serve as a souvenir for the students who could use them, instead of a letter, to communicate with their friends and families, although, of course, they would also be used by the staff and directors and even owners of the establishment. The educational center therefore had its own "captive audience", which was more or less forced into using its postcards. Of course, the booklets, wallets and loose postcards could also serve as gifts, at opportune moments, to the students, authorities, visitors, families or they could even be purchased by the last of these so that they could show or contemplate in their own homes the places where their offspring were studying or living. In one way or another, as Albert Hill concludes in his two articles on the four "ancient" albums or series of postcards from 1902 to 1903, 1908, 1914 and 1920, and the five "old" albums or series from the 1930s. 1942 and 1956, from the school "Nuestra Señora de la Bonanova" in Barcelona, the printers of these school postcards "were commissioned to produce them as images that served to advertise the centre" (Hill Giménez 2014, p. 33). Likewise, the album containing 20 postcards of the "Colegio Cántabro" in Santander, published between 1924 and 1930, is, without any qualms

at all, included by Manuela Alonso Laza among the "advertising postcards" together with those of "businesses, hotels, restaurants and a long etcetera of buildings devoted to trade and tourism" or institutions like the "Valdecilla" hospital or the "Menéndez Pelayo" library (Alonso Laza 1997, p. 80).

The fourth aspect is the result of the confluence of the recordatory function of the postcards with the configuration or reinforcement of a feeling or sense of belonging to an educational institution which is materialized in certain images that will evoke the memory of this. It is not so much the current students who are identifying themselves with the institution, although this is also true, but rather the former students. It is one more tool in the wider context of a series of devices like school associations, sports teams, community acts, ex alumni associations, uniforms or garments, hymns and songs, etc., that are all aimed at creating and evoking feelings and emotions associated with membership of a clearly defined school with its own history and tradition.

The fifth, and last, aspect is closely knitted to content or subject matter of first picture postcards issued in Spain, or about Spain, at the end of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Indeed, a review of these reveals how among the emblematic or historical buildings deemed worthy of being reproduced were, along with those of cultural standing (the Prado Museum, the National Library, the Alcalá General Archives, the Archives of Simancas), welfare education (hospices, foundling homes), some scientific buildings (the Astronomical Observatory, the Meteorological Institute), the ancient universities and university colleges (Salamanca, Valladolid, Santiago, Alcalá de Henares, Barcelona, Oviedo, Valencia), some faculties (Medicine in Barcelona and Saragossa), secondary schools ("Jovellanos" in Gijón), academies and schools of engineers or the army (Guadalajara, Madrid, Bilbao, Valladolid), music schools (the municipal school in Barcelona), ecclesiastical seminaries (Oviedo, Santiago, Lérida), private universities (the Jesuit University of Deusto), and colleges of religious orders and congregations (the Jesuits of Barcelona, Valladolid, La Guardia and El Puerto de Santa María, "Sagrado Corazón" in San Sebastián, the El Escorial School of Higher Studies). In other words, with no direct attempt at seeking publicity or fame, the very nature of the product leads to a variety of teaching centers and establishments that were deemed meritorious of forming part of that set of monuments or emblematic buildings that should be reproduced in the series of postcards of one city or another. Once the road had been opened there was no stopping the tide of teaching institutions that incorporated the picture postcard into the advertising strategies to announce their prestige (Fig. 3.3).

Fig. 3.3 Jesuit University of Deusto. Front of the building (1902)

3.6 Towards a Typology of Postcards with Educational and School Contents

Leaving aside for the moment the general consideration above of picture postcards as a tool for incorporating and transmitting values and information of an educational and cultural nature in relation to the period, the society of the time, the commissioners, the printers and those who acquired and used them, it is necessary, for an analysis of their educational and school content, to establish some provisional typology and outline the singularity of some of the aspects to be considered when analyzing the albums, booklets or wallets of specific teaching establishments that were commissioned by their owners or directors.

The criterion for this outline of the typology is the content of the image, although there are other criteria such as the mounting or use. The fact that it is finally the booklets and wallets containing the postcards of a certain educational centre which figure and which are analyzed would seem to be at odds with the chosen criterion. It can be argued, as will be seen, that the presentation of postcards in a booklet or a wallet confer a value that goes beyond that of the isolated postcard. Just as happens with polysemic words and punctuation marks which modify the meaning and content of an utterance, the same image assumes a different meaning and content if instead of appearing on one postcard it is included in a collection that responds to a program or an idea and, in accordance with this idea, the postcard appears within the collection in one place or another. However, that is an over-simplification. There are also collections of postcards that relate to just one educational establishment which were published, acquired and used individually. They were sometimes a copy of those that made up the booklet or wallet and at others they were not, or at least we have no knowledge of the existence of any original booklet or wallet. In the case of the latter, we understand that when there are more than half a dozen, the intention was to produce a specific collection even though no booklet was made or they were not kept in a wallet.

First, we must distinguish a type of postcard to which we have already alluded, those postcards of historical buildings, of an educational and cultural nature, that are part of series or collections of postcards representing towns or cities with their streets, parks, churches, squares and the like. The picture is usually limited to the main façade of the building or offers a panoramic view of the same. In few cases is an interior reproduced, maybe a grand staircase, a patio or a cloister.

A second, and no less interesting, type of picture postcard, which is also the result of a selection and which serves a recordatory purpose, is those that show certain relevant or important figures from the world of education and culture. Some examples from the collection of postcards of the Centro de Estudios sobre la Memoria Educativa (CEME) of the University of Murcia, include: Tolstoy, Schiller, Kant, Goethe's garden, Goethe-Schiller, Diderot, Jules Simon, Goethe in Ilmenau and, especially, Pestalozzi, and the Spaniards, Joaquín Costa, Manuel Bartolomé Cossío, Francisco Ferrer Guardia, Marcelino Menéndez Pelayo and Jaime Balmes, or the statue in Madrid to Claudio Moyano.

A third, internally highly diverse group, is the loose or separate postcards, i.e. those which are not part of booklets or wallets, which deal with school themes. This group deserves more detailed categorization and would include postcards with:

– The typical school photograph of one or two seated students with the blackboard in the background and the name of the institution.
– Shots or photographs of a street or square which by accident or design include some school reference.
– Prepared or mounted open air school scenes.
– Reproductions of paintings with school subjects.
– General views of school buildings or façades of educational institutions.
– Prepared scenes or compositions of a school subject, either in isolation or as part of a series.
– A school or educational event.
– Images with a specific and clearly educational aim. For example, the dissemination of hygienic and healthy habits.
– Images of school institutions commissioned or produced by the educational administration for advertising or publicity purposes.

Finally, a fourth type is postcards that make up booklets or parts of wallets: a set of postcards of an educational establishment—in a broad sense to include school camps and cradle homes. These could be of the type that unfold into a chain of postcards or in a booklet with perforations on the left hand side, or simply stored separately, or not, in a wallet. The postcards bear a brief reference to the picture and, in general, follow a set order regardless of whether they are numbered or not.

3.7 A Recordatory Program: Booklets and Wallets

The content and order of booklets and wallets of postcards, the elements and the arrangement of these in a "shop window" or "display case" reflect the aims of the entity or persons commissioning the product, the conception that they wish to offer of the teaching centre, its nature (religious-private, lay-private, state, welfare education; teaching level or modality; target audience; type of students in terms of sex or social group; etc.), and a specific idea as to how to relate what one wishes to relate, be it in selected images or through the order and arrangement of the postcards. In short, how the "shop window" or "display case" is presented will provide one representation or another in the individual and social souvenir imaginarium.

The first booklets and wallets of postcards were produced under commission of the owners or directors of educational institutions and pertain to Catholic orders or congregations. They are three printed collections from Hauser y Menet: two in 1901 —ten postcards—and 1903—nine—about the Jesuit secondary school "Nuestra Señora del Recuerdo", or "Chamartín", in Madrid, and another published around 1904, with ten postcards of the "Colegio Comercial Nuestra Señora de las Maravillas" (Madrid) belonging to the Sisters of Christian Schools (Carrasco Marqués 2013, pp. 51–52), plus the already cited collection published in Paris by A. Berger Frères 1902–1903, commissioned by the "Nuestra Señora de la Bonanova" school of Barcelona and containing twenty postcards (Hill Giménez 2009, pp. 13– 16). Their content, with some variations, would lay down the norms regarding how to present oneself in society through selected images, aspects of their contents, order of presentation, and therefore should be viewed.

The order invited the beholder of the collection to enter the establishment from the outside and then move around the various rooms and spaces inside. The early postcards offered first a general view of the building or the main entrance area, the façade or other angles worth contemplating. They then showed the entrance itself or the hall and the visitors' room. These were followed by the chapel, the dormitories, the bathrooms, the refectory, the library, the natural history museum and the study room, before ending with the gardens. As an example, we can take the contents two albums, the first incomplete:

– "Colegio Comercial de Ntra. Sra. de la Bonanova" (Barcelona 1902–1903): 1. Entrance Gate. 2. Avenue and driveway. 3. ?. 4. Magnolia Patio. 5. Main façade. 6. Hall. 7. Arcade in the hall. 8. The Corridor of St. John the Baptist of La Salle. 9. Entrance to the main staircase. 10. Reception room. 11. Kitchens. 12. Refectory of the 1st Division. 13. ?. 14. A study room. 15. Part of the museum. 16. Playground and rear façade. 17. Rear tower. 18. Dormitories of the 1st section. 19. Washroom. 20. Grotto of Our Lady of Lourdes.
– "Colegio Comercial de Ntra. Sra. de las Maravillas" (Madrid, c. 1904): 1. Main façade. 2. Main entrance. 3. Hall. 4. Visitors' room. 5. Chapel. 6. Dormitories of the 2nd section. 7. One of the refectories. 8. Outside view of the chapel. 9. Detail of the park. 10. Rear façade of the gardens (Fig. 3.4).

Fig. 3.4 Cover of a postcard booklet of the school "Nuestra Señora de la Bonanova" in Barcelona (c. 1930)

When the booklet or wallet was generalized to 20 postcards, this norm allowed for some variations: sometimes the chapel and other religious elements would gain more relevance; on other occasions it would be the complementary services that might appeal to the families of the boarders that were highlighted—the dorms, bathrooms, refectory, kitchens, gardens, play areas; or maybe the historical features of the building or buildings. However, this initial norm had two distinguishing features that would, with time, be corrected in some cases: the absence or near absence of the classrooms, the students and the teachers. There are no classrooms, and if there are, they are generally empty, and there are no teachers or pupils, other than a handful if the latter and in the recreational areas and gardens.

Regardless of the content, one should not discard the influence of the recently arrived cinematographer and what was presented as "a type of *animated photographs* that creates new narrative norms in the scenes which […] are translated into the format of the *postcard booklet*" (Riego 1997, p. 37). And, of course, there was also the new way of looking at things that the railways were providing. In the words of Manuela Alonso, when referring to the postcard booklets on Santander,

> the booklet works as if it were a railway line. The passenger sees the main sights of Santander go by: from the station where he arrives, to the next station, situated in the most touristic part: El Sardinero (Alonso Laza 1997, pp. 74–75).

Similarly, the booklet or wallet of an educational establishment transported the viewer from the outside—the general view of the school or the main façade—through the entrance and hall to the gardens of the same. Then, after being welcomed in the visitors' room, the visitor was shown the other rooms inside the building, before being taken outside into the park or gardens again. And there the visit ended, as did the narrative of the school which had used images in order to

"imaginarily" absorb the viewer during his or her successive contemplations of the postcards.

This order or norm was not always adhered to, though. The nature of the teaching center and the view it sought to offer of itself would affect both the norm and the order. Thus, in two sets of postcards of the schools of "Ave María" in Granada, produced between 1914 and 1921, the order followed constituted a narrative, first on the history of the schools: the sets open with two photographs taken in 1888 and 1889 that show, respectively, the caves where the gypsy students lived and the "carmen" (from the Hebrew "karmel" for "orchard" or "garden") or building and place to which they were taken, along with the founder figure, Father Manjón, before moving on to the activities performed during a normal school day, from the arrival in the morning to departure in the afternoon, with special attention given to methodology used in teaching some of the subjects—reading and writing, geography, music, …—and, obviously, there was an ample presence of pupils and even a teacher. Immersing oneself in the sets means not only journeying through the history of the founding of the school, but also getting a sight of a complete school day. In contrast to the cold, timeless, static and monumental presence of the façades or the impersonal rooms and gardens, we are offered here a historical account that includes human beings. In contrast to the fragmented space of the norm or the booklet, what these collections do is to fragment time, or if you prefer, they offer fragments of space, which as Bachelard (1965, p. 38) puts it, "they preserve compressed time" (Fig. 3.5).

Fig. 3.5 "Ave María" countryside schools in Granada. Landscape of the "Carmen", where they were moved from the gypsy cave in 1899 (c. 1921)

Other variations relate to the greater or lesser use made of this advertising resource. The most outstanding case, for the high number (nine) of collections commissioned between 1902 and 1956 and a total of 257 postcards printed, is clearly the "Nuestra Señora de la Bonanova" school in Barcelona of the Brothers of Christian Schools. While some of the collections met the norm cited, albeit with some variations, others followed completely different criteria. Some focused entirely on a festival of physical education—the issue of 1908 with 35 postcards, on the higher classes in the school—an issue of the 1930s with 17 postcards—with a logical abundance in both cases of pupils and also of families (at the festival). Another issue related to the Natural History Museum. Published in 1920, it contained 20 postcards. In other cases, there were high numbers of postcards—55 in the collection of 1914—so giving a far more exhaustive and detailed view of all aspects of the school. Finally, some of the issues were of a lesser nature; that of 1956 had just six postcards which sought to publicize improvements that had been made to the school's infrastructures, especially in the field of physical education and in particular to the gymnasium, just one year after Barcelona had hosted the II Mediterranean Games, when the famous Spanish gymnast, Joaquín Blume was at the pinnacle of his career and the height of his fame—he would win the individual European Championship the next year (Hill Giménez 2009, 2014).

3.8   Conclusions

This paper is a first approach to a hitherto little explored resource in the field of the history of education—the picture postcard. When picture postcards have been used, it has been only occasionally and in terms of the photographic images they contain and some specific educational establishment. This initial approach focuses mainly on their varied faces or facets as photographs, as an instrument that makes up the social imaginarium and, hence, the individual, institutional and social school memory. Related to this, they are also a means of conveying and communicating between individuals certain purposes, ideas and socio-cultural values, especially in terms of their use as advertisements and propaganda by educational institutions.

The provisional typology outlined shows the diverse nature of the purposes, contents and modes of presentation of the picture postcards with their themes of an educational or school character. Later research remains open: their characteristics, possibilities and limits as a historical resource, their function as a means of transmitting social and cultural values in a given society and at a given moment; detailed and comparative analyses of some of their modalities and, in particular, those that were specially commissioned by certain educational institutions—a question only touched on here in relation to the production of booklets and wallets of postcards. The few examples provided are sufficient to advise of the importance of this source during the 20th century, at least until the 1960s in Spain, as a conforming element, on account of the image, of the school memory in its individual, institutional and social manifestations.

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Chapter 4
Snapshots from the Past: School Images on the Web and the Construction of the Collective Memory of Schools

Marta Brunelli

4.1 Premises and Aims of the Research: School Photographs, Educational Historiography and the Web

It has been noted for several years now that historians of education have focused their attention on school images and photos, as a result of one of the "turns" that the historiography of the field has experienced in the last fifteen years—from the linguistic turn, to the memorialistic turn, and the visual turn (cf. Depaepe and Henkens 2000; Nóvoa 2000; Viñao 2005; Dussel 2013). Today research on school photographs, in particular, has to face various challenges that, on the one hand, require the launching of a new dialogue with other scientific fields (like visual studies and media studies) and, on the other, imply a redefinition of historical work in which images are no longer considered an iconographic complement of a historical narrative built on other sources, but take on the dignity of being sources themselves.

Regardless of its role as a historical source—and toward which educational historians have shown a growing interest (since Grosvenor et al. 1999, 2000; Depaepe and Henkens 2000; Mietzner et al. 2005) as well as legitimate reservations (Catteeuw et al. 2005)—, the historic school photograph undoubtedly constitutes a powerful visual mnemonic stimulus referring to what, in advanced societies, is a universally shared life experience: the schooling experience, in which people from different social, cultural and generational provenance can recognize themselves (Escolano Benito 2011; Viñao 2012). School photography thus represents a "social object" par excellence, i.e. it is able to attract the attention of people and encourage them to talk to each other in order to recall and share common memories, especially

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in digital environments (but nevertheless also in real environments, if specifically arranged to facilitate social exchanges, such as participatory museums) (Simon 2010; Brunelli 2014, 2016).

Starting from these premises, the principal aim of this work is to provide an initial qualitative analysis of the role that these images play on the Web 2.0. Through social media, in fact, it is exactly this intrinsic social-relational function of school photographs which seems to amplify by catalysing the web-users' interests, evoking shared memories, building connections between people and giving birth to e-communities—also in virtue of the historic photos' potential to create an "emotional and multi-sensory connection" between people and what is now called "Past", even "in the dematerializations and rematerializations of digital environments", as sociological and anthropological research has highlighted (Edwards 2010, pp. 30–33). Moreover, today we cannot understate the role that the Web and social media have in redesigning new forms of management and public use of digital and/or digitized school materials and pictures—as shown by the analysis carried out by Comas Rubí et al. (2010) on the modalities, opportunities, and potential risks of the current massive dissemination of many digital school materials via the Internet.

In the light of these considerations, in this essay I will offer—through significant examples and case-studies—an initial review of several social practices to which school photographs are subjected today on the Web and social media, which can be summarized as follows:

– Social sharing: sharing school photos in order to share school memories—or school photos as a mnemonic support and a fulcrum of social relationships on the Web;
– The exposure and the narration of the Self mediated by school photos—or how individual memories contribute to the construction of a collective memory;
– The memories of places—or school buildings as monuments of the collective memory of communities: towards a visual topography of the school memory;
– The creative and participative re-elaboration of school photos as tools for learning and knowledge: the practice of school Photo-Mashups.

4.2 Social Sharing: Sharing School Photos in Order to Share School Memories

The first social use of school photos that we can identify on social networks, is photo-sharing which aims to share common school memories—a use in which the role of school pictures emerges as both a mnemonic support and a fulcrum of social relationships on the Web.

Many social networks today allow you to easily upload and share photos of various types and levels of quality: from the selfies published on Instagram,

Facebook or Twitter, to the more professional photos shared on PicsArt or 500Px, organized into online folders (Imageshack, Picasa) or put on sale (Foap). Above all, however, Flickr represents a semi-professional, very dynamic and well organized network which has allowed me to carry out an initial qualitative analysis regarding published historical school pictures, the users who share them and the most common related social practices. On this network, in fact, various thematic groups are focused on school pictures (historical and modern as well), such as *School Portraits* (2005), with 270 members; *School Photo* (2005), with 337 members; *First Day of School* (2006), with 273 members; *British School Photographs* (2007), with 140 members; *Class Picture Day* (2008), 68 members; *School Group Portrait* (2009), which counts 149 members; *School Cones* (2009), consisting of 30 members; or the more recent *Fotografía escolar* (2011) with 17 members.

The oldest group is *School Portraits*, whose members love to share historical and modern pictures, so that the photographic galleries somehow witness the evolution of this genre through time: not only in terms of photographic technique and style, but also in terms of collective perception of these images and their social function. Consequently, you can navigate through older and more traditional photos (such as class photos, yearbook portraits, first or last day of school etc.) and, at the same time, come across more recent and less conventional photos, which reveal a potentially wider variety of photographic typologies. For example, the contemporary photo-gallery of student portraits taken by the photographer and school maths teacher Max Brinson who, once a year, "turns [his] classroom into a portrait studio, and allows [his] students to express themselves as they wish" (Brinson, n.d.); or informal photos that, in the 1970s, were often taken for Yearbooks by the students themselves with their portable cameras.[1]

In other cases, members manipulate their school pictures in creative and unexpected ways. For example, with all of his school-portraits a user created an animated "gallery of time", realized through the technique of "image morphing": the morphed sequence awakens the memory of his former classmates, who knew and will remember those faces forever (cf. Trotman 2005, 2008).

Again, another user turned a common group-photo into a powerful catalyst of multiple interpretive acts, with the ability to evoke different stories and memories in each viewer—as it happens with the photo in which all the faces were crossed out, except one (Fig. 4.1).

The owner of this picture provokes viewers by recalling some verses from *To his Coy Mistress* by the seventeenth-century poet Andrew Marvell, in which death and the passing of the time are clearly suggested. As a consequence, visitors cannot help but wonder who scribbled on the picture and why: maybe that person was the only survivor? Was it an act of anger? And so on. But as the remembrance of other scribbled on, torn and cut photos, gradually arises in viewers, the owner reveals that the faces were crossed out at random. The disclosure of the artifice suddenly unmasks the complex mechanisms of vision, interpretation and memory: a simple

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[1]Cf. the users' comments on the photo posted on Flickr by Dedrick (1975).

school-group portrait becomes a social object and an artistic object at the same time, able to capture the eye and the mind of the viewer and to unexpectedly provoke his/her imagination.[2]

Fig. 4.1 Sharman (2002, November 2), Deserts of vast eternity. [online image]. Retrieved November 21, 2015 from https://www.flickr.com/photos/sharman/9587584/in/pool-schoolportraits/ (Creative Commons License 2.0)

Another interesting thematic group is *British School Photographs* (2007), whose objective is to collect and share only "Formal photographs of classes or entire schools [...]. Best bib and tucker". Accordingly, the predominant typology is the classic school photo (class groups, first day of school, school plays, school

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[2]Cf. some comments on the photo posted by Sharman (2002): [A]: "Wow… […] My brain is going in many different directions. Love this incorporation of old photos… very cool". [Owner/Author]: "This is a very sad piece, I think. I was browsing through some old photos of my mother when she was young. It occurred to me that all these images of bright young people were the beginnings of so many tangled histories, some happy, some sad, all unknown to me, the silent observer. And all unknowable, because most if not all of these girls died—in the second world war, or in car wrecks, or in the normal wear and tear of life. So only one escaped my random obliterating red crosses—one happy young girl chosen for no reason. Is it really her? I have no idea. Is there really only one of these people still alive? Perhaps". [B]: "Oh YOU x'ed them out? now I'm hooked. But also this reminds me of an old photo I got once at a flea market, someone's wedding photo, and the face of the bride had been rubbed/scratched off the photo by someone— someone else in the picture? someone who wanted to be in the picture? we could not know, we could only make our own stories to explain it. And all of them were satisfying". [Owner/Author]: "it was surprisingly difficult to choose which one not to cross out". [C]: "A very powerful image".

excursion, school parties, sport activities etc.) and, even when some situations may appear spontaneous—such as the school group apparently surprised during their daily work (Howard 2015a, April 14), or the children portrayed at play during recess (Howard 2015b, January 21)—all the people depicted are posing in front of the camera. Nevertheless, sometimes curious images emerge in which something unexpected occurs and disrupts the accurate staging of the formal school photo— this seems to happen in the image where we notice the frightened or pouting expressions of pupils, the icy gaze of the teacher, the nervous posture of girls and boys who turn away instead of looking at the camera and finally, a broken window standing out in the background. All these elements lead the owner of the picture— and us with him—to ask questions, to formulate hypotheses and to reconstruct the possible, unexpected narrative hidden behind the apparent conventionality of the portrait (Howard 2015c, November 22).

4.3   The Exposure and the Narration of the Self, Between Individual and Collective School Memory

A second social practice, which is shown on the photography-based network, is the exposure and the narration of the Self mediated through photos—a practice in which individual memory participates, and contributes to the construction of a collective memory.

Emblematic is the case of Philip Howard, active on Flickr since December 2007 and one of the principal contributors to many of the aforementioned thematic groups focused on school photos. Under the alias *Their History* (Howard 2007b, December), Howard tells "their history of me, or 44783 as I am also known", that is to say the story of a child under the care of the British charity National Children's Home.[3] Through many beautiful photographs—owned by himself or given by his fellows—a sort of visual biography is rebuilt and, in so doing, several photo albums take shape (such as: *Philip: a strange child*; *Life in a Children's Home*; *Dungarees and Other Clothing Worn in the Children's Home and School*; or *Teacher put us there* etc.) that reveal, through Philip's detailed testimony (gathered in the book: Howard 2007a), several aspects of the collective school memory of a significant number of British children from the 1950s through to the 1980s.

The photo album *Teacher put us there*, in particular, witnesses the encounter— or rather, the collision—between two different educational worlds: that of the assistance to disadvantaged children, and that of the state school system. For a child classified as "different", but included all the same in state schools together with "normal" children, the class photo becomes tangible evidence of an experience of exclusion and humiliation, and the indelible mark of what the schoolmates' and teachers' eyes saw, and the lens of the camera ruthlessly fixed upon: one of "the

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[3]The charity is today known as Action for Children (see the website: https://www.actionforchildren.org.uk/).

others", who used to wear old-fashioned clothes, and rubber boots even in summer. Children who were systematically placed in the middle of the front row of school group photos just in order to make visible and emphasize the symbols of otherness: the rubber boots (Fig. 4.2).

Fig. 4.2 Howard (2014, March 17). The Class Photo. [online image] Retrieved November 21, 2015 from   https://www.flickr.com/photos/22326055@N06/14284075966/in/photostream/   (Creative Commons 2.0 License. Courtesy Philip Howard)

Through these, and other personal memories, Philip offers his biography as a social object i.e. an object to share: for his biography is the same of many other people, and photos—digitized, uploaded online, and accompanied by comments and information—become a mirror in which all those who lived the same experience can recognize themselves, and through which they can remember, meet and tell their stories. For the same reason in the homonymous website www.theirhistory.co.uk, you can find sections entitled *Your own photos* and *Memories of others in care*, that have been created following the suggestions of Web users in order to collect more new texts, autobiographical testimonies and, naturally, photographs: the true mnemonic medium particularly suited to preserve, communicate, and provoke new remembrance. For the ex children of the *Children's Homes*, the Web becomes a virtual meeting place where they can share photos, memories and information, organize reunions with their old mates on the occasions of the charity's meetings, and finally to ask for help on how to find their roots or to rebuild a loved one's life story and memory: that is, the collective memory that unites many generations of British people.

4.4   The Memories of Places: School Buildings as Monuments of the Collective Memory of Communities. Towards a Visual Topography of the School Memory

School photographs can depict not only people or situations, but also the *places* of school experience such as old school buildings—or even what remains of them in urban or rural landscapes. On the social network Flickr, once again, several groups exist that share a passion for photographing old schoolhouses and, in so doing, keep their memory alive in communities. These groups are more interested in pictures of structures and architecture than in images of school life, since their stated aim is to celebrate this "vanishing breed" through photography, maybe the only means able to "preserve these historic gems".

Examples are the groups *I Love Old Schools!* (2007), consisting of 612 members; *Historic One-Room Schoolhouses of America* (2008), with 329 members; *Our Historical School Architecture* (2008), with 51 members; or, again, *Historic One Room Schoolhouses and Churches* (2012), with 36 members. Worth mentioning is also the community *Schoolhouse* (2009). Consisting of 304 members, the group aims to collect "Pictures of school buildings from all over the world […]. New schools, old schools, schools in use, schools in disrepair, schools under construction". Among over 5.000 photographs, most are modern pictures representing old school buildings; less frequently, historic photographs also appear, which are often placed in sequence with recent photos of the same schoolhouse, in order to highlight possible alterations or persistence through time.[4]

But what is common to all of these groups is the fact that school buildings (especially rural ones) are appreciated as an expression of peculiar, charming architecture on the one hand, and on the other as monuments of the collective history of communities. Be it the case of schools which have been closed, restored, used as school museums or for other purposes, relocated in other places or in complete ruins,[5] schoolhouses in fact are always defined as "a central part of the community": a role that schools do not seem to lose, even when they have been definitively closed and abandoned. Linked to this, the group *Abandoned Schools* (2008) can be mentioned, active since 2008 with 567 members who take pictures of forlorn schools from all over the world and which, paradoxically, exert on the

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[4]As in the case of the *Union School Section N. 11*, "built in 1911. Kressler Road, Heidelberg, Waterloo Region, Ontario. […]". Cf. Michael (2014).

[5]About the users' interest in abandoned schools cf. the photo by Sebben (2012, December 4); a case of re-adaptation of old schools is the *District 10 Cobblestone School* (*Middleport, NY*) "which now houses the Hartland Historical Society" (cf. Carolyn 2014, September 16); as example of re-location, see the 1883 *Bloomfield Schoolhouse*, relocated from Bloomfield to Pilot Point (Texas) (cf. Myhre 2015, May 1).

viewer a strong attraction precisely in virtue of the provocative and evocative power intrinsic in these images, which becomes stronger the more devastated or ruined the schools depicted are, and even more so if the schools have disappeared altogether.

In this respect, it is worth mentioning here another interesting operation realized in 2014 by the photographer Ros Ryan, who has superimposed old photos onto current pictures of the same places, buildings, landscape etc. (a procedure called *photo-mashup*, and about which we will talk more extensively in the following paragraph). Three photographs, in particular, concern three Australian small rural schools founded in the XIX century, closed and demolished between the 1940s and 1970s: the *Tooan School* (Ryan 2014b), the *Boyeo School* (Ryan 2014c) and the *Jallakin School* (Fig. 4.3).

Although accompanied by detailed historical data, the pictures actually emanate their real potential if considered both in the light of the sociological approach to the concept of "collective memory" by Halbwachs (1997), as well as of the related reflections of Truc (2011) about the connections of reciprocity linking places with collective memory, and vice versa. According to Truc, in fact, the "memory of places" is something faithful but vulnerable because it is always at the mercy of inevitable transformations or destruction of places; on the contrary, the designation of "places of memory" i.e. the anchoring of individual and collective memories to specific places makes it possible not only to preserve and authenticate the memories themselves, but also to trigger a virtuous, bi-univocal relationship "between the materiality of places and collective memory" (Truc 2011, pp. 148–150).

Photographic mashups of disappeared schools, in particular, suggest a possible use of such images, on the one hand, as a tool to investigate (e.g. through the means

of photo-elicitation)[6] whether and how the survival, transformation or disappearance of school buildings has influenced the preservation of a collective school memory or not. On the other hand, similar mashups can become the visual support for the collective memory of a community, and also become the basis for funding (or re-building) a visual topography of the collective school memory, i.e. by reassigning forgotten meanings to places, as well as conferring authenticity and strength to the last, vanishing individual and collective memories. Such projects, today, can easily exploit the augmented reality, as happened with the free App *Streetmuseum*, launched in 2010 by the Museum of London: through mobile devices citizens and visitors can access on line georeferenced and interactive maps through which they can discover old images and historical information and, in short, make a connection with the "invisible memory" hiding in all the places of our everyday landscape.

As you can see, on social media people share many interests focusing on various kinds of school pictures and concerning all aspects of school life and culture, including school architecture. More importantly, photos of old schoolhouses not only prove to be able to document a disappearing architectural heritage but also provoke, or keep alive in viewers the collective memory par excellence that is represented by the collective experience of school, especially in small and rural communities where school buildings have always played a central role in the life of many generations.

4.5   The Visual Collective Memory and Its Re-elaboration in Creative and Participative Modalities: The Case of the Photo-Mashups

Another example of the social uses and practices that can arise on the Web regarding school photographs is represented by the creative re-elaboration of pictures called photo-mashups (of which we have just seen a few examples), a process and a result that can act—as we will try to demonstrate—as a powerful medium of both knowledge and interpretation. The mashups of historic school photographs deserve to be given full attention, as they represent—in my opinion as researcher of educational heritage, and as educator in a school museum—a potential new frontier for the study of school pictures as a source, as well as for their exploitation as didactic resources for a wider cultural development, both in formal and informal educational environments.

To give a strict definition, on the Web 2.0 the mashup (literally: fusion) is a website or a web application which combines different pre-existing contents (images, texts, multimedial objects, functions of a website and so on) in order to

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[6]Normally used by anthropologists, this tool has been applied to educational research by Fischman (2006).

create a new service, product or content. More specifically, the photo-mashup is a digital re-elaboration that results when old and modern photographs of the same place/site—but taken at two different historical moments—are aligned and layered to create a sort of photographic collage. Technically speaking, these photo-blendings can be the fruit of a digital photo editing or the result of hand-made superimposing—as in the case of the so-called "Then and Now" photo-galleries that were first created in 2009 by the photographer Jason Powell in his project *Looking into the Past* (cf. Powell 2006–2014; Looking into the Past 2009). Since then, many other photographers have ventured into these photo-compositions and have obtained results of great visual as well as emotional impact—as evidenced by the project *Fade to 1906* realized between 2010 and 2012 by Shawn Clover, who overlaid many old photos of the San Francisco 1906 earthquake with photos of the contemporary city (Clover 2010, 2012). Clover had also begun supplying this extraordinary photographic work with rigorous research of sources and "first-person narratives describing the scenes in the photos", with the aim of rebuilding the "historically-accurate stories behind the pictures".

Unfortunately this project did not end successfully (Clover 2014, July). However, building a historical "global" narration in which "photographic mashupping" represents not only a mere iconographic complement, but rather the very starting point of a narrative to be supplemented with other testimonies, is an inspiring idea for any historical reconstruction based on photographs—now observed in the new light of such a significant graphical re-elaboration.

For this reason projects based on photo-mashups are highly successful and are increasing around the world. Their appeal lies in the fact that, on the one hand, these photos are a sort of window, opened through time, which allows us to see how familiar places looked years ago. On the other, they somehow help us to connect the history of a place with the threads of our personal or family memories and stories. From this perspective, it can be said that the photo-mashups finally demonstrate that the real public use of history—in the meaning illustrated by the research of Roy Rosenzweig and Thelen (1998)—is in the way in which people create a connection between the Past (always consisting of particular and plural stories, family accounts, and individual experiences, always full of personal meanings) and History (intended as great history, as told in books and taught in schools).

One last, but no less effective, example of how the projects based on historical photo-mashups can give concrete shape to a new relationship between people, Past, History, personal and collective memories, is the project *Ghosts of History* realized by the Dutch historian Jo Hedwig Teeuwisse in 2012 by using 300 old negatives representing places that had been the scene of military action during World War II.[7] Although the war seems to have left no traces in the reassuring landscapes of our daily lives and even though no plaque or monument reminds us of it, these

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[7]Cf. the historian's Flickr account (Teeuwisse 2005) and the Facebook page (Teeuwisse 2012a).

extraordinary photo-compositions have a power like nothing else in helping us to remember that history—as Teeuwisse writes—"is all around us. That where you live, work or go to school, once people fought, died or simply experienced a different kind of life. We are history, history is us" (cf. Teeuwisse 2012b, October 15).

4.6 School Photo-Mashups: "Then and Now" Photo-Galleries About Schools

As mentioned, on the Web exist many photo-galleries inspired by *Looking into the Past*, among which it is easy to find diverse photo-mashups concerning the world of school. These photos may represent students, scenes of daily school life of formal or informal nature (such as Lazarus 2009), or school spaces and buildings that still exist or have even disappeared, as already seen, and so on.

School photo-mashups are available on social networks, websites, and finally in collaborative platforms created in order to collect and share photos, stories and memories of citizens. For example, school photo-mashups (such as Winnall 2011) have been shared on *ABC Open*, a project of the Australian public broadcasting organization that publishes videos, written stories and photos about life in the more peripheral areas of the nation. The aim is to stimulate citizens to participate as well as to popularize the use of new technologies and digital literacy, also thanks to freely accessible workshops and tutorials.

School photo-mashups are also found in public photo-mashup contests realized by archives and libraries that freely offer their digitized photographic heritage—such as the *North Vancouver Then and Now Digital Photo Contest* (2010) launched in 2010 by the North Vancouver Museum and Archives; or the project *Libraryhack* (2011) started in 2011 by the Australian and New Zealand libraries. The results of these contests are often shared on Flickr, where they attract the interest of users, who remember places ("My old school! Awesome!"), situations and emotions ("I remember being terrified of this school in 1959 (Grade 1) because it was so big"), recognize friends and relatives in old photos ("I see my uncle […], top left") and finally—and most importantly—ask in which archive they can find historic photos of a particular school ("How can I access the photo archives remotely? Looking for 1953–1959…").[8]

The importance of giving people free access to digitized photos[9] is also testified by the project *UF Then and Now—Bringing the Past into the Present* by Hawley Marlin (2011a), who realized amazing photo-mashups representing people and

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[8]Cf. the visitors' comments to the photographs McCarthy (2010a, August 23) and McCarthy (2010b, August 23).

[9]As in the case of the University of Florida, whose *Digital Collections* department aims to digitize "for permanent access and preservation" documents and rare materials from various collections of the university, and offers free and open access to numerous historical photographs as well through its website (University of Florida Digital Collections n.d.).

places of the University of Florida (Fig. 4.4). These mashups not only disseminate and make public historical data (e.g.: the transformations of places, spaces and buildings over time) but also help the community (in this case, the university community) to internalize a stronger sense of collective belonging—as the author explains: "The experience was quite rewarding and reminded me that the foundation of what has made this University a leading academic institution still exists in its

Fig. 4.4 Marlin. (2011b, Summer). Florida Gym [Year 1962]. [online image]. Retrieved November 21, 2015 from http://www.dmarlin.com/uf-then-now/ (©Pam Marlin. All rights reserved. Reproduced courtesy of the Author)

people and buildings".

Other evocative school mashups can be found in the website *Detroiturbex* (n.d.), a project of urban exploration developed in Detroit which aims to "explore the past, present, and future of the city of Detroit through its landmarks and lesser-known abandoned buildings". Anonymous photographers have overlaid old photos depicting the everyday life of the city at its economic and social peak, with contemporary images taken in the same places, that have been abandoned or have disappeared. From our viewpoint, noteworthy are the "Then and Now" galleries about the old Cass Technical High School, abandoned in 2009 and demolished in 2011. The mashups have been realized with pictures found in the yearbook rooms, and the superimpositions of pictures of students portrayed in corridors or engaged in sport activities or plays, of professors teaching in classrooms, or librarians pictured with students in a well-organized library etc. (Detroiturbex 2010), onto the abandoned ruins, provoke strong feelings in us: a sort of cognitive and emotional

conflict, that I have defined elsewhere as a dissonance caused by "a heart-breaking sense of loss which contrasts with the reassuring banality of the everyday school routine" (Brunelli 2016, p. 461). It is interesting to note that Detroiturbex is also a participatory project that calls for cooperation, and citizens can send their pictures or post their comments on Facebook. As we read on the project's website, the aim in fact is not "to aestheticize ruins" rather to document history through a careful reconstruction of narratives about each site, which always hide memories.[10]

As shown, the web in general and in particular social networks offer many historical school photo-mashups, which have an extraordinary communicative and relational power. These pictures, in fact, make us look with new eyes at the places, buildings, landscapes (and, nevertheless, the school places) of our daily life, and to reflect on the way in which they actually shape (or have shaped) our identity, as individuals and as members of a larger community. By commenting on his mashup —which represents a group of "bonneted girls" in front of the old entrance of the Westgate Primary School in Otley, UK, the photographer Tom Blackwell says: "I'm glad the images strike a chord. It's certainly caused me to look at the familiar streets of my town in a new light" (Blackwell 2008). In any case, be it images depicting abandoned sites, disappeared or altered environments, or representing situations and school rituals of the past, these mashups show that they can do much more than be a mere means of nostalgic evocation but, in addition, they can act as true tools for knowledge and learning.

4.7 Conclusions

This first analysis of how school photographs are used on social networks shows that the Internet is becoming more and more a huge visual open archive in progress. If it is true that photos are often presented without sufficient context information, nevertheless it is not uncommon that they are accompanied by detailed data (as seen with the mashup about the Australian schools that have disappeared) or enriched by precious comments and testimonies of the owners of the photos or other web-users (as in the case of the *Children's Homes'* photos). Given historians' growing interest in visual sources, accessing such a vast and continuously increased archive offers undoubtedly valuable and unprecedented advantages—but the fact remains that photographs always need not only to be integrated with other sources but above all to be examined possibly with the support of the original context information (concerning aims and objectives, place and date of creation, pedagogical approach represented, visual conventions existing at the time etc.) and, in short, through

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[10]A reconstruction that was made possible only thanks to photos and historical data retrieved from local archives and public libraries (like the Detroit Public Library, which digitized its photographic collections, now accessible online at the Detroit Public Library Digital Collections (n.d.), and even from private citizens themselves.

a rigorous and specific methodology of analysis (Del Pozo Andrés 2006; Braster 2011; Del Pozo Andrés and Rabazas Romero 2012). Moreover, the aforementioned case studies allow us to highlight how school photos—given their nature of formidable mnemonic-symbolic *point de repère* of school collective imagery and, at the same time, of material objects which are easy to digitize, manipulate and share through social media—develop new social practices which can contribute to the (re)elaboration, or even construction, of a collective memory of the school nourished by individual and plural images, stories and memories uninterruptedly pouring onto the Web.

From a strictly educational perspective, two interesting aspects can be underlined with regard to the development of the social and educational potential of school photos. The first aspect is represented by the richness and variety of school images that are incessantly submitted to photo-sharing platforms, and demonstrates that the visual memory of the school is a social object in itself, able to attract the interest of diverse and transversal groups of people. The second aspect is the growing popularity on the Web of photo-mashups, which can be easily explained if one considers the great visual and emotional impact that these images have both on those who "observe" and on those who "build" the mashup. When a photographer aims to create a mashup, in fact, the act of photographing itself becomes a complex cognitive act that develops through various stages (searching historic photos, recognizing the depicted places, carefully recreating the scene and realizing a modern shot taken from the same angle, superimposing old and current photos); nevertheless, this work is a meta-cognitive act as well, since it requires a reflective practice on the art of seeing (even through a lens), and develops a critical ability to read the reality around us.

In particular the participatory projects based on mashups—such as the above-mentioned *Detroiturbex* (n.d.), the North Vancouver Museums and Archives Digital Photo Contest (2010) and the Australian *Libraryhack* (2011), to end with the more recent initiative of the Denver Public Library[11]—have proven to be able to attract and invite not historians but ordinary citizens to explore the Past in the context of the present by interacting with their own symbolic "places of memory" such as landscapes, streets or buildings, schools included. Thanks to such projects, the social practice of digitizing, creatively re-elaborating and sharing school photos on the Web shows that new life can be breathed into the photographic heritage of schools—too often forgotten in our archives, libraries, museums, schools and houses; and that new widespread processes of learning and personal growth can be activated in younger as well as in older generations, in families, groups and

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[11]A Mash-up Family Workshop, based on the digital photographic collections of the library, was organised by the digital media lab *IdeaLAB* of the library itself in September 2015. Cf. Denver Public Library (2015, August 26).

members of larger communities, all gathered around the objective of retracing and building a shared and collective history and memory: the memory of the school.

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Chapter 5
Memory and Yearbooks: An Analysis of Their Structure and Evolution in Religious Schools in 20th Century Spain

Paulí Dávila, Luis María Naya and Iñaki Zabaleta

5.1 Introduction

Throughout the 20th century in Spain and other European countries, the majority of prestigious schools run by religious orders and congregations published annual yearbooks. Such yearbooks served as a type of advertising document whose primary goal was to transmit and circulate discourse that would make known a school's ideology and academic offerings. Additionally, the yearbooks played a role in building identity, marking social distinction, and disseminating the quality of the academic offerings. The richness of these yearbooks as a primary source for the History of Education is clear given that the texts are created by the schools themselves and transmit a wealth of information regarding their evolution, school construction projects, scholastic activities, games, sports and other cultural activities, religious activities, apostolic associations, changes in teaching staff, stories

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from students, photographs of school groups, advertisements, etc. Ultimately, the yearbooks reflect the institutional image that each school wishes to imprint in the mind of its students, making them one of the elements that constructs student memories and future remembrances.

The aim of this paper is to analyse the structure and evolution of yearbooks published by an influential group of all boys schools run by various religious institutes (Piarists, Marianists, Marists, Lasallians, Salesians, Jesuits, etc.) throughout the 20th century. Our corpus is made up of more than 700 yearbooks; nearly 600 are from all the regions in Spain, and the remaining yearbooks are from other parts of the world. Our analysis of these texts highlights their value as primary sources in the study of the history of religious schools by elucidating a typology, structure and evolution. These types of documents provide a wealth of information (photographs, student writing, building constructions, reports of religious and athletic activities, etc.) and fulfil the function of transmitting values, thus creating a more cohesive educational community by linking the school with families and distinguishing its academic offering as a function of the quality of the school. In the case of Spain, the number and circulation of these yearbooks coincided with the Franco regime, which was the golden age for religious orders and congregations that were dedicated to teaching.

5.2 Yearbooks as Source for the History of Education

The study of private religious schools is often difficult for historians of education to undertake given the difficulty of accessing sources. Only rarely have historians who are not members of a religious congregation been able to provide a detailed history of these prestigious schools (Ostolaza 2000; Dávila et al. 2009; Rodríguez Lago 2015). For this reason, school yearbooks are a good source for the History of Education, as the texts were intended to be read by a large audience, namely the families of the children that attended these schools of a certain social prestige. From this perspective, then, the yearbooks are a product that aimed to inform, transmit and communicate to families the activities that took place in the schools throughout the year as seen through the lens of the religious orders and congregations themselves. They are also a means of advertising, and as such they follow the basic norms of marketing. Thus, as a primary source, the primary feature of the yearbooks is that they offer an image that is defined by the interests of the schools under study. Ultimately they are a source that cannot be taken with all the usual interpretive guarantees, as there is a clear bias given the functions they fulfil. The content is designed to give the reader a particular image of the school, where value is placed on the characteristics that the school wants to highlight.

Despite the limitations of these texts as a primary source, they do nevertheless contain a great deal of potential if we analyse the information they provide. For example, we can access information about school construction projects and building renovations, curricular content, academic groupings and levels, the teaching staff,

award ceremonies, school activities related to academics, religion and athletics, the rules of the school, student writings, and games that took place throughout the academic year. All of this information is of added value; as they are annual publications, they allow us to study how these activities evolve, persist and come to an end year after year.

It is true that these yearbooks cannot be used to construct the history of a school with absolute historiographical rigour. Nevertheless, the yearbooks allow us to write a history of the image that these schools aimed to transmit to the public. For this feature alone, yearbooks should be an object of study by historians of education in order to understand the mediations that occurred in certain prestigious schools in order to transmit a social, economic and cultural value (among other aspects) which were surely requested by the parents that sent their children to those schools.

However, this raises questions about the value that these yearbooks have as potential constructors of the memories students have of their school and whether the yearbooks, as documents written in a past historical present, play a role in shaping the personal memories of individual students in the future. It is also important to point out that, to a certain extent, the yearbooks constitute a collective memory of a group of students; as such, this offers them a sense of belonging, which we can also associate with the construction of a school's or a group's identity (González Calleja 2013).

Moreover, yearbooks fall under Bourdieu's (1984) theory of social distinction, in that they go beyond identity and present themselves as a consumer product, where social agents play an important role in the consumption of specific cultural services, in this case an education provided by a religious congregation of one kind or another, that involves a distinction that goes beyond the consumer's socioeconomic status. In this sense, families that choose to educate their children at a particular institution are adding value to their consumption of education, if we allow ourselves to speak of the right to education and the freedom to choose schools in such terms.

Understanding this phenomenon should fall under two analytical concepts (identity and distinction), since this is a social and cultural phenomenon and goes beyond a sense of belonging to a particular school or college. Along with these theoretical approaches, we should also keep in mind each religious institute's definition of their identity or charism. We must not forget that the structure of the Catholic Church is very hierarchical and its end goal is the "internalisation" of the Christian message. For that reason, many of the strategies that define each of the identifying "brands" (the five-pointed star of the Lasallians, the JHS logo of the Jesuits, the SM of the Marianists, etc.) employ the same marketing strategies of any commercial company that competes in the international marketplace, where the final product is defined by the specific goal of each religious institute (Dávila and Naya 2013).

Corpus and Methodology

School yearbooks provide us with many aspects that must be particularised if we are going to submit them to a thorough analysis. In order to systematise the

yearbooks, both in terms of their formal aspects and their content, we begin with our corpus of 729 yearbooks that are in the collection of the Museum of Education at the University of the Basque Country; 79 % of the yearbooks are from Spain, 17 % are from other European countries, and 4 % are from Latin America. We take this to be a significant corpus that will allow us to analyse the general outlines of their structure, content and evolution.

Table 5.1 Corpus of the school yearbooks that are in the collection of the Museum of Education (*Museo de la Educación/Hezkuntzaren Museoa*) at the University of the Basque Country

Religious order or congregation	Number of yearbooks	Number of schools	Percentage of all yearbooks
Brothers of the Christian Schools—La Salle	473	30	64.88
Piarist Fathers	88	5	12.07
Society of Mary—Marianists	62	4	8.5
Institute of the Marist Brothers	21	5	2.88
Salesians of Don Bosco	19	6	2.61
Claretian Missionaries	12	2	1.65
Society of Jesus—Jesuits	11	4	1.51
Other orders and congregations	21	10	2.88
Non-religious schools	22	15	3.02
Total	729	81	100

The yearbooks that make up our corpus are from schools run by male religious orders, which have traditionally educated the largest number of students in Spain. The orders include the Salesians, the De La Salle Brothers, the Marist Brothers, the Piarists, the Jesuits, the Augustinians and the Claretians (Dávila and Naya 2013). All the yearbooks, with the exception of six, are from all boys schools; it must be remembered that in Spain co-educational schools were not widespread until the educational reform of the 1970s.

The golden age for religious congregations dedicated to teaching occurred during the Franco regime, and this is the period for which we have the most yearbooks. It is precisely during this time, from the 1940s through the 1970s, that the yearbooks provide the richest information. Our corpus has 428 yearbooks dating from this era.

Table 5.1 is striking for the high number of yearbooks published by the Brothers of the Christian Schools (La Salle). This is not only due to the access we had to the Lasallian schools themselves but also because we were able to find yearbooks from Lasallian schools at old and antique book markets. We are confident that yearbooks from the Lasallian schools were the first to appear in the educational market, which is understood as the production of advertising materials whose goal was to showcase a product of certain prestige, namely schools and boarding schools to a restricted class of bourgeois and upper class consumer in Catalonian, Basque, and Spanish society. These yearbooks were then imitated by other prestigious schools

run by religious orders and congregations. The clearest evidence of this is that fact that the earliest yearbooks found are from the "Nuestra Señora de la Bonanova" school, which was founded in Barcelona in 1889 and began publishing yearbooks in the 1905–1906 academic year.

Evolution of the Yearbooks

From a terminological point of view, these volumes have usually been called *memorias escolares.*[1] It is also worth noting that in some schools, Alumni Associations published their own chronicles or annual reviews, which were similar to yearbooks. We still do not know the immediate origin of these texts, although they seem to be modelled on the well-known yearbooks put out by prestigious public schools in Great Britain. Those yearbooks listed the students, their benefactors and the school curriculum. We can infer that the yearbooks from these schools gave rise to this type of document, particularly in English public schools, and yearbooks were subsequently adopted by schools in the United States. It is not at all presumptuous to view the yearbooks in Britain, the US and Spain as the Facebook of their time, today's online technology-driven version being nothing more than a continuation of the older printed yearbooks.

However, the yearbooks that we are analysing seem to have another origin that is the confluence of two sources. On the one hand, throughout the 19th century, documents that were the precursors to the yearbooks of the 20th century for highly prestigious secondary and vocational training schools (and other educational levels) were edited by registrar's offices; on the other hand, booklets were produced for the award ceremonies that were held at the end of the school year at various educational levels. These ceremonies were highly ritualised; local and academic authorities attended, and they recognised the work done by students. The structure of these two types of documents was quite different, and more notably, they fulfilled different functions. In the first case, the document was the result of an administrative task and the proto-yearbook was read at the beginning of the academic year, following a speech by a well-known authority; in the second case, the award ceremony booklet was a social and ritual event that was read at the end of the school in order to celebrate the academic achievements of the students.

The hypothesis put forth regarding yearbooks should account for the dual origin, although we are inclined to believe that their most immediate precedent is the award ceremonies held at the end of the academic year. The earliest known yearbooks associated with prestigious schools come from the schools and boarding schools run by the Brothers of the Christian Schools (La Salle), namely "Nuestra Señora de la Bonanova". To test this hypothesis, the first task we undertook was to see whether these yearbooks had been imported to Spain by the French Brothers who

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[1]The Spanish term *memorias escolares* can be rendered as "school chronicles" or "school memory book", but throughout this paper we will mostly use the conventional English term "yearbook".

settled in Barcelona after being expelled from France in 1904 (Dávila et al. 2012). This required us to investigate whether the De La Salle Brothers published these kinds of yearbooks in France prior to their expulsion. Having reviewed the documents existing in the Lasallian Archives in Lyon, a repository for important documentation for the Lasallian French schools, we were surprised that none of the major boarding schools of prestige published this kind of document at that time and that such documents began to be published in both France and Belgium around the time of the First World War. Similarly, we did not find any explicit mention of yearbooks in the *Bulletin des Écoles Chrétiennes*, whose first year of publication was 1907, nor in the circulars put out by various Brother Superiors from the Congregation from their beginnings until the present time. We found a reference to yearbooks on only one occasion, dating from 1932, in which the pros and cons of publication were discussed but no specific directive was given, although the conclusion makes it clear that editor's position is favourable when he states that "[publication will] present many advantages and few disadvantages" (Institute des Écoles Chrétiennes 1932).

Stepping back from the above observations, we can outline in general terms the next era in the evolution of yearbooks. Until the late 1920s, yearbooks were not called yearbooks; instead they were known as "formal award ceremony" or "list of award winners". These were chronicles that were read at the end of each academic year and gave great importance to the awards won by students for various achievements: academics, discipline, calligraphy, etc. It seems that it was more important to emphasise the prestigious nature of the school on the basis of the marks obtained by students than to create a genuine yearbook. However, many of the features that characterised yearbooks between the 1920s and the 1970s were starting to appear, such as structures and fixed sections that were used to display content which clearly aimed to advertise the school's facilities (laboratories, sports installations, classrooms, dormitories, libraries, chapels, dining halls, etc.). In addition, most information about the schools fell into three areas: religious life and religious activities, cultural life, and athletic life, all under various names. Thus, Marianist schools used the terms "intimate life" or "family life" to refer to the internal life of the school. In the case of Lasallian schools, reference was made to the school chronicles, which aimed to record each month the most important events taking place at the school. The Lasallian schools were quite systematic about presenting this information, while other religious schools presented this information in a more perfunctory way.

Starting in the 1970s yearbooks underwent a significant transformation. Many of them disappeared, only to be published again years later in a completely new format, only including photographs of student groups and certain activities. This can be explained by the changes that occurred in school funding due to the General Education Act of 1970 (Puelles 2010; Viñao 2004). Similarly, the expansion of schooling and the hiring of lay teachers and other changes internal to the schools themselves all led to a less committed presentation of the activities that were carried out. These changes signal the beginning of an era in which yearbooks are of little interest from the historiographical point of view since the majority of them only

publish group photos, names of students, and in some cases, educational designs and offerings.

From the 1990s up to the present day, yearbooks include the gallery of group photographs, and in some cases, some of the school's rules, a list of the teaching staff, and a statement of the school's ethos. From a historiographical perspective, this is not enough to establish any patterns that allow us to understand what activities schools engage in, the actual curriculum taught, the role of the Alumni Associations, etc.

The early yearbooks from "Nuestra Señora de la Bonanova" are prototypes for understanding the evolution of yearbooks. Starting in 1906, the year in which the first yearbook was published, and continuing until the 1912–1913 academic year, yearbooks were known as "Award Ceremony" booklets, following the French model. We must remember that the Jesuits had been giving awards since 1564 (Institute des Écoles Chrétiennes 1910). Starting in the 1913–1914 academic year, the word *memoria* (or "chronicle", see footnote 1) appeared for the first time, as a historical summary of the school was being published to celebrate the school's "Silver Anniversary Jubilee". At this time, the name was modified by adding the corresponding academic year to the original name "Award Ceremony" (i.e. "Award Ceremony 1913–1914"). The dual designation was maintained through the 1926–27 academic year. Finally, in the 1927–28 academic year, the title was changed to "Yearbook 1927–1928", and all subsequent yearbooks used the same naming scheme, although the four identifying elements of previous editions were conserved: a depiction of the building, the Virgin of Bonanova, a panoramic picture of the city of Barcelona as viewed from Tibidabo Mountain, and the Lasallian cross.

5.3   School "Brands": Religious, Athletic and Cultural Activities

In order to analyse the yearbooks, we distinguish between the content (religious, athletic, artistic and cultural activities) and the construction of the students memories (via student profiles, photographs, the voice of the memories), leaving aside for the purposes of this study the formal aspects of the yearbooks (cover, advertising, size, etc.). There are three central themes that we can use to analyse and evaluate the yearbooks' multifaceted aspects. In terms of content, the formal structure is as follows: cover, an overview of the school's ethos, profiles of school authorities, the school's prospectus, information about religious activities, a month by month chronicle of the academic year, athletic, artistic and theatre events, a photo gallery showcasing award winning students, and a list of students.

An element that is characteristic of the majority of the yearbooks is the hierarchy of the symbolic universe of the schools. Thus, religious figures are interspersed with civic leaders: the Virgin Mary, the Pope, the Superior of the congregation, the head of state, and the school's headmaster. The most common are images of the Virgin

Mary, along with the names of the schools themselves ("Nuestra Señora del Carmen", for the school of the same name in Melilla; "Nuestra Señora de Begoña for Santiago Apóstol" in Bilbao, la "Virgen de Lourdes" for a school in Valladolid, etc.). The Pope also appears frequently starting in the 1930s, while the image of Franco practically disappears from yearbooks starting in the 1950s.

The basic function of the yearbooks is to record the students that attended the schools, where photographs of class groups or the list of students function as a way to recognize each student, like a Facebook without Internet. We must not forget, however, that yearbooks, in addition to advertising, serve another important function, which is to record the many religious, athletic, artistic and cultural activities that take place at the school and that "sell" the school as a distinctive product, that make up the identity of the school, and that indicate the quality of the school's teaching. This function is very important because it marks journeys that are complementary to the schools' formal curricula, showcasing an extracurricular added value.

Gathering information about these activities is enormously difficult for historians of education because, in general, these are activities that leave scant historiographical evidence in school life. Nevertheless, given that schools used these sorts of activities for marketing purposes, they are quite illustrative in evaluating the types of activities that the schools engaged in.

Religious Activities: Shaping Apostleship?

One feature of the schools under study is that they are religious schools, a fact that is reflected in their yearbooks. Therefore, in addition to teaching religion, depicting the practice of a series of religious activities shows the extent to which they pervade the daily life of the schools. In another paper we discussed that the aim of these activities is nothing other than "to involve children, teenagers and young people in a faith experience that would ensure the defence of the Catholic religion within an organizational framework that involved the church hierarchy (from the bishops to the priests), the religious orders and congregations dedicated to teaching and the students' own families in order to contribute to Catholic unity" (Dávila et al. 2016). All this was designed to create a religious experience outside the classroom via two paths: apostolic activity, run by the Catholic Action hierarchy, which was very important in most Catholic schools, and vocations. Similar activities were also carried out also in schools run by Jesuits (Lull 1997), Marianists, etc. An example of this is once again the case of Bonanova, at a pivotal moment of the Franco regime. In referring to religious activities in the yearbook for the 1949–1950 academic year, it says that these activities are "widely distributed throughout the Christian curriculum of the Institute itself and through the grand complementary offerings by Catholic Action, the Marian Congregation and the Holy Infant Jesus", and that Catholic Action, which was established in the school in 1940, created groups of "militant and proselytising spiritual activity, which imbues school rules with divine faith". These class groups depended on the Executive Committee, who,

under the direction of the Brother Director of Catholic Action, enforced the rules and instructions of the Diocesan Youth Union, which was connected to the school's Catholic Action, according to the structure of the boarding schools.

Moreover, the Marian Congregation, the most precious jewel of Catholic Action, increased the life of piety with specific events. In 1950 they had 160 congregants. The Congregation of the Holy Infant Jesus, which is typical of the Third Division (Children's Section), had 95 registered members, and they are the ones that initiated prospective Catholic Action Youth Applicants into the life of intense piety that they will use later in their apostolate duties. To this we must add the set of religious practices that were part of religious festivals, which were celebrated with particular solemnity. Examples include the Feast of Christ the King, the Immaculate Conception, the Feast of St. Joseph, the Feast St. Jean-Baptiste de La Salle, Corpus Christi and First Communion celebrations, in addition to annually held spiritual exercises.

Athletic Activities: Shaping Masculinity?

Looking at the space that yearbooks dedicated to athletic activities, the role they played within schools is undoubtedly significant. Athletic activity falls into different groupings: gymnastics or physical education in its proper sense, group sports, and athletic exhibitions (Pérez Flores 2013). The kinds of sports offered in a school are a clear indicator of that school's status; that is, the more elite sports practiced (fencing, tennis, etc.) the more prestigious the school. In this sense there is a clear relationship between the kind of sports chosen and membership in a particular social class (Brohm 1993). The sports practiced in private schools served a dual purpose: to develop the body in accordance with the principles of physical education, and to promote a series of moral, ethical and social values that foster sociability, competition and displays of athleticism (Paredes Ortiz 2002).

From another perspective, having a range of sports at prestigious schools connected church doctrine and the value it gives to male athleticism, a kind of "muscular Christianity" (Mangan 1981). That is, sports were a means for creating a masculinity that is based on a set of physical and moral values. This idea is expressed in the 1949–1950 yearbook from "Nuestra Señora de la Bonanova": "Devoted to sound pedagogy, which makes school sport of character and of virtue, according to the mandate of Pius XII, and which is considered as a necessary spark that counteracts the inactive nature of the heavy load imposed by the academic curriculum, our regulations provides ample room for and favours, within the bounds of harmony and supervision by the Brothers, sports competitions with other entities, such as the diocese's Catholic Action, Schools, and even the Regional Sports Federation". In "Nuestra Señora de la Bonanova", as in many other prestigious schools, irrespective of religious congregation, students played football, basketball, roller hockey, pelota, dodge ball, volleyball and ping pong. For this reason schools employed gymnastics teachers, therapeutic gymnastics teachers and medical staff.

Artistic and Cultural Activities: Shaping Aesthetic Tastes?

References to artistic and cultural activities do not only demonstrate the aesthetic tastes of the time, but they also include activities that are viewed as being consonant with the values that schools want to transmit, such as plays, literary soirees, and poetry contests. Performances of classical Spanish plays and reading major authors in Spanish literature strengthened the idea that these works were the ones that should make up students' literary and theatre universe. In some classes popular works were taught as a means of explicitly complementing that idea.

In general, activities were punctual and held on the occasion of some event such as award ceremonies or Christmas celebrations. Additionally, at some of the more prestigious boarding schools there was a permanent theatre group or other groups according to age. Another activity that occurred on a relatively on-going basis was choral music, sung by a choir made up of students from the school. In some schools, like at "Nuestra Señora de la Bonanova" or "Santiago Apóstol", these activities were part of classes about music. Also within the context of providing training in culture and participating in it, students held art exhibitions.

The yearbooks from some schools include literary or journalism work done by students, writing that narrated a field trip or excursion, or interviewed a famous person, etc. This is an important value that the Marianist school "El Pilar" in Madrid promoted from the beginning. In fact, the school eventually began to publish a student-run newspaper called *Soy Pilarista* [I Am a Pilarist] (Asociación de Antiguos Alumnos del Colegio El Pilar 1995).

5.4 Student Profiles: Pathologising of Individuals or Professional Guidance

A key element in the social recognition of students and that serves to weave the social fabric of academic and social ties among families and students is knowing the profile of students who enter the schools, and in particular the profile of the students who graduate from them. In some cases, yearbooks gave information about the profession that former students had entered. For example, in a yearbook from "*Nuestra Señora de la Bonanova*", it stated that between 1939–49, 17 % of students went on to get engineering degrees, 16 % went into medicine, 16 % went into law, 15 % became teachers of business and administration, 13 % went into chemistry and pharmacy, 7 % joined the clergy, 5 % became architects, 4 % joined the armed forces, and a final 7 % went into other professions. For this reason, the final year photographs of students are of relevance as they provide us with information about their future career prospects.

However, it is surprising that in some of the Lasallian, Marist, Marianist and Dominican schools the individual student photographs are accompanied by descriptions, assessments, recommendations and observations about the students in

their last year of school. On occasion there are comments from tutors or head-masters. In the case of the Marianists, in schools in Madrid and in San Sebastian the students themselves wrote their own texts. These texts allow us to identify a typology of profiles by looking at the text that accompanies them: professional orientation, psychological assessment, guessing games and athletic abilities.

An example of the pathologising descriptions in student profiles can be found in the 1949–1950 yearbook for the Marianist school in San Sebastián. The comments about former secondary school students are brief but at the same time quite pointed, asserting things like:

> He always stood out among his peers for his 'little things', yesterday as a child, today as a young man. He has a better memory than judgment, he has read many books, too many for his age, to get ahead. A word of advice: non multa sed multum (not many, but much). Only then will be he able to write, if that is to be his vocation.

> He thinks better than he speaks, but he is slow in his thinking. Everything seems to weigh heavily: his body and the books, and this is not due to weakness or disability. Why might that be? And he says that he is a kind of genius.

> A good boy, very serious and hardworking, brief in words but long in work.

> He seems carved out to be director of one of those large companies in the industrious town of Eibar.

> A little nervous, long-bodied, he works more with his memory than with thought.

> He seems to us to be utterly lazy. His look, his speech, his demeanour lack energy and vigour […] he will have a profession, though he will get there slowly.

By the look of some of the phrases, it might seem that some of the profiles came from conversations between the yearbook editor and the student in question.

In the yearbooks from "Nuestra Señora de la Bonanova" these types of comments are also present, although they only appear for students that are members of football teams:

> Despite his young years, he clearly has a style of the highest quality.

> He dribbles with great skill and steps with mathematical precision.

> He defends well and passes flawlessly.

Student Photographs: Facebook Without Internet

Publishing photographs of students in yearbooks was essential, and there was a shift from publishing photos of individual students to groups of students. The evolution started from an initial stage in which a series of photographs of students' faces were framed within a painted allegory (as in the cases of "Nuestra Señora de la Bonanova" and "Santiago Apóstol"), to a second stage in which individual student portraits made up the class group. Later, in a third stage, yearbooks published group

pictures, in which students were photographed with all their classmates, showing entire bodies instead of just faces. On some occasions, the group photographs were combined with photographs of individual students who were shown in symmetrical postures and in various locations at the school.

Just as the photographs of religious and athletic activities are focused on events that are worthy of being highlighted, this other type of photograph constitutes a real Facebook, that is, a list or directory of students. The term Facebook seems appropriate since the individual photographs are accompanied by a name and class year, clearly identifying each student.

From a sociological perspective, group membership is essential not only during the period of time in question but also for the students' future, as it allows them to establish a network of relationships that can facilitate business or preferential treatment in the future. Being able to identify with other students through memory and thus the use of a constructed memory is an element that allows students to return to the past and to lived experiences, and it also allows them to re-establish lost connections. Accordingly, these photographs served as a business or visiting card that was printed in the past but takes effect in the future according to the desired or sought after resource.

5.5 The Voice of Future Memory

One aspect of the yearbooks that provides great value from a personal perspective rather than a historiographical one is the interest in recording the experiences lived by the students into their memory, like a kind of indelible mark that will accompany them for the rest of their life. The yearbook editors are aware of their importance, not only for marketing or recording the chronology of events, but also for the value that they have as a souvenir that lasts forever. For that reason, most yearbooks use a literary device that creates an intimacy and facilitates communication: the yearbook becomes a person who speaks to students directly.

Some examples will help us understand this feature and how the yearbook structures the memory, the identity of the group, the identity of the school, etc., where the goal is to fix the present as a future memory, which will accompany students throughout their lives. This is what the editors of the 1942–1943 yearbook for Colegio "Nuestra Señora del Carmen" in Melilla believed when they wrote:

> After 31 years of constant longing and having faced many difficulties, I am now seeing the light for the first time. YEARBOOK is my name, and my goal is to make you relive the happy times from your childhood and youth, recording your early struggles and triumphs. I am certain that, as you took me into your hands, you were pleasantly surprised by my artistic cover. In it, the three great ideals and the three great loves that I aim to instil in you are brought together: la *Virgen del Carmen*, who protects with her maternal tenderness the beautiful school named after her, and the star of *Signum Fidei*, which projects its diaphanous light over us; by practicing Carmelite devotion you will cross the seas of life without capsizing and you will arrive happily to its eternal shores.

Another example comes from the 1947–48 yearbook from *Santiago Apóstol* in Bilbao, which opens with the following text:

> Today you have it with you. The YEARBOOK must be prodigal in notes of many varied nuances that pooled and blended in the barrel of memory, will offer up to your feeling the suggestive harmony of a remnant of your existence. The fact that your emotional sense will gain richness and colour as time – the miracle worker of liqueur wines – wraps a triumphant halo around the alien.

The yearbooks were usually written by a single person, a member of the congregation, although information was provided by the students, teachers, headmasters, etc. In some cases we see the presence of alumni. It is striking that in the majority of Marianist yearbooks, students actively participated from the beginning by writing articles on a variety of topics. In these articles, the students wrote a few pages about their impressions about a trip, their knowledge about certain curiosities and even personal thoughts about their participation in a school activity. These types of collaborations developed clearly in the Marianist schools, especially in the 1950s and the 1960s. These may be atypical cases, but they offer us a different perspective on Marianist pedagogy with respect to student participation in the schools activities and events.

The voice of the yearbooks should therefore be understood as a construct of personal and/or collective memory that represents a brand (a religious institute), shapes identity and creates ties with two peripheral elements, namely families and alumni associations.

5.6 Conclusions

Incorporating school yearbooks into the toolbox of historians of education is quite useful given the difficulties that are in play when they attempt to study private religious schools. These documents provide valuable information, particularly during the middle period of the 20th century. In this paper we have studied the historical evolution of these yearbooks, with the goal of sketching their general outlines. We have observed that they fall into a textual genre that serves to advertise, meeting the social and educational demands of a particular period of time. In addition to the intrinsic value that they offer to the study of schools of prestige, yearbooks construct a memory of a present that is aimed at a future, and they link to a past that is represented by a selection of a series of school activities.

Our corpus of school yearbooks allowed us to analyse private religious schools in Spain in the 20th century. From our analysis, we first uncovered the value that these yearbooks have as a primary source, thus suggesting they be incorporated into the task of historians of education. Secondly, we observed that the yearbooks have an added value in that they construct a future memory for students by projecting, at the instance of their creation, a representation of the school that will help students to identify with it by creating a sense of group membership, of identity, and by

constructing a collective memory. In this regard we can affirm that these elements play a role in the construction of school memories. Thirdly, we showed that the yearbooks, despite the variation that occurs over time, have certain core features: an introduction to the school; depictions of religious, athletic and cultural activities that took place during the academic year; the school's curriculum; and above all else, photographs of students, whether individually or as part of a group, constituting a kind of off-line Facebook. Through the study of these activities and the analysis of the photographs, we can reconstruct an educational experience and philosophy that clearly communicates the schools' "brand" and their goals for shaping students' apostolic actions through religious activities, for shaping their masculinity through athletics, and for shaping their aesthetic tastes though literature, singing and theatre.

Lastly, we identified two elements that help us understand the subjective value of the yearbooks analysed. The first is the forging of student profiles though professional, psychological or other guidance, and the second is the construction of students' future memories, whereby the voice of the yearbook editor influences the portrayal of a lived present as a future experience.

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Chapter 6
Identity Memory School Figures: The Adjustment of the Andalusian Identity in the School Through School Textbooks (1978–1993)

Guadalupe Trigueros Gordillo, Cristóbal Torres Fernández and Enrique Alastor García Cheikh-Lahlou

6.1 Introduction

The interest in the study of the Andalusian identity remains the focus of scientific, political, cultural, and educational debate. The awakening of the claims of self-government in Andalusia in the democratic transition has led to the emergence of a large number of publications related to cultural and historical identity, and has introduced new approaches from Anthropology, and has even reached new dimensions, such as the educational aspect.

The Royal Decree 3936/1982 transfers educational competences to the Andalusian Government. Its preamble emphasizes that the main motivation towards a model of regional decentralization of the educational system and its policy, is the desire to own a specific identity, with a prevailing special interest in the social and individual dimension of education. This would then manifest itself in the transmissions from schools in the form of various contents related to the topic. The object of this study is to analyse how, through specific instruments used in the teaching-learning process, the Andalusian identity is built and transmitted.

We focus, in particular, on the promotion of personalities who have been distinguished in some way in the Andalusian environment, thereby turning them into a bastion of its identity throughout history. Therefore we mainly analyse the treatment and purpose with which they are transmitted in educational resources used in schools.

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This is a descriptive study divided into two distinct phases. In the first, we move into the fundamental concepts underpinning our research: identity, school memory, and textbooks; in the second phase, the results derived from the analysis of school materials are presented.

6.2 Identity and Public Memory

In Spain, the interest in the study of the identity of individuals belonging to particular territories has been growing in recent years, especially from the second half of the 20th century due to the formation of the State of Autonomies, in an effort to find a particular identity that is different and distinctive from the rest of the territories of the country with specific profiles for each autonomous community.

Awareness of identity within a group has been the object of curricular reforms carried out from 1978, especially in the areas of Social Sciences and Language and Literature. Identity is built through memory human beings need to know the past in order to know who they are. In this sense, classrooms provide the perfect place to build and help students discover their identity. Since publication of the work, *El Ideal Andaluz* (1914), by Blas Infante, which promotes confidence in the progress, knowledge and future for Andalusians, many authors have studied the Andalusian memory from different perspectives.

Alcina Franch (1999) carries out an analysis from the cultural point of view; Trenzado Romero (2000) speaks of the construction of the Andalusian identity from a cinematic perspective; while that of Ortega Muñoz (2001) does so using philosophy; from the perspective of youth, an analysis is made by Díaz Sánchez (2004); Moreno Navarro (2008) explores certain elements of the Andalusian identity from a cultural perspective; more recently, authors such as Beas Miranda (2013) and González García (2012) employ the perspective that we are interested in: that of education and school manuals.

6.3 School Textbooks as Sources for the Study into Identity

The French expert in school textbooks, Alain Choppin, warns in one of his books that "school textbooks are not only pedagogical tools: they are also products of social groups that seek, to perpetuate their identities, their values, their traditions, and their cultures" (Choppin 1993). Textbooks have become the main resource used in the classroom. They have been and remain the optimal means for the process of

the strengthening of culture and therefore of the Andalusian identity. One of the causes of this optimization can be found in the full accommodation between the official curricula and the content of textbooks.

This study is based on the conceptions held by authors and publishers of certain manuals used for this research. Consulted publishers conceived the textbook as an "auxiliary instrument of the work of the teacher", or as "a set of proposals whose fundamental component is the manipulative and cognitive activity of students" (Proyecto E.S.L.A 1989, p. 6).

The characteristics granted to school textbooks make them a suitable instrument for the investigation into the processes that lie behind their structure. Thus, the textbook presents, among other defining features, "intentionality, systematicity in the exposure of the contents; sequentiality; adaptation to the educational work; expository text style; combination of text and illustrations; regulation of contents of extension" (Ossenbach Sauter 2010, pp. 121–122).

According to Otte, the role of the manuals is two-fold and irreducible. Manuals have a communicative and interpretation function, which gives them a subjective stance, from the point of view of both the author and of the reader. Furthermore, its "materialized structure of knowledge has an eminently objective character" (González Astudillo and Sierra Vázquez 2004, p. 390).

Few changes have been appreciated since the publication of the dispositions of Villar Palasí Law. The 5th additional disposition of 14/1970 General Education Law establishes that "books and materials needed for the development of the educational system at the levels of preschool education, basic General education, vocational training of first and second levels, and of the Spanish Baccalaureate, shall be subject to the supervision of the Ministry of Education and Science, in accordance with to the established norms". In 1983, the transfer to Andalusia of the responsibility for its own educational competences became effective, including the power of the authorization of textbooks:

> (i) The authorization of textbooks and other didactic materials that specify the plans, curricula and pedagogical guidelines of the minimum teachings and of those which develop or complement these minimum teachings, corresponds to the Ministry of Education and Science and to the Department of Education of Andalusia, respectively. For this purpose, a bipartite Commission of experts is established for the proposal of the appropriate resolutions to the competent authorities of the two administrations. In any case, the authorization of textbooks and other didactic materials is singular, and must state that such authorization is granted by the Ministry of Education and Science and by the Department of Education of Andalusia.

From these legislative dispositions, the autonomous government gathered full power to authorize textbooks in the different educational stages and, therefore, to select those containing the hallmarks of the Andalusian region. This constituted a turning point in which educational policies marked by the Department of Education would become the main instructions to be followed by publishers and by professionals from the edition of textbooks, whereby these school resources were tailored to the new social and political reality of the territories.

6.4 Methodology

The main subject of this research is the study of the transmission and strengthening of Andalusian identity through the image of certain characters born in Andalusia who became subjects of the school curricula in the period corresponding to the adoption of the Spanish Constitution of 1978 until the end of the implementation of the 1970 General Education Law (*Ley General de Educación*, in Spanish) in 1990.

We start from the hypothesis that the configuration of the features of the identity of Andalusia through native figures of the region remains insignificant; a hypothesis formed with respect to the variable textbook "editions", since, in textbooks of the Andalusia Editions, the many features of identity were incorporated gradually without being of major significance until the implementation of the *Ley de Ordenación General del Sistema Educativo* [General Law of the Educational System] containing the new curricular materials.

The general objective is to analyse the development that, based on public policy, is given to the construction of the Andalusian identity through the transmission of contents and ideas in the school environment.

In relation to this goal, the following specific objectives are:

(a) To analyse the presence and recurrence of illustrious Andalusian characters related to culture, politics, creativity, and thinking;
(b) To study the main-characters related to the Andalusian identity as, presented in textbooks;
(c) To investigate the treatment and purpose with which the hallmark character of Andalusia are transmitted in school materials (Chart 6.1).

Chart 6.1 Publishing years
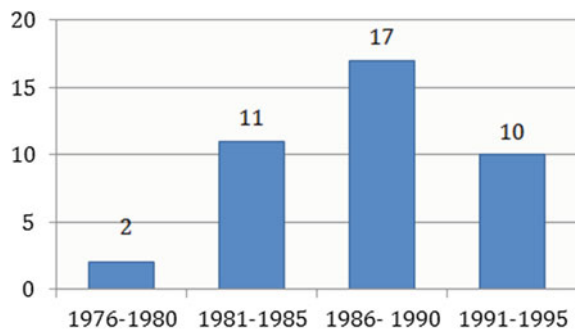
Source: own elaboration.

The selection of characters has been made depending on the field of activity to which they belong: philosophy, politics, or artistic and literary creation. To develop the analysis, we used a set of school textbooks published between the adoption of the Constitution of 1978 and the end of the application of the General Education Law of 1970.

When we talk about textbooks, we refer to those that are used by teachers and students for the teaching and learning of a particular subject. The transfer of educational competences to the autonomous community contributes towards the harmonious coexistence of the two editions (Andalusian and National), which began to co-exist harmoniously, although the former type increasingly took on an ever greater importance. In the event that occupies us, this tendency developed gradually, and hence a greater number of National Edition Books are included in this study.

The sample, as shown in Table 6.1, is composed of 28 characters born in Andalusia who belong to various areas of activity. From these 28, 13 are present in textbooks of Language and Literature, and 15 in Social Sciences textbooks.

Table 6.1 Characters analyzed in textbooks (per subjects)

Spanish language and literature	Social sciences	
Fernando de Herrera	Aníbal Gonzalez	Antonio Cánovas del Castillo
Gustavo Adolfo Bécquer	Alejandro Guichot	Bartolomé Esteban Murillo
Luis Cernuda	Blas Infante	Diego Rodríguez de Silva
Pedro Antonio de Alarcón	Duque de Rivas	Velázquez
Francisco Giner de los Ríos	Felipe González	Emilio Castelar y Ripoll
Antonio de Nebrija	Márquez	Joaquín Turina Pérez
Juan Valera	Mariana Pineda	Manuel de Falla
Federico García Lorca	Miguel Primo de	Niceto Alcalá-Zamora
Vicente Aleixandre	Rivera	
Juan Ramón Jiménez	Pablo Ruiz Picasso	
Luis de Góngora y Argote		
Rafael Alberti		
Antonio Machado		

Source Own elaboration

The instrument used for the collection of data, is a set of textbooks selected from the National and Andalusian Editions; they are mostly intended for students, but we have also analysed a number of didactic guides and books provided for the teacher; finally, two of the core subjects have been selected, Spanish Language and Literature, and Social Sciences, which both belong to the higher cycle of Primary Education (6th, 7th and 8th) (for students of 9, 10, and 11 years old) and were published between 1978 and 1993, thus delimiting the temporary gap between the approval of the Spanish Constitution and the end of the implementation of the aforementioned 1970 General Education Law (Table 6.2).

Table 6.2 Consulted manuals (National edition/Andalusian edition)

Edition	N	%
National edition	29	72.50
Andalusian edition	11	27.50
Total	40	100

Source Own elaboration

We consider that Social Sciences and Spanish Language and Literature represent the most suitable fields of knowledge for the analysis of the object of study for the transmission of the official history and literary canon, due to their adaptation to the different ages of students to facilitate understanding and assimilation. The data is taken from a total of forty manuals, distributed as shown in Chart 6.2.

Chart 6.2 Consulted manuals per subject

17; 43%

23; 57%

■ SPANISH LANGUAGE   ■ SOCIAL SCIENCES
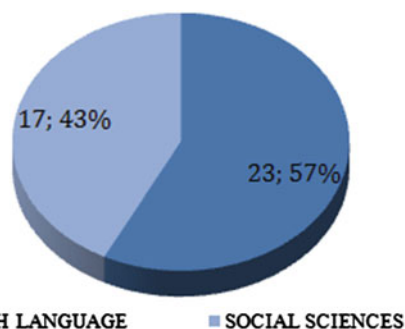
Source: own elaboration.

The majority of the consulted manuals have students as eligible addressees. However, the role of the teacher in this task is essential, and a first approach to their work can be made through the teaching guides. It should be borne in mind that this instrument provides only a partial view of a conditioned topic, since it is circumscribed to the specifications of the regulations and that it is understood that the publishers respond to the official syllabus and that this should be transmitted to the students.

For the selection and analysis of the characters, an instrument has been created. This tool includes the main aspects to be taken into account in order to register the most important information. At the same time, a data base has been created, which has served as a documentary background for their analysis and interpretation, and the following items have been collected:

– Bibliographic data: author(s), title, place and year of publication, type of edition (National or Andalusian), and ISBN (International Standard Book Number). We also include an internal work reference and the physical location of the book.
– Target group (Students or teachers).
– Level of education of the textbook.

- Subject: Social Sciences or Spanish Language and Literature.
- Character analysed.
- Reiteration. The number of times a character is reiterated.
- Textual elements: literary quotes, semantic features, activities, diagrams, etc.
- Extra-textual elements (iconography and graphic representations, symbols), and elements that highlight information (type and font style, use of colours in text, boxes, location of the text on the page, etc.).
- Curricular subject covered.
- Skill with which it is associated.

This is a complete and concise instrument that aims to offer a perspective on the content of the textbooks studied, as well as on the impact of the Andalusian characters studied.

Texts consulted in this analysis tend to contain a set of educational elements that include the following: text on the basic subject, a number of texts taken from primary sources, basic activities and support, illustrations, and graphics and maps to support the content. In certain cases, this schema is completed with a few lines of references, and a mapping appendix in the case of Social Sciences textbooks. In any case, each publishing house has its own policy, and its own conception of the teaching-learning process, nevertheless, the textbook is a mere instrument that facilitates the work of teachers to guide students.

6.5   Data Analysis

We have carried out the data analysis from two fundamental components that appear in the manuals, those which constitute the textual elements and those for the extra-textual elements (Level and Mostacero 2011). The first of these consists of the text that displays the information transmitted to students, both in the form of basic and complementary and supportive text, and those texts that propose activities to confirm the contents. On the other hand, the extra-textual elements are comprised of images and resources used to support the textual elements, and to emphasize and highlight the ideas that need to be reinforced. For this study, both elements attain the same degree of importance (Table 6.3).

Table 6.3 Textual and extratextual elements

Textual elements	Extratextual elements
Basic content	Images and illustrations
Texts of support	Symbols
Complementary information	Emphasis characters
Activities and exercises	
Glossaries	
Diagrams arid graphics	

Source Own elaboration

In relation to the Andalusian characters most frequently mentioned in the texts, we have focused on the analysis; firstly in relation to the general information, in which we analyse the organization of manuals and the structuring of the content, in order to differentiate between the formal mode of presentation of the figures selected for the study of identity; and secondly, in relation to the elements which configure the features of identity of Andalusia. In the latter case, on the one hand, analysis of the textual elements has been performed, in which written communication has been integrated, by differentiating the words that give meaning to the Andalusian identity; on the other hand, analysis has been carried out on the extra-textual elements, that consist of images and symbols that, in some way, support the transmission of identity. In particular, we focus on the symbolism of the Andalusian region (flag, anthem, and coat of arms) and the images of Andalusia, in drawings, photographs and cartography, and analyse those which accompany any of the characters analysed. Thirdly, we have identified the characters that are going to be studied as being linked to three main lines of activity: philosophy (thought), politics, and artistic creation, by integrating the fields of literature, architecture, music, painting, and sculpture into this third activity. The method of analysis used combined both the quantitative and the qualitative method, but with special attention to the qualitative method and with the quantitative method applied as support for content analysis.

6.6   Results and Outcomes

The analysis of the data leads us to present the following results:

(a) In relation to the data of a general nature and formal organization, two elements should be highlighted. The first is directly related to the organization of textbooks, especially those of Social Sciences. The structure of the national editions usually link together books from the different publishers surveyed, but the appearance of a specific edition for each autonomous community provides, among other things, ways to differentiate specific features of the region. Therefore, content dedicated to Andalusia is not presented following the same structure by all Andalusian Edition manuals. In particular, two different schemata have been detected, one of which structures content dedicated to Andalusia as an appendix to the History of Spain, but only in certain units. Other publications dedicate a number of specific topics to the presentation of contextualized information on Andalusia, but with a selection of historical stages. On the other hand, the curriculum of this subject includes the contents of Ethics and Civic Education, in which there are also specific issues in the region. The second schema is related to the structure of each part of the content and the presence of techniques of support and help in strengthening the contents.

(b) As regards the specific results of the analysis of the elements of the identity of Andalusia:

- In relation to the analysis of the textual elements, all nouns and adjectives that emphasize the characteristics of Andalusia are scarce and are specified in the following: Andalusian, Andalusia, andalusism, Andalusian regionalism, and their demonyms of the region.
- There is very little extra-textual support for the analysed figures. The most significant cases are those in the political field, although in general, none of the illustrations that accompany the text suggest, at any time, a specific feature of Andalusia.

(c) Regarding the fields of activity, we can say that the one with greatest presence in school textbooks is the artistic and literary activity (65.52 %). The fields of politics and philosophy occupy only 35 % of the total, with the former more abundant than the latter. These results present certain variations, although they can be applied to the number of times each of the figures appears. As can be observed in Table 6.4, the repetition of characters in the literary and artistic field are even higher, reaching over 85 %, followed by the area of politics, and with a really scarce presence of character reiteration in the world of thought. However, we found greater strength in the transmission of traits identity in political figures.

Table 6.4 Reiteration of analysed characters disaggregated by fields of knowledge

Fields of knowledge	N	%
Thought	20	2.28
Politics	98	11.17
Artistic creation and literature	759	86.55
Total	877	100

Source Own elaboration

The figures analysed in each of the indicated fields are expressed in the following table (Table 6.5).

Table 6.5 Classification of characters in fields of knowledge

Thought	Politics	Artistic creation
Alejandro Guichot	Antonio Cánovas del Castillo	Diego Rodríguez de Silva Velázquez
Fray Bartolomé de las Casas	Emilio Castelar y Ripoll	Bartolomé Esteban Murillo
Francisco Giner de las Ríos	Mariana Pineda	Pablo Ruiz Picasso
	Felipe González Márquez	Joaquín Turina Pérez
	Miguel Primo de Rivera	Manuel de Falla

(continued)

Table 6.5 (continued)

Thought	Politics	Artistic creation
	Niceto Alcalá-Zamora	Fernando de Herrera
	Blas Infante	Gustavo Adolfo Bécquer
		Luis Cernuda
		Pedro Antonio de Alarcón
		Aníbal González
		Duque de Rivas
		Antonio de Nebrija
		Juan Valera
		Federico García Lorca
		Vicente Aleixandre
		Juan Ramón Jiménez
		Luis de Góngora y Argote
		Rafael Alberti
		Antonio Machado

Source Own elaboration

We show below the results divided and specified in each of the fields we have selected:

The field of thought

The field of thought is represented with the smallest number of protagonists, composed of Francisco Giner de los Ríos, Bartolomé de las Casas, and Alejandro Guichot. It is a tendency, in the majority of the texts consulted, to pay more attention to the protagonists of political deeds or to artistic creators, especially those dedicated to painting and literature.

There are certain exceptions, among which we highlight the texts drawn up by the "Grupo Blanca de los Ríos". In relation to the temporal axis, most of these characters are located in modern times, with the exception of Bartolomé de las Casas. Of them all, he who is presented with the most Andalusian features and characteristics of the region is Alejandro Guichot, whereby he is included in "an intellectual movement of clear regional nuances, which was trying to discover Andalusia through its landscapes, customs, and men" (Castejón et al. 1991, p. 69). Indeed, Alejandro Guichot is regarded as one of the promoters of Andalusian regionalism, through whom there remains an eagerness to find the historical roots of Andalusia and regenerate the region, within a clearly regionalist movement, inside the Spanish nation. However, the little echo that school textbooks make of the Andalusian regionalist movement should be highlighted, in particular that of Guichot, since of the total sample, he is only presented on five occasions, in a total of three manuals, all of which are in the Andalusian Edition.

The presence of the thinking of Francisco Giner de los Ríos appears of major relevance in the manualist tradition. He is a figure linked to the movement of the educational renovation and the founding of the Institución Libre de Enseñanza. In general, he does not reinforce the Andalusian identity since most manuals have their role in the educational world and the renovation process of the country, with the exception of the manual of SM publishers, national Edition, drafted by the Grupo Blanca de los Ríos, in which, as an inset that accompanies a text written by Giner on teaching methods, an Andalusian lawyer is presented. It conveys the concept of development and ideological opening of Spain as a nation, as reflected in the remark on Krausist philosophy, and on the values of freedom and progress:

Krausism, which owes its name to the German philosopher Krause (1781–1832), took on a political character based on rationalism and liberalism in Spain and had a huge impact on education. The main representatives of Spanish Krausism included Salmerón, Giner de los Ríos, and Gumersindo de Azcárate (Castejón et al. 1991, p. 69).

Among the selected characters, perhaps it is the Sevillian, Bartolomé de las Casas, who is studied in greater depth in the textbooks analysed. However, as in the case of Giner de los Ríos, the Andalusian origin of the character is not transmitted in a direct way, and we have to wait for reinforcement activities before the message regarding his Andalusian identity is encountered. In this sense, different types of exercises are found, most of which are aimed at the parallel pursuit of information. From the simplest: "Learn about each of the following characters and write a brief essay on each of them: […] Fray Bartolomé de las Casas" (Castejón et al. 1986a, b, p. 9), to other reinforcement activities that lead to new exercises. In the latter case, thawhich corresponds to one of the last editions published for the General Education Law, for 1992, can be outlined, in which the introduction of the LOGSE into other educational levels was already underway.

This activity consists of two parts. In the first, the students discover the Andalusian origin by themselves upon seeking information about the author and performing their task: "In an encyclopedia, look up Fray Bartolomé de las Casas and write an essay on his life and his defence of the Indians" (Ruiz Carmona et al. 1992, p. 133).

In the second part, propounded to present other Andalusians distinguished for their work in America, the link between Bartolomé de las Casas and the region is specified: "You may do the same with any other Andalusian historical character who is distinguished by their activity in America" (Ruiz Carmona et al. 1992, p. 133).

The political field

The political field is another of those fields where the identity is more strongly represented. Among the Andalusian political figures analysed, Blas Infante is identified with more features of identity, despite appearing in only three of the manuals analysed, which belong to the Andalusian Edition and Social

Sciences. Blas Infante is presented as the father and architect of the "Andalusian homeland", thereby emphasizing the identity of the Andalusian as belonging to a country, independent of its Spanish identity, and transmitting a specific political culture as well as the affective element. Similarly, the external signs of the Andalusian identity, embodied in symbols (coat of arms, anthem), remain linked to the figure of Blas Infante:

Blas Infante published, in 1915, *El Ideal Andaluz*. Three years later, the first Andalusian Congress was held, where autonomy was claimed, the green and white flag was adopted, and the coat of arms and the anthem were fixed. […] (Castejón et al. 1986a, b, p. 155)

In the texts, it is stated that "the death of Blas Infante seemed to also mean the end of Andalusism" (Equipo Aula3 1992a, b, p. 222), marked by the beginning of the civil war and the silence imposed on freedom of thought and expression. Blas Infante, and therefore, Andalusian voices, were silenced with a rifle.

The Andalusian identity is also expressed with other adjectives that are attributed to various representatives of Spanish politics. In the textbooks, Cánovas del Castillo appears as an "outstanding figure", a symbol of a historical period of peace, prosperity, order and welfare and a guarantor of promoting "an era of political stability". Presented as an Andalusian, he is characterized by his opposition to the defense of the "bourgeois regionalist and organized sectors of the workers": "the political system created by Cánovas del Castillo marginalized the regionalist bourgeoisie and the organized sectors of the workers from political life. This policy led to the isolation of the ruling groups with respect to the rest of the country" (Castejón et al. 1991, p. 56).

Another of the principal political figures is that of Mariana Pineda, who described herself as a "liberal conspirator" and was executed for embroidering a flag with the values of law, freedom and equality: "she was a young woman from Granada, who during the second absolutist period of Ferdinand VII, was sentenced to death and executed by embroidering a flag with the words "Law, Freedom, Equality" (Castejón et al. 1991, p. 37).

Characters, such as those of Emilio Castelar, José Rodríguez de la Borbolla, Juan de Dios Alvarez Mendizábal, Miguel Primo de Rivera and Niceto Alcalá Zamora, remain significantly represented in the school materials analysed. The figure of the former President of the Spanish Government, Felipe González Márquez is supplemented with numerous images and iconographies that reinforce his relevance in history and Spanish politics, although his Andalusian origin remains in the background, with the exception of the features outlined in his biography.

The field of artistic and literary creation

In the field of artistic and literary creation, we have included figures from the world of literature, culture, art, painting, and music. Two of the most studied literary authors are Juan Valera and Pedro Antonio de Alarcón. The former's Andalusian origin is not obvious, with the exception of any review that defines

him as an "Andalusian novelist of great narrative force": information that is reinforced in separate text apart next to the photo of the author (Equipo Blanca de los Ríos 1984a, b, p. 16). From an Andalusian Edition, we can read that "the foundations of the base of the Spanish realist novel whose representatives include Andalusians of exception: Valera and Alarcon" (Equipo Aula3 1992a, b, p. 114). These references are usually insignificant, both in their form and quantity in the extra-textual elements.

Another of the great Andalusian authors on textbooks is Federico García Lorca. He transcends the mere Andalusian field and only on occasions is his origin mentioned; in these cases (five in total) these are concepts that, a priori, established themselves as partners to the Andalusian identity; "born in Granada, the Andalusian themes, were a constant source of inspiration for him" (Lázaro Carreter 1992a, b, p. 107). We also include, from an Andalusian Edition:

The presence of Juan Ramón Jiménez and Antonio Machado in the Andalusian poetry placed Andalusian writers in the highest dimensions of Spanish and universal literature, since they are many and with a high status those who follow them. In the Generation of 27: García Lorca, Alberti, Aleixandre, Cernuda, are the cornerstones of contemporary Spanish poetry (Equipo Aula3 1992a, b, p. 244).

Together with Jiménez and Alberti, they are defined as the magic of Andalusia (Equipo Aula3 1992a, b, p. 248), from Granada (Ruiz Carmona et al. 1992, p. 226) and Andalusia (Castejón et al. 1986a, b, p. 158). In the same way, the relevance of Alberti is reflected in both the number of references and the strong support associated to his texts: poems, photographs, elegies, drawings, etc. As a member of the Generation of 27, he shares many references (magic of Andalusia, Andalusia, pillars of Hispanic poetry…). As in the case of García Lorca, we can read about his Andalusian origin; "Alberti […] and many other artists and literati Andalusian left their homeland" (Castejón et al. 1991, p. 159) though he cannot be generalized in the textbooks consulted.

Countless are the references around the figure of Nobel Prizewinner Juan Ramón Jiménez, as are those associated with his work. Portrayed as an Andalusian intellectual (Castejón et al. 1986a, b, 1991, p. 159), he was exiled after the war and died "far from his native Moguer" where he had been born (Lázaro Carreter 1992a, b, p. 127). Defined as an Andalusian writer (Equipo Aula3 1992a, b, p. 244), his origin is diluted in his genius as a poet (Lázaro Carreter 1992a, b, p. 84) and in countless poems and references to his work. The figure of de Góngora, represented as a great poet (Hernando and Grence 1993, p. 159), is reinforced by the amount of images and extra-textual references that leave his origin at a secondary level; there are very few entries in which we can read related items; "the great Andalusian poet" (Castejón et al. 1986a, b, p. 169), and the fact that he was born in Córdoba (Lázaro Carreter 1992a, b, p. 267) are the only two. Additionally, the figure of Antonio Machado, presented as a great poet in one of the first National editions following the adoption of the Constitution (Zapater 1978, p. 261), is completed

with his relationship with an intellectual movement "of clear regionalist nuances, which was striving to discover Andalusia through its landscapes, its customs, and its men" (Castejón et al. 1991, p. 69), in one of the Andalusian editions. The fact that he was an Andalusian intellectual born in Seville, and that he died in exile are direct references to his origin. On the other hand, authors, such as Julia Uceda (with only two reiterations) and Fernando de Herrera, do not enjoy the same popularity or relevance. The sparse references do not allude to their Andalusian origin.

The Generation of 27, whose members were mostly Andalusians are presented based on their origins. We should highlight, as examples, the figures of Luis Cernuda (Castejón et al. 1986a, b, p. 158) and Nobel Prizewinner Vicente Aleixandre (Zapater 1978, p. 264; Equipo Aula3 1992a, b, p. 244). Bécquer, by contrast, stands out in our analysis quantitatively: next to his name, there are images of the monument in Parque de Maria Luisa in Seville (Equipo Blanca de los Ríos 1984a, b, pp. 87–91); his poems are in many textbooks (as well as his portrait); he is also associated with Andalusia: "In the 19th century, Andalusia opened the way of contemporary poetry through the figure of Gustavo Adolfo Bécquer" (Equipo Aula3 1992a, b, p. 114); and he was born in Seville (Portellano and Guardialo 1984, p. 120).

In the field of music, Manuel de Falla and Joaquín Turina stand out, are both identified with the contribution made by Andalusia to the History of Spanish Music, and this data is transmitted through some of the proposed activities. "Relationship of Andalusian musicians and musicians who dedicated their work to Andalusia […] Turina (Seville, 1882–1949)…" (Equipo Aula 3 1992a, b, p. 245).

Painting has a broad representation in the region. One of the most outstanding painters, Velázquez, occupies a privileged place in the school textbooks. In some, a complete page is devoted to his character (Hernando and Grence 1993, p. 160) and numerous works of art by him appear associated with Spanish painting and described as a genius (Equipo Aula3 1986, p. 223), references can also be found to his native Seville (Equipo Aula3 1986, p. 230; Rozas et al. 1984, p. 249). Other figures featured in this area include Murillo: "In painting, Seville attained its zenith with Murillo" (Castejón et al. 1986a, b, p. 169), and also Picasso, whose name is frequently repeated in the texts and "whose genius led him to be in continuous artistic evolution throughout his life". Textbooks emphasize the universality of his work to the point of claiming his "contribution outside the boundaries of Andalusia" (Equipo Aula3 1992a, b, p. 244).

(d) In relation to the procedures of teaching, in particular to the use of activities to reinforce the acquisition of knowledge, the most widely used methods to highlight the characters proposed for the study include the use of shaded text, bold text, and that of boxes to highlight information.

6.7 Conclusions and Discussion

Following the study and analysis of the school textbooks consulted, we can conclude that the manualist tradition has been maintained. The characters appear as great figures in history, and reflect the major events in which they participated, thereby perpetuating the model of myths and great men and women, especially regarding those manuals in the area of Social Sciences. From the analysis, we can conclude that the number of times a character is mentioned in textbooks is not proportional with the transmission of the Andalusian identity, and therefore it is the meaningful vocabulary that identifies the traits of Andalusians more than the number of times their names appear in the manuals. Such is the case of Alejandro Guichot and that of Blas Infante.

In relation to the edition of textbooks, the transmission of identity remains gradual. Our study begins its temporal analysis on the approval of the Spanish Constitution of 1978, and the first editions with the "Andalusia" label did not occur until some years later, once the autonomous community had competences in education. Although Andalusian issues arise with force in the first Andalusian Editions of textbooks, the concept of Andalusia and the features of identity still appear in a shy way, and expand in subsequent editions. We also conclude that in most of the cases analysed, a local context is better reinforced and transmitted than regional contexts. One curious case is the figure of Giner de los Ríos, who transmitted his Andalusian identity in a book of National Edition, while the publications for Andalusian schools obviate this data.

Furthermore, in this analysis of the textbooks of the Andalusian Edition, the absence of outstanding Andalusian women should be pointed out, with the exceptions of Mariana Pineda and María Zambrano, whose impact on the history and culture of Spain has been significant, although their importance in textbooks of the years covered by this study is given in only a few allusions. Therefore, the nuances of gender are not equally treated in the materials analysed, since more male than female characters are reiterated.

The main attributes employed to identify the figures under study with the Andalusian region either tend to be the gentilices of the eight provinces of the region or concepts, such as texts mentioning "Andalusia", "Andalusian culture", "essence of Andalusia", the ideal "Andalusian" (see Blas Infante), or tend to be words of authors as prominent as Isidro de las Cagigas. This author was a regular contributor to the journals *Betica y Andalucía*, thereby reflecting his love of Andalusia in his writings, called *Apuntaciones para un estudio del regionalismo andaluz*, as "an expression of an ideal, and he insisted on the appropriateness of using the historical consciousness of the Andalusian people as the driving wheel of the development of Andalusia" (Castejón et al. 1991, p. 161). All of these concepts refer to those unique and exclusive attributes of the citizens of Andalusia, who reinforce this image of regionalism that has projected Andalusia above all the other regions of our country.

Extra-textual elements, such as pictures, and drawings, are another resource used in school textbooks. However, in the case that concerns us, the origin or location illustrated only sparsely identifies the Andalusian traits of the studied figures, with the exception of those identified in the caption.

The transmission of content in the teaching of history should not strive towards the transmission of content that has already been developed in relation to national identities and ideologies, but should instead provide students with the capacity to analyse the values and configuration of the territorial identity. In addition to cognitive functions, textbooks also transmit affective processes on the topics studied, especially of those whose aim is to transmit knowledge of the territory where the learner resides. In this sense, we consider this aspect the object of future study in order to complete this research.

Finally, we point out that this analysis constitutes a first step towards carrying out a comprehensive study of the subject from other points of view and with the use of other types of material. Therefore, although school textbooks have remained the main instrument employed in teaching-learning process since its inception, the reality of the transmission of knowledge cannot be concluded through its analysis. In this sense, we realise that the textbook is a mere instrument, but the role played by the teacher is crucial. The activities of the students, separate from the proposals included in the textbooks, must also be borne in mind when analysing this topic. For this reason, we must continue investigating into how teaching staff have employed textbooks and other teaching instruments for the transmission and configuration of the Andalusian identity.

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Chapter 7
School Memories in Women's Autobiographies (Italy, 1850–1915)

Antonella Cagnolati and José Luis Hernández Huerta

7.1 The Construction of Self- and Professional Identity: The *Bildung* of Women Teachers

As is widely known, the complex transformation of the Italian peninsula from a patchwork of minor states to a conglomeration worthy of nationhood was long in coming and fraught with problems. These hurdles and issues were a very real threat to the creation of a modern state, which it was hoped would be the equal of the other European countries whose consolidated tradition of efficient, centralized government had been constructed over much longer timespans. It was not only economic and political hurdles that threatened to derail the project: a unified Italy somehow had to fuse a wide variety of anthropological phenomena and interweave the diverse cultural dynamics of a melting pot of people who had nothing whatsoever in common—not even a shared language—and who were used to decidedly different models of living that would not be easy to assimilate. For an example of such conflicting backgrounds, we need merely look at the shining tradition of good government, bureaucratically and legally speaking, of the Habsburg dynasty, who oversaw the Lombardo-Venetian Kingdom, or the efficient administration set up by the Kingdom of Sardinia, in stark contrast to the tragic and desolate "backwoods" of the Southern Italy. The utopian challenge for the new leaders of the fledgling Italy, therefore, was to unite and uniformize a whole host of very different customs and lifestyles. In reality, the persistence of these traditions effectively shackled the

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plans for modernization held dear by the political class, slowing the progress of industrialization almost to a snail's pace.

In the attempt to create sufficient osmosis between the new demands and the old ways of life, the primary barrier to overcome was illiteracy. The 1861 census—the first to be held in a unified Italy—found that 72 % of women and 84 % of men were functionally illiterate, with a major divide between north and south, and between urban and rural populations. The ambitious attempt to turn this parlous situation around, through the nationwide creation of local schools and recruitment of teachers to staff them, was, however, controversial and not without practical difficulties. Indeed, the demand for teachers far outstripped the supply of likely candidates. In the 1861–1862 academic year, only 17,000 teachers were working in compulsory state schools, and fewer than 10,000 had the necessary qualifications, while 50,000 would be required if the national literacy project was to have any chance of success (Genovesi 2000, 2003; Corbi and Sarracino 2003; Chiaranda 2010).

The so-called Casati law—a law originally ratified for the Kingdom of Sardinia in 1859 and later extended across the unified peninsula—set up no less than forty-one state high schools, the *Scuole Normali*, tasked with beginning the preparation of future teachers for their new careers. These were open to sixteen-year-old boys who had completed the fourth year of primary school, and, due to their "early maturity", fifteen-year-old-girls who had completed the third year of primary school. The curriculum devised in 1867 involved the basic "elements" of several subjects, and pupils were to be given a "shorter, lighter" form of secondary education (Cives 1990). There were so many teaching posts to be filled that it was also necessary to further accelerate the process by setting up "complementary courses" lasting a few months designed to pave the way to teacher training. Special *Scuole Magistrali* were also set up—many in rural areas—to train teachers for taking on the first two years of primary school, which would become obligatory in 1877. It was a common belief that the new teachers would only need to learn what they would have to teach—particularly females, who, it was thought, had a "natural" disposition for educating small children.

Unsurprisingly, all this haste resulted in poor professional performance. Nevertheless, in numerical terms, the plan was a success. After only a few years, a veritable army of newly-qualified teachers invaded the school system, determined to acquire a position that would give them much-desired job security, dignity and social status. The young people being churned out of the *Scuole Normali* then set off to the four corners of Italy, with only their hard-won diplomas and the will to pursue a civil mission of great social relevance, to give the freshly-unified nation a common language, and to teach the new citizens the fundamentals of reading, writing and arithmetic.

Many of these young adventurers were women, and it is not possible to understand the history of education in a unified Italy without focusing on the continuities and divergences in the curricula reserved for them from the mid-19th century onwards (Soldani 1993, 1996; Covato 1996). Such an investigation enables us to reconstruct a detailed picture of the shape and means of women's education post-unification, when hesitant attempts were made to reflect more analytically on

which training programs would be suitable for these future teachers, who would be working in very traditional educational environments. A voluminous body of literature on the topic reveals that those who took it upon themselves to school girls female children intentionally set up and implemented educational models diametrically opposed to those destined for boys male children. Not only this, but they studied ways of curtailing the indisputable revolutionary power of schooling itself, cutting, censoring and omitting literary works and authors that were deemed unsuitable for the "gentler sex"—a clear indication that culture was not considered a universal right, but had to be tailored to the gender of the scholar.

Albeit from different perspectives, both historical and pedagogical studies have shed considerable light on the links and connections between the processes of modernization and schooling (Ulivieri and Biemmi 2011). Indeed, a rich and consolidated bibliographic thread of research has thoroughly investigated this transition, examining the political difficulties in a post-Unification state that saw the school as the primary place in which to "make Italians", and analyzing the teaching projects and organizations charged with so doing. Furthermore, since the 1980s, and the explosion in studies on women's issues and gender relations, a vast amount of interesting research has been published on the feminization and recruitment criteria of the *Scuole Magistrali*, and generation-spanning stories of individual women and female collectives who undertook the difficult career path of teaching have come to light. In little over thirty years, this outpouring has allowed us, in light of today's questions and categories, unparalleled access to women teachers and their careers in education, and the startling contradictions that arose therein. In the literature published at the turn of the 20th century, we are also able to identify the dominant stereotypes and the collective image of the profession, caught between the conflicting needs of modernization and the preservation of the traditional way of doing things. Moreover, this passion—fueled delving into local—and state archives, contemporary newspapers and memoirs has also largely overturned the way in which we view the stereotypical image of the *maestrina*, promulgated by Edmondo De Amicis and firmly rooted in the collective consciousness (Bini 1991).

Indeed, the image of the female teacher that emerges from the sources is far less sharply drawn and certainly more contradictory than we had come to expect. Although there is no paucity of either source material or literature on the subject, to paint a complete picture of the social and cultural profile of this new category of professionals is no easy task, and there is still much ground to be covered. We must focus on the reconstruction of individual lives, dedicating our attention to their social origins, family relations, educational background and, more generally, cultural baggage, as well as the context in which they worked, and their opportunities for socialization. In other words, we must dissect the ensemble of factors influencing the overall education of a single person. This type of approach can provide us with a valuable vantage point from which to observe the mechanisms through which networks of relations, classes and groups are formed: in this case the creation of a female elite.

7.2   The Primary Aims of the Research: Memoirs Throughout the Generations

The twin themes of emancipation and education are the cornerstones of the biographies of these female teachers, educators and authors of children's books. Their life stories reveal a tenaciously-pursued goal of schooling and education and, in keeping with their times, they love to represent themselves as passionate and diligent readers. At the end of the 19th century, literacy was all but a synonym for spiritual independence, symbolizing the innovation in customs and dynamism in behavior that took hold (albeit with no small difficulty) across broad sectors of a unified Italy. In accordance with the customs and convictions of the age, our pioneering heroines too discovered new worlds and new horizons by reading and writing, and their memoirs reveal their deepest thoughts and emotions as they ventured out into the unknown, stretching the boundaries of the norm and breaking down social taboos as they sought to construct their personal and professional identities (Arslan 1998). If we explore the classic *topos* of their autobiography, it is striking to note that all these women—irrespective of their upbringing, era and social class of origin—depict themselves as a solitary child reading, and imbue this image with fundamental symbolism (Arriaga Flórez 1997).

Despite this similarity, the scholastic sphere in which they learned their trade was a heterogeneous and multifaceted reality that featured many innate contradictions. During its constant evolution, individuals had only a very limited range of action in a very restricted social space—itself not without contradictions and uncertainties (Durst 2005). However, first-hand accounts of this peculiar experience —the stage upon which the female teachers were to perform—provide us with effective tools with which to probe their memoirs and correspondence, enabling us to identify these contradictions and illuminate the voids and omissions, and thereby to begin to understand the lives of these female adventurers intent on self-metamorphosis (Ascenzi 2012).

These women authors paint a vivid picture of the difficulties they encountered in a system that discriminated heavily against women. Around the central theme, hinged on the maturation of their own individual awareness, there are numerous references to the overfilled classrooms; to the inadequate structures; to the precarious nature of the work; to being shunted from pillar to post and controlled by authorities that were often incompetent and entrenched in tradition, robustly opposing any attempt at modernization by their younger, more forward-looking female teaching staff (Ghizzoni and Polenghi 2008). Although reliant on traditional autobiographical models and consolidated writing strategies, their memoirs nevertheless tell us of brand new experiences of sacrifice, and obstacles of every type. They accentuate the harshness of their conditions, and thereby enable us to distinguish their moral fiber. Their desire to rebel is transformed into a desire to excel and, in their own depictions; the teachers themselves take on the guise of legendary heroes—crusaders ready to sacrifice all for the sake of their mission (Gabrielli 2010).

However, before becoming engrossed in the fascinating memoirs of these women in their prime, we must take a moment to consider their past as children, to uncover the significant events in their growth and self-development, by conducting targeted research spanning the entire century between 1850 and 1950, giving precedence to the *long durée*. This was a period of great change, not only to the school system and the perceived role of women in society, but also to the nation as a whole. This upheaval in turn generated other significant changes, which shattered the educational model that had been implemented and upheld until then.

In order to investigate these changes, we created a corpus of 46 printed or handwritten works, focusing mainly on autobiographies, journals, memoirs and other autobiographical accounts of the time, cognizant of Lejeune's description of the genre as "retrospective narrative in prose which a real person gives, about his/her own existence, in which he/she emphasizes his/her individual life, and in particular the story of his/her personality" (Lejeune 1975, p. 12). The complex relationship between the author of an autobiographical work, who functions as both its narrator and star, is nowadays a favored avenue of research (Brodzki and Schenck 1988; Bunkers 1990; Hoffmann and Culley 1985). The aim is to verify how profoundly and pervasively the author has censored the facts that it covers, or deliberately altered the chronological sequence of events for their own ends—a bias designed to reflect a development in harmony with the image that the mature version of the main character intends to portray. Indeed, this interval between the events and their narration becomes a fundamental and fascinating subject of investigation. The phenomenon is, in large part, responsible for the desire to portray an image of self- and personal existential and psychological development that fits into a framework shaped during adulthood, ruthlessly eliminating anything that does not suit the overall design (Goodson 2015).

The main scope of the analysis of autobiographical writings is not the entire narrative, but rather is limited to the parts describing the authors' own childhood (6–10 years), and their memories of early adolescence (11–15 years), key stages in the development of personal identity and the tireless search for suitable role models. At first glance, it is apparent that the period under investigation, 1850–1950, encompassed three distinct generations, each discontinuous from the others and featuring its own characteristics: first the women born in the 1850s who lived up until around the time of the first World War, next those whose lives spanned the 1880s–1930s and experienced the rise of Fascism, and finally the group active between the 1920s and World War II.

7.3   Unravelling the Threads of Fact and Remembrance

Despite the extraordinary quantity of documents that have emerged thanks to the valuable work of historiographers from the 1970s to the present day, much is still hidden, implicit, unspoken—particularly in the extraordinary archive of women's experience (Cagnolati 2012; 2014). We still need to give voice to many dispersed

lives, recovering previously-unrecognized or undervalued biographical profiles, and following faint traces, sparse and fragmented clues, and gathering precious testimony to uncover the footprints left by these women on their journey through the world, and indeed identifying the journey that they undertook, step by arduous step, shedding blood and tears, but with an indefatigable tenacity and self-awareness. Which moments of their lives did these women—the first generation of writers in the unified Italy—choose to share? (Huff 2008; Durst 2005).

Women's struggle for identity has been apparent from their writings since first they put pen to paper. Whether recording the minutiae of their daily lives or their impressions of momentous events, women writers have always looked to their inner selves, faithfully reporting the psychological resonance of their experiences on their own consciousness. Every occurrence, whether public or private, is interiorized, pondered carefully, and subject to criticism or judgement, the aim being to shore up models of behavior in line with the hegemonic cultural codes of the age, or, quite the opposite, to destroy the atavistic certainties and project them into a new world of adventure (Mason 1980; Lensink 1987). Despite the thin mask of reserve and decorum required by the age, and used to veil the writer's personal desires, the language and the tension communicated by the narrative reveal whether the author seeks to conform to the prevailing *Zeitgeist* or to set herself in defiant opposition to the entire *status quo*, in which case the written word becomes a powerful weapon in the fight for emancipation.

This self-narration is also fueled by the universal compulsion to share their own memory, to understand the direction—or contradictions—of their own existential adventure and, perhaps, by the desire to leave a concrete trace of themselves that persists beyond the confines of the human lifespan (Rubin 1996; Eakin 2008). Well we know how this necessity has, since time immemorial, fueled the psychology of individuals, planting itself firmly in the road of cultural edification (in the anthropological sense), both written and oral, implanting itself in the meta-historical narrative tradition. Thus, it is key to the genre, which gained force in the 18th century with the spread of the Ego; the real matrix of the autobiographical dimension that flows ever more frequently in narcissistic recognition, bolstered by the new secular vision of the world—a universe open to the bourgeois self-congratulation that hypostasizes an adult, white, male type of human being. Indeed, it was the 19th century that saw the rise of autobiography, bearing literary testament to an epochal change in the relationship between the individual and the world, and the place in society of the former. The drive for freedom—whether colored by individualism or exalted by politics—moves the focus towards a precise and crucial end: the development of a single individual who sees opening before them limitless horizons for self-realization.

In the wake of the romantic phase that sees the individual embroiled in the fight against an uncomprehending society and a rigid bourgeois moral code that prevents the freedom to act on impulse, the 20th century re-forged the bond between the Ego and its autobiographical expression, until it became a cardinal point in the collective imagination, spilling over into personal correspondence and editorial output. Life stories become more intimate; the hero no longer takes center-stage, and the narrative is instead woven around minor, more marginal players, who recount their

own lives, private moments, and the minutiae of existence, returning voices and color to characters that we would never have known existed (Heilbrun 1997; Smith and Watson 1998).

In order to fully appreciate the ethical value of such a change, we must doubly emphasize the will of women to become active individuals, also through the use of words, with all of their considerable might. Indeed, we are well aware of how difficult it must have been, at the turn of the 20th century, to give voice to that thousand-year-old silence to which patriarchal society had relegated the thoughts, emotions and sentiments of women. Behind this lacerating choice was the dia-chronic dichotomy between the public sphere—since time immemorial, constructed according to male rules, the *logos*, rhetoric and the art of oratory—and the private sphere—a kind of prison, fenced in, closed off and impenetrable to external eyes. These barriers could not be overturned without considerable suffering and great challenges that posed grave risk to female virtue—a good reputation resting on the morality of women. Over the course of the centuries, these barriers had slowly become intangible, barely visible, but nonetheless difficult to overcome.

At the beginning of the 20th century, there was first a trickle and then a flood of women trying to break down these walls (both real and metaphorical), scaling the fences that surrounded them and demonstrating themselves to be fully-rounded citizens. The battle for women's rights is minutely detailed in the autobiographies of its combatants, which narrate a descent into the abyss of the subconscious in the search for motivation and definition of such choices and for understanding of the most heavily-veiled causes. Thus the written word enabled the narrative threads to become more complex, making use of variations, references and deviations from existential planes, and to be remodulated according to both the collective experi-ence and personal affairs, connected to concrete spaces and times in which to legitimize the Ego (Holroyd 2002).

However, we must not neglect to mention the dangerous tightrope that women authors walked between the private lives as daughters and wives traditionally reserved for women—the so-called "weaker sex"—supervised by an exclusively male figure, whether husband or father, and their new and somewhat unusual public image as "lady authors". The compromise between these two spheres could only be reached with much soul-searching and the gradual acquisition of a new awareness of the role they were taking on. As we well know, by historical consensus, literary activity belongs to the "public" sphere. Although cultured women had, in the past, written down their devotions, diaries or memoires, these were intended for a purely private audience—a small circle of family members, with no thought paid to the possibility of a wider audience. Autobiography, on the other hand, by focusing on the individual conscious, and with its tendency to endeavor to fill "gaps in mem-ory", was a tool for self-awareness and opening the private world up to the outside. In this choice we find the challenge, the courage, and occasionally the sheer obstinacy of these women, determined to present themselves for scrutiny, laying their innermost thoughts bare—albeit with the necessary censorship—to construct an image, a portrait that defies time and chips away at the mask that often conceals the real Ego (Cagnolati & Covato 2016).

7.4 "Learning has Always Been a Party to me": Attending School in Post-unification Turin

The first source worthy of our analysis is a journal—a rich and pondered testimony to the events that befell Grazia Pierantoni Mancini, her family, and an Italy still to be constructed but strongly desired and real in the collective imagination of the time. The journal, appropriately entitled *Impressioni e Ricordi*[1] [Impressions and Recollections] (Pierantoni Mancini 1908), immediately cements itself in the imagination of the reader for a variety of reasons. *In primis*, being a journal, it automatically adheres to a type of literature that was fairly common in female writing. Secondly, it chronicles an extraordinary series of events that occurred during the busy period in which the nation was constructed. Finally, it is interesting for its exploration of the Ego, and the construction of an identity in an adolescent grappling with the complex homologation in the face of the behavioral models imposed and firmly adhered to in the familial and social context in which she found herself growing up (Santoro 1987).

However, we must ask ourselves what kind of text *Impressioni e Ricordi* is. Can we categorize it as a mere "diary", innocuous and therefore altogether unremarkable suitable output from the pen of a young girl? Or does it, rather, go beyond an intimate portrayal of events, verging on the territory of *bios*, not limiting itself to the physiological sphere, but instead encroaching on the psychological and the theoretical? This is not an easy question to answer, especially given the multiple approaches and strategies that the authoress brings to the table. The text that unfurls before our eyes is like a complex account conducted on several narrative levels, in which the point of view becomes a personal view of the world—a gaze that observes, investigates and judges the content as only a woman can.

It is obvious that this is no autobiography, but neither can we easily label it as just a series of "recollections". Perhaps the expression *journal intime* is the most fitting, emphasizing as it does the narrative strategy woven through several threads that intertwine and legitimize each other according to the will of the author, who aims to shine a penetrating light on certain public happenstances that made an impression on her, threading them through the tapestry of her own, strictly private, life. Indeed, that which makes the text interesting is the fluidity of the transition between these two worlds—the masterful handling of the alternation between public and private, and the admirable ability to find points of convergence between the two (Cagnolati 2013).

The years in which *Impressioni e Ricordi* was written were full of feverish excitement, packed with memorable events. Indeed, it is no accident that the author chose to begin her journal in September 1856, concluding on 26 December 1864; this period spanned a historical revolution in Italy, and Grazia seems to have set herself the task of recording these momentous times, and her personal experiences

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[1]The book was reprinted by Anna Santoro in the series *Scrittrici* Italiane (Pierantoni Mancini 2005); for the preparation of this essay, we refer to the 2005 edition.

of them. Thus family occasions and private thoughts (which invariably demonstrate the author's capacity for lucid reflection) are intertwined with the historic happenings of the age, which provide a background to her narrative and are often the subject of her sharp and incisive judgement.

The days and years are faithfully recorded, enabling the reader to capture the flow of the account according to the priorities of the author, and to discern the echo that these events produced in her youthful mind. Although it begins *in medias res*, thereby depriving us of any kind of narrative pact, the regularity of the entries, spaced two weeks to a month apart, at least during the early years after unification (1856–1860), and the detailed testimony, almost a *jour en jour*, such as a blow-by-blow account, of the news of the Savoy monarchy's political endeavors and the campaigns adventures of Garibaldi, are evidence enough of her intentions.

Born[2] into a family that perfectly blended devotion to the nation, political zeal for the cause of Unification and love of culture, Grazie was able to nurture these elements, her personal growth signposted by stimulating meetings, friendships and relationships cultivated within the four walls of her home. Though little more than a child, she was forced to deal with the painful consequences of her father Mancini's exile, and spend her formative years between Turin and Naples—both cities that she did, however, hold dear.[3] Gifted with a lively spirit of observation, an active participant in matters that involved her family, Grazia makes a perfect *case study* for those wishing to analyze the complex edification of a patriotic late-Romantic culture in the soul of a young girl. Although she was an adult when she wrote her journal, she endeavored to capture—albeit with a selective gaze and no small measure of self-censorship—her youth and adolescence, spent in the tumultuous years preceding Unification. Her remembrances are therefore an incalculably precious resource on how a *Bildung* is constructed (Valentino 2005).

Given her age when the events unfolded, it is unsurprising that school is a recurring theme in the pages of Grazia's journal. Among her various memories, loaded with affection and juicy titbits regarding her young friendships, it is a teacher who stands out—a recurring figure throughout her life (D'Antuono 2008). This is Francesco De Sanctis[4]—in 1857 still an unknown teacher at Miss Elliott's school in Turin, but who later left Italy for the University of Zurich, where he was given the chair in Italian literature. Even from a distance, he continued to monitor the

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[2]Grazia Mancini's precise date of birth is the subject of some controversy: her entry in the *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* states that she was born on 16 May 1841; Anna Santoro, Bandini Buti and Villani instead say 1843; and Valentino puts it on 16 January 1842; whereas Teodoro Rovito opts for 1844. Grazia herself, on the final page of her journal (referring to 1864) says that she has reached the age of twenty-two, so the issue is debatable.

[3]Grazia later found emotional stability and serenity alongside her consort Augusto Pierantoni, whom she married in 1868. The union produced three children—Beatrice, Riccardo and Dora—despite the couple's spending much time apart. After their marriage, they moved to Florence (where they lived until 1880) and then Rome, where Grazia founded an intellectual circle.

[4]The correspondence between De Sanctis and Grazia can be found in Francesco De Sanctis, *Epistolario*, edited by Ferretti and Mazzocchi Alemanni (Turin: Einaudi 1965), Vol. 19.

progress of his young pupil, who nurtured an unfettered passion for both poetry and prose. As Grazia punctually recorded their correspondence in her journal, we are granted a unique vision of the relationship between teacher and student. De Sanctis takes on a caring role, reminiscing expansively and fondly about the pleasant days spent amongst his young pupils at Miss Elliott's Institute, of which Grazia emerges as a clear favorite. In his letters he asks for news of Grazia's family, and remarks upon the sad condition of exile in which they find themselves. He encourages her to form friendly relationships with several girls of his acquaintance, whom he deems to be sensible, virtuous individuals. He also praises Grazia for her positive traits and pleasant disposition, but does not hesitate to criticize her—still ingenuous and wooden—compositions, which she continuously sent to him for his opinion. All his letters end by De Sanctis expressing the hope that Grazia would conserve a fond memory of her teacher, which is a tangible testament to the strong emotional bond he had forged with his young pupil and her family.

Indeed, rather than the classrooms and other scholastic spaces, it is the moral instruction Grazia received from various people in her educational environment that she remembered. We see her as an attentive student of German, in whose lessons, held three times a week, the *Fraulein* taught Grazia to read and love the classics of Romantic literature, such as Schiller's *Don Carlos*. The young student analyzed the role that this teacher—a free, independent woman who earned her own living by means of her cultural heritage—had played in her life. She also provides us with many sharply observed sketches of other figures with an educational role in a life, including a particularly juicy description of *Monsieur* Desnisard, owner of the French Institute for young ladies in Turin, who preferred to recount stories than mark his students' grammar exercises or essays. Grazia attended that school for roughly a year, mixing with girls from more humble backgrounds, and she remembers with particular affection the cook, Marietta, who made superlative dishes for the school refectory.

There is no doubt that Grazia looked back on her schooldays with sincere affection. She remembers nothing of the exercises, lessons or homework to be done, but rather the games, the joyful laughter and, above all, the profound friendships with her classmates—bonds destined to last a lifetime, like that forged with Teresa De Amicis, who was Edmondo's cousin (Guidi 2007).

7.5   In the Cradle of Culture: A Young Baccini in Florence

Universally recognized by the general readership thanks to her considerable output —school textbooks and children's books—and for her directorship of journals, Ida Baccini published her fascinating autobiography in 1904 (Baccini 1904). A perfect example of Lejeune's tenets in action, this work was written in later life, when Ida set out to paint a portrait of herself that would in some way justify the choices she had made, which often ran counter to the ethical and social trends of her age. An intellectual at the turn of the 20th century, Baccini recounts the milestones in her

life with an evident flair for narration and a heightened instinct for censorship. *Una vita*[5] [A Life] is offered up to the reader with glaring omissions, in terms of both timespan and events. The themes and episodes in the book have been carefully chosen by the author to provide only the pieces that fit into the mosaic of an adult Ida. She paints a picture of an avid and precocious young reader, a knowledgeable scholar, and a rebellious child who fought tooth and nail against the confines of the *status quo*, legitimizing the formation of a character who strongly opposed the rules (of school, the family, and public morality).

In the complex *Bildung* of Ida, there are two guiding forces, although disproportionately represented: schooling and imagination. What though does Ida mean by the term "schooling"? In her memory, it seems to resonate on several different levels. On the one hand, it signifies a day-to-day collection of books, exercises, songs and recitations, a series of tests, homework and study—which, by her own account, she often found boring and repetitive, the topics obsolete and self-referential. However, when she recounts exciting events and occasions, her memory positively fizzes with joy, and the knowledgeable, mature author seems to regard her younger self with very poorly-disguised self-satisfaction and auto-justification. She tends to paint a portrait of herself that is constructed stroke by stroke according to easily-recognizable canons, legitimized after the fact. This portrait is reinforced throughout the pages of her autobiography, with its construction reflecting the various stages of her growth.

"A mere child of five" (Baccini 2004, p. 42), Ida attends a school presided over by "three old spinsters", assisted in their educational tasks by a brother and a priest. This depiction opens a window onto the scene that was very real for the many provincial schools of the age set up to teach young girls their reading, writing and arithmetic, in addition to the inevitable skills required by the "weaker" sex, such as sewing and embroidery. It shows us an approach to education that was very widespread across the Italian peninsula at the time, and whose aim was merely to ensure that girls were functionally literate and given superficial instruction in the prevailing moral and religious doctrines.

The methods used to achieve these ends were, by our standards, rudimentary at best. Ida recounts several episodes that shed light on the techniques applied by her teachers (about whose qualifications for the post we cannot speculate—not even whether or not they had graduated from the *Scuole Normali*) and how their instruction was received. For example, she bears lively and emotional testament to the emphatic dramatization of the story of Cain and Abel by her teacher Gegia; this tale, true to form, inspired sympathy with Cain—ostracized and alone—in the young Ida. She also gleefully tells us of the numerous little "white" lies she employs to hide the fact that she has, once again, neglected to do her homework (Baccini 2004, pp. 44–48). This picture of her schooldays is masterfully painted, but tends to focus on the human and emotional relations between the young

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[5]For the preparation of this essay we always refer to the 2004 edition, published with Introduction and Notes by Lorenzo Cantatore.

schoolgirl and the people around her who helped her to grow and orient herself in the world of adults.

She gives an even more laden and thorough account of her time at a school in Livorno that she attended in her teenage years. Managed by the Wulliet family, the school that Ida remembers—with evident and wistful nostalgia—is populated with the friendly and lovable figures of these people—the *pater familias* Giuseppe, a talented and sensitive teacher, his wife Teresa, and her five children, whose characters and the palpable effect they had on the fluttering hearts of the young female scholars Ida describes in minute detail. However, narration of the journey through the curriculum is essential for any account of schooldays, and Ida's autobiography does not fall short in this regard. First and foremost, she emphasizes the validity of the education she receives, the practice and methods applied in this institute being based on the most current theories of education. Indeed, she is quick to tell us that this thoroughly-modern school taught both boys and girls together (Baccini 2004, p. 78) and, alongside the general staples of schooling—geography, the history of the nation, etc.—gave its pupils the rare opportunity to delve into the natural sciences and study foreign languages.

It is not without a well-deserved measure of pride that Ida reveals her satisfaction at being complimented by Mr. Wulliet on her compositions, which also received considerable praise from the occasional illustrious visitor to the school. These writing accomplishments she wisely ascribed to the constant effort she made to read and understand the primary sources, which put her in a position to deal with themes and concepts that were far above her age group. An avid reader, she shares with us her absolute favorite book (very popular among other girls of her age): Fenelon's *Télémaque*, whose adventures provided Ida with a full immersion in the classical Mediterranean world, with all its sunshine, symbolism, color and beauty.

It is evident that Baccini intentionally set out to describe a child whose image was totally congruent with the adult version of herself, aware of the mechanisms of her own development, and composing for us the puzzle of her nature, piece by tiny piece (Cantatore 2004, 2014). By her account, schooling, with all its measured rituals, represented a portal to other worlds for those who were lucky enough to attend it—a doorway to the lives of others told in books and accounts that contribute to the collective imagination of entire generations who, thanks to this common cultural heritage, also share a code of communication (Baccini 1912).

7.6 Conclusions

Analysis of these two case studies alone reveals the extraordinary fertility of sources ripe for harvest by an ongoing interdisciplinary research endeavor that is weaving together the primary strands of the History of Education—namely individual memories, the history of schooling, and the educational pathways of post-Unification Italy—to construct a tradition in which women with various levels of training (teachers, educators, and authors of children's books) insert themselves

on the social scene with robust determination, fully aware of the fundamental role they are charged with playing. If we consider Education as a means of identity construction in autobiographical accounts, we still have many avenues to explore: the school as a place; the books read and pondered upon; encounters with individuals that shape self-image and guide children, teenagers and young women on the journey to becoming fully-rounded adults; the roads they travelled, albeit in a limited space; and the educational context as a whole—specifically the friendships, family, and other key figures in the neighborhood, parish and quarter. Each of these factors plays a decisive role in the creation of an individual's psychological make-up, and, in recounting their very personal experiences, authors of autobiographies give us vital clues regarding the wider picture. In spite of the mystifications and censorship employed by these now adult and self-conscious writers, the facts, events and episodes they narrate must be scrupulously dissected if we are to create a clear whole from the fragments we can discern from the individual and heterogeneous accounts available to us, shining a light into the shadows and contextualizing the various divergences, homologations and discontinuities (Holroyd 2002).

In the specific case, autobiographies provide us a rich vein seam of information regarding the interaction between the school and the student, from which fascinating and illuminating facts can be mined regarding the five key elements at the basis of our research: educational practices, learning pathways, shared physical spaces (institutes, classrooms, corridors and schoolyards), relations between schoolmates (whether friendly and loving or hateful and envious), and emotional ties to authority figures. The initial fruits of this line of research reveal that it is the emotional relationships that figure most prominently in the memories of the female autobiographers, rather than the lessons learned and the buildings in which they spent a large portion of their youth. The picture that emerges is of the people and sentiments that left indelible traces on the consciousness and tender souls of these young scholars.

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Chapter 8
Telling a Story, Telling One's Own Story: Teachers' Diaries and Autobiographical Memories as Sources for a Collective History

Maria Cristina Morandini

8.1 A Perspective from Different Angles

In recent years, systematic research based on the analysis of national and local library catalogues and the examination of material held in specialized archives (Fondazione Archivio Diaristico Nazionale)[1] has enabled scholars to collect the memoirs of some thirty Italian primary school teachers. This heterogeneous group of texts differ in terms of the historical periods in which they were written, the format and type of language adopted, and whether the authors brought an analytical or synthetic approach to bear on describing their autobiographical experience. The time span within which the accounts are situated is quite long: from the period immediately following the Unification of Italy (1861) up to the 1970s.[2] In some cases, the authors provide us with an outline summary of their early years in teaching, in others with a reconstruction of their entire teaching careers fleshed out by references to their initial training and private lives. The texts are therefore helpful in tracing the key changes that affected the Italian school system across the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Amongst other developments, the diaries contain evidence of the move to co-education, and the introduction of outdoor activities, as well the shift from teaching children to simply spell out individual consonants and vowels to the inverse perspective underpinning the "global" method of teaching reading (first recognition of whole words, then of syllables and finally

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[1]The Archivio Diaristico Nazionale founded in 1984 by Tutino at Pieve Santo Stefano in the province of Arezzo, holds a large corpus of autobiographical writings (diaries, letters, memoirs). Cf. Brighigni (2008).

[2]The memoirs written in the 1990s and early 2000s provide us with retrospective reconstructions of school life during the Second World War and the decades immediately following it.

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of individual letters). The greater part of the narratives are set in rural villages, where teachers often took up their first temporary posts; thus, as a corpus they offer a cross-section of Italian school life from North to South. The authors' educational action was not only directed at school age children, but also at more mature students, as borne out by the various accounts of evening classes and literacy courses for young men carrying out their military service (Carrara 1934).[3]

These primary school teachers, whether following a diary format or a more discursive style, all committed their memories—rendered sweeter and more nostalgic by the passage of time—to the written page. In some cases, the texts are supplemented by photographs and other materials such as extracts from pupils' copybooks, poems, local newspaper articles, or short stories based on real-life situations.[4] Most were published by printing presses or publishing houses, but ten or so are typewritten manuscripts submitted to the various editions of the annual Pieve literary awards, an event organized by the earlier mentioned Fondazione Archivio Diaristico Nazionale. The authors appear to have multiple reasons for choosing to publish their memoirs: from the drive to hand down the legacy of the past to the new generations, to the desire to share the joys and sorrows of a lifetime devoted to teaching; from the need to fill the void created by retirement, to the aim of offering their own lengthy and varied experience of working in schools as a resource for young people and future teachers, an aim often encouraged by family members and acquaintances.

The authors are ordinary men and women who, in relative obscurity, and with humility and self-sacrifice, fulfil their daily duties in the employ of private institutions, charitable bodies (the best-known of which is the Comitato per le scuole dell'Agro romano)[5] or the municipal authorities, responsible for the provision of public primary education up to 1911.[6] Some were teachers for a lifetime and others for only a few years before becoming school principals or inspectors. In choosing teaching as a profession, some had followed a family tradition and others a natural leaning of their own. In any case, a number of them were well-known figures within the Italian educational sector: these include Sante Giuffrida (1842–1929), an

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[3]Paolo Carrara devotes some ten pages of his account to his experience teaching members of the "Bologna" 40th Infantry Battalion: his pupils were twenty soldiers from the south of Italy, to whom he taught the rudiments of reading and writing.

[4]Most of the memoirs are provided with an index that mirrors their organization into sections or paragraphs. The authors seem to draw on multiple sources: loose notes, material from personal journal entries, class records. Some draw exclusively on their own recollections, primarily those they consider reliable.

[5]This body provided welfare and primary education to the less well off in the rural areas around Rome. Founded in the early 1900s by a group of women from the Roman branch of the Unione femminile nazionale, it became progressively independent of the mother organization, setting up adult education classes and nursery schools whose programmes and calendars were suited to the demands of rural life (Alatri 2000).

[6]The "Casati Law" of 13 November 1859 made the municipal authorities wholly responsible for primary education, from identifying suitable school premises to covering the running costs of schools, in addition to recruiting the teachers and paying their salaries (Morandini 2003).

educational scientist and teacher at secondary schools for trainee primary teachers (Todaro 2014); Enrico Barilli (1868–1961), a civil servant at the Ministry of Education and author of successful textbooks (Lombardi 2013); Mosca (1908–1983), a journalist and children's writer (Ascenzi 2013). Reading between the lines of their memoirs, a range of different attitudes towards religion may be detected: some authors express indifference towards places of worship and liturgical celebrations; others are explicitly secular in outlook, with a note of hostility towards colleagues who are members of religious orders (for example, one author is harshly critical of nuns, accusing them of having selfishly chosen to withdraw from the world); still others openly define themselves as Catholic, a factor that makes it easier for them to relate to and be accepted by the small rural communities in which they teach. Emblematic is the story of a father who was delighted to send his son to school despite needing his help in the fields because the teacher often spoke of God (Carrara 1934). Some of the texts clearly reflect political ideals underpinning forms of ethical and civic engagement: Barilli, a democrat who had received positivist training, plays an active role in primary teachers' associations; Durante, drawn to the ideals of socialism, is a leading figure in the primary teachers' trade union. The memoirs also reflect the authors' different educational backgrounds, given that they had not all taken the shortest or most conventional route to primary teaching. Indeed, some obtained their teaching diploma after previously engaging in other types of studies: for example, a significant proportion had earlier completed a classical secondary school curriculum and this humanistic background explains their elegant, and at times poetic, style of writing, apt choice of language and use of metaphor to express feelings and emotions.

The memoirs contain references, of varying tenor, to the political scene of the day. This was especially characteristic of the fascist era but also applies to the Enlightenment period and the Great War [Parrino (1929)]. While in some cases, the authors merely provide a retrospective account of the fascination and pride with being Italian conveyed by Fascist schools through the subjects of history, geography and Italian, and by the youth associations ordered by the Duce through patriotic anthems, parades and gymnastics (Coppelli Bongiorni 1999), in other cases they are strongly complimentary towards the regime, citing Mussolini in person and using a rhetorical and propagandist style. An example of the latter approach is Vella's *Un anno di scuola rurale*, which, unsurprisingly, came third in a competition held in 1929 by *La Scuola Fascista* on the theme of "The Gentile Reform in practice" (1923).[7] This work is of interest because, in line with the competition guidelines, it touches on key contemporary changes in school policy: the introduction of religion as an obligatory primary school subject after it had been

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[7]The 87-page text, which was not divided into sections, was published in an appendix to the newspaper of the Opera Nazionale Balilla, *La Palestra Fascista*, on 21 September 1930 (n. 38). The expression Gentile reform refers to the reorganization of the entire educational system effected by the famous philosopher through a series of royal decrees issued in 1923, covering, respectively, secondary education (6 May), school management (16 July), university education (30 September), and primary education (1 October) (see Charnitzky 1996).

optional for decades; recognition of the professional dignity of primary school teachers with the institution of a seven-year secondary school curriculum for trainee primary teachers which for the first time included Latin and philosophy[8]; the principles underlying the primary school reform such as the recommended rather than prescribed nature of the curriculum; and the notion of the teacher-pupil relationship as a communion of spirit which was informed by Gentile's idealistic perspective. Legislative measures impacting on education are also mentioned in some of the other memoirs: Barilli (1951), for example, discusses the "Daneo-Credaro Law", issued in 1911, which transferred responsibility for primary education in the smaller centres of population—which, as earlier stated, had up to then been left to the municipal authorities—to provincial education boards.[9]

The texts provide a key source for the diachronic study of primary schools—from both ideal and concrete everyday perspectives—as a place of individual and collective instruction and education, teaching practices and social relations; a new source for Italian scholarship, given that historians of education in Italy have only recently initiated systematic research on autobiographical writings. In the memoirs, schools are described as a physical space: from the school building itself, usually dilapidated and often in improvised locations (farmhouses, former parish rooms) to the small, poorly furnished classroom, to the teacher's house, typically a single room, overrun with mice and without electricity or running water. Schettino (n.d.) paints a bleak picture of his arrival in a small Southern Italian village: the school door and wall, worn down by time and exposure to the elements, could hardly be seen behind the rose bushes and a thick hedge of broom; inside, the floor was covered in flakes of plaster and the sky could be admired through several large holes in the roof: the landlord promises to supply two trestles, three boards and hay to make a bed. Exceptionally, the memoirs recount schoolhouses that boasted little or no equipment but were dignified in their simplicity. Anselmi (1877) affectionately recalls two clean and airy rooms in a mountain village in Abruzzo with two rows of benches from the nearby church for the pupils and a highchair in walnut, full of woodworm and unsteady on its legs, for the teacher.

The teachers' accounts offer much information about their work in the classroom, characterized, at least in the early stages, not so much by application of the teaching methods studied during their training, as by the trying out of strategies prompted by common sense reasoning, the specific context or random events. Rote learning was substituted by practical teaching that often drew on the imagination and sense of initiative of the young students: for example in the teaching of history, the authors of the memoirs recount using songs, simulations of battles, or inviting the pupils to invent and act out scenes of patriotic heroism; scenes that were often

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[8]Prior to this, primary school teachers had been required to attend the *scuole normali* which, founded by Minister Lanza in 1858, offered a three year secondary school programme for trainee primary teachers. On the figure of the primary teacher in Italy, see: Covato (1994), Di Pol (1998), Santoni Rugiu (2006), Chiosso (2007).

[9]This legislative change, introduced by Daneo-Credaro, was to be extended, during the Fascist period, to all the municipalities in Italy (Betti 1998).

variations on famous stories read to them by the teacher (the main source was Edmondo De Amicis' novel *Cuore*). There is clear evidence too of the attempt to link classroom learning with everyday life, for example teaching mathematics by setting problems involving buying and selling—albeit presented as a game; some teachers even used newspapers as a resource for their evening classes. Another recurrent educational strategy is an emphasis on the value of local heritage and belonging, in terms of both the local area's physical characteristics and its anthropomorphic features: the pupils were frequently taken on walks, a useful pretext for conducting an open-air science lesson, and the teachers often encouraged the pupils to read the works of local authors so that their acquisition of basic knowledge structures would be founded on familiar traditions and values. The more recent memoirs sometimes refer to teaching aids (geographical maps, illustrated readers, coloured chalks) and the materials used by the pupils (the ink pen later replaced by the biro, schoolbags made of cardboard or leather with text books and copies with lines and squares or drawing albums).

Not without difficulty, the teachers gradually learn how to communicate with pupils that only speak the local dialect: after much trial and error, they realize that discipline is not the outcome of rigorously enforcing rules, but something that may only be achieved in an atmosphere of love, mutual trust and interest in the pupils' lived experience. Paolo Carrara, in his memoir, provides a useful summary of the techniques most commonly drawn on by teachers to capture their students' attention and obtain silence during lesson time: raising their voice; rapping on their desk with their pointer; deploying a variety of seating strategies for the various categories of pupil (good, bad, mediocre). This teacher describes his own difficult experience with a class in Naples made up of 50 street children: the turning point came when he decided to base his relationship with them on the principle of filiation, expressed by behaving affectionately towards them and by closer physical contact ("I took them by the hand and put them sitting at either side of my little desk"; Carrara 1934, p. 77). Closely connected to this is the theme of punishment, with the authors emphasizing on the one hand on the need to find types of punishment that are respectful of human dignity and on the other the teacher's ability to grasp, including at the intuitive level, how best to exploit the pupils' own interests and emotions. Griffini (1961) realised for example, that something as simple as confiscating a pupil's worn-out and filthy hat, could constitute an effective punishment.

8.2   The School as a Community

The memoirs also provide great insight into primary schools as communities made up of its pupils and teachers, and in a broader sense, by its overseers (principal and/or inspector), with whom the teachers were in constant contact as attested by visits, inspections and forms of indirect communication such as letters and reports.

The pupils are described in terms of their outward appearance and personality traits, from a benevolent perspective that contemplates their behaviour, emotions

and dreams. Giovanni Mosca is particularly capable and sensitive in portraying—albeit succinctly—his pupils' inner being: from the student who makes faces from behind the blackboard thinking that he cannot be seen, to the one whose face is always liquorice-stained: from the pupil who always writes the word *mamma* [mum] with a capital M because it is so beautiful and affectionate, to his pale and thin classmate who always keeps his mouth closed for fear that the "irregular verbs, one after the other" might come out of it. Martinelli, the most imaginative and original member of the class, captures a firefly on a summer's evening, and puts it in a box with a leaf for it to feed on: he enthusiastically brings his "trophy" into school the next day to share his joy with his classmates, unaware of the fact that in the meantime the little insect has died inside the airless container. The teacher provides a moving description of the episode:

> Martinelli gives me the box. "Would you like to look at it, sir?"
>
> "Let's see this beautiful light" I say as I start opening the lid, little by little, so as not to let the firefly get away […].
>
> But where is this light? It's not there. On the leaf, which has curled up, lies the dead firefly […].
>
> "Sir", asks Martinelli, "is it giving a lot of light"?
>
> Why say no? His happiness lay in believing it.
>
> I closed the lid. "A really beautiful light, Martinelli" […].
>
> The firefly is dead, but he does not know that. There is great darkness in the little box, but he thinks that there is great light. And it is as though there were (Mosca 1977, pp. 168–169).

In contrast, Sante Giuffrida—a teacher from Catania—applied scientific rigour to his analysis of a sample of thirty-one children, his students during the last two years of his teaching career. For each he wrote a profile of two pages or longer, accompanied by a snapshot and an account of how the past pupil in question was spending his adult life. The photograph reflected the notion that physical appearance is closely related to moral character, an idea that Giuffrida had acquired from reading the works of Cesare Lombroso, the father of criminal anthropology. Tracking his students' adult achievements, on the other hand, was intended to illustrate the importance of psychological observations, an instrument used by the teacher to guide his pupils towards acquiring initial self-awareness and consequently towards choosing a life path in keeping with their individual make up. It is not surprising therefore that many of Giuffrida's accounts point up a strong association between a past pupil's childhood traits and their later choice of occupation: Francesco Abatelli did not continue his studies and sought private tuition to the sole end of acquiring the minimum skills needed to administer the family estate, reflecting the lack of will power and application observed by his teacher during his primary school years; Salvatore Trombetta rose to the level of inspector within the Italian postal service thanks to the "assiduous maintenance of order

and discipline" that had already characterized him at primary school (Giuffrida 1913, pp. 185–186).[10]

The memoirs offer an image of childhood as difficult and problematic, not only on account of exceptional events arising in particular historical periods or specific contexts, but equally due to normal life circumstances: from the child of emigrants to the refugee child from Italian territories under Austrian rule, to the child struck by a potentially incurable illness (polio, diphtheria); from orphans living in institutions to whom school represented family to pupils who worked in the fields, took the livestock out to pasture or looked after younger brothers and sisters while their parents were away from home. In the last-mentioned cases, the teachers often deployed ingenious strategies to facilitate their pupils in attending school. Durante (1974), for example, not without inconvenience to himself, split his school time-table into two shifts (from 7 to 9.30; from 10.00 to 13.00) so that students employed as shepherds could attend school during the early morning hours: he also decided to devote Thursdays, on which there were no lessons, to physical education and games, refusing to admit students who had been absent or late for school without justification over the preceding week.

The teachers themselves also figure prominently in the memoirs, as autobiographical narratives in which ideal representations of the teaching profession and concrete everyday experience are intertwined. The authors' level of critical reflection and awareness of their role varies considerably: from the mere chronological reporting of events, in some cases fragmented and imprecise, to insightful analysis of the figure of the teacher, informed by educational theory. While Anita Fabris, in *Due ruote e* via *col vento* (1990), uses brief, bullet-like sentences to provide a bald description of difficult wartime conditions, Ilda Guarnelli, in *Nella scuola e per la scuola* (1917), advocates the importance of observation and the key role of play, using arguments and citations drawn from the work of Fröbel.

The image of the teacher that emerges from the memoirs is multi-faceted, in that teaching is not solely to do with promoting learning nor solely targeted at the young. In nineteenth century Italy, the high rate of illiteracy meant that the key aim of schooling for the working classes was to provide them with basic reading and writing skills and a knowledge of arithmetic. Interestingly however, in reconstructing their teaching experience through their memoirs, the authors in our sample seem to tell us that the transmission of "basic knowledge" was only one aspect of life in the classroom. They make constant reference to an overarching educational dimension, understood as the capacity to foster the development of their young scholars, by nurturing their innate qualities and the noble sentiments already incipient in their nature. Emblematically, one of the authors compares the teacher to a farmer who pulls out the weeds from his field so as to facilitate the growth of his crop: just as the farmer's satisfaction lies in seeing an abundant harvest, so that of

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[10]This is the third edition: the first came out in 1874, the second in 1885. The number of editions reflects wide circulation achieved by the book, also borne out by the many articles about it that appeared in both specialized education journals and the general press.

the teacher does not depend on any form of public recognition but only on "the approval of his or her own conscience" (Ferrara 1906, p. 25).

At stake here is an education of the mind and heart aimed at forming a mature adult called to live and work in a social context ranging from the more intimate setting of the local community to the broader setting of the nation: an education therefore with the goal of promoting full and conscious acceptance of the values underpinning the wellbeing of both families and wider communities. We should not be surprised therefore to find that the teachers in the sample view the primary school teacher as "the leading factor in the prosperity of a people", and "a key element in laying the foundations of society": a "humble pioneer", in the words of Marianna Giuseppa Recupido, who left large urban centres to go to remote areas, where she strove to spread "a religion of peace and love" among the children of agricultural labourers and shepherds and to forge links "of deep solidarity between those at the base and those at the top of the social pyramid" (Recupido 1921, pp. 10–11). In a period in which political and administrative unity had been attained but a shared linguistic and cultural identity was still sorely lacking, the teacher often also took on the role of educator of the nation: thank to the teacher's untiring efforts, Italy, often only identified in the collective imaginary with a woman's name, became in the eyes of primary school students across the country, their native land filled with natural beauty, glorious history, artists, saints and poets and therefore the object of love and proud belonging.

Thus teaching is not seen by those who have devoted their lives to it, as a mere occupation or means of earning a living, but as a vocation for which—as a sort of lay equivalent of the priesthood (reflected in the use of religious terminology to describe it), one must be cut out and prepared to devote one's time and energy without reserve. While Concetta Ferrara emphasises a natural leaning as a key requisite for becoming a teacher, Paolo Carrara tells his younger colleagues that they are not "money-grubbers, but apostles", called to fulfil a "mission of love" (Carrara 1934, p. 13), based on ties of affection comparable to those between parents and offspring. The memoirs also offer a female version of the notion of spiritual fatherhood evoked by several of the authors. Pia Griffini writes to encourage her younger women colleagues who, tired of continually having to make sacrifices and disappointed by their failures, lose confidence in themselves and in their future:

> If the pupil – the teacher argues – feels the sincere vibration of our affection, he or she will respond with trust… There is nothing sweeter than a child who slips his or her hand into that of the teacher, sometimes with the soft cry: – Mummy! – Spiritual maternity is the most divine of rewards for all our efforts (Griffini 1961, p. 45).

The teacher's action extends to the entire population; he or she fulfils the role of village educator, the centre of local culture, the spiritual guide of both children and adults, both in the course of his or her institutional teaching activities (by day and by night) and in everyday social interaction. Many of the memoirs describe farm workers rushing to their evening classes after a hard day's work in the fields, at times without any break in between. The most interesting experience of this kind is

that narrated by Angela Vella, in relation to her work as a teacher in the 1930s in a rural village in Sicily affected by the phenomenon of emigration. The local land was only suited to the hard and often unproductive work of growing grapes and so the local men were forced to seek their fortune abroad. This meant that they were obliged to learn how to read and write, given that the Fascist regime would only authorise the emigration of those who were literate. This explains why 45 men of all age groups (a very high number in relation to the total population of Monacella) enrolled in Vella's evening school to study for their primary school certificate.

The memoir—cited earlier in the paper—provides a complete and to some extent paradigmatic portrait of school—from how the students were divided into classes to the method implemented, from the contents of the text books to the model of educational relationship pursued. One of the most striking aspects is the teacher's decision to read aloud, at the end of each class, short stories linked to the local area, with the goal of inspiring a love of reading in her students. She is successful: each time that she reaches for the book silence falls and a look of expectation that is almost moving appears on the pupils' faces; some of the class even attempt to emulate the teacher by gathering their fellow workers to read together during breaks. On Sundays, Vella bases her readings on the novel *Malavoglia* of Sicilian author Giovanni Verga: at each encounter, she introduces about ten pages of the novel in simple language that was accessible to all. She herself is clearly struck by her farming labourer students' interest in and ability to identify with the story characters:

Verga's creations—she wrote—became true companions to my students who insightfully but in a friendly fashion shared out and squabbled over the characters' original and lively nicknames among themselves; thus Verga's creatures came to be reincarnated in simple and good men (Vella 1934, pp. 51–52).[11]

An equally significant role, from the educational viewpoint, appears to have been played by informal encounters: from visits to the pupils' families on winter evenings to "friendly" conversations in the village streets and squares at the close of a long summer's day. Paolo Carrara recalled that as he sat under a tree at sunset, he would be surrounded by workers who, with their tools still on their shoulders, delayed their return home for the pleasure of chatting with the teacher in a logic of sharing and mutual learning; illiterate people with "such deeply rooted sentiments of duty, honour, and dignity as are difficult to find in an educated man" (Carrara 1934, p. 27). Sometimes the teacher, sensitive to the needs of the local area, would actively contribute to or lead socio-economic or cultural projects, thereby becoming a reference point for the community alongside the parish priest and mayor. An example is Rotellini (1924) who in the town of Carpineto Romano, founded and for many years directed mutual aid societies for agricultural and factory workers, as

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[11]Vella also introduced her students to other great works of Italian literature: from St. Francis' *Canticle of Creation* to Dante's *Divine Commedy*, of which she attempted the reading of the first *canto*.

well as setting up a recreational circle and a newspaper for the working classes, written in simple language, apolitical and open to the participation of all.

Teachers' awareness of their mission and extreme commitment to their daily work was in contrast however with harsh and in some regards dramatic conditions, which early dashed the expectations developed during their studies. The memoirs bear witness to a life of sacrifice and hardship due to their poor economic retribution: at the beginning of the twentieth century, male teachers still only earned 75 lira a month, while their female counterparts earned 62.50 lira; a situation that improved slightly just before the outbreak of the First World War when these figures increased to 87 and 75 lira respectively. The accounts also strongly condemn cronyism as a basis for making appointments and the tendency to dismiss teachers for political, religious and economic reasons: the independence conceded to the municipal authorities in the management of primary education prior to 1911 often led to undue pressure on and unfair treatment of teachers. This placed women at a particular disadvantage because they were often the object of unjust accusations or harassment on the part of their superiors or the local authorities. Ernesto Barilli specifically denounces a series of episodes of which some of his women colleagues had fallen victim: from a female teacher driven to suicide by the persecutory attitude of the mayor, to the murder of a young female teacher in Piedmont by a superintendent whose advances she had rejected (Covato 1996; Ascenzi 2012). He also recalls that he himself had been pushed to resign on two occasions during his early years as a teacher: once for personal reasons, and once for having helped a group of farm labourers to demand their rights from their employer.

The teacher's life is also an itinerant one, with many of the authors in the sample reporting having changed schools practically every year: Coppelli Bongiorni (2000–2001) in seven years' work as a substitute teacher taught in eight different schools. The schools were often located in harsh isolated spots that could only be reached by taking multiple forms of public transport and after hours walking along untarmacked roads, slippery with mud, rain and ice: in these places, instead of trams or trains, the teachers got around by bicycle, cart, donkey or mule. The initial period of temporary employment could last indefinitely and involved a series of intermediate steps towards the much-aspired-to permanent post, for which it was necessary to pass a competitive exam. Antonio Durante's memoir gives an idea of the kind of selection process and procedures in vogue and the type of assessment that candidates were likely to undergo. He describes a competitive exam organized by Rome City Council in which he and his brother took part in 1910: he studied a history of education manual and read the journal *I Diritti della Scuola* in preparation for the written assessment which consisted of an essay question, and for the oral exam which involved giving a lesson to a class in the presence of a board of examiners on a randomly chosen unseen topic.[12]

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[12]This detailed account includes the actual exam topics: the essay question was on identifying means of harmonizing and integrating the educational action of the family with that of the school; the oral examination involved giving a lesson to a group of fifth class primary school children on the subject of alcoholic drinks.

Such material and logistical difficulties were accompanied by others that were more psychological in nature: working far away from one's family and home region, the loneliness inherent in moving to a strange and sometimes hostile place in which extreme poverty and ignorance sometimes induced the inhabitants to look, if not with suspicion, at least with indifference, on the opportunity to acquire a basic education. Dorsi Giulioni (1977), in recalling her first year as a teacher, recounts that only the affection she received from the children themselves made her stay in the small village in the Marche to which she had been assigned somewhat bearable. She spent two or three months there without ever making a visit home, given the lack of public transport and the prohibitive cost, in relation to her modest salary, of buying a car or horse. Equally significant are the words chosen by Elvira Apperti Orsini to describe her state of mind on the journey that brought her to the remote hamlet of Selvanova:

> It was drizzling. On the long way up the hill, my aged father who was accompanying me had to stop several times. We never met a soul and I walked in silence, weighed down by a great sense of despondency […]. I looked at those woods, those dark rocks, and I felt my heart shrink at the thought of the life I was going to have up there! We arrived in the village […]. I felt like I was in a desert. There were no voices to be heard outside, nothing, except for the monotonous beating of the rain against the windowpanes and, occasionally, a dog howling in the distance (Apperti Orsini 1911, pp. 9–10).

It was therefore natural for female teachers at the same school or from nearby schools to support one another and not just professionally: on holidays, which seemed never-ending with no lessons to be taught and no opportunity to spend the time with relatives and friends, the colleagues would meet for lunch and a walk; they sometimes even shared their modest evening meals. Anita Fabris recalls travelling to the provincial capital with other colleagues to withdraw their salaries.

Given these conditions, it is not surprising that at times the teachers' memoirs express a sense of impotence regarding their failures, mixed with disappointment and bitterness. Griffini describes the sense of frustration that accompanies her throughout the entire school year: initially she feels incapable of communicating effectively with her pupils given her "scant" and "imperfect" knowledge of psychology; at the end of the year she is bitter because she realises that the students' absence from school during the busy agricultural season, has almost cancelled out months of hard and patient work. However, her discouragement does not lead her to throw in the towel ("a strong inner voice commanded me to remain in the breach"; Griffini 1961, p. 37) nor to tardily regret having chosen a profession which she continued to experience as a personal calling. This kind of awareness is eloquently summarised by Carrara in the following lines:

> I will ever bless the day – he writes – in which I decided to embrace this noble career, if indeed the educator's mission may be called a career. I am most grateful to the Lord for having assigned me this place in the world. If I were to be born a hundred times over, a hundred times over I would choose to be a teacher (Carrara 1934, p. 60).

On the other hand, it is sufficient to read the passages in which the teachers—both male and female—with sorrow and deep feeling recall saying goodbye to the

students at the end of the school year, or their last day at school before retiring, to grasp the strong emotional involvement that characterizes even those who have a family life and children of their own.

These memoirs, in addition to informing a reconstruction of life and educational activity in the classroom across the time span under study, provides an image of Italian teachers as a category which is markedly different to the stereotype of the primary school teacher who is poorly qualified, a mere executor of ministerial directives, inclined to choose teaching as a fall-back option. On the contrary, these autobiographical accounts portray teachers with a strong sense of initiative, great character, passionate devotion to the cause of teaching and an unshakeable sense of duty, who are highly conscious of the key role entrusted to them; teachers who in silence and obscurity, over the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, formed several generations of Italians.

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Chapter 9
"I Am Alone. Only the Truth Stands Behind Me": An Interpretation of the Life of an Elementary Teacher

Imre Garai and András Németh

We borrowed the title for the first half of our paper from the memoire of a Hungarian elementary teacher, Imre Tóth, who wrote his memoire with the following title: *My life's novel*. We got into contact with his novel's manuscript[1] in the spring of 2012, which at that time was only available in hand written from. Since then, we have already published it in the end of 2015 (Tóth 2015).[2] The author describes his life and his professional career as an elementary teacher, which began in the early period of the 20th century in 1947, and he was qualified for retirement in December 1986.

The novel might be interesting in several aspects for the researchers and for those who are interested in the Hungarian history of policy and society in the 20th century. On the one hand, Tóth's novel is a mixture of different types of recollections. But it contains worthy information about the life and educational possibilities of the elementary teachers and the lower social classes. On the other hand, it is absolutely interesting to read it because one can get to know a rich and eventful

Tóth (2014), p. 104

[1]We used the "novel" form to imply the title and the uncertainty of the genre of Tóth's script. The edited version of the manuscript was published in 2015. See Garai (2015).

[2]I would like to thank to Dávid Pénzes and Erika Kubány PhD-students for helping to get the manuscript type into a text editorial computer program. I also thank to Nikoletta Oláh who helped me to fix and check the text after the typing works had finished. Zsuzsa Huszár and Imre Árpád Tóth—the son of the author—verified the text after we looked it through carefully several times. Their support was enormous in the preliminary work of the publishing process.

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story which is filled with struggling to solve challenges of private life and political events.

In our paper, we look through the formation process of the personal memoirs and autobiographies and we also make an overview of the ways they were involved in historical research. Then we try to identify the genre of the manuscript, and we also want to point out some information about the background of the creation process. In connection with this, we try to explore the main meaning layers of the document. We used the original variant of the manuscript to write our analysis which ends in December 1990 and contains a review of the events of political transformation process at both the local and national levels.[3]

9.1 The Transformation of the Recollection and the Appreciation of the Memoirs in Historical Researches

The fundamentals of modern Europe were created as a result of the changes in the economy and the society in the 18th–19th century. At the centre of these processes, in the Western part of the continent, we could find the formation of "working society" and the modern individual who was able to achieve his own success. Taking part in the manufacturing process served not only to reach his goal but it was beneficial for the humankind as well. Because of that the function of time has changed drastically. It began to have a disciplinary function. Incidentally, the spread of the individualisation made a slow but significant change in the relation to recollection (Németh 2010, pp. 49–52; Siba 2010, pp. 44–45; Heller 2015, pp. 34–35).

Thus the memoire's function also changed due to these modernization processes. The individual recollection was originally connected to the nobles[4] in France. They lost their importance in the political and economic sphere because of the modernization. By writing their memoires, they engaged in a symbolic quest against the state's "official historical narrative" in order to preserve some elements of their ascendancy. Later in the 17th century the state supported writing memoirs which could be preserved as interesting and useful information for the later generations

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[3]In the published version of Tóth's script we left out the events after 1986 because of the request of his family and to comply with privacy guidelines. The main reason why we left out this part is that the edited version of the "novel" also documents well the life of Tóth. In the left-out part he wrote in a diary form about his role in the oppositional political organisations which were formed against the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party (the ruler political party in Hungary from 1956 to 1989). But he also reported in this part a huge amount of sensitive information about his political opponents. Nevertheless, it seemed to be necessary to include this part in our analyses because the memoire's logical curve can also be found here and the final conclusions contain key issues about the author's intentions.

[4]The born nobles tried to separate themselves from the groups of "noblesse de robe", who got their nobility due to having bought themselves a bureau.

about the politicians and their motivation in connection with different political acts (Nora 2009, pp. 164–169). The events of 1789 and the birth of the modern French state changed the role of historical recollection: the bourgeois and aristocrats wrote and published their memoir hoping that they could preserve a piece of the old regime (ancient regime). These memoirs were not edited in most cases, because their task was not to prove the historical truthfulness but to create the feeling of national common fate (Nora 2009, p. 157).

Historicism, which was inspired by the German idealist philosophy also overshadowed the use of memoirs in historical researches in France after 1870. The archival documents became primary sources which were related to state affairs. The historians examined these types of sources in order to be able to make decisions in historical questions (Romsics 2012, pp. 52–54). The historical writings based on individual narration became more important after the foundation of Annales. In connection with the journal's operation, a new historical workshop was created in which the sociological and psychological methodological approach[5] played an important role (Kovács 2012, pp. 26–27; Romsics 2012, p. 234). Social mobility and the development of modern societies played an enormous role to gain the recollection in a sense of today's usage (Varga 2003, pp. 101–102). These processes called for the retrospective analyses of the individuals' life events. Through the disappearance of the conventional social values, the universal power of God became less important and slowly faded away while the frames of the traditional society also transformed. Moreover, the average individuals' way of life speeded up and the historical events which could have had an effect on their destiny also grew significantly (Nora 2009, p. 173).

Therefore, the research of recollection was created by the rapidly changing social processes and the challenges of the research of the history. Maurice Halbwachs, who became one of the most important figures of the research of recollection distinguished between the individual and the collective remembrance from tradition. The gist of his theoretical construction is that the individual recollection could be interpreted through the human relations because human consciousness and the recollection itself were both created due to social contacts (Németh 2010, pp. 70–71; Kovács 2012, p. 24; Heller 2015, p. 36). The remembrance could develop into tradition in the next generation through a symbolic fight. The different actors of the society have their own interests so they try to expand their influence over the interpretation of the past (Romsics 2012, pp. 234–235).

Jan Assmann emphasised the communication aspect of the model of Halbwachs in connection with the collective remembrance. He divided four dimensions of the collective recollection: the mimetic aspect which can be caught in common habits, the objective, the communicative and the cultural remembrance. He also described the formation process of the recollection as a symbolic fight, because different

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[5]These new methodological approaches created a considerable challenge to the history because the linguistic and post structural approaches queried whether the historical research methodologies were scientific or not (White 2006, pp. 864–865; Romsics 2012, pp. 232–233).

groups of the society try to monopolise and extend their interpretation over other groups' narratives (Németh 2010, pp. 71–72). The contemporaries' and eyewitnesses' role is emphatic in the communicative recollection. They examine and interpret different events or phenomena from their aspect. Indeed, this form of recollection has a wide range of explanations. Assmann suggests that the authenticity of recollection is determined by the policy of history which is influenced by the competition between different political actors. These actors are looking for interpretations which could be useful to support their policy and thus their popularity. During the communicative recollection, individuals deliberate the events of life through their experiences. In addition to this, the cultural recollection keeps a distance from the past without any personal influence and it could be coagulated into historic remembrance. It might cross between the two types of remembrance after a perspective of several decades (Kovács 2012, pp. 26–27).

According to Pierre Nora's argumentation, history split from the remembrance with the creation of historiography because with its critical and analytical approach, it tore memories and social reality apart. The culture of remembrance has been changed through the rolling back process of the traditionally agricultural life form. Claiming the remembrance created the places for memories (*lieux de mémoire*). They help us recall a phenomenon to our mind, in which the society of the present day does not exist. The era of the preindustrial information transfer has been replaced by the individual reminiscence, which is a key factor in terms of experiencing the individual and also the public identity (Nora 2009, pp. 18–23; Ferreira and Mota 2013, pp. 698–699).

9.2 The Documentation of Creating Self-identity: The Autobiography

Three research directions can be distinguished in the course of exploring recollection: one of them examines the remembrance from the aspect of relevant questions to the history, psychology and philosophy. There is also a research direction which examines the connection between the individual and the collective remembrance. This research line is also interested in the "techniques" of the recollection. The third direction is the history of literature, which draws its conclusions on the recollection from the texts' genre peculiarities (Dobszay 2010, p. 36).

From the research lines of identifying the genre of the memoirs, the notions of autobiography and autobiographical pact, which are created by Philippe Lejeune, can integrate the connection between the individual and collective recollection. He suggests that the autobiography is a prosaic narrative composition, in which we can follow the process of formation and solidification of self-identity through the documentation of the individual life events (Varga 2003, p. 9. The agreement over the pact comes into existence when the reader looks through the author's recollection. The writer guarantees the authenticity which refers to a certain aspect of reality. This reality is created and interpreted by the author himself (Siba 2010, pp. 94–95;

Varga 2003, pp. 7–8).[6] Lejeune sets the autobiography against the diary because the former is a closed work which approaches the endpoint with all its structure. As a matter of fact, the writer interprets the end of his work. But the latter is an unfinished writing as the time spent while the author lives urges him to create new diary entries. The interruption of a diary is generally caused by unexpected events. But there is a connection between these genres because we can read an autobiography as documentation whereas a diary could also be a coherent narration. Coherence depends on the way of reading and editing the work (Varga 2003, pp. 13–14).

Autobiographies have an essential feature, that is, the narrative form. This is an important element of the way of thinking and it plays a key role in forming the processes of identity (Siba 2010, pp. 70–71; Németh 2010, p. 73). Finding self-identity is embedded in a historic process in which telling the events of life in a stipulated order is a tool to find identity. Therefore, the recollection of life events is a construction which is created by the author. It might relate to changes in policy or society as a frame of the narration. Sometimes, the linear narration might change. This question depends on the intention of the narrator; the writer tells us a story and selects its elements which are important to find his identity. If the narrator and the protagonist is the same person, a double time structure might be created. The main reason for that is that the writer has a different view of himself in the face of his experiences (Siba 2010, p. 84; Kovács 2012, p. 30).

This phenomenon connects with selective attitude of the recollection because we cannot remember all the events which we live through. The process of the remembrance depends on what kind of piece of memory we want to recollect and what kind of association we have in connection with an event or a phenomenon. During this process, one cannot avoid making their relations clear to other individuals, communities or the society. Ideologies can play a key role in the appointment process with regard to the above-mentioned notions because they can provide a redefining structure for those who are recollecting their memories. Amid the narration and the evocation process, the person who is recollecting directs the recollected memories in an order which enables them to fill the gap between the viewpoint of the past and the present (Ferreira and Mota 2013, pp. 705–708).

In connection with the autobiographies, it seems to be necessary to emphasize the pedagogical aspect which can occur in two ways. On the one hand, it can have a teaching and ethical purpose for the reader who represents the upcoming generations. On the other hand, school experiences or teachers' pedagogical views could tell a lot about the author's, and through them, their community's and society's world view. Incidentally, teachers' recollection can contain further information or wishes about the development processes of the teacher profession (Nora 2009, p. 181; Ferreira and Mota 2013, p. 714).

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[6]On the one hand, the authenticity of the pact is guaranteed by the institutes, the scientific researchers who prepared the publication process. On the other hand, it is also guaranteed by the data like institutions and the personal identity itself which can help the identification of the work and the author (Varga 2003, p. 9). According to Lejeune's interpretation, we also helped "to make a contract" between the interpretation of reality by Imre Tóth and the readers of his recollection.

9.3 An Interpretational Framework of the Autobiography of a Hungarian Elementary Teacher

The examined version of Imre Tóth's autobiography can be divided into four well separated chapters: the first chapter describes the childhood and the young adult ages. The extent of this chapter is one third of the whole manuscript and it ends with his becoming an elementary teacher and with his marriage. The second chapter is about founding a family, the period of the totalized dictatorship and the events of the revolution in 1956 and the retaliation after the fallen rebellion. This chapter also shows his "seeking process" to be entitled again to teach. The third is a picturesque description of his teaching vocation and his fight against the new regime and its representatives in the local community. The fourth, last chapter exemplifies the changes of his family and the politics after 1987. He played an active role in the political transformation process both at the national and the local level.

We barely know anything about the circumstances of constructing the manuscript. It seems to be sure that the author and his wife, who was also an elementary teacher, used to write a diary in certain periods of their life (Tóth 2014, p. 77). Perhaps the author used his own and his wife's diary to support his evocation. By the time he retired on a pension in 1986, he could have created the first variant of the manuscript with this method. The author intended to write his autobiography for publication, some cross-references can be found about attempting to publish the ordinary version of his memoirs: "I am qualified for retirement on 31 December, Mom [Editor's note: he implied to his wife] also quit the library. At the same time, I showed a 50-page manuscript to the teaching stuff as a farewell gift" (Tóth 2014, pp. 108). Nevertheless, it seems to be sure that he edited the manuscript later. Perhaps he did his editorial work inspired by the events of 1989. This assumption is supported by the fact that Tóth wrote his autobiography with an intention to be able to publish it. He referred several times in his work to his attempts to publish the manuscript (Tóth 2014, pp. 109, 112). He also left some orders how to edit the manuscript in case it would be published. By restructuring the manuscript, he expected to make it more understandable and he also left some new interpolations and supplements in the text.

Each chapter has an individual unique style, which makes the structural separation more emphasized. The first chapter has a literary-descriptor character, in which the reader gets to know the history of Tóth's family. He makes the relation to Felsőerek—which can be found in Bács-Bodrog County—stronger by using nicknames given by the local community and special expressions used in the local dialect. But telling the stories and anecdotes of his childhood serves the same aim.[7]

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[7]He achieves this aim in a conscious way. He notes that in the *Római Katolikus Érseki Tanítóképző* [Roman Catholic Bishop's Elementary Teacher Training School] his teacher, Imre Cz. made him get to know directing and acting in a play, but Tóth's lingual expressiveness also improved significantly. "I thank him for improving my sense of using Hungarian language well and since then I have not been able to tolerate the grammatical failures and the lingual carelessness"

The second chapter's style is quite different from the first chapter's text because expressions appear to relate to the socialist era and the descriptive part of text became tense as approaching the revolution of 1956. The construction of the sentences changes and becomes neat, his rhetoric also turns pathetic. He wrote about the events of the revolution and the retaliation like a diary (being remanded in custody, interment and his trial), which provides a dramatic effect on this part and his role in the events. From a dramaturgical perspective, the description of the 1956–1959 period seems to be the most important part of the whole autobiography.

The descriptions return in the third part of the work, which is a result of the fact that the author has to move from his birthplace to Géderlak and Valkó, later to Vácszentlászló (all of them can be found in Pest County) in order to be able to continue his career as an elementary teacher. He describes the landscape of Pest County, the local community and the constitution of the local teacher staff. The picturesque description of his teaching vocation also became important, as well as his fight against the new regime and its representatives in the local community. His fight against the regime did not come to end when he was retired, because he kept his attitude against the Communists and he played an active political role after 1987.

The fourth, last chapter exemplifies the changes of his family and the politics of 1987–1990. His review of the political transformation is quite similar to the description of the revolution in 1956. He used the same description technique to write about the rehabilitation and funeral of Imre Nagy (the martyr prime minister of the fallen revolution) and his fellows and Proclamation of the Republic. The same tense sentence constructions can be observed as previously, however, the catharsis cannot be found. In his own words: "In a political aspect, it was very difficult and made us in the first year of the political transformation, 1990, disappointed—we did not imagine it to be like that" (Tóth 2014, p. 122).

Considering the stylistic and structural analysis, we can separate three components of Imre Tóth's self-identity. The first is the private sphere of his life. The second is an individual who is destined for being a formal or an informal leader of his community because of his family's relationships and his role as an elementary teacher. In order to measure this role, he is offering his personal freedom as a "sacrifice"[8] to protect the commonwealth. The third component integrates the previously mentioned roles. His sense of vocation comes from his profession, which goes through the whole autobiography as a guideline.

(Footnote 7 continued)

(Tóth 2014, pp. 34–35). As an educated individual, he used a different language than the agricultural workers, but he demonstrated being part of the local community by using local expressions.

[8]There is no doubt that he alluded to this aspect when he was released from the internment: "All the village-dwellers came to welcome me. They visited us one after the other. It was certainly a happy Christmas because the teacher of the village had been released after spending one year in the custody for them as well" (Tóth 2014, p. 69).

9.4 Self-identity of an Elementary Teacher and Appealing to the Justice

In the first chapter of the autobiography Imre Tóth gives us a genealogical overview of his family which makes it clear that he comes from one of the most important families in Felsőerek. This importance can be explained by two facts. On the one hand, his family had a 50–60 cadastral acres landed property. On the other hand, his ancestors played a significant role in the public life of the community. The family needed a lot of children and a significant amount of agricultural means of production in order to be able to cultivate their land. Later, Tóth's father inherited these equipment which helped him change his profession from agricultural worker to tradesman (Gyáni 2006, pp. 308–309).

The Tóth family became an opponent of the leftist totalitarian political views as the result of the revolution of 1918–1919 and the cataclysms of the first half of the 20th century. The author's father played a leading role in the rebellion in Felsőerek as a part of the riot in the vicinity of Kalocsa (it can be found in Bács-Bodrog County), which was organized against the Hungarian Soviet Republic of Allied Councils on 18–24th June, 1919[9] (Tóth 2014, p. 8). The ancestors of the author played a significant role in the local community's social life which directed his long-term development and socialization the same way. (Dobszay 2010, p. 45). He was prepared for this role in his childhood, which highlights his interests in public life and political questions. Mentioning his trial which is related to a childhood mischief has a symbolic meaning. The leading and directing figure of Imre Tóth is to be observed, who was sent to trial by the tyranny (Tóth 2014, p. 17).

His school experiences played an important role in the process of preparing for a leading role in the community. The agricultural worker's children were able to attend the lower grades of primary school in the 1930s (Gyáni 2006, p. 319). Tóth's father gave up agricultural works and he changed his profession to get a new one in the "Mining, Metallurgy, Trade and Credit" main category. He rented properties and lent them to individuals to cultivate it. He also used his inherited equipment to do agricultural works or he hired mills. Finally, he opened a pub in the village and spent his life in the "Licensed victualler, host and tavern keeper" subcategory.[10] As a former uprising agricultural worker, he made his son attend state civil school which provided social mobility and it was visited mainly by industrial workers' children (Gyáni 2006, p. 350). His father supported his son and he got him to visit the lower classes of the grammar school after he forced to leave the institute due to

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[9]After Hungary lost the First World War, the old regime has fallen during the civilian democratic revolution of 31st October 1918. But this regime also lost the power because of the strict ceasefire conditions given by the Entente powers. Thus the social democrats and communists launched a coup against the civil political parties and they successfully took over the power on 21st March 1919. Their state's name was Hungarian Soviet Republic of Allied Councils.

[10]The categories of the professions can be found in the third volume of the 1930 census (Magyar Királyi Központi Statisztikai Hivatal 1935, p. 8).

a conflict with the principal of the state civil school and because of his results. The social boundary between the lower and the upper classes of the grammar school can be clearly seen from struggling to learn the Latin language, which provided a symbolic separation from the poor for the elite. (Karády 2012, pp. 152–153). Completing upper classes of the grammar school and passing the final exam would have required a higher financial investment. Thus the lyceum was left for him, which was created by the 13th Act of Parliament in 1938 as an ideal opportunity to continue his studies because it was designed for the socially mobile social groups by the 14th Act of Parliament in 1938. The legislator wanted to make the elementary teacher training system transform to a higher level. The lyceum's foundation was related to this because its 5th grade was connected to the first three classes of the elementary teacher training institutes. But the attempt to transform the elementary teacher training system into a higher level was not successful because of World War II (Donáth 1999, p. 73).

Despite the reform, the most important element in the training remained preparing elementary teachers for their traditional role. The elementary teacher profession was professionalized after creating the 38th Act of Parliament 1868 in Hungary, and it was supplemented by new knowledge in the turn of the 19th and 20th century. They gained knowledge in hygiene, special education and child protection. Thanks to their new knowledge, they became not just an expert of school tasks, but they also reached an important position in their community (Németh 2013, p. 110; Baska 2008). In addition to all these, they preserved their traditional role: to lead the community's intellectual and spiritual life, the so-called pastoral aspect. Their training system traditionally belonged to the confessional sphere. Thus, they became declared or sometimes undeclared mediators of confessions or the state's cultural policy aims after forming national state structures (Donáth 2008, pp. 17–18; Németh 2004, p. 473).

Imre Tóth began his studies at the Roman Chatolic Bishop's Lyceum in 1942. However, he admitted that he did not consider becoming an elementary teacher at this time (Tóth 2014, p. 22). But during the school observations, he slowly accepted the thought of being a teacher and entering into the service of public education. Their studies were linked to the traditional way of elementary teachers' training, which fact was underlined by their visitation of József Grősz archbishop of Kalocsa after their successful passing of the qualifying examination. Grősz gave them his symbolic contribution to start their career and sent them "to be lanterns in Hungarian villages" (Tóth 2014, p. 34). After he had been elected as an elementary teacher in Felsőerek, he obtained his self-identity, because as a teacher, he became one of the leaders of his community, just like his ancestors did previously.

This self-vocation can be found as a recommitment in the description of his childhood and young adult ages. This necessarily set him against the totalized dictatorship in the later periods of his life, because the government nationalized the whole public education system in 1948, and the role of the elementary teachers changed. These steps were taken due to the intention to transform the traditional agricultural society. That is the main reason of Tóth's protest against the main cultural policy aims of the government. The elementary teachers were expected to

transmit ideological messages and organize political demonstrations to support the government's aims. Nevertheless, their specific position is highlighted by the fact that they became important actors in reaching the government's political goals, but their housing and financial support were unsatisfactory. Furthermore, many of them quit their job and stopped being teachers. According to the Hungarian Workers Party's own statistic data, at the upper classes of the elementary school system 8.200 teachers were missing in the academic year of 1951–1952. The government tried to substitute them in two ways. On one hand they sent 2.800 unqualified teachers to schools. On the other hand, they forced teachers to do overtime and extra lessons. Additionally, a huge amount of teacher candidates did not completed their qualifying exam after the teaching practice because the elementary teacher profession's prestige was low (Révai 1951).

In the text, the autobiography referred several times to teachers being overburdened as well as to variant forms of their resistance. Thus, it is quite straightforward that he became the leader of the revolutionary events in his community after 23rd October, 1956. The retaliation made a deep impression on the author. This may have been the reason why, as it says in his autobiography, he often appealed for his justice, which, according to him, originated from his self-vocation. The reader could have the impression about the main character that he is an abject individual, which is a well-known psychological form in the autobiographical research (Dobszay 2010, p. 40). However, it is interesting that the motif of applying for justice does not occur only in the case of his fight against the state. It can also be found in the relationship with his family members or in connection with his conflicts during the school years. So this aspect appears to be projected back onto former periods of his life.

After the author was released from custody in 1959, he had to leave the land where his ancestors used to live and he settled down in Pest County. Despite leaving his homeland, Tóth and his family suffered vexation by the state power. He could become a teacher again after the political consolidation in the late 1950s. This is the result of a changing cultural policy, which began due to the decision of the Political Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party in 11th March, 1958. On behalf of this resolution, the local councils were provided a greater influence over making decisions in questions of local cultural policy (Kalmár 2014, pp. 121–122). A special contradiction in this part can be observed in the autobiography, which can be connected to the previously mentioned avocation: the symbolic leading of the community. At the 8th conference of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party (20–24th November, 1962), the policy of "those who are not against us shall be with us" was announced. The population's standard of living increased significantly due to this policy and the reforms in the economic sector. Owning a car or traveling abroad to Western countries were allowed to a wide range of society (Romsics 2004, pp. 509–511). These welfare measures were available for the Tóth family as well, because their standard of living increased and their children were allowed to go to secondary school. The state did not exclude them even from studying in higher education. However, the author and his wife had to fight against their work being obstructed all the time. Later, he was banned from teaching and

organizing cultural programs when he finally retired from work and gave his autobiography to his former colleagues. His manuscript provided a special interpretation of his life: he depicted his whole life as a struggle for finding and maintaining his self-identity (Varga 2003, pp. 7–8).

He used the same dynamics when describing the revolution of 1956 in the registries of 1987–1990, which is the last chapter of his manuscript. This part of the autobiography is quite similar to a diary. But the author wearied due to fight against his political opponents in his local community. Thus he gave up his political ambitions both at the national and then the local level. For the remainder of his life, only his self-vocation was left, which could not be consummated because of his poor health condition. In this sense, we can use the Lejeune's-introduced "crisis diary" notion for these parts, because he tried to find a way out of a crisis situation (Varga 2003, p. 217).

9.5   Conclusions: Autobiography as a "Place of Memory"

Imre Tóth found his self-vocation to be an elementary teacher which proved him to be a symbolic leader of his community, like his ancestors were before. In his autobiography, he carried out the process of finding his self-vocation, interpreted as a never-ending fight against changing circumstances of society and politics.

By creating the autobiography, the author let his inner urge interpret the events of his life (Siba 2010, p. 91). He also recorded many phenomena which were part of the tradition or communicative memory but they have already moved towards in written history (Kovács 2012, p. 26). In the aspect of social history, we could follow challenges that the traditional society faced after the second decade of the 20th century. We can also follow how political ideologies and industrialization experiments transformed this part of the Hungarian society. Furthermore, it can also be observed in the autobiography effects of political events or historical powers on life of ordinary people and how these events transformed their faith. These aspects made such interpretations stronger by describing the destruction of World War II and the events of the revolution in 1956. Moreover, he also documented the retaliation after the revolution and former revolutionists' attempts to reintegrate into society. The fact that the author and his white-collar fellows could hardly find a job as unskilled workers in the building trade tells a lot about circumstances in the early 1960s in Hungary (Tóth 2014, p. 75). The new regime was determined that it would remain to oppose the revolution, which could create the feeling of being an outlaw or abject. As a result of creating the collective security, reaching economic growth and introducing welfare measures, society made a compromise with the ruler party and "forgot" about the revolution (Kalmár 2014, pp. 126–127; Romsics 2004, p. 422). Supposedly, this may have caused disappointment in the author when he described the events of the political transformation in 1990. His poor health condition did not let him become a political leader. He might not have seen the fulfillment of the revolution's legacy either at the local or the national level.

The autobiography of Imre Tóth is outstandingly important in the aspect of the Hungarian elementary teacher profession's history in the 20th century because it commemorates elementary teachers who acquired their profession at a secondary education level in the interwar period or before 1948. Their role in teaching and their knowledge were gained after 1868, which was quite the opposite of their new role required by the totalitarian dictatorship. This confrontation became clear with/in the author's permanent fight against his colleagues and the representatives of the local authorities. However, it can also be observed in the autobiography how elementary teachers' qualifications and degrees got into the higher education system raised by the 26th statutory rule in 1958. This provision had made elementary teachers' demand come true, which they had fought for centuries (Németh 2004, p. 476). The author himself became a correspondence student and got a college degree at the Teacher Training College of Szeged despite his role in the revolution. Although teachers' financial problems were eased thanks to the economic growth in the 1960s, they had to face new challenges. The ruler party sent new teachers into elementary schools without any qualification, which caused both pedagogical and political conflicts. Moreover, they could be easily influenced by the party's local representatives (Tóth 2014, p. 94). The autobiography did not tell us any further details about new challenges resulting from the transformation of the market economy after the author and his wife retired. We hope that the published version of the autobiography could be a place of memory for the Hungarian political and social history in the 20th century and for the traditional role of elementary teachers as well. These aspects could be grasped through a personal example by any members or layers of society.

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Chapter 10
Educational Memories and Public History: A Necessary Meeting

Gianfranco Bandini

Historical research in the educational area has been enriched, especially since the turn of the century, by new forms of inquiry, particularly within the international community, through conferences, summer schools and other initiatives involving an increasing number of national research groups. School history, perhaps the most traditional among the various areas of educational research, shrug off an insistent focus on the normative, political and institutional dimension, aimed at a reconstruction of the past which is richer in various facets and more attentive to personal experiences and collective dimensions, even in their emotional and implied implications (Burke and Grosvenor 2011; Burke et al. 2013; Braster et al. 2011; Caruso 2015). At the same time, it began to move away from the exclusive reference to the national state and its borders in order to explore a wider dimension, both in a comparative perspective and with reference to "world history" (Beattie 2002; Crossley et al. 2007; Crook and McCulloch 2002; Depaepe 2002; Sobe and Ness 2010; Stearns 2011).

In this context, I think that the use of a public history approach in education means placing our research within the framework of the renewal of studies and, at the same time, opening up some interesting possibilities of study, also emerging at the interface of different disciplinary traditions. However, to justify this working hypothesis and to demonstrate its reasonableness, it is essential to follow a process of reflection that allows us to connect some important elements, often perceived as separate rather than an integral part of a single process of change. Then we can point to the relationship between history and memory, the contribution of oral history, the rapid changes in the digital history and the birth of public history before finally focussing on a case study that verifies the usefulness of this type of methodological and thematic approach.

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10.1   Reflecting on the Past of Memory and History

Historical knowledge, in Italy and elsewhere, spoke at length with respect to the relationship between history and memory, particularly around some issues raised many questions of interpretation. Consider, for example, disputes about the Resistance, on the *Anni di Piombo* [Years of Lead] or the history of entire social classes of workers or marginal subjects such as workers of the rice fields (the so-called "pickers"). The contrast between history and memory has also had polemical moments (Contini 1997; Lussana 2000), designed to highlight the differences between the two approaches: the first, of a scientific or "objective" character, the second, of a popular and "subjective" character. The historic canon, inherited from the experience of the nineteenth century, emphasises on the purification of the study from personal inclinations, tendency to approach the physical sciences, investigation procedures, as evidenced by the quantitative historiography, involving suspicions of personal accounts and approximate descriptions, or descriptions deemed such.

The evolution of the historical debate has led to a substantial agreement that you cannot frequently choose a research methodology for its assumed and theoretical superiority over others: it is only in the application to a specific theme and specific objectives of study that you can evaluate the effectiveness of the methodological choices. From this point of view, there has been exemplary debate between the positions of quantitative and qualitative research, which resulted in greater eclecticism and tolerance for different ways of recording history.

As regards, in particular, a way to overcome and dissolve the contrast between memory and history into a more open view of the many dimensions of history, is to consider the truly unique and original contribution of the use of oral sources. When we talk about oral history, it highlights the absolute originality of this method of interrogation of the past and its significance outside of the written document and its variability (Portelli 1990; Ritchie 2002; Thomson 2006). Certainly one cannot exclusively use oral sources while still being influenced by the other traditional sources. The searches that use it are characterised by its centrality and its incredible ability to change the perception of the historian carrying out the research. In interviews, you realise the issues, which we had not previously considered or perhaps overlooked; issues whose aspects were not present in the scientific literature and therefore were not a part of the initial intentions of research.

In fact, oral history has bypassed the conflict between history and memory, thus opening a new area of research that, for educational purposes, appears to be largely unexplored and very interesting. At the centre of oral history, we find a source that has a specific and exceptional characteristic: it is a typically rational source, which, at the same time, is a recollection of interviews, through a relationship between the historian and the person who remembers or rather, who is recommended to recall. It is not a written, meditated and organised story, destined for a specific readership; nor is it a set of answers for a pre-printed questionnaire; it is, primarily, a meeting between the persons, between the historian who asks and listens and the witness

who tells his own experience and that of others. This report, consisting of recalling of emotions as well as events, which is a key attribute of the source, has the ability to take us beyond the conflict between history and memory.

This typically anthropological approach of listening to others has founded a mode of making history attentive to personal experiences and given rise to micro-history, in accordance with a research perspective that was proposed many decades ago and practised thereafter in many areas of research (Febvre 1953). We remember, in particular, methods similar to the so-called "thick description" proposed by Geertz (1973), which seeks to capture the observed (and owned) reality apart from factors, which may have been overlooked by the researcher due to them being a part of human experience and observation. The elements that emerge from this context may very well open a new, previously unforeseen way and we can even renew the more traditional and bedded themes at the end (e.g. taking the ideas of methodologically grounded theory that provides some useful tips even in the field of history) (Glaser 1999, 2001; Tarozzi 2008).

Oral history, from its beginning, has characteristics that distinguish it from other approaches and that are particularly suited to academic history. First, the primacy of experiences, both individual and collective, which do not always coincide, and based on whose discrepancies we should always ask ourselves; and later focus on the significance of events that take place for the people involved, rather than the cold analysis of what has happened. This approach brings us close to people's thoughts, what they have heard and felt and their joys, fears, expectations, disappointments and so on. In this way, the historical account appears to consist of many details, some of which may seem insignificant when taken individually, but which together outline a view from the base, with respect to those who lived it. At the origin, it should be remembered, Marxist tradition gives voice to subordinate social classes, the marginal classes of the past, those who spoke in dialects, had little or no literacy and barely knew how to sign their name.

Thanks to oral history, and other interesting approaches to local (or regional) history of large and established traditions, we can be sensitive towards the richness of the past and the great changes that constantly appear over time, even the differences among the experiences of places a few kilometres away from each other, especially when we move away from the twentieth century and we go into distinctly pre-industrial periods.

10.2   Contribution of Public History

Right after the contribution of oral history, we must consider a more recent and discussed occurrence—public history: As will be more evident at the end of the text, these are two approaches that have some interesting points in common and that can be used very effectively to build an all-round memory of educational history, going beyond the usual schemes. In a sense, we can assert that there is no public history without the involvement of the population and this involves the use of oral

history, even when what the masses recall is not a testimony of the recent past but a commentary and discussion of a distant past spanning centuries. Even though the most interesting examples relate to contemporary history, this participatory model is applicable to each historical period (Conard 2015; Frisch 1990; Noiret 2011; Willinsky 2005).

Public history already has a strong tradition, especially in North American and British contexts, which can be traced back to the eighties with the founding of the National Council on Public History (NCPH). However, here it refers to its amalgamation with the experiences of digital history, a new way to record, document and especially to communicate historical occurrences. In the early nineties, when digital history was born, a series of attempts being made to use digital technologies in historical research had begun to abandon the use of computers which had till then only been intended as an aid in the drafting of documents, calculations or as cataloguing tools. Digital public history (using the terminology that highlights a strong connection with new technologies) (Danniau 2013) is, therefore, a recent historiographical development but has had a robust and innovative tradition. Digital history also has its own unique and rich history, its evolution and dead branches, despite their appearance over the past few years (Cohen and Rosenzweig 2006). The technological world, we have become accustomed to, although perhaps not quite new, needs to carefully assess the discontinuity that it constantly produces and evaluate its global effects and short time spans of influence (Friedman 2005).

It turns out that all the communication potential of the Internet and—as per the experiences of the pioneer Edward L. Ayers in *The Valley of Shadow*[1]—there were a series of historical activities that saw an increasingly strong participation of the audience. If we take into account a more recent experiment of great significance, in *The September 11 Digital Archive* on the attack on the Twin Towers,[2] we see that the examples (1993–2002) are a tangible sign of the rapid changes in the digital history, its branches and transformation (in some cases) in public history. The birth of an international federation (IFPH—International Federation for Public History), in 2010, dedicated to this approach allows us to fully grasp the moment of change that historical research is experiencing: This happens when historical research is combined with evidence, when the historian agrees not to play the role of the disseminator of academic knowledge, but a facilitator of historical memory; when the story is spun into a web, greatly emphasizing aspects of communication and openness to various non-specialist public entities, to be the chief interlocutors of references and historical works.

This type of approach, therefore, involves major consequences on the organisation of research, which can no longer be conducted only by a specialist. The abandonment of the individualistic model is in itself a kind of genetic mutation of

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[1]The Valley of Shadow, 1993–2007. Retrieved September 15, 2015, from http://valley.lib.virginia.edu.

[2]The September 11 Digital Archive, 2002–2014. Retrieved September 15, 2015, from http://911digitalarchive.org.

historical research because it involves both a continuous exchange of ideas with other colleagues and the need to deal with subject areas far removed from those traditionally combined with history, like archival science.

Second, consider that the transformation of communication patterns in the digital environment has spawned web sites with historical content, which are not run by academics, and that public history, in fact, is generated primarily by the desire of the public to participate in the writing, documentation and discussion on the past. Professional historians, especially in Europe, often complain that online records offer an easy platform to deliver criticism: there are cases of publications that contain blunders, mistakes, lack of documentation and so on. Technological progress has definitely broken the stereotypes of traditional filtering of requests and selection of specific products. Each user can now become a publisher and this implies an enormous increase in historical content in digital form. However, despite many fears and doubts, the results of this increased (or simply passionate) participation of general public in public communication have been more positive than expected and have also attracted professional historians in giving rise to a new generation of historical content. It was discovered, for example, that Wikipedia, perhaps the best known and most widespread form of knowledge sharing among non-specialists, contained errors and inaccuracies in a volume similar to that of emblazoned printed works (Goodwin 2009; Nyirubugara 2011; Rosenzweig 2006). In terms of factual information (dates of birth and death, composition of governments, leaders in battle, etc.) one may even notice its high reliability: if its organisation of working is on a very questionable theoretical (and methodological) level, from a pragmatic point of view, the situation stands different and the diverse communities which are involved here have achieved very positive results.

From another point of view, it can be argued that getting in touch with the company cannot be considered a priority in some areas of academic knowledge, but in case of education, things are different. Those who do research in the educational methodology, following the traditional approach, have always paid a lot of attention to the wider audience of education professionals: teachers and professors (and recently also the families) who have been privileged partners of educational research and, above all, education for a long time. Public history from this point of view is an effective way of maintaining this link with the educational reality and accepting the challenge of confrontation and cooperation: supporting the social utility of historical research, for example in a training exercise of education and medical professions, designed to increase awareness of the work and its meaning.

Finally, you can see that this way of recording history is entirely consistent with the purposes of the recent Open Access Movement, which was started with the desire to differentiate culture from economic perspective without barriers or obstacles of any kind ("Budapest" 2002; Russell 2014; Simcoe 2006; Suber 2012; Yiotis 2013). The movement, which has been joined by many Italian and European universities, has its roots, in alternative technological models of the sixties and seventies: the counter-culture, which expressed the idea that the software revolution was for the common good, something to which everyone could contribute and access, following the logic of freedom and not of profit. By applying this model of

sharing the academic knowledge, the Open Access Movement supports the need to leave circuits that make editorial publications difficult, and very limited, due to expensive access to content. The possibility of dissemination, today being offered to everyone on the network, is emphasised and has become a model for effectively bringing together the world of academic research in the educational contexts.

10.3 Digital Public History and Educational Memories

The digital public history approach is particularly suited to the study of educational memories. The time is ripe, in my opinion, for this meeting, which appears imminent from many points of view, and must not be delayed. The recent historical reflection on the educational memory, in its different and still uneven meanings, has a lowest common denominator, which precisely consists of the link between academic research and life context.

Educational memories are the heritage of a particular community and research can only take into account the exchange ratio between researchers and witnesses (Erll and Nünning 2008; Gardner 2003; Gardner and Cunningham 1997). A pact of cooperation is established that is placed right in the direction of public history and its best implementation. Above all, it can make one of the cardinal principles of oral history and any research real and effective that entails the involvement of the so-called "recollection of memories". The testimony is not offered to the researcher to be put in a drawer or published in a prestigious albeit inaccessible magazine. Rather, the memory recollection meeting between researcher and witness is a valuable asset to be re-delivered to the community because it enriches the knowledge of the past, its awareness and common reflection. Public history is therefore supposed to help contextualise the micro-memoirs, to connect them to the dynamics of the company, its tensions and conflicts, to grasp the relationship between the local and the global perspective, to promote dialogue between the parties using the digital environment. A cultural mediation activity, which involves some important ethical issues, is particularly evident in educational matters. Between mental labour and social practices a lasting bond is thus established due to its online presence and is a great way to give back the memory: not just for once and permanently in the form of a paper publication, but in a form that allows you to continue to renew interpretations and testimonials over time by soliciting new ideas and new contributions. The intellectual work "about and with" the memories can turn into, as per Freud, a sort of "terminable and interminable analysis", always open to further possible meanings.

Certainly, the construction of a research model inspired by public history is not simple and cannot happen without a gradation of experiences and reflections. It primarily consists of the abandonment of an ancient and rooted academic writing and research model, where an intellectual writes for his peers, in a network where everyone is a professional writer and reader. Switching to a model of public communication, does not necessarily imply complete abandonment of the previous

model, though it can give a sense of betrayal of the fundamental mission of the historian, in favour of fulfilling a commitment to a diverse and varied audience, which do not share the same skills and knowledge as the researcher.

Secondly, it must be considered that the digital public history includes within it, as we already mentioned, many experiences and research practices, some of which are far from the usual skill set of a historian: primarily, the use of digital communication, generation and interpretation of oral sources, public involvement in the construction of historical knowledge and the connection with the logic of the Open Access movement. All this makes it very difficult to start research in this new direction if there are no (or very limited) experiences and studies in these areas. To get an idea of the current situation in Italy, we can refer to the *Archivio Diaristico Nazionale* of Pieve Santo Stefano, which, since 1984, have been one of the most interesting and pioneering sources in this field with relevant of educational and academic aspects. Well, despite the strong focus on the memory of the subjects and the emphasis of their role, the prospect of a digital form of more than 7.000 public diaries is still in its initial stages. The original objective, pursued with perseverance, is that of preservation in the library and in the publication of the winners of the annual Pieve award.

Note that this is a particularly relevant experience and highly representative of the "state of the art" research, even educational, historical and academic: the given example leads us to understand that the elements already identified as essential parts of the public history are present in Italian historiography, albeit separately and not as part of a whole. For this reason, I think it is still very useful to refer to some international models to derive the source of study and reflection: consider, for example, a large collection of memories and images of Second World War that the BBC has acquired during the 2003–2006 period; an experience that demonstrates, among other things, the difficulty in managing this type of approach and the need for a large team of experts.[3]

10.4   Memories of Teachers in Video: A Case Study (and a Proposal)

In the absence of specific Italian public history experiences in education, I think it necessary to propose a path towards this approach that takes account of its basic needs even though it is, in fact, emerging as an explorative and experimental approach. The first difficulty encountered is the requirement to learn a series of basic skills in the digital field that are necessary but that test history and its traditional liberal arts education. It is helpful, then, to appeal to the (few) experiences in education and approach scientific communities that have made many efforts in

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[3]WW2 People's War. An archive of World War Two memories—written by the public, gathered by the BBC. Retrieved September 15, 2015, from http://www.bbc.co.uk/history/ww2peopleswar.

this direction and which may provide a forum for discussion and debate (think of the studies of researchers which led to the birth of the Association for Digital Humanities and Cultural Heritage[4]). The second obstacle is represented by the need for funding to organise a project that involves many people.

Considering these problems, I tried to demarcate a path towards public history armed with the knowledge that one must start with simple but meaningful experiences, capable of offering a clear perception of what could become a research project. The case study that I present is, simultaneously, a field test of digital history and a core group of public history: the latter contains, in particular, the participatory willingness and desire to provide social benefit of their work. A proposal, which, in essence, is open to future collaborations and developments.

The starting point of this experience was the commitment to teaching. The needs of university teaching were confronted with the need to renovate teaching and, as we shall see in a moment, researching. I found a big gap, unbridgeable, between educational memories of students, future teachers of primary schools, and academic memories that, at least in small part, could be extracted from university textbooks and incorporated into school history literature (Whitman 2004). I set myself the goal, then, to create a study that displayed the usefulness of memories for the training of trainers, for the awareness of their role and the basic characteristics (often implicit) of their profession; a goal that could actually apply to all education professions and, in a broader sense, medical professions (as in the case of nursing).

Unfortunately, ideological and political uses, which have enslaved the story, have obscured, particularly in school curricula, his contribution to the formation of critical thinking. Following a setting that is more obvious elsewhere (think of medical humanities in the United States), I organised a collection of testimonies that favoured the clear perception of historical, social and cultural history in the current teaching profession. The intent was to counter the supposed "naturalness" of educational practices: a concept that is generally a part of the "popular" pedagogy of teachers (Bruner 1996), but does not take into account the short and long-term trends along with the internal and external pressures that are exerted on the teacher's role, which are so often implicit.

After a thorough training period, I have many students involved in the search for memories of school teachers and retired teachers, trying to outline the history of elementary teachers from sixties to today. The research proposal has been met with a lot of participation and the interviewers felt strongly involved in this form of collective documentation. This approach made it possible to get out of the political channels to try to get into the "black box" of the school, recording the history of the experiences related to the school and school culture. As per the logic of digital public history, more than 400 interviews (almost Ñ not been transcribed or preserved in solitary units, but uploaded to YouTube by each interviewer. A specific channel has combined these interviews and organised them into

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playlists.[5] Thereafter the website *School Memories* was created to provide an adequate understanding of the project and ensure better use of video.[6]

Some evidence drawn from the numerous testimonies allows us to appreciate the validity of the approach and to be able to predict a series of research developments.

The first result of this special investigation is the general meaning to be drawn from viewing more than 180 h of video interviews. The memories of the teaching profession are precise, vivid and detailed: they describe aspects considered most interesting and work perceived as more important over at least three decades. Taken together, because they are the result of daily occurrences in school life, these memories are a strong antidote to institutional and educational rhetoric (including the uninterrupted rich history of schools until date). In the foreground of the testimony, in fact, are very less rhetorical and very real aspects, which do not disrupt "the mission" of the teacher, but emphasise one aspect: the effort. The effort put into going to school, often many kilometres away from home and difficult to reach: the experience of schools in the mountains never fails to point out the ice on the roads and walks in the snow, when the venue was only reachable on foot. The effort put into sitting in the classroom all morning heated just by a stove that often had to be fed at the expense of the teacher. The effort it took to be the female teachers, looking for a difficult reconciliation of the two roles in a social context, not very suitable to combining the demands of work with those of childcare.

In short, the material, family and environmental difficulties leap into the foreground well before those teaching stories and these anecdotes, in fact, are the sign of a school in the country that shared the hard and tiring life of the peasants. It highlights the difficulty of teaching in multiple classes, but especially the after school difficulties (especially those of patronage) (Sdei 2014) for paltry sums along with a sort of compulsory internship to earn marks. The fatigue of the recruitment process and the long-term job insecurity require constant attention in terms of the bureaucracy of supplying temporary replacements and participation in competitions (even five, six to be able to attain "ordinary status") (Del Seppia 2014).

When one gets to the heart of memory, emotional aspects also come to the fore, which are related so less in the school history that they are often unjustly forgotten.[7] There are teachers who retire ahead of time so as not to leave the class in half or not lead from first to fifth; others who remember bring moved by the children that committed suicide or had bad experiences as adults (Puma 2014). Rather educational and personal relationships (though not without difficulties and misunderstandings) emerge through teachings, which tend to stay with the children. Unexpectedly, along with adult memories, some childhood memories also appear—school experienced as

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[5]Gianfranco Bandini channel on YouTube. Retrieved September 15, 2015, from https://www.youtube.com/user/profbandini.

[6]Memorie scolastiche (currently under construction). Retrieved September 15, 2015, from http://www.memoriediscuola.it/.

[7]In fact, emotional and relational aspects are the centre of all educational activities. School climate, defined as an emotional sense of belonging to a community, is the biggest factor in emotional and cognitive development (Adelman and Taylor 2005; Hattie 2009).

pupils: the sticks on the hands and other disciplinary modes, which we now call "classroom management". A series of behaviours suffered by the child who decided to become a teacher so that other children should not suffer what they had suffered, "to redeem those years of suffering" (Pace 2014); In other cases, the memory of their childhood at school refers to psychological violence, which is as strong as physical violence: "My teacher always said 'You have copied' and all the other children used to laugh" (Costagli 2014a, b).

A part of the testimonies indicate the most important formative moments, those which led to a breakthrough in the way of working with children: there are those who remember the encounter with the CIDI—Centro di Iniziativa Democratica degli Insegnanti, Teacher Centre for Democratic Initiatives—(Trallori 2014), who along with the MCE—Movimento di Cooperazione Educativa, Cooperative Education Movement—(Silvioni 2014) and individuals such as Ciari, Rodari, Preti, Agosti. Many memories recall the seventies and the reformism (not only institutional) that characterised them. The reviews are very interesting and not always favourable of the youth protest movements and the university, often seen as unrealistic and distant from reality (Moriggi 2014; Manetti 2014; Palladino 2014).

It is very interesting to note the presence of some constant elements, some real common denominators of the experiences recounted.

It is worth considering that the school as evidenced by the testimonies always placed great emphasis on marginalised and distressed children by trying in every way to involve them in educational activities of the class. In parallel, however, there are no traces of care for children who present "high cognitive potential".

A second aspect is the very obvious and constant attention given to the teaching and research methodologies appropriate to enhance learning: the research that is mediated by the school (for example through training courses) or teaching associations. Rarely, however, do teachers appear to be able to connect themselves to the scientific debate (Malvolti 2014; Biondi 2014).

A third aspect, perhaps the most distinctive and rooted in the collective recollection, was the passion for innovation—experimenting with new forms of teaching. A belief in innovation, which is linked to the positive desire to improve the lives of the class, but at the same time, does not have to be subjected to special tests unless it is contrary to the judgement of those who have experienced changes. This procedure for subsequent innovations is very reminiscent of "the experimental groping" of Celestin Freinet and, although its original setting has been mixed indistinguishably with many others, it resurfaces easily in the testimonies, strongly marking the educational choices of teachers.

All these aspects are very important and can suggest some interesting lines of interpretation. I hope that this will be verified with more in-depth research, but as of now, it shows the richness of the stories of school life and can make people understand the value of such a digital public history approach in order to promote real cultural exchange between the past and the present academic and the school community.

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Chapter 11
Methodological, Historiographical and Educational Issues in Collecting Oral Testimonies

Fabio Targhetta

Since 2008, the FISPPA Department (at the University of Padova) has introduced an initiative that combines the collection/production/preservation of oral sources with didactic ones. It is a project linked to teaching the "History of the school"[1] for the online degree program in "Science for the formation of childhood and preadolescence".

The intensive part of teaching lasts over two and a half months, during this time students are asked to study specifically crafted materials, such as videos, essays in .pdf format, and multimedia documents. Also students have to produce an obligatory intermediate test, entitled *Three interviews on the school of yesterday*.

In order to introduce students to this method of collecting primary sources, a detailed document was prepared, containing not only a lot of advice on the interviews and key references, but also instructions on how to complete the test. Students were asked to interview three people over 75 years old (who had attended school during fascism). The interviews, after being transcribed, were then contextualized, commented on and compared with what has been studied and debated on appropriate online forums, in order to create a document with a maximum limit of 20,000 characters (transcript included).

The pros and cons of this specific type of historical source are explained to students. In particular, I try to emphasize that, often, the richness of oral testimony lies not just in the words that are said and in the incidents cited, but also in the silence—that the interviewer is required to comply with so as not to upset the subject with traumatic memories—in gestures, expressions; even in the gap between what is told and what actually happened, because it is in this gap between "real" and "reconstructed" that we can find the imaginary, the symbolic, the per-

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[1]Professor Patrizia Zamperlin was the lecturer, while I was the "disciplinary expert".

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ceived. Even ambiguities and gaps in the story must be interpreted by the inter-viewer properly, in the knowledge that memory is affected by social norms, expectations and a desire to "make a good impression". In short, we must inves-tigate, among other things, the ways in which the subjective memory communicates with the public one.

We do not seek confirmation or denial about a specific occurrence, but we must investigate how this event was perceived, interpreted and reworked in the memories of the people interviewed. Emblematic in this regard is a definition by Alessandro Portelli on oral sources: they "not only tell us about the facts, but about what they meant to those who experienced them; tell us not just what people did, but what they wanted to do, what they believed they were doing, and what they now think they did" (Portelli 1999, p. 154; Stille 1999).

Events ingrained in the memory after many years are subject to reconsideration, to an actual reworking. Memory, in fact, changes with us; it is subject to the changes of our age, but also to social and cultural changes. This is why oral sources are useful to "explore the dimension of subjectivity and the forms of memory, which is to investigate the psychology, mentality, world view, self-representations and the relationship of individuals and social groups with the past" (Bonomo 2013, p. 84). Even the way childhood memories are interpreted and elaborated in light of subsequent experiences becomes an object of analysis.

As can be seen from these few suggestions, the oral source is always a hypo-thetical source, subject to the availability of the researcher to know how/be able to collect it (Jallà 1982) and then interpret it.

In this sense, the interviewer is the depositary not just in a passive role, as it may seem at first glance. It is not just a case of, as I often say, turning on the recorder and asking a series of questions, perhaps in a mechanical way. Instead, it is a case of turning on empathic abilities, to try to understand the interviewee's feelings while episodes of his/her life are being narrated. The collection of oral sources therefore, requires establishing a relationship between the researcher and respondent in a sort of social interaction, with its rules, values and expectations. The witness, in fact, will formulate his responses not only based on his own memories—and his own subjectivity, given that an interview is always a subjective source in a narrative form—but also based on the supposed expectations of the researcher. The latter, in turn, can influence the witness by modulating the tone of voice, nodding to certain answers, emphasizing some aspects of the events being narrated, and so on (Bonomo 2013, pp. 24–25). So, oral sources come from a "discursive interweav-ing" (Contini 2006, p. 798) between two (or more) individuals, each with his own conceptual universe.

Especially in light of these elements, the interviewer must therefore be aware of the distortions that he introduces, as I often say to students involved in obtaining interviews: indeed the impact of the interviewer over the interviewee cannot be ignored in oral sources. The interviewer, in fact, directs the narrative, he requests the story behind any incidents or moods just mentioned, he knows when it is time to suspend or terminate the exposure if events become emotionally painful for the interviewee. At the same time, it is essential that the interviewer does not obscure,

with his conceptual system, the fragile linguistic structures with which respondents describe events or situations in their lives. It is this delicate balance that regulates the correct collection of oral sources. Given that obtaining interviews is the most delicate phase, within the course I paid special attention, as anticipated, to training. In particular, the key role of the interviewer is repeatedly noticed, who has a great responsibility in finding his sources, starting with choosing the subjects to interview. The standards, in addition to those imposed by the instructions, should not lean towards maximum comfort (for the interviewer), but towards maximum use (for the research). We must, therefore, be careful not to confuse subjectivity with personal affections, the subjective sphere with the private one.

Students, therefore, have to practice conducting some interviews; by using recording devices, questionnaires, pictures, and they must familiarize themselves with them. In this regard, students can obtain interviews only after participating in the discussion forum dedicated to this topic. One of the first rules is to avoid being unprepared for the interviewee responses, but to be prepared—as much as possible!—to anticipate possible issues or worthwhile aspects to be explored. I also recommend that students write down, a short time after the interview has ended, their impressions and observations, in order to record the rich repertoire of attitudes, postures and unspoken words that a lot of the time is significant in the interpretation of interviews.

Students must pay close attention to another important aspect: the language of the people interviewed. In fact, it plays a significant role because the vocabulary used by the narrator gives shape to the episodes narrated and defines the problem to be dealt with.

Moreover, given that the subjects involved are elderly, it is highly likely that they speak in dialect, which often differs from the national language, not only as a syntactic form, but also as a nuance, with references and innuendo. In the transcript of the interviews, it is therefore appropriate to comply with any dialect, even at the risk of making it more difficult to read. However, given the complexity and the relative lack of knowledge of the written form of the various dialects, students are free to choose whether to transcribe the original text or provide a translation in Italian, leaving the original dialect for meaningful expressions, some untranslatable words or phrases that reflect the vibrancy of the spoken word. It is common knowledge that editing (edits, punctuation, etc.) transcripts is still the subject of discussions and disagreements among scholars. In any case, the true source—is always worth emphasizing, despite being superfluous—is the audio file, and not its transcription, which is always an adaptation to an expressive code, different to the oral form. Aspects such as the variation of the speed of the speech or rhythm, for example, would not be captured in a simple transcription. Yet their implications are multiple: they can mean hesitation, memory blurs, willingness to dismiss some events, and so on.

After these theoretical references, I provide some practical suggestions such as, for example, the foresight to bring along some old stationery object, like a pen, an exercise book, an old report card or a textbook. These are highly evocative objects and are useful for creating a "special atmosphere". In some cases, as suggested by

Manlio Calegari, we have to induce the interviewee to take "purely mental photographs" (Tamburini 2007, pp. 38–39), through objects, which can stimulate memories because of their sentimental and/or symbolic value.

Finally, I provided students with a 55-question grid. These questions cover a wide range of issues to be addressed, having been especially prepared for the historic period in which the respondents attended school.

Besides the usual data, the grid includes a comprehensive selection of questions that you may enclose substantially in seven sets:

(a) Data concerning the place of origin and the profession of parents;
(b) Data concerning the school attended: up to what age did the person attend school; where was it located; whether or not there was school furniture, the main teaching aids and so on;
(c) Data concerning the teachers: their names; educational practices; harsh or less severe judgments; habit to deploy early or hand out punishments and so on;
(d) Data concerning the classroom: composition; children with disabilities; number of pupils;
(e) Data concerning school traditions: exams; homework; celebrations and ceremonies; school trips; Opera Nazionale Balilla (fascist youth movement) memberships and other activities;
(f) Data concerning teaching: subjects studied; religious education; teaching gymnastics; textbooks; exercise books; radio in schools; films and so on;
(g) Data concerning institutions such as, school patronage, library, cinema.

As you can see, these questions investigate aspects of everyday school life and formal education. While recognizing that memory is a highly selective process and the narrative, after many years of retelling the episodes, can be guilty of inferences, students are asked to reflect on the wealth of information collected through this research method. By narrating himself and his own story, in fact, the subject also narrates more general History; he refers to a context, a culture and shared values; he provides—in the background but always present—the cultural and social context of his personal story. It is then up to the researcher to reconstruct the political and ideological scenario, to "read" the framework of social structures and cultural references in the stories of the subject. In a word, he has to interrelate the "personal story" with the "official history", in a mutual and dialectical debate.

A final aspect to think about is the specific type of people who students were going to interview: the elderly. It is an age group that corresponds with memory, with autobiographical narrative; often—though perhaps unconsciously—as a result of attributing meaning to what was experienced, grouping the narrator's own event within general history.

Many studies in psychology on aging have shown that reminiscence—aimed at spreading knowledge, values and culture—not only stimulates a natural tendency of the elderly to tell their autobiographical memories, but also increases the confidence

of the narrator, with effects on the wellbeing perceived (Wong and Watt 1991; Webster 1999).[2]

Awareness of this important aspect has allowed the interviewers to enrich their experience "with the microphone". Many students have appreciated this aspect, namely the opportunity to deepen—and sometimes to discover—episodes, aspects of the character and childhood stories of their family. The empathetic relationship that should arise between interviewer and interviewee, as we have said, is fundamental for a comprehensive data collection. Far from being seen as an obstacle—as it was prejudicially thought of in the past in terms of this kind of activity—empathy is vital and it contributes decisively to strengthen the relationship in those cases of familiarity or friendship between the people involved.

During the first three years, 139 students attended,[3] each of whom presented a paper with three interviews; all the students also attached the audio files to their work—and, in some cases, videos—of the interviews, all the material is stored at the Museum of Education of Padova.[4] The decision to impose the use of digital tools for recording interviews was dictated by the awareness of the temporary nature of other media, such as magnetic tapes, which are unable to guarantee that the documents stored will remain preserved over time. The digital voice recorders—but also mobile phones, as well as smartphones, tablets, digital music players, etc.— provide a solution to various problems, from archiving tracks (an external hard disk has the capacity to save millions of audio files) to using them again and again without fear of ruining the tape. The Museum also keeps all the consents signed by the interviewees. This is an informed consent that students are required to print and sign, in which the reasons for the research project, the way audio files are stored and how they are used are explained.

The positive results have encouraged us to continue on this path; nevertheless we decided to move the time frame studied for the interviews. On the one hand, this decision depends on the increasing difficulty in finding subjects that fall within the sample identified. However, other considerations are based on this choice. I think that the time has arrived to move the lens of historical research to recent years, so far investigated in political, ideological, religious and cultural aspects, but not as far enough as the formation of the collective imagination over the school years. The economic boom, changes within the family—from the patriarchal type to the nuclear one (Barbagli et al. 2003)—the massive internal migration (both in the north-south direction and within the borders of the region, from the countryside to the cities) have imposed such radical, social and cultural changes (Crainz 2003). School—traditionally slow in changing—was not always able to intercept these urges to change and to update teaching and learning materials. Just think, using a

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[2]I would like to thank Antonella Ancona for recommending to me the main international studies that investigated the effects of reminiscence on the memory of the elderly.

[3]In the first year, 40 students participated in the activity; 49 during the second year and 50 during the third.

[4]For more information about the Museum of Education at the University of Padova, please go to the website: http://www.fisppa.unipd.it/servizi/museo-educazione (Retrieved December 30, 2015).

single example, about textbooks for primary education, they were the target of heavy criticism in the Seventies by teachers, educators and representatives of the cultural world because of the outdated subjects and the stereotypical styles.

The seeds of change have therefore, passed through other channels, (often stigmatized by school) which became the vehicle for spreading an unmediated youth culture—which mostly happened until then—by teachers (Piccone Stella 2003). I am referring, in particular, to magazines for children, comics (Meda 2007, 2013), children's literature (Boero and De Luca 1995; Campagnaro 2014), but also to stickers (Basile and Battistini 2007), games, and so on. In those years, the "playful side" conquered spaces that it had never conquered before.

The motion picture industry (Capussotti 2004) and television (Farné 2003) also played a significant role. With the first RAI (the national broadcaster) programs launched in 1954, television quickly became the protagonist of the homogenization of the Italians' tastes, thanks to a series of advertising intended to become very famous in the Country's collective memory.

It is then important to verify the circulation of these materials, their connection with school culture and, especially, their effects on the formation of the collective imagination.

For these reasons, starting from the academic year 2011–12, I proposed that students recalibrate the time span and the subject of investigation. So I decided to include those people who had attended primary school between 1948 and 1960 in the sample. Given that the questions concern the years of primary education, it is possible to cover the period between the Constitution coming into force and the mid-sixties. It is, as mentioned above, a particularly significant period in the recent history of the Italian Republic, during which some changes—even radical ones— began and the habits, lifestyle, values of the Italian people evolved. The interviews therefore, have this primary objective: to analyze what were the channels and the main vehicle of these changes, especially at a cultural level.

The questions grid has been largely simplified, reduced to 15 points (for a total of 27 questions). The questions examine the role of iconographic teaching, both the "authorized" one (wall maps, book covers, illustrations in textbooks, films for teaching purposes), and the "parallel" one (childhood comics, but also TV shows, films and advertisements).

During the first three years, in which we have used the new timetable, we obtained a total of 381 interviews—all transcribed—together with the corresponding audio recordings.[5] It is however, necessary to point out the weaknesses of this collection (kept at the Museum of Education at the University of Padova), starting from the heterogeneity and the limited experience—even if offset by intensive training—of the person who actually obtained the interviews, each with his own point of view. I must also add that the average quality of the recordings is good, with some significant peaks that largely compensate the few interviews that

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[5]During the academic year 2011–12, 46 students participated in the activity; 44 in 2012–13 and 37 in 2013–14.

are less articulated. At the same time, this variety in the collection is also an important aspect to be noted, because it was possible to collect a representative sample of almost all the Italian regions.

To conclude, I would like to dedicate the last lines to the formulation of a wish. Unfortunately, at the moment Italy is lacking a collective catalog or a database that allows one to query the documentary heritage kept by the various research centers. I think that one of the main goals of cultural and archival institutions is to create a common platform, exploiting the potential of the Internet to create a large collective catalog. It is a difficult challenge, but with enormous advantages in terms of historical research and accessibility to primary sources.

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Chapter 12
School Memories of Students from the Teacher's School in Travnik

Snježana Šušnjara

12.1 Introduction

In the period before the Second World War, the society of Bosnia and Herzegovina was a traditional and patriarchal one in which all values of life were filtered and measured by the quantity of land in one's possession. Therefore, all my interviewees lived on land and from land. They produced food and had cattle and that was their basic source of living. They were God-fearing people and they accepted everything life brought them with their faith. After the Second World War, when the new socialist ideology came into force, the situation changed drastically for the followers of all religious denominations, but common peasants were not disturbed. They kept their faith and adapted themselves to the new circumstances. They had religious books at home, where fathers would read holy texts to the numerous members of the family. Later on, after completing several grades of education, children would read the books or sing the hymns. This could also be a reason why fathers allowed their female children to continue their education. They understood the importance of education and the benefits of it for the future life of their children. The interviewees with whom I have spoken underlined the father figure who supported them in their wishes to continue education and was prepared to borrow money to buy textbooks or musical instruments. If their fathers had not realized the importance of education, my interviewees would not have become teachers. Fathers were very proud of their daughters who completed the Teacher Training School and became teachers. They praised their daughters aloud, speaking about their achievement in front of less knowledgeable audiences, saying that all the village children could finish school if they were supported. "Who said that our daughters would not finish the school? My daughter is a teacher! She works in our village school!"

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This study examines the process of teacher education in an historical context of the post war period during the 1960s and 1970s. The teaching profession was a very popular choice among the local population in that period. Young people were encouraged to apply to teacher training schools because of the lack of professional teachers. This study is based on data from interviews collected from teachers who are now retired, but were formerly students of the Teacher Training School in Travnik. I have made several interviews with the former students, who spent their whole working lives in schools. Even though religion was forbidden for those who worked with children, all my interviewees come from catholic families with parents who kept going to church. They themselves also went to church during their schooling, but once they became teachers, they had to stop. The communist ideology did not allow such practices. The theoretical framework of the study is based on the social constructionist approach. Social constructivism is based on specific assumption of reality, knowledge and learning. Social constructivists believe that reality is constructed through human activity. For the social constructivists, reality cannot be discovered: it does not exist prior to its social invention (Beaumie 2001, p. 2). The findings indicated that education of students at the Teacher Training School was regulated in accordance with the current situation in the country. Socialism in former Yugoslavia had constructed the system in which educational process and teachers' work was influenced by the dominant ideology. Due to the lack of teachers, schools desperately needed professional teachers, those who were trained to work with children. There were many employed teachers in the post war period who only completed short teaching courses and whose work would have benefited from further instruction. Therefore, the Teacher Training School in Travnik was full of candidates who wanted to become teachers and were eager to be good teachers. This idea was created while they were observing and experiencing their own teachers' work during their elementary school years. They wanted to become a part of the school community and were enthusiastic about working with children. Papić claims that in the years after the Second World War, in 1946, when the schools for teachers were being formed and organized, they were merely occupied by young people from villages or small towns. The young from urban regions preferred other kinds of schools (Papić 1981).

The time that one spends at school usually remains as a nice memory. People thus have a tendency to remember only the best events and to idealize the times gone by. Therefore, my interviewees were particularly prepared to talk about positive experiences, forgetting the unpleasant or humiliating ones. They said that they were lucky to be a part of that School and that it was a once-in-a-lifetime opportunity for them. It was exactly what they wanted. Despite the difficulties of travelling, despite the hunger, the poverty, the cold and numerous inconveniences, they suppressed negative impressions as if these had never existed. I noticed that they wanted to keep the good memories in their minds. "Some teachers had their favourite students. I was never the one, but I did not mind!"

This study is based on data collected from a thematic interview conducted in 2015 with retired teachers who were former students of the Teacher Training School in Travnik. The style of the interviews was an informal, spoken language.

Six nice and friendly female teachers were prepared to talk about their professional career and personal difficulties during the period of education. All of them lived in the same region, called Lašva valley, and coped with similar travelling difficulties. Two of them were born in 1950, two in 1949, one in 1952 and another one in 1953, but they all went to school with the 1952 generation. The historical context of the research covers the period from 1960 to 1972, when the Teacher Training School closed down. The interviews were analysed by applying the social constructivist approach. Social constructivism highlights the importance of culture and context in understanding what takes place in a society and in constructing the knowledge based on this understanding (Derry 1999; McMahon 1997).

12.2   Elementary School Memories

In general, the memories of elementary school were positive. Going to school presented the students with an escape from hard domestic and field work or the obligation to take care of younger siblings. They considered learning as something new and enlightening, both demanding and interesting. The time spent at school was a privilege for female children. As already mentioned, the interviewees who agreed to talk about their experiences during their education in the 1960s mostly came from villages and lived modestly. They did not always have enough food to eat or clothes to wear. Their families had many children who had to work hard, looking after the cattle. Children also participated in field work, performing those task that were suited to them. All family members had to give their own contribution to the work no matter how old they were. The father was often the only member of the family who had paid employment, usually occupying a low-paid position (such as a doorman, a railway worker or similar).

> My father started to work at [Zenica] steelworks when he was 15. He was born in 1913, and was employed in 1928. He went to work on foot over the Kuber hill to Zenica when he was 17. There was no electricity at that time in our village, and no schools. We got electricity in 1960. We did not have water in the house, we used water from a stream. We went to school in Kaonik, about 3 kilometres away from our village. It was an old, yellow building. My brother, who was born in 1937, also went to this school. Everybody went to this school, and all the children went on foot. There was no paved road, only a dirt road. Cars were rare. There were old military vehicles, which transported labourers to work.

They finished elementary schools in places near their village. This meant that they had to walk for several kilometres. However, they were happy and did not complain. They saw how difficult life in the village was and they thanked God that their fathers were sensible and smart enough to send them to school.

> Only boys went to school permanently at that time! Girls would only complete the 4th grade. They don't need to go to school, people would say. Because my father worked at the steelworks, he said that I would go to school as long as I want to learn. If I come back, I would have to take care of the cattle.

Elementary schools in small places offered only education up to the fourth grade. If children wanted to continue their education, they had to travel by train to the nearest eight-grade school. Fortunately, my interviewees' parents agreed to send them to school. They had to get up early, walk one part of the road and then take a train.

> We had to wake up very early, at half past four in the morning. We would leave the house at six. We had to walk for half an hour to catch the train. My female friend, my male cousin and me. At half past one, the train went back. It was a workmen's train which transported workers to Lašva and then they would go to the steelworks. Once a week we had a music class and the teacher would come in the afternoon. So, we had to stay until 3 or 4 o'clock in the afternoon and then walk to Vitez, to our village. We needed 2-3 hours to reach the village.

Despite these difficulties, after finishing the elementary school they wanted to continue their education at the Teacher Training School in Travnik. They wanted to be teachers in order to help children in their villages, to make them literate and to make their life easier. This could be related to what Searle underlined "… a child is brought up in a culture where he or she simply takes social reality as granted…" (Searle 1995, p. 4).

> We finished elementary school and we wanted to go to the Teacher Training School. I always wanted to become a teacher. I was a poor girl while I attended the elementary school, where I was barefoot and wore patched clothes. We played games in the yard imitating our teachers. I never got the role of the teacher because I was sullen. These games inspired in me a great wish to be a teacher and I imagined that I would become a teacher one day. Mother wanted to send me to school if at all possible because of my illness. I stopped being ill when I was at school. I would be a teacher after all.

While attending the elementary school, they did not have shoes. Later on, they managed to get some boots or shoes and they took great care of them, wearing them only on special occasions. One of them remembers that she got her first shoes when she was in fifth grade when she was old enough to be confirmed in church. Nevertheless, their memories from elementary school were positive and they described their classroom as a place with a good atmosphere. The interviewees delightedly talked about their teachers, whom they adored. It became evident that they were the reason for their choice of future profession. They did not discuss the teaching methods, ways of presentation or classroom management, but only the traits of the teachers and their personality, appearance or habits. This was mentioned more often than the scheduled routine of the class. The most remarkable characteristics were the teachers' conduct and their view of the profession. For the poor peasant children, the teacher was like a person from another planet.

> I wanted to be as nice as my teacher was. She was a wonder to me. We were children from the village, going to school barefoot in the summer and wearing poor shoes in the winter. But my teacher, she had long dark hair and she wore a beautiful dress. She is still alive and still looks pretty. She was always a lady. We were badly dressed, in country people's clothes, while she looked as if she had arrived from a film set. That was when I wished to be like my teacher, the lady, one day.

The school buildings in the village were mostly inherited from previous regimes and were multifunctional. With an aim of reducing financial costs, the flats for teachers were incorporated in the school buildings. This sort of school arrangement existed in this village, too. The authority considered teachers to be influential and important people among the villagers. The villagers could observe the teachers' way of life and their way of managing the practicalities. They brought modern things to the village. Their presence was also a way of making education attractive and encouraging parents to send their children to school, especially girls. Namely, the majority of parents in the rural regions did not understand the importance of education and they prevented their children from attending classes at this time. "A real conflict appeared every year between the schools and the parents who intentionally broke the school rules" (Šušnjara 2009, p. 112).

> She did not do the physical work like we did. She had a maid who worked for her. She came to the classroom beautiful and nice. She walked around with her little boy in the wooden pram. The maid would do all the housework. That was a time when I wished to become a teacher and I never regretted it.

In general, the living conditions of teachers, their personality and the style of dressing impressed the village children, who had never before encountered people of that kind. They remained in their memory as caring teachers who could control the classroom, stay relaxed and communicate in a pleasant manner.

12.3 Memories from the Days of Studying at the Teacher Training School in Travnik

There were many prejudices concerning the education of female children. The traditional view that boys should attend schools but not girls, still prevailed in the period of time explored here. If girls were allowed to attend the elementary school, their number decreased in higher grades. A crisis became apparent in elementary education in 1967, when barely half of the enrolled pupils succeeded in finishing eight-year elementary schools (Šušnjara 2009, p. 109). However, the parents of my female interviewees were resolute and persevering enough to send their daughters to school.

> After finishing elementary school, I told my father that I would like to be a teacher. Our neighbour told him, "Don't send her to school, I sent my daughter and she dropped out twice. Our children cannot finish the school". My father told me to go with the other pupils. He told me to learn at school and come home when I finish. He said he would not come to school to check on me. My mother was illiterate but she also agreed that children should be sent to school. She said, "Go, my daughter, earn your own bread and don't listen to what anybody says".

The interviewees' words revealed the care of their parents and confidence they had in their children. They did not doubt their daughters' success. This father took

things in his stride, the mother thought about her daughter's independence and freedom of choice—"earn your own bread and don't listen to what anybody says".

The children had never seen a big town or a city. They would leave their village only to go to the church or the hospital. The primitive parental opinion that girls did not need education was a result of the poor education of parents. Their negative approach to this issue aimed to influence those parents who were eager to send their daughters to school (Šušnjara 2013, pp. 77–78).

> I had never been to Travnik before. My mother told me to take the train. "You are educated," she said, "you've had 8 years of education. You don't expect us to take you there!". We heard about the School from other people. But the neighbours used to tell my mum that she and my friend's father made a bad deal sending us, girls, to school. They told them that such an expense would be in vain. My mother replied, "You also have children, so you will see".

The Teacher Training School in Travnik was established in the complex of buildings that belonged to the former Jesuit theological school with a rich educational history from the time of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy. The building was a complex structure with numerous corridors and classrooms on different floors. Students often could not find their way out once they got in. This happened to the interviewees when they first came to Travnik, where they had never been before.

> Mr Sabljak taught music and played the piano. He tested our singing abilities. Those who had no talent for singing did not pass the entry exam, which was held on the third floor. The corridors were huge and we walked round and round in circles. We did not know how to get out of the school. We panicked. One of the students from Travnik showed us the way out. There was an elementary school in the mezzanine. The Comprehensive School, the School of Economy and the Teacher Training School were on the upper floors.

> One of the interviewees remembers:

> My friend and I went to Travnik to take the entry exam for the Teacher Training School. I was 15 and had never been anywhere before, only to the church in Busovača. We went by ourselves. There were some girls from Busovača with us. We had exams in Serbo-Croatian language and in music. The exams included reading, grammar, writing, literature, literacy, etc. I passed the entry exam.

They do not mention how difficult it was for them. They only say: "I passed the exam". That was enough for them.

After enrolment, new problems appeared. How would they travel to Travnik? There was a train, but not a regular one, and they had to spend time at train stations that were not particularly friendly environments. They did not even have money to buy food.

> We often went to Plava voda (tourist area), walking around, sitting in the park, or going to a hill near the hospital. If the weather was nice, we would sit and study because we would come home late. The six o'clock train did not stop near our station and we had to continue on foot. The gypsies used to make their camps in that area and we were frightened. Then we would go back and sit at the station until 9.30 p.m. when labourers arrived for the night shift at the steelworks. We spent all day away from home, frozen and hungry. When the

train arrived, it would stop at the station near our village, but I was not afraid to walk back alone to my village. And again we would wake up at half past six in the morning after arriving home about 10.00 p.m. I told my mother to wake me up about 3 a.m. to study again. I would then get up and study for an hour or two. The time spent on the train was mostly reserved for studying. We usually had a lot of learning materials. We had 13 school subjects. In the third and fourth grade we had practical lessons where we taught a class in front our teacher, the class teacher and all the classmates.

They took their situation seriously and did not complain. The main aim was to catch the right train and to get home. They organized their study time as best they could, not seeing this as something that could be done differently.

Professional expertise and objective practical work were subjects taught at the Teacher Training School in Travnik. Therefore, these interviewed teachers emphasized their efforts in order to follow the School's very demanding curriculum. At some periods of their education they were afraid of failure, of unpreparedness to face the challenges of the new school and its principles. They were not sure whether their previous knowledge was sufficient enough. "[I]t just turns out that in any real life situation one will find oneself in a complex of interlocking institutional realities" (Searle 1995, p. 35).

> I never read an entire book while I was in elementary school. In the Teacher Training School I had to read so many books. I thought I would die before I read all those books. The teacher would give us a list of books for the current school year and I was afraid I would fail.

As the findings suggest, the interviewees acknowledged that education had provided them with an understanding of the multidimensional character of the teaching profession, including a variety of pedagogical and didactic methods. All of them agreed that the School provided its students equally with theoretical and practical knowledge. Despite their fears and insecurities, they considered that the time spent at the School was of great importance for their professional development but also for the improvement of their personality and character. The education also influenced their attitudes towards health and aesthetic appearance. Namely, at that time many young people and adults would not go to the dentist's even thought they were losing their teeth. One of them shared her experience regarding this issue.

> At that time, if you had a toothache, you got rid of the tooth. I had gaps in my teeth, having only my first two teeth. That wasn't strange. In the third and fourth grade we had to do a demanding practical work. We would usually go to see the teacher who was in charge of the class in which we were supposed to do the practical teaching work. So I went to the teacher to get the third grade teaching unit to prepare my teaching materials. While we were making arrangements, the pupils were in the classroom. They looked at me and I heard one girl telling her friend: "How can this person be a teacher without any teeth!". I was astonished! I immediately went to the dentist, crying. The dentist was a very nice lady. She listened to me and said that the child was right. She quickly treated my teeth and I did my practical work in the school with my teeth restored. I was accepted by the children as a teacher. If this had not happened, I would have continued to live and work with gaps in my teeth!

12.4   Teachers and Students

The teachers I interviewed admitted that the teaching profession had changed their life. They were enriched with new knowledge, practical instructions and teaching skills. They also stated that lectures and ways of teaching and advice from their own teachers influenced their professional identity. They kept repeating what their teachers used to say about the graduates who had only recently completed the teaching course.

> When you come to school to work as teacher, they (the teachers who have only just completed the teaching course) will try to ignore you and your education. Listen to me, don't ask them about anything you don't know. It is better to write it down, check it later and present it to the children when you are certain. Take my advice, don't expect answers from someone who knows less than you.

Their teachers were strict and asked for knowledge and discipline. School uniform was obligatory. There were 4 to 5 classes enrolled in the first form of the Teacher Training School in 1966 and only 3 of those classes successfully completed the school. One class disbanded during the first year, another one during the second year. There were 26 girls and 6 boys in the class of the two interviewees in the fourth, final grade at the Teacher Training School in Travnik. One of the reasons for the majority of girls at the School might be the predominant opinion at that period that education and bringing up of children is a traditionally female task (Đokanović et al. 2015). The teachers at the School were very good lecturers, thorough and precise. Some of them were particularly methodical and scrupulous. They used to come from all over former Yugoslavia. This was a policy of the newly established socialist state, where which the deficiency of teachers was evident. The national authority preferred establishing the teacher training schools by posting the best teachers to work in them. Even at difficult times with regard to material conditions, these schools were privileged with donations. These schools also got proper moral and political support from the new authority. For that reason the teacher training schools contributed with all their efforts and achievements to justify the privilege. New, progressive ideas entered these schools and were more effective than in others. Democratization was also much more developed in these schools. This was a positive climate for founding new generations of teachers after the war (Papić 1981).

> Our teachers had authority and we were afraid of them. But they were objective and knew how to transfer knowledge. The teaching methods teacher was great. He presented the teaching contents from his head. He would simply talk, and we soaked it in. We had books but the teacher's experience was of great importance. Teachers were dressed in a modest and appropriate manner. Some of the female teachers wore mantels. Male teachers wore suits. Nothing extraordinary.

They did not question their teachers' authority. They thought it was supposed to be the way it was. They were accustomed to authority and discipline.

When asking about classrooms, the interviewees said that they were adequately equipped. Tables and seats were classic. Every classroom had a picture of Tito

(president of Yugoslavia) on the wall. The school also had a cinema where pupils watched educational movies when it was appropriate. The library was a part of the school and had a sufficient amount of books.

This was a very modern school for that period of time. The fact that school had a cinema was very innovative, and it was a surprising finding.

According to the findings, the students' school memories played a significant role in the development of their professional identity. During their education, they had to find their own way of teaching and to create their own identity based on the inspiration they received during their schooling. They wanted to be good teachers by offering a positive approach to their pupils. They never forgot the influence and assistance of their own village teacher, who helped them during their education. They used to ask them for advice, support, or practical help. One of the interviewees said that her former elementary school teacher practiced mathematics with her and assisted her in writing. They never lost contact with their former pupils. Today such a relationship is not usually the case. Despite all the difficulties, all interviewees agreed that they would choose the same profession again. The Teacher Training School in Travnik was an exceptional school, very modern for its time and very prosperous. Students from the whole of Yugoslavia used to come to Travnik to attend this school.

> The faculty today cannot be compared with this school, no faculties can. Those who succeeded in completing this school were real experts. We learnt so much at that time. This was proven by the fact that we found employment in schools very soon after completing the final exam, which was difficult and lasted for several days. Before the exam, we had to do some probation work, a sort of practical work performed over the course of three weeks in the elementary schools in the region.

Senior, mostly female teachers were mentors and advisers. In most cases, they were the future colleagues of the young teachers. They said that, as young teachers, they had learnt a lot from them. According to social constructivists, learning is a social process which does not occur only within an individual nor is it a passive development of behaviours that are created by external factors (McMahon 1997). Meaningful learning takes place when persons are included in social activities (Beaumie 2001).

> They were like mothers. These memories made a mark on me and my work as a teacher. My identity is stamped with the experience of my own schooling. My personal life is marked with the difficulties I went through in my life.

12.5 Conclusions

Based on the findings of the research, at the beginning of their individual work as teachers the interviewees had set the objectives that sustained and supported their professional development. Their professional identity of a teacher was based on their early school experiences. Their personal life and experiences, together with

school memories, are interrelated and they significantly coloured their professional identity. As Searle pointed out, "this is because social reality is created by us for our purposes and seems to be readily intelligible to us as those purposes themselves" (Searle 1995, p. 4). During their education, they got a realistic image of their future profession as much as it was possible. This presented a basis for the development of their professional identity. Teachers cannot separate their traits, private and professional sphere of life that they bring into the classroom. Their professional identity focuses, above all, on their teaching work, as education in the school is mainly directed towards a theoretical approach and essential practical things. During their studies, the students attending the Teacher Training School were supposed to discover those features that were best suited to their way of thinking and managing things. Every interviewee formulated a new situation through their personal estimations but also through common understanding of the situation by using determined and generally accepted patterns. In each case, the practical work they performed year by year shaped their professional identity. They were satisfied with their teaching careers and with their achievements. The best results of their successful teaching activity are their former pupils, who remember them longingly. "Such a reward is priceless", they say.

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Chapter 13
Faded Memories Carved in Stone: Teachers' Gravestones as a Form of Collective Memory of Education in Slovenia in the 19th and Early 20th Century

Branko Šuštar

The contribution presents on the basis of previous research (Šuštar 1997) and recent studies various forms of memories of schools and teachers, ranging from scarce public memorials to commemorative plaques and teachers' gravestones in cemeteries that were attended to by their colleagues and former students.[1] From the end of the 19th century to the decades after World War I, setting up monuments to deceased colleagues was one of the most visible activities of local (district) teacher societies. They were well aware that obituaries in school periodicals were an important form of memorials that in the course of time proved to be more permanent than words carved in gravestones. In many a place, carefully maintained gravestones as genuine historical documents still bear witness to the former school system that ceased to exist several decades ago, while elsewhere the memories of deceased teachers have been blurred by the changes brought about by time. From mid-1920s, symbolic memorials to teachers in the form of contributions to teaching institutions, i.e. secondary student residence facility, were becoming increasingly more common while teachers' families attended to the gravestones (Šuštar 2013). However, every teacher set up their own monument through their work with students in schools and in extracurricular activities. Teachers as members of the intelligentsia, promoters of cultural and economic, sometimes also political development played an important role in an area, since some of them held offices of municipal secretaries or even mayors, and many of them were involved in a wide range of societies' activities. The role of female teachers was equally important even though their activities were different and they had more difficulties making a name for themselves in public (Šuštar 2000).

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13.1 Public Monuments to Teachers and Education

Public memorials to individuals linked with education are scarce in Slovenia, however they date back to the beginnings of erecting public memorials as they were intended for figures who not only distinguished themselves in the pedagogical sphere, but their roles were considerably bigger. This is the case of the memorial to Valentin Vodnik (1758–1819) that was put up in front of his former school in the center of Ljubljana, however, as a monument to one of the first Slovene poets. Presently, the memorial is located in the very same spot, but following significant town-planning changes the central marketplace is situated behind it (Rozman 1965). Similarly, memorials to the influential pedagogue Slomšek (1800–1962) were sooner erected in the honour of the first catholic bishop in Maribor in eastern Slovenia (e.g. in the Maribor cathedral by the sculptor Franc Zajc 1878) and his important cultural activities among Slovenes rather than in honour of the pedagogue. Nevertheless, some sculptural motifs presenting bishop Slomšek as the pedagogue and author of textbooks depicted with a schoolgirl and schoolboy (Slovenska Bistrica 1939) or a schoolboy (Celje 1936, 1996) refer to school only (Šuštar 1999).

Monuments to teachers can be found among public memorials in Ljubljana, however, in the majority of cases to commemorate university professors who are presented as scientists (e.g. Fran Miklošič, the Slavic philologist at the University of Vienna, who after 1918 replaced Austrian emperor Francis Joseph I at the same pedestal; the renowned mathematician Jurij Vega; the literary historian Ivan Prijatelj) or a series of memorials to composers, including music pedagogues on the Vegova Street in Ljubljana) (Čopič et al. 1991, pp. 36, 84–85). The symbolic figures are present also near the entrance to some significant older school buildings (e.g. on the same street located secondary school of 1874 with figures referring to commerce and industry; the Commercial Academy that was built in 1934 on the Prešernova Street with various personifications of, among other things, wisdom, knowledge, commerce) (Čopič et al. 1991, pp. 38, 42).

Thoroughly exceptional is also the more than 100-year-old "school monument" commissioned by the town authorities that is located in the centre of Radovljica (Gorenjska region of north-west Slovenia) in the form of a well with a figure of a schoolboy and a portrait medallion depicting the donor Josipina Hočevar (Čopič 2000, pp. 234–235), a local of Radovljica, who was also a supporter of the development of the local school system. In the quality full-bodied sculptural depiction of a schoolboy that was authored by the local sculptor Pavlin (1875–1914) of the well-established local carver's workshop, one can also see motifs of the contemporary Czech influence or, at least, impulse (Sinobad 2003).

The memorial in the vicinity of the cathedral in Ljubljana commemorating September of 1908 victims of military violence resulting from German-Slovene national tensions, the 15-year-old secondary school student Ivan Adamič and the 22-year-old worker Rudolf Lunder, also depicts a grammar school student, however, it is not a school memorial. Similarly, memorials to students and teachers who

fell during World War II are mostly memorials referring to war and to the resistance movement. The Pioneer memorial (by the sculptor Z. Kalin) that is located near the National Museum of Contemporary History is also linked to that period even though it depicts children at play. Childhood and youth motifs can be found also in the sculptural decoration at entrance of the Parliament (1954) (Čopič et al. 1991, pp. 52–53, 98–99, 155). The outdoor monuments in Maribor dedicated to the important educator Henrik Schreiner (1850–1920) and to four pedagogues were erected in Maribor in 1955 and 1980 (Rakovec 2015).

After 1945, in line with the predominant political and ideological communist orientation in Yugoslavia and in Slovenia as one of its republics, the educational system promoted memories of teachers of both genders and pupils/students, members of the partisan resistance movement and revolutionists. They were represented by individual memorials in or near schools, names of Young Pioneer Organizations and names of schools, which many were changed in the 1990s after democratic change and formation of the Republic of Slovenia. The modern era brought about a visible 2.5 m memorial to two teachers whose importance stems also from their pedagogical work, however they were depicted due to their achievements in mountaineering and the national character of Slovene mountains. The metal memorial was in 1993 produced by the academic sculptor Franc Purg from Celje and depicts the professor at the University of Graz Johannes Frischauf (1837–1924) and the principal and a teacher of the Gornji Grad elementary school Fran Kocbek (1863–1930). The mountaineering pioneers in the Savinja Alps and their friendly mountaineering cooperation marks the memorial located near the mountain hut in one of the most scenic Slovene Alpine valleys named Logarska dolina with an enchanting view of the 2,500 m high Alpine summits ("Še dva moža" 1993).

13.2 Memorial Plaques and Memorials as Symbol of Grateful

At the end of the 19th century, Slovene teachers put up commemorative plaques for their deceased colleagues on their birthplaces, however, merely to the most prominent individuals who due to their public activities became a constituent part of the broader international culture or at least achieved pan-Slovene cultural distinction. This is the case with plaques whose putting up was the result of efforts by teacher societies and which commemorate, for instance, the notable mathematician Franc Močnik (1814–1892), the author of some 150 textbooks titles, translated into 14 languages and published in many editions (Magajne 2014, p. 42), and Andrej Praprotnik (1827–1895), "the utmost deserving champion of Slovene school and teaching". The unveiling of plaques on the houses where they were born (Močnik's 1894 in Cerkno, Praprotnik's 1897 in Podbrezje) with a relief image and his words: "My first concern is the youth—the same my homeland" was followed by the

publication of postcards honouring their lives (Gangl 1896). In 1911, their names were inscribed in the side façades of what was at the time new school located along one of the city's arteries (Ljubljana-Vič).

Another case from the rural environment is that of the Slovene school at Vinica on the border river Kolpa, where in a committed Slovene-Croatian cooperation were put up memorial plaques for two brothers, teachers, authors and editors, who were born in the family of the Slovene teacher Bernard Tomšič. Ivan and Ljudevit were influential pedagogues, the first one in Slovenia and the second in Croatia. The plaque commemorating Ivan Tomšič (1838–1894) was set up by the Slovene teacher society from White Carniola/Bela krajina in 1897 (Odkritje 1897), the plaque commemorating Ljudevit Tomšič (1843–1902) as Croatian pedagogue by the Croatian cultural society from Zagreb in 1907. Celebrations in the spirit of Slovene-Croatian brotherhood were held on both occasions (Tihozor 1907).

It was more common for former students, teaching colleagues and individual members of the interested public to strive for the erection of gravestones for deceased teachers. Such cases can be found at the former St. Christopher's Cemetery in Ljubljana, the present-day memorial park Navje. Let us at least mention the gravestone in the form of a tall obelisk with "noticeable memorial pretensions" as a case of gratitude to teachers that was put up by his grateful students after a whip-round spanning a period of several years in 1855 (according to the wording in Latin … "praeceptori optimo, dilectissimo grata juventus") to their best and most favourite teacher Joanni Bapt. Kersnik (1783–1850) (Benedik 2013, p. 32).

Several other local memorials with inscriptions also reveal the history of education: Matija Čop (1797–1835) is in a verse by the great poet F. Prešeren described as a teacher on colleges in Rijeka (Croatia), Lviv (Ukraine), and in Ljubljana (at the time in the Habsburg monarchy). The representational gravestone includes an inscription of the Czech Piarist Jožef K. Likavec/Joseph C. Likawetz (1773–1850), who was a grammar school teacher and the former rector of the University of Graz who was at the time of his death the curator of the lyceum library in Ljubljana. Other gravestones include also literary active grammar school teachers, the first headmaster of the technical secondary school (*realka*) in Ljubljana Mihael Peternel (1808–1884), and the author Luka Jeran (1818–1896), the founder of the secondary students' soup kitchen who is referred to as the "father of the poor and of secondary school students" (Piškur and Žitko 1997).

In Slovene ethnic territory, support in form of smaller grant funds for schoolchildren, secondary and tertiary students was frequent—P. Ribnikar states archival data for 221 institutions in central Slovenia (Carniola/Kranjska) that were established for a single, for two or some of them also for several grant recipients whose financial position was aggravated mostly by WWI (Ribnikar 1999). One of the preserved former grant foundations is, for instance, the Lucas Knaffelsche Stiftung/Lucas Knaffel University Foundation in Vienna which by means of grants and a building in the first Viennese district preserves the memory of this the seventeenth-century school benefactor (Vodopivec 1971). Exceptional is also the case of the preserved memory of a school benefactor (Dr. Ivan Oražen 1869–1921),

who left his entire property to a foundation that supported medical students; the inscription "Oražnov dijaški dom" [Oražen's boarding house] on his house which he donated for medical students' housing in the Ljubljana city center, the portrait head carved in the building and the gravestone at the central cemetery in Ljubljana (Žale) bear witness to his contribution for the development of education (Oražnov 2015).

The memories of once present benevolence of the majority of school benefactors have almost faded into oblivion. This is the case of, for instance, the wine merchant and his spouse (J.C. and Ana Juvančič) in the Spodnja Šiška suburbs of Ljubljana who from the end of the 19th century onward provided winter clothing and footwear for poor schoolchildren. Written historical sources reveal their support for schoolchildren, however, their kindness is not mentioned on their gravestone (Šuštar 1992). The same applies to the gravestone of Anton Kržič (1846–1920), which was put up by his friends, former students, fellow clergymen and teachers in 1922 for 22,000 crowns at the central cemetery in Ljubljana as a memorial to an author and editor of young adult publications. The gravestone that is embellished with symbols and inscriptions mentions the literary and editorial activity of the former teacher at the college of education in Ljubljana, while other sources depict him also as a student benefactor (V spomin 1922).

Several memorials were set up by former students out of gratitude to their first teachers. This is the case with the even nowadays impressive gravestone in the cemetery at settlement Fram near Maribor, which was initiated and financed by the author, patron and educator Dr. Pavel Turner in memory of his former elementary school teacher Franc Domanjko (1799–1858). This educated teacher stood out among other teachers due to his grammar school education and erudition. The inscription states his 39-year-long work at Fram and characterises him as an "examplary teacher". The erection of the memorial as many as 29 years after his death was accompanied by a grand celebration in the Slovene national spirit that took place in mid-September 1887 (J. H. 1887).

A memorial to the elementary school teacher Filip Koderman (1834–1916) was put up by in a slightly different manner by his former student Anton Bezenšek (1856–1915) at Frankolovo near Celje who was at the time a grammar school teacher in Plovdiv and the first Bulgarian stenographer. Koderman's teaching enabled a number of students to continue their education in grammar schools and, consequently, to study for intellectual professions. When in September 1896 he received the emperor's decoration for his 44-year long work in school, Bezenšek as s "former grateful student" penned a poem in his honour and had it printed about 300 copies (Sosed 1896). Of a teacher and headmaster at Frankolovo Filip Koderman remind us to a greater extent this literary memorial in print, newspaper articles and an obituary, and at Frankolovo, the gravestone to his wife who passed away there, since he died and was buried at Bočna near Gornji Grad, i.e. more than 50 km away from the location of his former teaching post. Since 2014 a portrait memorial to Anton Bezenšek has been standing in front of the Frankolovo elementary school which bears his name.

13.3   Teacher Memorials as Activity of Local Teacher Societies and Friends

The awareness of the importance of teacher's work that formed closer professional links can be observed from the 1860s onward also in activities of local teacher societies, and later on, in their regional and Slovene connections (Šuštar 2000). Teachers' professional pride stemming from doing important cultural and national work, which would actually be visible years later through their students' results, but which is otherwise, in general, less noticeable, encouraged teachers to erect memorials to deceased colleagues who left their mark in history, but often also children who were unprovided for. The late teacher's family was normally not in the position to cover the expense of putting up a memorial. They formed a committee and engaged in public fundraising, which was from the end of the 19th century onward one of teacher societies' regular activities. Solely through tenacious whip-rounds among not particularly well paid teachers they managed to keep the memory of deceased teachers alive in towns where they held teaching posts and where they were usually buried (Šuštar 2013).

In places, such gravestones that were set up by district teacher societies which with great effort raised funds for the erection of memorials for their deceased members can be found throughout Slovenia even at present, while elsewhere merely reports in school periodicals bear witness to their existence. Teachers were aware of financial limitations in the erection of memorials. A note on a deceased teacher in a periodical was also considered to be a gratitude memorial; in February 1888, a correspondent for the journal Učiteljski tovariš encouraged the "recording of their names for future generations to honour their memory with gratitude" ("Od Adrije" 1888).

In a number of cases published obituaries provide genuine biographical data, data on fund-raising for the gravestone, on inscriptions, and the subsequent ceremony marking its erection; on numerous occasions they turned out to be more long-lasting in the course of time than words carved in stone. Many a gravestone that was put up with difficulties is due to limited space in graveyards, a change in taste or simply carelessness not existent any more, while elsewhere we encounter the attitude of respect for those who a generation or two ago formed the cultural, economic and political development and thus built the national identity.

In mid-August 1882 at the cemetery at Zgornje Gorje near Bled, a ceremony was held to unveil the memorial to their "illustrious colleague" Matej Tonejc (1846–1882), the author of tales in the Triglav mountain range, who held a teaching post in girls' schools in Klagenfurt and Vienna. Along with his personal data the inscription also includes the following: "Blessed be his memory!/'He is not obliged to do only the commands by profession, what can the man is obliged to do.'" The Principal of the local school concluded his address with a call to act for the welfare of the motherland in the words of the late colleague: "To live for a nation/and more, to suffer for it/should guidance be enough/for when the times turn rough!" (Iz Gorjan 1882). The gravestone of the teacher Martin Krek (1834–1888), which

was put up in 1888 in the cemetery at Smlednik near Ljubljana, enables us to trace the fund-raising activities. The cost for the gravestone, which is to this day attended to by the locals, equivalent to three to four teacher monthly salary. More than 60 priests, teachers of both genders and others donated sums ranging from half to 10 florins for the memorial to an "honest man who is matched by few in the world". The inscription on the gravestone reads: "Put up by colleagues and friends" (Iz Smlednika 1888).

The gravestone of Franz Kugler, the 27-year-old teacher at the former one-class elementary school at Langenthon/Smuka in Kočevska region in south Slovenia who was died accidentally in January 1888, was installed some five years later by the members of the German-speaking teacher society in Kočevje in collaboration with Slovene teacher society in Novo mesto. The memorial is located in the near-by cemetery Stari Log and it is with its German inscription of the few preserved memorials of settlements in the former German enclave which existed from mid-14th century to the winter of 1941–42 (Šuštar 2007). In April 1891 the committee of the 3-years active district teacher society in Postojna in central-west Slovenia, decided to put up a proper gravestone at Košana for the late local teacher and headmaster Filip Kette (1849–1891). July 9 was set as the date of the "un-veiling of the memorial" and a local stonemason was commissioned to produce the gravestone; the society's ordinary general assembly was scheduled on that same day (Dimnik 1891) .

The ceremony marking the installation of a memorial to a teacher is also pre-sented by a case from the area of Postojna. A gravestone for the young teacher Andrej Križaj (1862–1886) who held his teaching post for mere two years in smaller schools on the outskirts of Postojna was put up at his birthplace in the village of Orehek nearby. "If we respect and hold each other in high esteem, we shall be esteemed and respected by others," was penned on the occasion of the ceremony that was held in October 1892 and commemorated their colleague who had died in the area of Postojna six years earlier. They gathered at a requiem mass in the local church and "then the funeral procession with students at the head proceeded to the cemetery". One of the twelve teachers present held a speech in honour of the deceased next to the memorial and finished off as follows: "Your colleagues who stand here by your grave will do our best to follow the same ideals which you would have pursued if the Almighty had let you live longer". A funeral song was sung after 'Farewell!', the pupils placed two fresh wreaths on the grave and once again bid farewell to the deceased, left the cemetery and had a meal together. At the exquisite meal toasts were made honouring the deceased, his family, fundraisers and donors for the memorial (Iz postojinskega 1892). The teachers in county of Gorizia needs some months to have erected in Renče cemetery a monument to his colleague Anton Bajc (1845–1903) with the inscription praises him as the exemplary educator (Alojzij 1903). The respectful concern of the local branch school for the gravestone of Anton Šumljak (1871–1903), the first head-master of elementary school at Gotovlje near Žalec (east Slovenia), which has for more than a hundred years linked the school to its history, indicates the importance of school in the village and carries a living message (Kresnik and Vasle 2006).

A beautifully designed gravestone with a portrait photograph of the young teacher that cost 200 crowns to make was put up in November 1904 at the village cemetery by the locals and by members of the Celje district teacher society, who came up with 3/4 of the required amount. The inscription in the gravestone is characteristic of the period: "He was young, with a character of steel/loving ardently the youth placed in his care/burning for his country and his nation/Blessed be his memory!". The obituary to the young teacher, who died of at that time quite frequent occupational disease (tuberculosis) that had four years earlier been fatal for his wife as well, mentions their son and is concluded with the following question: "They are survived by little Ivan, their 4-year-old only child. What fate awaits the little orphan? Will he lead his father's life? God only knows!" (Iz Gotovelj 1904). Indeed, Ivan Šumljak (1899–1984) became a teacher, but he was also a mountaineer, who left a mark in Slovene history in early 1950s with his idea of the Slovenian Mountain Hiking Trail from Maribor in eastern Slovenia, all the Alpine ranges to the Adriatic (Mihelič 2013).

The autumn of 1896 when "the Logatec district teacher and friends of school society" ceremoniously unveiled memorials to their three deceased members is a case of efforts by teacher societies to erect memorials: two of them in the mining town of Idrija and one of them at Dolenji Logatec. This village is the location of the memorial to the very active teacher Vojteh Ribnikar (1857–1895), who was at the time of his death in 1895 school principal in Logatec, he also helmed the local teacher society and was the first president of the important Association of Slovene Teacher Societies (Šega 1895). Andrej Praprotnik (1827–1895) and Matej Močnik also died that same year, two influential Slovene pedagogues both of them were also editors of the journal *Učiteljski tovariš* that was first published in 1861. Praprotnik memorial in Ljubljana central cemetery that was put up by the Slovene Teacher Society nowadays also bears witness to his extended family of teachers (Gangl 1896). Somewhat more nostalgic is the history of the gravestone of the teacher and principal in Celje Armin Gradišnik (1858–1921), the formerly influential figure who co-founded the pan-Slovene Association of Slovene Teacher Societies in 1889. Marking of the erection of the memorial in 1922, the central teacher journal published an extensive contribution with his portrait photograph on the cover and praised the significance of his work (Krajnc 1922). Since decades ago Golovec, the cemetery in the outskirts of Celje, was abandoned and gradually remodeled into an open park, several gravestones are damaged or lost; teacher's monumental gravestone is laid flat on the ground. It can be identified merely by means of a list and the surrounding gravestones that were discussed in a research paper produced by secondary school students and the Museum of Recent History Celje in the early 1990s (Počivavšek 1996). The record on paper can be of much more durable nature than a stone memorial.

Teacher societies set up memorials to their less influential members as well. Through the effort of the Litija district teacher society a memorial to a teacher was set up shortly before World War I which is nowadays still maintained at the small school Zasavska sveta Gora amid the remote hilly hamlets surrounding Litija (central Slovenia). In the winter of 1911/12, the "sufferer-martyr colleague" Fran

Del Cott (1856–1912), who taught in a number of schools in western and central Slovenia and whose last post was in this remote settlement, died in his prime. The fort church with a cemetery that is walled off with a sixteenth-century fort for protection against the Ottoman invasions is located at the top of the hill and in its vicinity one finds a school building which has been remodelled into an inn. The memorial to the teacher that is located by the viewpoint next to the cemetery wall includes the teacher's portrait photograph and an inscription about the gentle, fervent teacher who was an avid admirer of freedom and progress with the following wording: "Long live the honour of your memory" (Prošnja 1912). In some parts, gratitude to former teachers was of short duration. A memorial to the teacher and principal Leopold Božič (1837–1922), who helmed the primary school in Žiri in west-central Slovenia the longest and retired in 1903, was "put up by the grateful population of Žiri" as the inscription read. However, less than 50 years after his passing his grave was dug up and the memorial discarded. All that is left of the gravestone is a portrait medallion that is kept in the local museum (Naglič 1998).

The case of the principal Fran Papler (1842–1911) is indicative of how memorials to respected teachers were set up in the vicinity of Ljubljana before World War I. After his retirement, he "remained in his beloved Borovnica" where as an "avid promoter of progress" he had held a teaching post since 1875. His funeral in mid-December 1911 was attended by many people from his native and from neighboring municipalities, but also by some of his students from Ljubljana. Immediately after the funeral, a fund-raising committee was formed in order to "have a proper gravestone installed for this deserving man". They were successful in acquiring funds as "contributions by relatives, friends and his grateful students sufficed and that enough money will be left for future education of the people". The memorial event was organised in May 1912 as a national awakening meeting. A reporter saw the collecting of voluntary contributions as an example of how "the nation respects their faithful teachers. The nation which holds its true teachers in such high esteem must surly have a bright future" ("Nadučitelj Fran Papler" 1912).

13.4 How Do We Put up Permanent Teacher Memorials?

As early as at the end of the 19th century, obituaries in newspapers, grants and establishments of museums were considered to be "memorials". The Slovenian School Museum in Ljubljana emerged in 1897–98 as a memorial by means of which Slovene and Istrian-Croatian teachers that were gathered in the Association of Slovene Teacher Societies marked the fiftieth anniversary of reign of the emperor Francis Joseph and bore witness to teachers' activities in the spirit of the new Educational Law (1869) (Iz Zaveze 1897). In general, the attitude towards the erection of stone memorials changed both in teacher societies and among teachers themselves. In cases of exceptional pedagogical figures or if the operation was led by an enthusiastic friend, teachers were able to stand together in the effort to install a gravestone for a deceased colleague. However, in time, the prevailing attitude

among teachers was that memorials ought to be attended to by one's relations and relatives, while in cases of teachers with no relatives the memorials were to be attended to by the local population of the town where they had held their posts. Who sets up a memorial, shall attend to it! If a memorial was put up by teachers who were not of local origin, the memorial that was installed with great effort became neglected within several years.

In 1925, the influential teacher Anton Hren published an article entitled "How do we put up a permanent memorial to our excellent deceased male and female colleagues?". In the article he praised teachers' beautiful practice of installing gravestones to their male and female colleagues, raising the question whether this practice is "as practical as it is beautiful". In his opinion teachers "carve their own memorials in the hearts of the young and of the local population". He believed that the memory of those who deserve credit for their unforgettable contribution to "teaching profession, school and the nation" and became "guiding stars" has to be preserved for posterity. "A sense of gratitude toward our excellent male and female colleagues" stimulated the erection of a visible memorial to these role models, which are not to be located somewhere in the village cemetery, but "there where our successors are being educated". He promoted the materialization of the idea of establishing Teacher's boarding house in Maribor and Ljubljana by means of fundraisers, thus commemorating the deceased whose names and respective teacher societies are to be inscribed in plaques, with the latter honouring the memories of the former (Hren 1925). In the 1930s funds were being raised for the commemorative stone that was to preserve the names and memories of model teachers for future generations.

Gravestones of deceased male and female teachers, but also of students who had been attending the college of education after World war I were mostly maintained by their relatives. In some gravestones, the work conducted by the deceased is indicated by means of an inscription (e.g. the pyramidal tomb of Josip Bertok (1882–1921) at cemetary Dekani near Koper/Capodistria), while in others by means of artistic depictions (e.g. with photography as the tombstone of Slovene teacher in Korte in Coastal region Fran Orel (1873–1919), renoved on the occasion of the 90th anniversary of his death by the cultural society Korte) (Kulturno društvo 2015).

The portrait image of a female teacher presents an interesting memorial in a gravestone, depicting a female teacher with two young pupils that was set up in the memory of the almost 25-year-old teacher Vilka Nepužlan (1910–1935) by her relatives in the central Ljubljana cemetery (Žale). In the obituary, which was penned in a heart-felt manner immediately after her death by a female peer, we meet a young teacher who was after a long wait appointed a teaching post in the Slovene Alpine region (Srednja vas v Bohinju). However, at the beginning of spring "cruel death broke the blossom of your early life…" and her young hopes vanished into thin air. She had been looking forward to a tour of Bulgaria with teacher choir and had even attended choir practice in mid-March. The author of the short obituary, which included a picture, promised to plant a Bulgarian rose in her memory. She assured her that "a beautiful and bright memory of you shall live in our hearts". The choir's tour of Bulgaria was a success, those Bulgarian roses withered away

(-ina 1935), and the depiction of Vilka with two pupils was attracting attention on a quality gravestone.

In 1930s pedagogical periodicals mentioned permanent teacher memorials rather symbolically by presenting their efforts and achievements. The Krško Teacher Society (in south-east Slovenia) wrote about prominent Slovene padadogues: "How do we put up a permanent memorial": Ivan Lapajne in the sphere of cooperativism, Dr. Tomaž Romih with the restoration of the vineyard, Ljudevit Stiasny and Josip Brinar as practical pedagogical authors, Fran Gabršek as the founder of the pedagogical society and promoter of pedagogical literature (*Pedagoški zbornik)*, Dragotin Humek as an author, editor and painter, and Aleksander Lunaček "set up a living memorial to himself as an economist and fruit grower" ("Učiteljsko društvo" 1939). The same thoughts were also shared in the Kozjansko region in 1935 as they described a member of their teaching society, a retired principal who taught mostly at Prevorje, in a hamlet far from traffic, as "meticulous, hard-working at school and selfless outside of it". He engaged in fruit growing and set himself up countless growing memorials" ("Franc Šetinc" 1935).

Such memorial, the pride of a town or country, can also be a new school building. At the opening of the new school in Gradišče on the northern border with Austria in September of 1936, which was attended to by the national defence school Society of St. Cyril and Methodius, they wrote that the society marked its fiftieth anniversary by "building the most beautiful memorial to itself" ("Narodni praznik" 1936). A note *In memoriam* in the periodical was—and still is—considered to be a memorial. With these words began a note on Franc Štefančič (1868–1938), a teacher from Šmarje near Ljubljana, who held teaching posts in three settlements in central Slovenia. The author of the note, waited in vain for some of the numerous colleagues to pen a few lines in his memory. "Therefore let me put up a modest memorial to you; you have earned it with your meticulous work of more than 30 years," he wrote and continued in the journal *Učiteljski tovariš*: "Štefančič was a genuine teacher; teacher out of love for the young" (Novak 1930).

Even though not every deceased male or female teacher's obituary was published in school periodicals, they were at least mentioned in an annual overview note *Final farewell…* similar to the one that was published at the end of 1938. To begin with, they mentioned Ivana Neuhold-Tominec, who among other pupils in Vrhnika taught also Ivan Cankar, the greatest writer in the Slovene language, which she depicted in *Spomini* [Memories]. She also promoted contemporary women's efforts and she left a considerable sum of money to the women teacher cooperative *Dom Učeljic* [Women Teachers Home] in Ljubljana. The article stated that "through her work she built the most beautiful memorial in the hearts of each and every teacher". They also wrote about the retired principal Rajko Justin, who was died at the age of 73 on Triglav, the highest mountain in Slovenia, and Leopold Punčuh, who was actively involved in society's work, he organised numerous young-adult performances, he was interested in gardening and fruit growing. "He died at the age of 82, at the age that many do not live to see". His grave was topped by a small board with the following inscription: "Here lies a school progress and teacher rights activist". Josip Turk, who was buried in Ljubljana on king's birthday,

was described as follows: "His long-lasting campaign for teacher ideals and his work in the sphere of school… produced enough recognition during his lifetime". He was an honorary member of district teacher societies in Novo mesto and Črnomelj in the south Slovenia and the recipient of the national award for his pedagogical work. Other teachers passed away in 1938 mentioned in the note, died either in their prime or were still very young (Vir 1938).

13.5   Conclusions

In conclusion, everything that is nowadays important or modern becomes in time merely a memory and many experience, success, difficulty becomes a faded memory in the course of time. Memories of school that was in the past a source for and is nowadays rather a provider of the impulse to explore, direct curiosity, obtain knowledge, search, comprehend and educate. Memories of teachers, in particular, can be a valuable piece of information about our cultural and national development and about the contribution by, initially, men and then by an increasing number of women who truly devoted themselves to teaching as a calling and lived with their towns and for the people. The presentation of several instances of memories and memorials in Slovenia throughout the period of the Habsburg Empire, in the Yugoslav state and after 1991 in the Republic of Slovenia in new European connections, serves as an impulse to recall to mind memories of school, of teachers in the local, regional and national framework and to identify their role in the formation of general human culture.

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Chapter 14
Celebrating the School Building: Educational Intentions and Collective Representations (The End of the 19th Century)

Ramona Caramelea

> "It is just a splendid proof, this foundation
> Placed today with so much joy,
> For a grand building, the school's saint shrine
> Is talking to us, through its loving name,
> …
> Let's erect the beautiful and magnificent building
> For the glory of the dead one
> And for the pride of us all!
> To our beloved school leta's erect the building".
> (*Improvisation on the occasion of placing the foundation stone at the Normal School for Boys*, Bucharest)

These words were selected from the poetry *Improvisation,* composed by professor Alexandru Şonţu at the end of the nineteenth century, for a special occasion—laying the foundation stone of the Normal School in Bucharest ("Serbarea" 1897, p. 19).

Neither the ardour, nor the craft of words convinced us to start this essay with this quote, but the intention of the professor to immortalize in verse the celebration of the foundation stone, a gesture synonymous with placing the event in public memory (Mihalache 2007, p. 53). In the following pages, we will analyse the meanings of two ceremonies associated with the school building: placing the foundation stone and the inauguration of the building. The starting point of the research is that the representations brought forth by the above mentioned events promoted collective memory, which played a key role in creating a national identity that united people as "Romanians" (Confino 1997; Smith 1999, p. 10; Chiper 2010, p. 120). The ceremonies will be analysed in connection with the social, cultural and political context in which they were created and performed. The establishment of the nation state, the making of national identity and the modernization of society were the main political projects which dominated Romanian political thinking up to

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the First World War. Acknowledging the contribution school had in shaping national consciousness, disseminating social values and disciplining the citizens, the state was involved in the establishment of a public education system that was aimed at generalizing primary instruction, the development of secondary education, university and later on, higher education. In this context, at the end of the nineteenth century, the state initiated a policy of school building aimed at resolving one of the main problems faced by the educational system, the lack of school premises. Simultaneously with the construction policy, a theoretical model of school building, in accordance with the educational theories and hygienic norms of that time, took place (Caramelea 2014).

Why is the new school building inaugurated with pomp and ceremony? Why both the elites and the masses gather together to celebrate the laying of the foundation stone for the new edifice?

The central authorities (the Minister of Public Instruction and the high ranking officials in the Ministry of Public Instruction), the local authorities (the mayors), the teaching staff and/or private persons were involved in organizing solemn events to celebrate school, each having its own reasons and interests, different or similar. For authorities, the ceremonies were part of the state's commemorative policy subordinated to national goals, destined to form a sense of national belonging and to convey a range of social values. In equal measure, they were meant to be a mnemonic device aimed at reminding participants of the interest held by local or central authorities in their citizens, shown in this case by the act of building a school to the community. Last but not least, it must be highlighted that the celebration of school buildings was part of a strategy to convince the population of the social utility of school, an essential step in the spread of public education.

The regional element represented by local authorities and ordinary people played an important part in organizing the ceremonies. Emulation and competition between towns or between state authorities ("Punerea pietrei" 1881, p. 2226) mobilized communities to found schools, to endow them with constructions and, in equal measure, to celebrate the new buildings. The celebration was the result of long term efforts which contributed to the modernization of the town and, thus, an occasion of pride and distinction for the local community and authority. From this perspective must be seen the affirmation of the principal of the high school in Botoşani which considered the local actions more significant and more appreciated by the community than national ones:

> The city of Botoşani did not have such an important holiday of its own. Great were the ceremonies for the bravery of our soldiers in the plains of Bulgaria, in the last war; great were and are the celebrations of the Kingdom of Romania; but, while those are general for all Romanians, these of today belong to our city and I believe are therefore bigger and more interesting ("Inaugurarea liceului" 1885a, p. 2784).

A common element among the organizers—be they local or central authorities, private persons or teaching staff—was the hope that the impact of the two solemn events would be strong and lasting, and would continue in the memory of the

participants, and so the generous gesture to provide the community with a school would not be forgotten.

Viewed from a symbolic perspective, the two ceremonies were commemorating a beginning: the construction of the building was equivalent to a new period in the existence of a school, one in which education would take place in a modern building. Like any beginning, this should be highlighted, must have a special character, given in this case by the performative acts.

14.1 The Scenography of the Event

The two ceremonies were attracting the population around the school. Various social groups, from the elites to more modest people came that day to the school. Some came out of curiosity, others out of a desire to take part in a significant event that attracted many important persons. The ceremonies offered the possibility to see high-ranking people, to sit near them, and to admire them. The laying of the foundation stone of Gheorghe Lazăr high school, in the capital, gathered leading personalities: the King Carol I, the Queen Elisabeth, Crown Prince Ferdinand, the Metropolitan of Ungro-Wallachia and Patriarch of Romania, the Prime Minister, the Minister of Cults and Public Instruction, the General Secretary of the Ministry of Public Instruction, the mayor of Bucharest, the architect of the high school and other notabilities (NAR.ACF n.d., f. 11). Even though it did not succeed in gathering the same famous personalities, the laying of the foundation stone for the Carol I high school in Craiova was done in the presence of the Minister of Public Instruction, along with other local notabilities and the city's inhabitants (NAR.ACF n.d., f. 22). Illustrious guests were not present only in the cities; they can be found in the rural areas as well. A famous public attended the inauguration of the school in the village of Bogăteşti Muscel: the founders Sarmiza Bilcescu Alimănişteanu and Constantin Alimănişteanu, the Minister of Public Instruction, members of central and the local elite: politicians, the county's prefect, the prison's director, the agricultural inspector for the county of Muscel, mayors for neighbouring villages, lieutenants, majors, the Normal School's principal, schoolmasters, nine teachers, school inspectors, lawyers, a magistrate, a mining engineer, the director of Muscel Bank, the financial administrator, the county councillor, priests, school principals, a chemist, merchants, owners etc. ("Inaugurarea Şcoalei" 1909, p. 25). Present in large numbers, these notable figures subscribed to the ceremonies' cause. The inauguration of the school in the village of Gherghiţa, county Ilfov gathered "more than four hundred villagers and owners from the neighbouring villages" ("O frumoasă" 1896, p. 559), the significant number of participants "proving how well these acts fill their hearts".

The texts mention a certain segregation of the participants during the ceremonies, with students and teaching staff grouped "on the left of the platform", while the audience was "on the right side" ("Serbarea" 1889, p. 662). The group of students and teaching staff was the central point of the ceremony, all eyes were on

them and all hopes were directed to them. The segregation was temporary, being ended by the banquet closing the ceremony which mingled the crowd.

The ceremony was not supposed to be too modest for it might have been associated with disinterest or might have been ignored by the community, but neither too expensive since the ministry or the city hall's budgets were limited. The luxury and ostentation were not admitted, and the economic constraints were doubled by moral explanations: the school was not a theatre, but the exponent of modesty and simplicity, therefore, the inauguration could not go against the official discourse. The scenography was the result of a collective action, including the architect and the teaching staff. The architect, the designer of the school was preparing the venue, the décor (scenes, wreaths, garlands, pavilions), the final banquet, purchasing items and products necessary for the ceremony (NAR.MCIP 1892, f. 1102, p. 146), while the teachers prepared speeches. The preparation of the events lasted a few days (1–4 days), depending on their amplitude, and it consisted in building the pavilions and platforms, buying flags, decorative elements (wreaths, ribbons, rosettes), champagne and cookies.

The ceremonies rely heavily on the performative aspect and the descriptions are highlighting a series of steps succeeding with strictness. Invariably, they were open by a church service to bless the school "after the use adopted in these cases" (NAR. MB.PMB 1875, f. 4, p. 102), a ritual that reminds of the local custom of the sanctification of new homes after their building. The church service was followed by the actual laying of the cornerstone done by the most prestigious person in the audience. Often, the brightness of the event was enhanced by symbolically associating several personalities with the school building, each being entrusted with the laying of a cornerstone during the same ceremony. At the Central School for Girls in Bucharest, the cornerstones were laid by the Metropolitan and the Minister of Public Instruction ("Serbarea" 1889, p. 663). In other cases, the co-optation was a symbolic recompense for those who contributed to the building of the school. At the Commercial School of Bucharest, the first stone was laid by King Carol I and Crown Prince Ferdinand, their example being followed by other citizens, including Năstase Avramovici "a generous owner who donated 10,000 lei to this institution" ("Punerea pietrei" 1889b, p. 966). Big or small, the generous gestures were made public to the people; their publication in the most important newspapers or in the works relating to ceremonies was saving them from oblivion, transforming them into patrimony.

Symbolic elements were deposited at the schools' foundation, the funding act, older or newer coins, and rarely, decorations and medals. At the high school in Călăraşi, the organizers were depositing "numerous contemporary medals… the Cross for the Crossing of the Danube, the medal of Bene Merenti" ("Punerea pietrei" 1881, p. 2226). The practice of placing medals appears to be widespread in the period, present in other inaugurations of public monuments ("Inaugurarea monumentului" 1897, p. 5317), although in regulations for the award of medals and decorations' there is no statement to reference such use. The presence of decorations, symbolic and prestigious means of the state, referencing the national idea, is in line with a coherent approach regarding the school as a key institution in the

making of the citizens. We do not exclude the possibility that the choosing of decorations was an attempt to enhance the festive character of the events.

The foundation act (NAR.ACF n.d., f. 11, 22), "of parchment paper" recorded the event. The act opened invariably with the date of the event, an attempt to customize the historical moment, it continued with listing the most important people in the state (the King, the Queen, the Crown Prince, the Metropolitan and the Prime Minister) and those who were connected in one way or another to the event (the Minister of Public Instruction, the mayor of the town, the architect and the school principal). The document ended with the signatures of the most prominent participants from the local and central elite (NAR.ACF n.d., f. 11, 22).

The scenography included an audio element. The military band (NAR.MB.PMB 1875, f. 4, p. 62) or the school choirs were habitual for these festive events. The music emphasized the festive character, created a certain type of sensitivity and an emotional and euphoric state among the participants, but not everything was fit to be performed. Hymns were predominant due to their solemn character, more suited to the event: the royal anthem or other hymns "for occasion" composed by teachers, performed by students or the military.

The ceremonies offered the subjects the privilege to see the King, the Queen and the Royal Family. Thanks to the technological progress, the visualization of power was possible even in the absence of the royal family. Paintings or photographs with the portraits of the Royal Family allowed their indirect participation in the events. For example, at the high school in Brăila, the portraits of the King and the Queen displayed in the teaching staff room are moved, for the inauguration, in the space where the event is taking place ("Solemnitatea inaugurării" 1886, p. 4581), as a central piece for the visualization of the monarch is considered to have an emotional impact on the subjects. Visual symbols referencing the national state are decorating the school space: the national coat of arm and flag, the school flag. Some participants saw them for the first time, others knew them, but the repeated act of seeing them was leading to their memorization.

For laying the cornerstone special tools and clothing accessories were needed to mark the event. Heavily decorated, the scoop, the trowel and the hammer became elements of scenography, testimonies of the memorable event engraved on each of them. A customized apron also with the name and date of the event, "with letter sewn with gold thread", "with tricolour straps" was worn by the most important person during the ceremony and once again at the inauguration of the building (NAR.MCIP 1892, f. 1102, p. 152). After the ceremony, the tools and the apron, acquiring the status of patrimonial objects were put in a place of honour in the school (eventually in its museum), "in remembrance of this memorable day" (NAR.MCIP 1892, f. 1102, p. 152) and the sacrifices made by the predecessors, to the future generations.

The celebration included the outside area, as well, with the scenography exceeding the space of the school. The streets, the institutions and the homes were decorated with flowers, twigs, flags or other symbolic devices. For the inauguration of the high school in Brăila, "all the houses on the Royal Street, as well as the main establishments in the city were flying flags" ("Solemnitatea inaugurării" 1886, p. 4581). Nature, always considered an ally of the Romanian people, empathized

again with the need of the people and helped the organizers. The inauguration of the school in the village of Bogăteşti was taking place in a "wonderful day of May" ("Inaugurarea Şcoalei" 1909, p. 6), while in Brăila "a day, beautiful like a spring day adds to the splendour of the celebration" ("Solemnitatea inaugurării" 1886, p. 4581); and in Slobozia-Zorleni, "the nature seemed to have met the people in splendour, and worn its best clothes to form a harmonious whole" ("Inaugurarea orfelinatului" 1898, p. 3).

14.2   Educating the Citizens by Means of Public Speeches

The ceremonies were open to everyone, irrespective of the social status, but not anyone could deliver a speech. Although the texts fail to mention it, a certain selection of the speakers operated in reality. The King, the Minister of Public Instruction, high ranking officials in the ministry, school inspectors, school principals, teachers, schoolmasters, primary school teachers, prefects, sub-prefects, mayors, local councillors or any other local notables were among those allowed to deliver public speeches. They were all educated men, with experience in holding speeches, many politicians having gained training in oratory as graduates of a law school. The analysis of their speeches shows a number of common traits, beyond the broad themes that mirrored the preoccupations and intentions of the orators: the concern for making the speech suitable through the use of an accessible language to a more or less educated audience, the concern for emphasizing its rhetoric dimension and for transcending the realm of abstract ideas, since, for the message to be successfully assimilated, it also depended on the manner the speech was written.

A truly exceptional case confronts us at the inauguration of the high school in Călăraşi, where, among the speakers, a pupil was also present. The initiative was disavowed by the Minister of Public Instruction, V. A. Urechia (Constantinescu 1910, pp. 20–22). The complexity of the speech itself determined the minister to question the authorship of the text, suggesting that the teaching staff was involved in its writing. By publicly intervening during the ceremony, the minister underlined the border between the instructor and the instructed, stressing the existing social order. Although the ceremonies targeted pupils in particular, who were the main beneficiaries of the building and those to whom everyone's hopes were directed at, from this to allowing them to convey social messages there was a wide gap, which explains the minister's reaction.

Far from being a minor element meant to fill the blank spaces in a programme, public speeches have a significant educational and political component, directed at pupils, teaching staff, and the community alike. A number of subjects prevail: the social values and common obligations, the common historical memory, the idea of sacrifice for the fatherland. The preference given to such topics was not casual, as both the schooling institution and the policy of solemn occasions contributed to shaping national identity, familiarizing the pupils with a common culture, and disseminating a representation of the fatherland as a community of interests (Smith

1991, pp. 10–11). The speeches offered a good opportunity for instilling the audience with social values. They often insisted upon the elements of behaviour that were meant to be assumed by the pupils ("Inaugurarea liceului" 1885b, pp. 2451–2452), on the importance of knowing and accomplishing the duties of one's private and public life (Kalindéro 1896, pp. 17, 167–169). Labour, honesty, justice, truth, moderation and discipline, loyalty to the King and country, patriotism, were all composing the model of humanity proposed to those listening: "men of character, subjected to discipline, pervaded by the respect to their duty, capable of practicing throughout their life the principles of morality" ("Inaugurarea liceului" 1885b, p. 2452). The social values and the rules of behaviour maintained the cohesion of society and ensured the functioning of the nation state. Most of them were transmitted through the content of education and the rules which governed the schooling institution, by way of conceiving the schooling space or through the festivities and celebrations that included placing the foundation stone and the inauguration of the school building itself.

As one of the school's functions was to cultivate good citizens and to consolidate the national feeling, the speeches frequently tackled such subjects as the fatherland, patriotism, duty and sacrifice. The latter called into question the social contract: the state provided its citizens with services and institutions, requesting in exchange that they fulfill military service, and, if need arose, even their life ("O frumoasă" 1896, p. 562). The speeches manifested a certain preoccupation with overcoming the abstract notions of patriotism, of country, of morality, in order to define them starting from actual features. For instance, the analogy fatherland—greater family (Kalindéro 1896, pp. 17, 167–169) made the fondness towards the fatherland to become accessible to anyone, as it was constructed on the same type of affection and solidarity already known by the children from their own families.

The transmitters often became receivers, as was the case of the teaching staff. The speeches addressed to them frequently reminded of their responsibilities, duties, and expectations that the nation-state had placed on them ("O frumoasă" 1896, pp. 560–564; Kalindéro 1896, pp. 69–71, 153–165). The norms of behaviour and the values that were supposed to guide their public and privates lives, along with the social rules they had to obey were among the topics of the lectures. Modesty, morality, sobriety, prudence, rectitude, precision were social values referring to the bourgeois code of behaviour that overlapped in the Romanian case with the national ideology, constituting the moral portrait which targeted the teaching staff.

At times, the speech took the form of a lecture in history, with the main subjects inspired by the past of the school, the community or the country. Through this method, episodes of local and national history were brought to the attention of the public, as the acquaintance of the audience with the past was a significant chapter in the efforts of the authorities to incorporate it (Zerubavel 2011, p. 224). History becomes more of a pretext for a socio-political programme to which the officials aspired. The lectures operated with historical cut-outs whose meanings were in continuous transformation (Chiper 2010, p. 119), with events that often suffered from distortions and exaggerations in the attempt to present educational parables and models to the audience. It is largely an "invented" past, one which, depending

on the speaker, could be either glorious or gloomy. The latter was used to place it in opposition with the progress of present times, to highlight the sacrifices of the forefathers ("Discursulul d-lui" 1883, pp. 3642–3643; "Discursul directorului" 1898, pp. 549–553). Regardless of the perspective, history supported contemporary transformations by providing the necessary continuity to the political project (Hobsbawm 2011, pp. 271–272). On the inauguration of St. Sava high school in the capital city of Bucharest, the speech insisted on the high school's past (the first institute of higher education with courses in Romanian, which has had a significant part in the creation of a national elite). Its history thus became a heritage to be possessed by those who were to appropriate the new building, but also an occasion to highlight the difficulties that confronted the ancestors, as well as the progresses made by the schools in Romania during the reign of Charles I (Sturdza 1887, pp. 17, 55–56).

The speeches referred to historical figures: rulers, men of culture, politicians, local personalities. It can be noticed an overlay between their qualities and the elements of behaviour that were prescribed to the pupils and teachers, which leads us to suppose the intention of a symbolic transfer of qualities from the evoked figures to the social model proposed to the pupils and to the teaching staff.

The noteworthy accomplishments in recent history, such as gaining independence (1878) and the Kingdom's modernization, also had a significant share in the economy of the public speeches (Kalindéro 1896, pp. 20–21; "Inaugurarea Școlii" 1886, p. 3410). If conjuring the past could still present itself gloomy, the invocation of the new Kingdom left no place for negative aspects. A sense of pride should seize the participant listening to the texts that overstated the importance of the country, "admired by all great powers", that had reached a certain level of development in the sciences, the arts, the commerce, the industry, the agriculture ("Progresele învățământului" 1897, p. 959), "strong through its civic virtues and honest labour" ("Inaugurarea liceului" 1885b, p. 2451). According to the opinion of the speakers, progress could be increased and accelerated by the wisdom of the monarch and the contribution of the citizens, and the latter brought into discussion the respect of moral values and rules, along with civic duties and obligations. Invested with emotional connotations, the speeches manipulated the people, co-opted them in the political project of the moment and activated their energies for national goals. "The unalterable character of the nation", announced the general goal of society, was presented as relying on the citizens' capacity to mobilize, on their spirit of sacrifice; hence, the enlightened citizen should be a good patriot, "devoted to his duty up to the sacrifice" ("Solemnitatea inaugurărei" 1886, p. 4582). "Let us not forget that the strength of the Romanian Kingdom resides in the unity of all its citizens in one thought and in one idea, namely that of consolidating and reinforcing it through the respect the civilized world will show to our moral and intellectual culture" ("Inaugurarea liceului" 1885b, p. 2451) concluded one of the speeches.

The discourse often turned into a plea for public education, understandable if we consider the context dominated by a population who questioned the social utility of schooling and was reserved towards implementing the principle of mandatory

primary education. In order to change their perception, the speeches presented school as an instrument which facilitated social promotion, an institution that offered solutions for success for all its pupils, regardless of their performance:

> The pupils who do not feel able to learn well, to work orderly, to behave exemplary, will have to take an honourable craft, rather than lose their time, torture their parents, crush their illusions with studies by which only elevated intellects can be singularized ("Inaugurarea liceului" 1885b, p. 2452).

The school and the education did not remain in the field of abstract notions, but were presented and explained in a manner accessible to the people, by way of common representations. In the speech delivered on the inauguration of the school in the hamlet of Damian, Dolj County, the school was compared with a "farm", the pupil with a "human plant", and the education symbolized the cultivation (Kalindéro 1896, p. 60), while in the speech held in the hamlet of Dumasca, Vaslui County, the school was a battlefield, the pupils were the soldiers, and the teachers the captains (Kalindéro 1896, p. 77).

The new school building was no ordinary structure, as it distinguished itself within the built landscape through its monumentality and a certain aesthetic, and the speaker was called to highlight this fact. He would do so by means of figures of speech: "proud palace", "rock of richness", "precious stone", "citadel of light, temple of culture and nationality", "venues of light source and intelligence of mankind" were just a few from the metaphors meant to suggest the remarkable character of the school, in the hope of impressing the audience. Only in such exceptional buildings were the pupils to acquire the knowledge and behavioural norms required from the future citizens, to learn "the order, duty, and uninterrupted labour, to enlighten their minds, elevate their spirits, and strengthen their character, thus becoming cultivated citizens, unselfish, and ready to perform any service or sacrifice that the country might ask from them" ("Punerea pietrei" 1889a, p. 2234).

The speeches did not miss the opportunity to recount the role of the building in the proper development of the educational process and in maintaining the children's health ("Solemnitatea inaugurării" 1877, p. 110; Sturdza 1887, pp. 15–16), mainly because numerous participants were unfamiliar with this subject, as the specialized literature, be it medical or with educational content, remained accessible to a limited audience. Indirectly, it was also a way of underlining the merits of the authorities and of opening the path for similar initiatives or, at least, for more consistent funding needed to support the schools. Regardless of the motivation that lies behind raising the subject, it created the premise for a change in public perception over the school building and for familiarizing the public with the idea that a school could only function in a purposely built edifice, in accordance with the medical and pedagogical standards.

The speeches had a mobilizing function, they ended with exhortations and advices addressed to the pupils not to deceive the expectations and sacrifices of the

fatherland, with encouragements to the teaching staff to treat seriously the act of education, or to the local authorities to watch over the maintenance of the building (Sturdza 1887, pp. 18, 48; "Serbarea" 1889, p. 662). The speakers also reasserted the roles and attributes of every socio-professional category, in an attempt by the authorities to maintain the social order.

14.3   The Perception of Festivities

The sources, or rather the lack thereof, prevent us from reconstructing the way the event was perceived or the manner in which the events have left their mark on the participants. Nevertheless, we can find several official accounts of the ceremonies in the pedagogical press and the main newspapers. Authored in many cases by teachers, school inspectors or other high ranking officials in the Ministry of Public Instruction, at times anonymous, these accounts tend to emphasize the empathy of the audience with the event, the intense collective emotion, and the general enthusiasm of the participants, along with the outstanding display of the ceremony, corresponding with an attempt to impose a formal version of what had been noteworthy. In Gherghița, Ilfov County, "more than four hundred villagers and landlords from neighbouring communes" had taken part in the celebrations, "indicating how much such acts find their way into their souls" ("O frumoasă" 1896, p. 559). Likewise, the description of the inauguration of the church building in the village of Zorleni, which happened the same day with the opening of the farm orphanage there, insisted on the strong collective emotion and the intense feelings: "the crowd was charmed" by the sermon delivered by the priest, peasant men and women "sighing and weeping", as "the joy and enthusiasm could be read on everyone's face" ("Inaugurarea orfelinatului" 1898, pp. 4–5). The principal of the high school in Botoșani, C. Săvinescu, declared "I have written little, but even this little I cannot express due to my enthusiasm. I am silent before this festivity, I am in awe in front of such a distinguished gathering" ("Inaugurarea liceului" 1885a, p. 2783).

This emphatic manner of narrating the ceremonies will become essential for those who did not experience them in person, but were going to read about and remember them through their readings. We don't know for how long the events remain in the collective memory of the participants, but numerous accounts of that time end on an optimistic note:

> Thus concluded this beautiful day of celebration, which will remain indelibly marked in the memory of anyone who had the chance to spend a few remarkable hours in the wonderful park of the estate of Bogăteşti, celebrating a noble deed that, for the sake of our country, should find as many imitators as possible ("Inaugurarea Şcoalei" 1909, p. 25).

From the capital city to the small market towns, school festivities gathered large crowds of curious participants. "Spicing" the daily routine, they triggered enthusiasm in wide shares of the population, who perceived them as a good opportunity for amusement and entertainment. The association of celebrations with feast and enjoyment did not seem to go well with the school authorities, who struggled to maintain the sobriety and solemnity of the ceremonies. The inauguration should not be regarded "as a festivity of luxury, one that inebriates our senses and agitates our hearts in a passing and vain fashion, but one of those solemn celebrations, which fills the soul with piety and lowers the thought within oneself; a festivity that gives perspicacity to the mind and sharpness to the eye to look both behind and ahead, in order to clearly see where we stand," as one school principal in Iași stated ("Discursul directorului" 1898, p. 549).

The state controlled the unfolding of the celebrations by rigorously setting a programme, thus ensuring that they would be without excesses or unpleasant events, in accordance with values promoted by the school, such as moderation, sobriety, balance. In celebrating the school, this "temple of morals and virtues," the festivities were dressed in the coat of moderation and decency. The participation was conditional on the social rules based on respect and civility, and, as a consequence, the crowd had to take on the norms of behaviour and the manners the elites were displaying. Despite the adversity of the authorities, many ceremonies ended with feasts of epic dimensions. In Călărași, the placing of the foundation stone of the future high school was followed by two days of banquets, much to the discontent of the Minister of Public Instruction, who warned the participants, bantering their propensity for parties (Constantinescu 1910, p. 21). We don't know how the participants received the minister's irony, but the feasts were not specific to Călărași, as the records register other similar cases.

14.4 Placing an Individual Act into the Collective Memory

The central or local authority does not have the monopoly over the organization of the ceremonies. Private individuals, authors of benevolent acts involved in building schools, also arrange festivities. Sarmiza and Constantin Alimănișteanu, members of the political elite, have built in 1909 a primary rural school in the village of Bogătești, Muscel County, which they inaugurated with lavish ceremonies. The family also published a brochure in which a full account was given, thus choosing to immortalize the event and the gracious act ("Inaugurarea Școalei" 1909). The course of the ceremony, which had, most probably, been scripted by the founders, drifted away from the canons of similar events organized by the authorities. The inauguration of the school was followed by a swell party, and the brochure insisted on the significant quantities of alcohol and food, on the amplitude of the feast, and on the collective joy experienced by the participating public, in an attempt to highlight the success of the event ("Inaugurarea Școalei" 1909, p. 25).

14.5   Conclusions

Inscribed in a new typology of public festivities, the placing of the foundation stone and the building's inauguration celebrated the erection of the new public institutions of the modern state and legitimated them. They form part of the official commemorations organized by the political and intellectual elites to enforce a collective identity and to maintain social cohesion. Both manifestations imply imposing settings, a language and vocabulary purposely conceived, adapted to the audience (especially the students), while the authorities and the school personnel give them a strong educational flavour, noticeable at the level of discourse.

The speeches have a strong ideological content, are inhabited by places of memory meant, in the opinion of the speakers to unite, to mobilize, to legitime and to persuade the audience. They are focused on some main themes: history, patriotism, social responsibilities, behavioural norms, and are constructed through exaggerations, distortions and inventions.

The accounts of these events have a common note which emphasize the enthusiasm of participants. However, the lack of the sources did not allow us to retrace the way in which the audience related to these events, how they have remembered them, and what have they retained.

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Chapter 15
Remembering School Through Movies: The Films of the Book *Cuore* (1886) in Republican Italy

Simonetta Polenghi

15.1 Introduction: Collective Memory and School Movies as Historical Sources

"Memory is said to be collective not because it is the memory of the group as such, but because the collective, or the social, is the state in which the individual exists" (Lavabre 2009, p. 368). Hence collective memory has a cultural basis: the shared knowledge of a universe of symbols, that exists in so far as individuals recognize themselves in it and transmit it. The collectivity where individuals live shapes their memory (Assmann 1992).

Maurice Halbwachs had already stated that the individual's understanding of the past is strongly linked to this group consciousness. Pierre Nora distinguished history, historiography and memory and discussed the political use of the past. Collective memory is a remembrance of an experience which has been lived through and/or mythologised by a living collective identity of which history is a part (Halbwachs 1950; Nora 1984–1992).

Kevin Myers and Ian Grosvenor, discussing the cultural meaning of the past, stress the importance of memory for governments and policy makers (Myers and Grosvenor 2014, p. 12): Collective memory descends from the collective imagination, whose symbolic materials may derive from popular culture but may also be produced by cultural industry or by information. Popkewitz, Pereyra, and Franklin stated that cultural history "is the critical engagement of the present by making its production of collective memories available for scrutiny and revision" (Popkewitz et al. 2011, p. 4).

With specific reference to collective school memories, they, too, are moulded over generations. Being a cultural product, they undergo a process of selection and

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alteration. In other words, collective school memories give us a reference to the past (remembered school) and to the present, too (how that school is remembered or not). Collective school memory is maintained also by a continuous production of various forms of representation, among which are movies and books. The more a film is seen, the more a book is read, throughout generations, the more that school memory is perceived as a shared memory of a group.

Movies as historical sources have been examined by several authors. The difference between written, oral and visual sources has been thematized, as well as the "moving visual sources": documentary films, movies, TV serials and newsreels have been explored. Marc Ferro has shown how films are products of their time but they also have the power to exert an influence on it (Ferro 1977, 45–46). Robert B. Toplin has stressed the emotional impact of movies and therefore their capacity to influence the audience (Toplin 2007). The importance of films for the history of education has been increasingly analysed in the USA since the last decade of the 20th century. Sol Cohen talks about a new cultural history that deals with movies as sources (Cohen 1999, pp. 125–153). Robert A. Rosenstone has dedicated many works to investigating the character of these sources, understanding the importance of visual media in our age, and concentrating on history films (Rosenstone 1995, 2006). Both Rosenstone and Pierre Sorlin (Sorlin 1977) stressed that history films reflect the concerns of the era in which they were made. In Italy this author has pointed out how not only history films, but also other kind of movies can be investigated by historians of education: school films, films about children, films for children and young people, adaptations of children's literature works, etc. (Polenghi 2005), and in 2004 Aldo Grasso has promoted an international congress that analyzed TV and cinema images as sources (Grasso 2005).

As for school films, they may give us back the real school and/or an imaginary one (e.g.: totalitarian regimes and school movies). This field concerns the topic of immaterial school memory (Escolano Benito 2003; Yanes-Cabrera 2007; Viñao Frago 2010, 2012).

But an historical analysis must take into account the question of the audience, as Pierre Sorlin has already pointed out (Sorlin 1977). How did the public react to the film? Was the movie successful or not? Why? These questions are particularly relevant if we want to check how a film interpreted the collective school memory, or influenced it.

A particular case is the one of movies which brought a children's book to the screen. This case can be treated as the case of films coming from a literary novel: the script can hardly ever respect the original novel, for shortage of time, for different artistic needs, and so on. But it is important to see what is kept and what is left out; how the original plot has been altered and why; how characters are differently represented. In the case of children' literature, these shifts may testify to a different idea of childhood (Polenghi 2005, pp. 44–52 on films transpositions of Pinocchio).

In this essay, I shall focus on the case of the four Italian movies/TV serials on *Cuore* [Heart], hence on how a masterpiece of children's literature that has long embodied a model of school has been newly presented on the screen, with what

changes and with what success with audiences. Two levels are to be considered: the correlation between the movies and the book and between both the movies and the book and society. This analysis will at last return the image of an imaginary school, partially corresponding to the one of *Cuore*, retaining and altering it in order to propose a model of school, which the audience could recognize both as the traditional good one and as one valid for the present. To carry on this meta-analysis I shall here concentrate on the key points.

15.2 The Book *Cuore* (1886)

Cuore (1886) is one of the most popular Italian books for children, and is also famous abroad. The author is Edmondo De Amicis (1846–1908), a brilliant journalist and writer, ex Army officer, war reporter and patriot, who adopted Socialism in 1891 (Boero 2013). *Cuore* is an imaginary diary, written by Enrico, a pupil in the 3rd form of an elementary school in Turin, in 1881–82. In the text there are 3 literary genres: (1) the diaristic genre, (2) the epistolary genre (the letters written by Enrico's father, mother and sister on his diary), (3) the short stories (9 short stories, which were read monthly by Perboni, Enrico's teacher) (Traversetti 1991, p. 75).

The book soon became a classic. It achieved an enormous popularity: in two and a half months it boasted 41 editions (1000 copies a day) and 18 requests for translation (immediate translations in English, German, French, Spanish, Polish, Croatian, Hungarian). By 1911 it had sold 500,000 copies and by 1923 it had sold the incredible number of 1 million copies and was translated all over the world (Mosso 1925, pp. 370–371).

Cuore shaped the education of generations of Italians, at least since the Fifties (Ferroni 1991, p. 461). The literature critic Alberto Asor Rosa, of Marxist views, defined it as "one of the most powerful instrument of national cultural unification […] under the intellectual hegemony of the Northern middle class" (Asor Rosa 1975, pp. 981–986). De Amicis' aim was to teach moral and civic secular values, such as patriotic feeling, love and respect for family, solidarity among social classes and above regional differences, obedience to authority and the ethics of work, of duty, of sacrifice. He used very moving plots and language, and linked accurate historical descriptions (he knew the school world well and wrote other books on teachers and school life) to imaginary plots and situations. When these values started being contested and rejected, the book faced sharp literary and pedagogical criticism, starting with Umberto Eco's famous *Praise of Franti*, in 1962 (Franti is the evil boy, the only one Perboni does not manage to handle, and who for Eco is the only real boy, who recognizes the rhetoric and classism of society) (Eco 1963), and reaching a peak in 1968 and in the Seventies. Afterwards, starting with the RAI serial of 1984, the debate on the book assumed a less ideological stamp, favoured by the crisis of ideologies and of libertarian pedagogical theories, and the book has been now redeemed and reassessed (Nobile 2009, pp. 59–116).

15.3 From the Book to the Screen: The Movies in Republican Italy

Many films were inspired by *Cuore*. In 1915 and 1916, 9 films were shot of the 9 short stories (it was not a coincidence: those were war years, when the patriotic feeling was supported by the media).[1] In 1943 a film was shot of the short story *Dagli Appennini alle Ande* [From the Apennines to the Andes], followed by another version of the same story in 1960 by Folco Quilici and another one in the 1980s. In 1976 a Japanese cartoon (*Marco*) was produced, on the same adventurous and moving story of the long journey undertaken by a child to find and rescue his mother, followed by another one on *Cuore* in 1981 (Tortora 2007).

The present research analyzes the four Italian movies and serials of *Cuore*, produced in the Republican age (Table 15.1).

Table 15.1 The four movies

	1948	1973	1984	2001
Director	Coletti	Scavolini	Comencini	Zaccaro
Type of film and length	Film 91 min	Film 80 min	TV serial RAI 2 Public national channel 6 episodes of 60 min each	TV serial Canale 5 Private national channel 6 episodes of 90 min each
Audience	Success, prize	Niche product	Great success, record audience: >13 millions Prize TV Film Gran Galà TV 1984 DVD in 2007	Success but inferior average audience c. 8 millions Various prizes 2002

To check the fidelity of these works to the original book, I have compared the direct references of the movies to episodes of the book (Table 15.2). The films that are closer to *Cuore* are Coletti's and Comencini's versions. Some critics considered Comencini's version as unfaithful to De Amicis and even betraying it (Nobile 2009, pp. 71–72), but a quantitative analysis rejects this opinion. Comencini's serial refers to 26 chapters of the book, plus 5 monthly stories and one letter, reaching a score of 32 direct references, which is the highest. But the serial is long (360 min). Coletti's film lasts only 91 min, in which there are 18 mentions of *Cuore*'s chapters. If we consider the length of the film in relation to the quotations, Coletti's works scores very highly: the percentage of references to the book's chapters compared with the film's length is 19.7 % Comencini's version is 8.8 %, Scavolini 5 % and Zaccaro,

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[1]On the relationship between De Amicis and the newly born cinema Boschi (2012), that, however, belittles Coletti's film in an unjustified way.

whose serial is very long (540 min) has only 4.6 %. There is a detachment from the book, new figures and characters are introduced, as well as an alteration of characters in these films, but too much in the 2001 version. The core of the plot comes always from the diary, with the exception of Scavolini, who presents only 4 monthly stories. These short novels get increased attention (it is easier to present them in serials, which are longer than a film). The letters, which are surely the most pedantic part of *Cuore*, nearly disappear.

Table 15.2 Direct references to the book's chapters

Year	1948	1973	1984	2001
Length (min)	91	80	360	540
Diary	16	–	26	18
Short stories	1	4	5	7
Letters	1	–	1	–
Total	18	4	32	25
Percentage of references to book's chapters compared with the length of the film (%)	19.7	5	8.8	4.6

Cuore *by Coletti (1948)*

Duilio Coletti (1906–1999) was a fairly successful director, mainly of popular-historical movies from the Forties to the Sixties (he shot his first film in 1939 and the last one in 1973). He shot more than 25 films, but his most famous one and the one he loved most was *Cuore* ("Duilio Coletti" 1999). The film was shot in 1947 and came out in 1948. It had a very good cast. Playing the main character, the teacher Perboni, was the great actor and director himself Vittorio De Sica, a key figure of the Italian *Neorealismo*, with Rossellini, Visconti, Antonioni, Zavattini. De Sica was awarded the Silver Ribbon for his role as the main character in 1948. With him was the Catalan actress Maria Mercader, whom De Sica later married.

Coletti's *Cuore* was the very first film shot in Cinecittà after the war. Giulio Andreotti (the future powerful prime minister) had been nominated Deputy Minister of Culture and Entertainment (1947–1953) by the prime minister Alcide De Gasperi, of the Christian Democratic Party. Andreotti worked hard in favour of Italian cinema. Cinecittà, occupied by Nazi troops, had been bombed and then converted into a hostel for refugees. Andreotti resurrected it (Marsala 2014).

Cuore was a success. The film brought the message of the rebirth of Italian cinema after the war. But it also brought the clear message of the memory of a school, where the secular values of sacrifice and national solidarity were strongly

present. The film was close to the book, as mentioned above, except for the great space given to the teacher's life: he falls in love with his female colleague, but the war prevents him from marrying her. He will fall in the First Italo-Ethiopian War and she will never marry. She is "the young teacher with the red feather on her hat" who has a very marginal role in the book. The opening action is set in the present days, when old Enrico pays a visit to her, and she tells the story to Enrico's little granddaughter. So *Cuore* in not just reproduced as a diary, but it becomes a memory—here of the female teacher. The facts are shifted from 1881–1882 to 1893–1994, in order to insert in the plot the First Italo-Ethiopian War. This allowed the book to be updated: De Amicis's message was very patriotic and in favour of the monarchy and the Army. The film managed to make the plot topical, inserting the biographical details and affair of the teacher. He is presented as a socialist who opposes the colonial war of Crispi and is suspended for that. The government of Giolitti then gives him back his job. Perboni is depicted as a socialist, as De Amicis was, but the teacher is also a Christian, who accepts being blessed by the priest and who eventually joins the army, on the ground that it is his duty to fight for Italy, even if he considers this war to be unjust, for it is a war of conquest.

These changes to the book's plot (otherwise faithfully represented) prompted in the audience the distinction between a just war (to defend the country) and an unjust war (a colonial as well as a fascist war). But fighting is a duty. The teacher who dies in Africa thus embodied the Italians who, even if they did not share Mussolini's views, fought bravely and died in the Second World War. Hence the film transmitted a message against the "unjust" war and of "reasonable" patriotism at the same time. It also stimulated the revival of the old values of national solidarity, particularly relevant after the Second World War, the fall of Fascism and the civil war. The film stressed immediately the differences between the old values in the first scene: in 1894 people used to queue politely and let women and old men climb first onto the horse-drawn tram. In 1948 old Enrico has to put up with bad manners in the tramcar, where men sit instead of letting women sit down. In the aftermath of the Second World War, the book *Cuore* enjoyed a revival: the heroic boys of the Risorgimento's battles were compared to the young partisans; the Catholic educationalists still complained about the total lack of references to the Church and to Christianity in the book (Christmas and Jesus were not even mentioned) but recognized as Christian the moral values it contained; Communists like Lucio Lombardo Radice, son of the great pedagogist Giuseppe, praised the book as highly educational. The book was read by future teachers at school (Nobile 2009, pp. 41–51).

There is another message, which is not in the book: the female teacher initially falls in love with an officer who betrays her, for she is poor. The faithfulness of the poor Perboni contrasts with the hypocrisy of the charming rich officer. The script shows how the upper classes do not always follow De Amicis's moral code. Hence the book's rhetoric of class solidarity is unmasked. Perboni embodies the reformist socialism that believes in a mild political strategy not in a revolution.

Cuore *by Scavolini (1973)*

Romano Scavolini (1940–) has been directing since the 1960s. Most of his films are shot independently and with an experimental style. His best known film is the horror movie *Nightmare* (1981). His first films, in the Sixties, were banned by the Italian censors, on the grounds of contempt for the country and for the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier. His left-wing ideology appears also in his *Cuore*, which is a very original interpretation of the book (Scavolini's web site). Scavolini completely misses out the school diary and shoots only 4 episodes, taking them from 4 monthly short novels of the book: *Young Blood*; *The Nurse of the Father*; *The Little Lombard Lookout*; *The Sardinian Drummer Boy*.

   He shifts these moving stories to the 20th century: to the contemporary Italy of the Sixties/Seventies the first two stories, and to the First World War and the Second World War for the two war stories: so that these two episodes of the Italian Risorgimento,—an imaginary one and one (*The Little Lombard Lookout*) written by De Amicis based on true fact—become stories of another conflict against Austria, not that of 1859, but that of 1915–1918, and of the Resistance against the Nazi Army instead of the 1848 war against the Austrian Army. Scavolini depicts the heroism, the pure heart of four boys and their capacity for sacrifice, in a crude way. He is not indulging in pathetic rhetoric, but just shows boys behaving in a spontaneous heroic way. These boys look like a kind of Rousseau-children, innocent and good hearted. But Scavolini also denounces the absurdity of the war and takes out every rhetorical detail: the Sardinian drummer in the book is wounded in the foot and then has his leg amputated, here he is shot in the chest and dies, without receiving any praise, as the boy of the book did. Similarly, the little Lombard lookout dies, but whereas in the book his body was honoured by the soldiers, here there is no military honour for his corpse. Scavolini is bitterly contrasting children's sacrifice with adults' war.

   This explicit antimilitaristic interpretation of the book arose in the culture of '68 and in the Anti-Vietnam war movement. Not surprisingly, it aroused criticism, so that the movie was not successful and remained a niche product that did not achieve a wide distribution, and had therefore a small audience. A VHS video was made, but is very rare. There is no streaming on the Internet. In spite of the positive reviews the film gets also now, it remains scarcely known and almost impossible to see (Wilson 2012).[2] Whereas Coletti's *Cuore* can be seen in various media libraries, Scavolini's *Cuore* is preserved only in one (Biblioteca del Centro Cinema Città di Cesena).

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[2]I am thankful to Mr. Scavolini, for his courtesy in sending me a DVD copy of his *Cuore*.

Cuore *by Comencini (1984)*

Luigi Comencini (1916–2007) was, with Dino Risi and Mario Monicelli, one of the most famous directors of the Italian comedy and worked with celebrated actors, like Totò, Sordi, Volontè, Cardinale, Mangano, Gassman, Manfredi, Mastroianni, Tognazzi. In 1972 he enjoyed a great success with the TV serial *Pinocchio*. During his career, he was awarded several prizes. *Cuore* was shot to a script written by Comencini himself, his daughter Cristina, and Suso Cecchi D'Amico. The serial was produced by the Italian national TV channel Rai 2 with Antenne 2 (France) e RTSI (Switzerland).

Comencini's *Cuore* belonged to the tradition of TV serials as adaptations of Italian novels, a genre very effective as a representation of national identity. Indeed these serials: *Ottocento* by Majano (1958 from Gotta's novel), *Il Mulino del Po* by Bolchi (1963 from Bacchelli's novel), *I Promessi Sposi* by Bolchi (1967, from Manzoni's novel), *Pinocchio* and *Cuore* by Comencini (1972 and 1984) all enjoyed great success and a large audience on TV (Alfieri 2006, pp. 163–185). *Cuore* had a record audience figure, with more than 13 million viewers (Grasso 2001). The broadcast was accompanied by a public debate on the book and by reprints of it (Nobile 2009, pp. 71–76). Albums of figurines published by Panini and books with photos from the serial were sold. The serial won the 1984 *Gran Galà della TV* national prize in the "TV Film" category.

This serial was indeed very well done and historically accurate. The script was written in one year and two years were required to prepare and shoot it. The cost was high: 6 billion lire (Wikipedia 2015). The characters were plausible, particularly Perboni interpreted by Johnny Dorelli, and the old teacher interpreted by the great Eduardo De Filippo, aged 84, who died shortly after. All pupils were not professional actors, very well selected. The facts were shifted by a decade, from 1881–1982 to 1898–1899.[3] This was done to make the boys of the 3rd form face the First World War as men. The diary here becomes flashbacks of the adult Enrico, who joins the Army in 1915. Every TV episode opens with Enrico's experiences between 1915 and 1917. The school diary hence becomes a sort of double memory: written by young Enrico, it is remembered with nostalgia but also with a growing unease by officer Enrico. This narrative device allows the director to show the incongruities of a militaristic education and to remove the rhetorical tone of the book, so criticized by Eco and no longer acceptable, while retaining the values of solidarity and the ethics of a "good heart". Enrico's friend Garrone is clearly socialist and antimilitarist. His other friend Coretti, son of a patriotic soldier of the Savoy army dies, in a rather silly way, as well as Franti. Franti is depicted as a terrible child, as in the book, but while the book lets us imagine that, after having been expelled from school, he will end up in prison, being a born delinquent, here

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[3]The date is not made explicit, but can be inferred by the age of the protagonists. The action takes places between 1915 and 1917. Franti says he spent 2 years in jail and 6 in a young offenders centre, which he entered aged 11 (5 episode, min. 9, 20–34).

he ends up in a young offenders centre, where the teacher visits him, showing compassion for him, as he did before in the class. Subdued, Franti has lost all his cruelty and arrogance, appearing just a lonely and miserable boy. He spends six years there, then two in prison for theft, and volunteers for a very dangerous mission led by Enrico, in order to have a year of prison remitted. Shot by the Austrians, Franti redeems himself in the army, dying for the nation instead of becoming a hopeless delinquent, as De Amicis, with Lombroso, suggested.

The absurdity of the war in the trenches becomes clear to Enrico, who confronts the stupid orders of his former gymnastics teacher, a patriotic maniac, now captain, who symbolizes the stubbornness of the Italian chief of Army staff, General Luigi Cadorna and his strategy. Shattered by the absurdity of the war, while on leave Enrico has a row with his father, who is nationalist and interventionist. Then he visits his old teacher Perboni, in his humble home, and tells him he sees the world differently now from what he was taught. Perboni reveals himself to be a socialist and a neutralist, and replies that he considered all his pupils equally, removing in the classroom the differences and the hatred of the adult world. Hence De Amicis' classroom loses its rhetoric and becomes the place where democracy could be taught, as well as patriotism and nationalism.

Comencini also deconstructs the rhetoric of the book, stressing Enrico's father's Positivistic faith in the happy era of peace that science and progress would bring to Europe—a common belief in the Belle Époque, tragically refuted by the First World War. The Belle Époque atmosphere is well reconstructed. The short novels here are mute films screened at school with the first cine-projector with a crank.

The serial is historically accurate but also bears witness to the pedagogical shift that occurred over time. The characters of the children are less black and white than in the novel: the first in the class appears less nice, and Franti reveals his nature as the lonely child who seeks love in the wrong way and dies (stupidly) for his country. The idea of an irredeemable child has become difficult to accept.

The rhetorical tones of the book are avoided, but the language adheres to that of the book (Sammarco n.d.). The director said: "It is an anthology of memories, of things that have never been but that correspond to the real illusions fostered by many generations" (Grasso 2004, p. 410).

Cuore *by Zaccaro (2001)*

In 2001 the private national channel Canale 5 broadcast at prime time a new 6-part serial with 90-min episodes, directed by Maurizio Zaccaro. The serial was a success: the first episode was seen by just over 8 million 400 viewers. This success however dwindled: the second episode was seen by 7.9 million and the third by only 7.4 million ("*Cuore*" 2011). The serial won TV prizes in 2002 for best fiction, director and acting (Grasso 2004, p. 717).

According to Zaccaro, the scriptwriters decided not to be philologically faithful to the book but rather to interpret the collective memory of the book ("*Cuore*. Miniserie" 2011). However, this is disputable, since the new plot bears little resemblance to the book and introduces a lot of unnecessary and incongruous novelties. In the three previous movies the theme of the war was very strong, in Zaccaro's serial it is missing. The action is still shifted forward, but it is set in 1890 in order to show social contrasts and strikes. The director insists on the theme of the inclusion of pupils from the South of Italy, suggesting a comparison with the contemporary situation of school classes full of immigrants. In 2001 indubitably the problems of a multi-ethnic society were felt in Italy, but whereas the other films stressed and questioned the relationship between the patriotism of the book and the actual horror of the wars, introducing an effective re-thinking of the values of *Cuore*, the theme of inclusion is handled weakly, since the reconstruction is hardly credible. Coletti and Comencini's films are historically accurate: the reconstructions are plausible. The 2001 version instead contains historical mistakes: the cross hanging on the classroom wall; the presence in an 1890 class of Turin of pupils coming from all over Italy, with lots of dialects spoken, except paradoxically that of Turin; the little Florentine scribe cannot actually hold a pen; the class teacher is also the gymnastics teacher; the strikes of rail workers are anticipated.

Zaccaro's film deviates from the book further. Not only are many parts of the book missing: the characters and the plot are heavily altered. The core is not the school class, but the private life of the teacher: married to a woman who becomes insane and dies, he becomes a drug addict who falls in love with "the young teacher with the red feather" who loved him before. He is dismissed from school for socialist propaganda. He then sets up a football team as Konrad Koch did in Germany in 1874, to teach pupils to act as a team, with esprit de corps.[4]

Parents and pupils have totally invented stories, too, not to be found in the book. Franti, initially horribly nasty then becomes a hero who saves his grandmother, embodying the famous character of one of the monthly stories. Seriously wounded saving the old woman, Franti does not die, as Ferruccio in the book does, but escapes from hospital and rushes on to the football field to lead his team to victory, in spite of his precarious condition. A totally implausible end.

This distortion of the plot produces the effect of making the story and the characters less credible than the original ones: e.g. the drunken father of Crossi here is so nasty that his sudden repentance looks totally unbelievable. The head-master is so strict and pedantic that he cannot possibly turn into a nice and warm person as he suddenly does in the end.

The happy ending is implausible, too. All the pupils pass. All problems disappear. Perboni and "the young teacher with the red feather" get married and will be blessed with a child (Perboni thought he was sterile). The result is a soppy story. This may explain the limited success of the serial.

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[4]In 2011 Koch's experience was brought to the screen with the movie *Lessons of a Dream*.

Aldo Grasso, full professor of History of radio and cinema and a famous critic, wrote in *Corriere della Sera* (20 November 2001):

> Comencini's *Cuore* was so respectful of the book, it managed to save it from the ferocity of time. The serial treats the text with benevolent irony, it tones it down, it purifies and dries it without betraying it ever. It enriches it with sweet ideas, it fills it with good actors and makes it poetic and moving. Zaccaro's *Cuore*, while faulty in the setting, is nonetheless interesting in its unfaithfulness to De Amicis. In fact, the more lively parts of the serial have nothing to do with *Cuore*, or, rather, they are *Cuore* in a soap opera version (Grasso 2001).

15.4 Which Values, Which School and Teacher?

The rhetoric of militarism and of patriotism progressively faded: there is a "sane patriotism" in 1948, a strong antimilitarism in the 1972 and 1984 versions, but the topic is abandoned in 2001 in favour of the picture of a multiregional (multi-ethnic?) society. The values of sacrifice, of solidarity, of duty are still present in all the films.

The figure of the teacher Perboni is central and is presented in all the movies with the same qualities: goodhearted, highly dedicated, patient, poor, socialist, or close to socialism.

The book gave little space to didactics. Since De Amicis's aim was to transmit values, the souls and the feelings of the pupils were the centre. The 1948 and 1984 works follow this picture, the 2001 serial concentrates on the (invented) teacher's life. But in all three Perboni is presented as good hearted and loving, it does not matter what and how he teaches, but how he approaches his pupils and treats them. He is always presented as decently dressed, very dignified, but also poor, as indeed was the case for Italian teachers of the time, as De Amicis stressed in *Cuore*.

Cuore was a mainly male book, since it depicted a male 3rd form. All the 3 film directors, however, gave space to a female teacher, in order to create a more intriguing plot around the figure of the lonely Perboni and in accordance with the historical fact that in Italy by 1877 the majority of elementary teachers were already women (Covato 1996; Ghizzoni 2003; Soldani 2004). So "the young teacher with the red feather on her hat" who was marginal in the book, but who embodied a real female teacher in Turin and who had fired the imagination of the readers with her beauty, cheerfulness and sweetness,[5] has a significant role in Coletti's film and Zaccaro's serial, becoming the wife of the teacher, and appears in Comencini's serial, but with a much more discreet role, more in accordance with the book.

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[5]Named Eugenia Barruero, she died in 1957 and was remembered in the national newspaper *Domenica del Corriere*, including on the front cover (Novelli 2011).

15.5 Conclusion: How Is Today's Memory of the Book *Cuore* and of the Italian School Seen Through the Lens of Comencini's TV Serial?

What is remembered of *Cuore* in Comencini's serial? Which memory of an already remembered school is constructed, spread and shared? It is a collective memory of the Italian school as the place where children learn the civic values of mutual respect, of brotherhood, of good sentiments, of duty and sacrifice. It is not the school as a place of instruction, of learning of school subjects. Subjects and methods may change, they are not so relevant, ethics are more important. This is what De Amicis and the Italian school of the 19th century taught (Ascenzi 2004; Chiosso 2011). Nowadays the political trend tends to stress the importance of scientific learning and developing skills (suffice it to recall Martha Nussbaum's or Wolfgang Brezinka's criticisms against this trend that impoverishes moral education).

But many people lack a school where ethics are at its core. See the enthusiastic opinions on websites (IBS, Amazon Italia) about Comencini's 1984 serial by buyers of the DVD, on sale since 2007 (last edition 2013):

"Masterpiece of Italian Risorgimento. I cried in 1984 and still cry now" (2007)

"No words to say how good it is. Well done and beautiful, nothing to do with today's remake [Zaccaro]" (2013)

"So beautiful to find again the refined television of 30 years ago, so far from the actual one, violent, misleading, banal. I highly recommend it" (2014)

"Very far from today's films. My children liked it very much, they were attentive and moved in front of events of other children so different in their living and habits, but so close in their feelings. I recommend it, it makes you reflect" (2014)

"No home should be without this DVD" (2014)

"I'd just say it is terrific. Costumes, settings, story and above all the moral values. Really first rate" (2014)

"This is a cult film, I am looking forward to have some time and peace to enjoy it" (2015)

"A very good TV serial. I only regret they missed out what I consider the most representative monthly short story: the little Lombard lookout. Cannot understand why" (2015)

In conclusion, we can discern that there is a collective memory of a book read in childhood which has long been part of the Italian identity and which has formed an (imaginary) school memory, which was strongly linked with its actual values. Rejected and contested in the Sixties-Seventies, the book *Cuore* has then been again represented on TV, enjoying great success.

The four visual representations arose from particular cultural and political needs, depending on the historical moments. Thus the imaginary school of the book embodies the school of both our memories and our wishes: the book has been re-read, represented, altered in accordance with the feelings of the present.

The social imagery as the set of values of *Cuore* is still partially present, as memory of a mythical school of the past and as an example of the teaching of moral values and of model teachers. Today the book is not as widely known as it used to be: new generations tend not to read it. But among people who read it in their childhood, the fading of these values is perceived as dangerous, as appears from some voices on the Internet (Amazon Italia):

> "It is a life lesson that brings us back to those moral values we have lost" (2014)

> "In a world nearly without hope, in a society that has lost its values because it has lost its memory, in a young generation pale, drunk with technology but with no feelings, full of notions, of selfishness, a bit arrogant but lacking generational wisdom, *Cuore* re-establishes the importance of feeling and of sacrifice, of values that belong to our culture, our passion and our patriotism. Extraordinary acting by Dorelli and all the main characters. Adults and children should see this film together, as well as read the book" (2015)

Intellectuals, educationalists and journalists express new appreciation for *Cuore*: in a world where moral values fade and in a country where teachers have lost their social status *Cuore*'s picture still has an appeal (Nobile 2009, pp. 114–116). Patrizia Poli notes that in spite of Eco's criticism, the book was beloved and wonders: "Where have those moral values gone?" (Poli 2013). The enduring success of Comencini's version[6] thus testifies to, more than just a memory of a mythical school, but rather to the desire for it to be real now and the longing for a fading identity.

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[6]Three episodes are posted on Youtube (2012). In three years the first had c. 40,000 views and the last two c.10.000.

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Chapter 16
The Memory of an Ideal School: The Work of Don Lorenzo Milani as Represented by Cinema and Television (1963–2012)

Paolo Alfieri and Carlotta Frigerio

16.1 Introduction

When cinema and television deal with history, they generally strike us as effective vehicles of communication that enable the past to reach us and leave its trace in our imaginary. In this process, as the Irish playwright Brian Friel has observed, our imagination is not so much fuelled by "facts" that actually once occurred, as by "images of the past embodied in language" (Friel 1981, p. 66). The language of cinema in particular not only engages audiences at the perceptual level but also at the emotional level, involving them in a way that exercises a deep and lasting effect on their experience and memory (Morin 1956). Documentaries too impact on our representations of the past, by offering us realistic narratives designed to enhance our knowledge and memory of historical events, phenomena and figures. Furthermore, although they are intended to provide more objective reconstructions than those supplied by cinematic production, documentaries—like films—inevitably represent some degree of "negotiation between reality" and "its interpretation" (Bruzzi 2000, p. 4); thus, in both cases, viewers are exposed to contents and viewpoints which they are led to measure against their own prior knowledge and opinions on the topic covered. This process is all the more meaningful when films and documentaries treat themes such as schooling, which are relevant to the

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audience's life experience. The image of school transmitted by cinema and tele-vision is instantly compared by each individual viewer to his or her own past experience; simultaneously, it brings to light educational practices, teaching methods, values, norms and school routines which may be either in keeping with, or alternative to, the immaterial historical-educational heritage constructed over time by a given community and held in its collective memory of school (Yanes-Cabrera 2007; Escolano Benito 2003; Viñao Frago 2010).

An image of school which is undoubtedly distant from the average experience of Italians and their shared imaginary of schooling, is that portrayed in the films and documentaries that have focused on the educational works of Father Lorenzo Milani, the well-known Tuscan priest known as "Don Milani", who in the period after the second world war, chose educating the working-classes as the primary instrument in his work of evangelization. The current research examined the three films that to date have been devoted to Milani, two of which were produced for the cinema (in 1975 and 1976) and one for television (1997), and nine documentaries, made between 1963 and 2012. These sources were consulted at the libraries, audiovisual and non, of a number of Italian cities, or viewed online. Our analysis focused on the following specific aspects:

– The portrayed vision of schooling and its aims;
– Educational and teaching methods;
– The spaces and times of education;
– The figure of the teacher.

All the analysed works had obtained extensive national coverage, bringing the figure and educational initiatives of Don Milani to a wide public, composed of both more select and elitist cinema audiences and the larger and more heterogeneous audiences of television and Internet. As we shall see, the cinema and TV recon-structions analysed in our research, remained true to historical fact in narrating the absolute originality and uniqueness of don Milani's school, bringing audiences to appreciate the exceptional nature of this model and its departure from their own experience of school as well as from shared stereotypes of school as it was in the past. At the same time, however, by describing Don Milani's educational model, these films and documentaries have supplied the collective memory of Italians with an ideal vision of schooling that is rich with novel pedagogical perspectives.

16.2   Don Milani's School

Father Lorenzo Milani (1923–1967) is unquestionably one of the best known Italian educationalists of the post-WWII period and by virtue of his "polyhedric work", encompassing "moral, social, religious and pedagogical dimensions", he is rightly viewed as "a key figure in the history of the civic development of our country" (Gatto 1983, p. 9). Born in Florence to an educated and agnostic family of

upper-middle class background, he spent his childhood and adolescence between Florence and Milan, where after completing his classical schooling, he chose not to enrol at university in favour of pursuing his interest in art and painting. In 1942, after definitively moving back to Florence, he began an inner path of conversion to Catholicism, which ultimately led him to enter the diocesan seminary; he was ordained to the priesthood in 1947. In October of the same year, he was assigned to the parish of San Donato di Calenzano, an industrial quarter on the outskirts of Florence, where he founded his first key educational work, an evening school for the district's young workers. This project was based on a "free educational style", with classes principally centred on reading the daily newspapers, meeting with men of culture or individuals known for their efforts to benefit civil society, and discussion (Covato 2013, p. 168).

This method was clearly not aligned with the pastoral approach of the period and was alternative to the strategy pursued by some sectors of the Church then seeking to engage young people by offering them forms of entertainment, such as cinema, rather than by organizing educational activities designed to provide them with an authentically Christian and human education (Turchini 1988, pp. 397–398). However, it was Don Milani's strong orientation towards the working-classes, his concern for the needs of the workers, and his conscious decision to appeal to all the youth, including those who were active members of left-wing parties or secular trade unions, which aroused the suspicions not only of the local industrialist class but also of the diocesan administration in Florence. Although he had "no dealings with either left-wing or right-wing politics", the "atmosphere of strong political-ideological conflict" characterizing those years, and in which part of the Catholic world was also implicated, gave rise to a profound mistrust of Don Milani, who came to be viewed as a "troublesome priest", prompting the bishop to transfer him elsewhere (Betti 2009, pp. 10–11).[1]

In 1954, Don Milani was appointed prior at Barbiana, a remote village in the Mugello hills, whose hundred or so inhabitants were then living in conditions of extreme poverty. This "exile" increased, and not only geographically, the priest's isolation from official Church circles and accelerated his definitive estrangement from the contemporary political and cultural agenda of Italian Catholics. His thinking ceased to have "any historical design" and through the "constant effort to empathise with the state of the poor", came to be focused "on the value of the human person and the primacy of conscience" (Scoppola 1983, pp. 16–17). Thus, once again, Don Milani identified schooling for his working class parishioners as the most critical component of his ministry. Indeed, in his *Esperienze pastorali*—a book written in 1958 in which he reinterpreted his work in San Donato and explained the first steps taken in Barbiana—he argued that education, particularly the acquisition of good writing and verbal skills, was an essential prerequisite for comprehending the Christian message and consciously accepting it, as well as for

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[1]On Don Milani's relations with the leaders of his diocese, see Bocchini Camaiani (2011).

the improvement and social emancipation of the poorer classes (Sani 2009, pp. 294–298).

In the new school, now offered in full-time as well as evening formats, Don Milani maintained the informal didactic approach previously piloted in San Donato and deployed the same methods, though supplementing them with a series of new projects, such as technical-practical courses preparing students to address everyday challenges arising at home or in the workplace, foreign language classes and the organization of study trips abroad, and collaborative reflection and writing activities designed to develop pupils' political awareness and ability to engage in critical thinking (Simeone 2011a, pp. 193–197). Above all, Milani aimed to tap into the students' own experience as part of a "didactics of poverty" which, taking "the poor person as the recipient of educational action", was highly sensitive to students' family background and real educational needs (Scurati 1983, p. 162).

In this context, Don Milani developed more fully the idea that school should not be understood as a place for the transmission of pre-constituted knowledge but as a means of "supplying the necessary technical instruments", and above all, "language, through which the poor can themselves teach the teachers" (Pazzaglia 1983, pp. 177–182). Indeed, in the famous *Lettera ad una professoressa* of 1967, his own pupils, writing jointly with their teacher, called for a new model of school, based on their experience in Barbiana, and strongly criticizing the school system of the day, especially in relation to its class bias and selectivity. *Lettera ad una professoressa* is undoubtedly Don Milani's most significant legacy, and was the work that made him well known, and in consequence either criticized or praised by both experts in education and the general public. However, the memory of the school in Barbiana was popularized above all thanks to the films and documentaries that over the years have been shown at the cinema, on television and on the Internet.

16.3 Don Milani's School as Represented in Documentaries

The nine documentaries selected for analysis here bear valuable witness to how Don Milani's school has been represented on Italian television channels and in Italian online media, reaching over time a wide audience of TV spectators and Internet users. Indeed, with the exception of Lorenzini's *Lettera da Barbiana* (1963)—a short film, currently held in the video archives of the Centro Sperimentale di Cinematografia in Rome, which has probably never been shown on television or online—all the documentaries achieved broad distribution. Four of the nine investigated in the current study were broadcast on RAI, the Italian public television network: *Addio Barbiana* by Kleindienst (1995), *Effetto ieri* by Foresi (2009), *Don Milani. La dura scuola dell'amore*, by Melloni and Nardelli (2012), and *Fratelli d'Italia: don Milani-don Ciotti* by Bevilacqua (2012). Of these, the

most recent is currently available for viewing on Youtube,[2] along with, since 2009, the documentary *Don Milani e la sua scuola di alto livello senza distinzioni di classi.*[3]

The other three documentaries examined were made as part of the *Mosaico* project, that is to say, the online audiovisual library produced by the channel Rai-Educational (now called Rai-Scuola) with the aim of supplying teachers with a series of audiovisual resources for their own ongoing training or for use as teaching aids; these materials are purposely related to specific school subjects: *Lorenzo Milani e gli insegnanti* and *Lorenzo Milani: testimonianze* are relevant to educational science topics, while *Lorenzo Milani, vita di un prete scomodo* touches on themes from the social sciences. In reality, these documentaries, which are currently accessible online, were made by editing and assembling extracts from other programmes that had been previously broadcast on television: the first is based on four earlier documentaries, one of which was produced in 1971, one in 1973 and two in 1997[4]; the second is a reproduction of a programme that first came out in 1967[5]; the third is made up of two documentaries that first went on the airwaves in 1986 and 1994, respectively.[6]

As the dates suggest, we chose to focus on these nine documentaries for our study on the basis of their distribution over time. They were produced at relatively regular intervals throughout the long period spanning several decades during which they were broadcast, namely from the 1960s to the present day. They therefore form a reasonably representative sample of the audiovisual materials produced to date with the aim of narrating the figure of Don Milani and his school.

Our analysis of these sources yields the image of a school that pursued three main goals: eliciting students' interest in their real life context, providing them with the tool of language and finally, using education to promote the dignity of the human person. Many of the documentaries emphasize Don Milani's aspiration to found "a school that belonged to all and was open to all", in the words of a student interviewed in one of the programmes. The adjectives used to describe his school are all highly positive: it is portrayed as a centre of learning that was not based on a particular ideology or religion, but was universal and secular (the last-mentioned characteristic was symbolized by the fact that no crucifix was displayed in the school), a full-time school that was challenging and demanding, but also a dynamic

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[2]*Fratelli d'Italia: don Milani-don Ciotti* obtained 3604 views (Bevilacqua 2012).

[3]This documentary—drawn from the special edition of the program *La storia siamo noi*, aired in July 3 2009, dedicated to Don Milani—obtained 12467 views ("Don Milani" 2009).

[4]*Lorenzo Milani e gli insegnanti* is based on a TV7 report supplementing the news programme of RAI's flagship channel (1971), the documentaries *Parlare, leggere e scrivere* (1973) and *Don Milani oggi* by Anversa (1997) and selected scenes from the film *Don Milani. Il priore di Barbiana* by Frazzi and Frazzi (1997) ("Lorenzo Milani" n.d.1).

[5]*Lorenzo Milani: testimonianze* is a reproduction of the earlier documentary *Educatori moderni: don Milani* ("Lorenzo Milani" 1967).

[6]*Lorenzo Milani, vita di un prete scomodo* is drawn from the documentaries *I giorni e la storia* (1986) and *Don Milani priore di Barbiana* (1994) ("Lorenzo Milani" n.d.2).

centre of publishing that chose words as its banner in the pursuit of social redemption.

The documentaries devote considerable attention to the methods applied by Don Milani: his predominantly active approach was designed to make the students themselves dynamic agents in the construction of knowledge as opposed to passive recipients of contents. Seven of the nine programmes in our sample report that in the Barbiana school, training students in the use of words and consequently in metacognitively reflecting on language, was a founding pillar of the Tuscan priest's teaching methodology. In *Don Milani e la sua scuola di alto livello*, to quote a particularly emblematic example, language is reported to be a key medium for communication because "it makes you laugh, it makes you cry, it arouses enthusiasm and it has the capacity to transmit thought". In addition, many of the documentaries highlight the dual use that Don Milani made of words: on the one hand, language was an instrument for the social redemption of his students: for example, Alberto Melloni observes that Milani believed the mastery of words to be indispensable to improving one's social condition; on the other hand, words needed to be reflected on to discover their meaning and use: many of the past-pupils interviewed recalled that their teacher often reproved those who did not interrupt him during class to ask him to define a word or explain where it came from and that much of the lesson time was devoted to reflecting on the meaning of terms encountered in the course of reading or discussions.

A significant proportion of the documentaries—five out of nine—testify that the schooling provided in Barbiana was mainly based on empirical learning; in *Don Milani: testimonianze*, one of the interviewees states that Don Milani hated rhetoric, rejected traditional teaching methods and abhorred "empty words"; he preferred to create lessons around practical everyday situations: for example, if a car came to Barbiana, the priest and his students would carry out an in-depth analysis of its engine by directly observing its structure and functioning; even mathematics was taught by getting the students to apply it empirically, for example by reading a wage slip.

Furthermore, many of the documentaries focus on Don Milani's informal approach to teaching: as early as the 1950s he had begun to draw teaching material from everyday life; by getting young people to compare and discuss the contents of different newspapers, the priest hoped to help them develop their critical thinking and induce them to reflect on the phenomenon of bias in journalism; as documented in *Don Milani e la sua scuola di alto livello*, in order to further explore this theme, Ettore Bernabei, then chief editor of the Florentine daily *Giornale del Mattino*, was among those invited to Barbiana. Such direct encounters with individuals who were famous for their cultural achievements or contributions to civil society, as well as with experts in different types of work, was a practice attested by many of the documentaries: the guests were invited to give lectures in their own area of expertise: the school in Barbiana therefore functioned to all intents and purposes as a cultural circle, which was variously visited by government ministers, lawyers, doctors, journalists, and photographers, in addition to carpenters and mechanics, all called upon to share their own particular specialized knowledge with the students.

Another key initiative of which the documentaries provide an account is the organization of trips abroad to study a foreign language; the sources suggest that Don Milani undertook this project, which was clearly ahead of its time, not only to foster his students' language skills but also to make them familiar with other cultures and give them the opportunity to share experiences in new contexts, thereby endowing them with enhanced cognitive and practical tools for overcoming social marginalization.

With regard to the use of space in Don Milani's school, almost all the documentaries report a setting without a conventional teacher's desk or desks for the pupil; instead pupils were seated at large tables, some of which were located outdoors, while various learning aids hung on the classroom walls, such as maps of Europe and Italy, photographs of life in developing countries, and posters illustrating, e.g. the breakdown of the political groupings in parliament, the solar system or the phases of the moon. All the documentaries devote attention to the mural featuring the words *I care*, which, as is well known, was the visual expression of the spirit animating the priest's educational work. With regard to the use of time at the school, the documentaries are unanimous in portraying a school that followed no official timetable but kept its students busy 12 h a day for 365 days a year.

Finally, the documentaries reviewed do not neglect to describe the teaching style embodied by Don Milani: he is described as a modern, unconventional and creative teacher, but also as an authoritative, at times even authoritarian, and demanding schoolmaster. The affective dimension that characterised his relationship with his students is mentioned in many of the documentaries, which frequently quote the famous concluding phrase of his will:

> "Dear Michele, Dear Francuccio […] I have loved you more than I have God, but I am hopeful that He does not pay attention to such minor details and that he will have chalked it all up to His account" (Gesualdi 1970, pp. 320–321).

16.4   Don Milani's School as Represented in Film

While, as we have seen, a continuous stream of documentaries on Don Milani has been produced over the decades, cinematic interest in the priest was confined to the 1970s, with a new film about him being produced only in the late 1990s and then only for television. The fact that the seventh art—through the films *Un prete scomodo* directed by Tosini (1975) and *Don Milani* directed by Angeli (1976)—only focused on Don Milani in the decade immediately following his death is clearly a key piece of data, which tells us that at that time he was a figure of some importance for society and culture. In those years, the priest's work was at the centre of numerous debates not only concerning the crisis of the school system, which came under heavy criticism during the student protests of 1968, but also related to the broader political tensions then affecting Italian society.

The film for television *Don Milani. Il priore di Barbiana*, made by Frazzi and Frazzi (1997), reflects on the other hand the recent rediscovery of Don Milani, who has become the object of renewed cinematic interest in a drastically different historical and cultural setting to that in which the first two films were produced. This more recent work also speaks to a television audience, which is less select than the audiences targeted by the earlier Tosini and Angeli films whose viewers were interested in the directors' respective critical interpretations of Don Milani's work. Indeed the Frazzi brothers primarily set out to captivate their audience and therefore, though providing a well-researched and faithful reconstruction of fact, their film is more romanticized in style, with a view to winning the interest and attention of those unfamiliar with the priest and his work.

Despite this clear diversity, our own analysis, being primarily focused on how Don Milani's school was run, rather than on the personality of its founder, did not identify major differences among the three films, apart from, as we shall see, their treatment of the teaching methods adopted in the school. On all the other aspects analysed, they display a shared perspective, which is also relatively similar to that of the documentaries. First, the films confirm that Don Milani's vision of education was underpinned by the desire to level the differences between the poorer classes and those enjoying greater economic and educational possibilities; in other words he saw school as the main opportunity to provide the poor with the means of redeeming themselves.

With regard to the methods applied by Don Milani, the main activity highlighted by the films is that of collaborative writing, clearly on account of its direct link with *Lettera ad una professoressa*. In fact, this famous book, destined to become known as Don Milani's educational manifesto *par excellence,* as mentioned earlier, was itself the outcome of joint discussion and writing activities. Of the three films examined, that directed by Ivan Angeli provides the broadest and most realistic reconstruction of the teaching strategies drawn on the priest; this film touches on most of the educational initiatives undertaken by Don Milani in Barbiana, although not always exploring them in depth: from reading the daily newspapers to looking up the dictionary, from listening to music to the guest lectures, from putting on plays to debates, from viewing slides to learning languages. In contrast, Pino Tosini's film only focuses on the better known of Don Milani's methods such as learning through experience, lectures and debates. Finally, the Frazzi brothers' film portrays a number of the methods used by the priest, but without going to much trouble over the details, given that the overall aim—as mentioned above—was to emotionally involve the audience.

With regard to educational spaces, the films represent a setting that is in line with the descriptions provided in the documentaries. Nonetheless, it should be noted that the cinematic works do not attribute much importance to the spatial dimension of the Barbiana school, portrayed not primarily as a physical place, but as a set of relationships within which the students strove to grow and enrich their minds under the guidance of their teacher.

Finally, a key focus for the films is the figure of teacher expressed by Don Milani. Tosini and the Frazzi brothers mainly emphasize his warm paternal

approach, the fact that he never gave in and his willingness to make every possible effort for his students. Not surprisingly therefore, both films include a scene in which the priest does not allow himself to be put off by the rain and spends a long time speaking to a father and mother in the hopes of convincing them to send their child to school. Don Milani is described as a teacher who loved his students to the point of devoting his entire religious work to improving their social status; in making this point, the films—like the documentaries—draw on the earlier cited sentence from his will, in which he declared his unconditional love for his young charges.

Ivan Angeli, in contrast, places greater emphasis on Don Milani's intransigence and severity. Nonetheless, this is the film that sets out to provide the most detailed and exhaustive portrayal of Don Milani as an educator. To this end, he includes a scene in which the priest meets a secondary school teacher on a visit to Barbiana. The dialogue illustrates Don Milani's firm belief in the value of education, to the extent that he felt deeply pained each time a student was tempted to give up school. He was also highly attentive to his pupils' actual needs: for instance, when accused of not devoting time to physical education and sports, he replied that children who had to get up at dawn to shovel dung or take animals out to graze, did not require additional opportunities for physical activity. Finally, Don Milani's part in the dialogue in this scene clearly reflects his dislike of the vision of school proposed by the secondary school teacher, which was based on a principle of social selection whereby only the top students have the opportunity to complete their education.

16.5   Conclusions

The documentaries and films reviewed here certainly provide a meaningful overview of Don Milani's school and make a key contribution to preserving its memory. Although the various directors were mainly interested in the figure of the priest himself and the dominant traits in his charismatic personality, rather than in the specific details of his educational work, the analysed materials have nonetheless succeeded in communicating a clear and well-defined image of the educational model developed by Don Milani, thereby keeping alive the memory of a key chapter in the educational history of post-World War II Italy.

As we have seen, the documentaries supply a more detailed analysis of the organizational and methodological aspects of Don Milani's school, while the films place greater emphasis on his educational relationship with his students. On the other hand, the documentaries provide little analysis of the collaborative writing method, which in contrast is featured strongly in the films. This is due to the fact that the films focus on what is viewed as Don Milani's most emblematic legacy, namely the well-known *Lettera ad una professoressa*, which was jointly thought out and written up by teacher and students. This is particularly true of the films directed by Tosini and Angeli, which as earlier noted were produced in the 1970s, a period in which the contents of the book were being widely and heatedly debated.

Also worthy of note is the fact that both films and documentaries frequently cite Don Milani's writings in the interest of offering as realistic and truthful an account of his work as possible. Furthermore, the documentaries draw heavily on the oral testimony of the priest's past-pupils, rightly viewed as the privileged depositaries of his thinking and work.

Despite these slight differences, all the materials included in our study emphasize that Don Milani's school came into being solely thanks to the personal charisma of its founder and was therefore destined to die along with him. Indeed in Bernard Kleinidienst's documentary the school is defined as "difficult to live up to", that is to say, almost impossible to implement outside of the context in which it was developed. This is borne out by the interviews shown in the same documentary, which emphasize the highly Utopian nature of the Barbiana project. An aspect that is also drawn out by the Frazzi brothers, who from very opening shots of their film set out to convey the unique nature of the school that is about to be narrated; the film opens with a scene in which Don Milani, his life now drawing to a close, prophecies that "Soon Barbiana will be no more, it will end with me". In many of the documentaries, past-pupils confirm that the school did end with the priest's death, not because the students would not have liked to follow in their master's footsteps, but because they lacked both the strength and the capacity to emulate him.

The image of school sketched out by these films and documentaries undoubtedly comes across as highly exceptional. It is distant from the experience of the vast majority of Italians, whose school experience has been very different to that implemented by Don Milani. Nonetheless, it is this very exceptional nature that has allowed Don Milani and his educational model to enter our collective memory, not as the expression of a legacy of shared experience, but as a prototype of ideal school. The films and documentaries reviewed in the current research confirm the findings of numerous existing studies on the priest's educational approach which are widely reported in academic texts (Simeone 2011b): specifically, in both educational science and history of education textbooks for secondary school and university courses, the Barbiana school is presented as a project of great and emblematic educational value, as borne out by scholarship that has found the particular merit of Don Milani's work to lie in its power to provide an ideal model and stimulate novel reflection, including on the contemporary schools scene.

It should not be forgotten that RAI, as earlier noted, has recently devoted considerable space to Barbiana on its online educational website. This resource, as explained above, is designed not only to provide teaching materials but also to stimulate teachers' ongoing reflection on their professional role. In this regard, Don Milani and his exceptional school can undoubtedly serve as an inspirational source of motivation and ideals.

After all, as attested in the earlier cited documentary directed by Kleinidienst, Don Milani himself, in dialogue with a student who accused him of creating a sheltered environment that was different to that experienced by most of the boy's own peers, rebutted: "If a boy challenges his school, it means that the school works". This invitation to maintain a critical attitude towards educational practices

that are excessively static and unable to adapt to the changing of the times and the needs of students is perhaps the key lesson that Don Milani and his work have contributed to our educational imaginary. Ultimately, also thanks to the films and documentaries that have narrated it, Don Milani's school, while remaining an isolated phenomenon in time and space, has been successful in stirring the consciences of those who have felt and continue to feel the need for a renewal of the school system.

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Chapter 17
Constructing Memory: School in Italy in the 1970s as Narrated in the TV Drama *Diario di un Maestro*

Anna Debè

17.1 Introduction

In 1973, RAI—Radiotelevisione Italiana broadcast the four-part television drama *Diario di un maestro* [Diary of an elementary school teacher], made by the famous Sicilian film director Vittorio De Seta and adapted from Albino Bernardini's autobiographical novel *Un anno a Pietralata* [A year in Pietralata]—Pietralata was a poor outer suburb of Rome. The episodes were broadcast on the 11, 18, 25 February and 4 March, respectively, on the Rai Uno channel. The mini-series portrayed an innovative way of providing schooling that was distant from traditional models focused on academic contents rather than on students' overall educational development. At the same time, it documented a particular moment in the history of the Italian school system, then under pressure from several quarters to revisit its function and educational approach.

While the series' condemnation of an educational system purely based on the transmission of knowledge is immediately obvious to the viewer, careful analysis is required to identify the founding principles of the system proposed as an alternative and to interpret them against the sociocultural backdrop of the period. Such in-depth enquiry may usefully draw on the methods of historical research, provided that the scholar recognizes film material as a legitimate source: a source that is markedly different from more conventional ones such as written documents and oral testimony, but whose value has gradually come to be acknowledged and accepted.

On the birth of cinema in the late nineteenth century (Rondolino 2008; Bordwell and Thompson 2010), the Polish photographer and cameraman Boleslaw Matuszewski proposed setting up film archives to ensure cinema's contribution to memory, displaying an appreciation of film material that was unusual among his

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contemporaries (Grazzini 1999; Di Blasio 2014, pp. 59–64). However, it was only in the course of the following century that filmic documents became fully legitimated as a recognized source for historical studies and research. This development was driven to a great extent by the proponents of the *Nouvelle Histoire* movement, especially Lucien Febvre and Marc Bloch, who embraced image as a key focus of enquiry within the novel historiographic approach of the French *Annales* school (Le Goff et al. 1978; Burke 2015).

Subsequently many other scholars set out to systematically analyse the relationship between history and film; these included Antonio Mura (Mura 1967) and Roland Barthes (Barthes 1967), but above all Marc Ferro, to whom we owe the definition of film as both an agent and source of history (Ferro 1973, 1977), and Pierre Sorlin, who advocated a rigorous methodological approach to using film as a historical document (Sorlin 1977, 1980, 2013).

Overall, the international scientific community's historiographical engagement with film has progressed somewhat slowly and uncertainly, because the complex and polysemic nature of the filmic image makes it challenging for historians to deal with. It follows that historians of education have also been slow to develop an interest in film as a source, the uncertainty in their case being compounded by a "failure to grasp the educational value that cinema can hold" (Polenghi 2005, p. 28). Thus, only recently has a new era of studies on the theme of film and history of education been launched by scholars in Italy and elsewhere (see for instance the recent Issue 47(4), 2011 of *Paedagogica Historica* on the theme of *Education in Motion: producing methodologies for researching documentary film on education* and also Cunningham 2000; Catteeuw et al. 2005; Coman 2013).

In light of this background, the aim of the current study was to explore *Diario di un maestro*'s contribution to representing and constructing the collective mentality of the period, where collective mentality is understood as "the shared awareness, axiological categories, and pedagogical perspectives underpinning certain ways of life" (Polenghi 2005, p. 41). The filmic source was investigated by comparing it to Bernardini's book, in relation to the educational features of each. A further focus of study was the interrelationships between the TV serial and the broader social and educational context in which it was produced. Analysis of the TV drama and book was supplemented by a review of the relevant literature and filmic materials, as well as by an interview with the researcher Francesco Tonucci, who was educational advisor for the series.

17.2 The Context

[The book] is called *Un anno a Pietralata*: however, one often suspects that *Un agnello tra i lupi* [A Lamb among Wolves] might be a more appropriate title, such is the continuous contrast between the candour of the teacher and the violent malice of the environment in which he operates, without ever giving up. In the eyes of his colleagues, this working-class suburb and its kids […] are collectively classified in the derogatory epithet: "What scum!"

[…]. Even when they present themselves in class as so many replicas of Franti – the "bad boy" in *Cuore* […] – the teacher does not stop believing that beneath this mask there is something more: there is the patrimony of enthusiasm, curiosity and interest that each child carries with him or herself, which is part of his or nature as a "human cub" (Rodari 2004, pp. 21–22).

The candid teacher, presented in these terms by the famous Italian children's writer and journalist Gianni Rodari, is Albino Bernardini, author of the book *Un anno a Pietralata*, published in 1968 by the publishing house La Nuova Italia at the request of Dina Bertoni Jovine, a leading communist educationalist and historian of education, while the "scum" are primary school students in the working-class suburb of Rome where Bernardini, originally from Sardinia, teaches (Bernardini 2012). In this context of cultural and material poverty, his efforts are directed in the first instance at filling his half-deserted classroom with the children who up to now have preferred the street to school, either because they have no interest in learning ("the parents sent their children to school, because they themselves were going to work. These students had a thousand opportunities to avoid ever getting as far as the school gates"; Bernardini 1968, p. 22), or because they were already working. Many of them actually contributed to supporting their families, finding employment as errand or delivery boys, vendors of garlic or scrap metal collectors.

The year was 1960: Bernardini, recently arrived in Rome, was faced with a difficult class of students and the need to dialogue with colleagues who regarded him with mistrust and hostility, all in all, "a compelling human and intellectual adventure" (De Mauro 2004, p. 15). His optimistic and activist approach led him to abandon traditional classroom teaching, which was far removed from his pupils' needs, and to develop an educational method in which the children themselves and their daily lives played the leading role.

The famous film director, Vittorio De Seta, drew on Bernardini's testimony to make the TV drama *Diario di un maestro*, one of his best known works, thereby also giving wide publicity to teacher's work. Sensitive to the conditions of vulnerability and poverty affecting sectors of the Italian population, although these were far removed from the aristocratic environment in which he had grown up, De Seta had begun to read Bernardini's book—recommended to him by screenwriter Ugo Pirro—as early as 1969.[1]

He soon found himself wanting to bring Bernardini's experience to the screen, given that it had opened his own eyes not only to a new approach to education but also to "a social, educational, methodological and above all human problem" (Natta 1972, p. 21), which was then being vigorously debated at many levels, but was as yet unknown to the broader public. This insight prompted led De Seta to carry out further background research of his own, through which he discovered "the first experiments with a living school whose teaching methods are based on the external

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[1]Vittorio De Seta (1923–2011) is well-known to the public for his ventures into social enquiry in such work as *Pastori di Orgosolo* [Shepherds of Orgosolo] (1958), *Un giorno in Barbagia* [A day in Barbagia] (1958), *I dimenticati* [The forgotten] (1959) and *Un uomo a metà* [An half man] (1966) (Rais 1995; Capello 2008; Nappi 2015).

environment, with a school that inspires the children's immediate interest by grafting itself onto topics chosen ad hoc by the students themselves. Thus, a creative school whose starting point is reality, rather than books" (Natta 1972, p. 21).

The historic moment at which the film was presented to the public was certainly a key one both for the school system and for Italian society in general. The 1960s were shaken by a series of significant events within the world of education, which culminated in the upheaval caused by the student protests of 1968, the year in which Bernardini's book had come out. However, the school system had already seen significant changes earlier in the decade with the introduction of a unified middle-school curriculum in 1962 (Law n. 1859); the reform in question was the outcome of lengthy political and social debate which also sparked the will, albeit more on paper than in practice, to make the Italian school system markedly more democratic. The same period saw a process of reflection concerning students with disabilities, who up to then had been segregated into special classes and schools, leading to their full inclusion in the mainstream school system in the course of the following decade (Canevaro 1999, pp. 20–33; Pruneri 2003), along with the introduction of full-time primary school, first proposed and debated during the 1960s and instituted by law in 1971 (Law n. 820), with the aim of providing children with additional educational and cultural opportunities. Further key developments included the founding of the state-run infant school system by Law n. 444 of 1968 and the drawing up of a series of statutory instruments, formally issued in 1973 (by Law n. 477) for the purpose of allowing the community to participate in the running of schools via a number of different mechanisms (Santamaita 2010, pp. 111–171; Betti and Cambi 2011).

In this highly dynamic context, numerous and authoritative voices called with increasing emphasis for a new model of school, which would no longer be selective or at the service of the powerful, but strongly democratic. Among these, one voice that stood out was that of Florentine priest Don Lorenzo Milani, whose ideas are reflected in his 1967 *Lettera a una professoressa* [Letter to a teacher]: this work condemned the school system of the day with its intrinsic inequalities, proposing that it should be replaced with a model of schooling that emphasized the educational role of school and was sensitive to the lives of students (Sani and Simeone 2011; Covato 2013).

In addition to the thinking of Don Milani, another current was represented by the teachers of the *Movimento di Cooperazione Educativa* [Cooperative Education Movement], founded in 1951 with the aim of experimentally implementing in Italy the popular pedagogy of Célestin and Elise Freinet, and which Bernardini himself joined after moving to Rome. The founding principles of the MCE revolved around a vision of school that was far from being merely a place for the transmission of knowledge but rather was characterized by the leading role of its students, cooperation at every level, and its emphasis on individual freedom of expression. MCE was founded on the initiative of a group of primary school teachers led by Giuseppe Tamagnini. The movement, which is still active and organized around the historic journal *Cooperazione Educativa*, attracted the membership of many Italian teachers

and educationalists, including Anna Fantini and Aldo Pettini (Lodi 1970, pp. 19–20; 1977, pp. 3–5; Pettini 1980).

De Seta threw himself into this complex scene: he read some of the works of Milani and Freinet; he visited an after-school club in the Roman shantytown of Acquedotto Felice run by Don Roberto Sardelli, a past-pupil of Don Milani's; he attended classes at the school in Bagni di Tivoli to which Bernardini had been transferred, as well as the after-school club of Don Sandro Lagomarsini in Varese Ligure. He familiarized with avant-garde educational projects such as those of Lina Ciuffini, Alberto Alberti, Maria Luisa Bigiaretti, Alberto Manzi, also visiting a series of schools in Florence, Bologna, Venice, Milan and Turin (De Seta 1972). In Turin he spent some days at the "Nino Costa" primary school which was located in a troubled suburban area of the city. Many of the teachers at this school were part of the Cooperative Education Movement. A couple of years before De Seta's film came out, Luigi Comencini, another highly-regarded Italian film director, had gone to the same school to film an episode, entitled *Qualcosa di nuovo* [Something new], of the investigative film *I bambini e noi* [The children and us] about the living conditions of Italian children (Alfieri 2012).

Diario di un maestro clearly reflects the guiding principles of all these different educational initiatives, whose shared key emphasis was on the student rather than on the teacher or the implements of teaching. Thus, the film version did not reproduce the isolated and exceptional experience of a single teacher, but was a specific and successful example of new tendencies within education. It is possible to create an effective school system: this was the message of the serialized TV drama. Such a school is sensitive to the needs of students in difficult circumstances, and removed from mechanisms driven by achievement, official curricular guidelines, and ministerial bureaucracy. Far from presenting a model to be copied down to the last detail, thereby encouraging potential "cultural laziness" on the part of teachers (Tonucci 1972, p. 17), the film was intended to play a representational role for the various innovative educational projects then underway in Italy. A logical consequence of this approach was De Seta's decision not to faithfully transfer the contents of the book onto the screen, but to "film a real, authentic educational experience" (De Seta 1972, p. 31).

17.3   From the Book to the Film: A Filtered Transition

In the course of his research on the avant-garde educational projects then underway in Italian schools, De Seta realized that traditional screenplay was not going to be adequate to the task of reproducing a new model of school, centred on the students and their needs. Indeed, a key principle of this model was the unique and unrepeatable nature of all teaching and learning experiences and processes. Consequently, Bernardini's book took on a different function in the production of the TV series to that originally intended by De Seta: from an experience to be

reproduced on screen, it became an outline to be freely consulted, more in relation to the educational style adopted in it than in terms of a precise order of events.

In keeping with this idea, De Seta set out to identify a teacher, instead of an actor, willing to play the lead role in his film. He offered the job to two different primary school teachers who then were experimenting with innovative educational methods following the overall approach of the Cooperative Education Movement, namely Fiorenzo Alfieri and Mario Lodi. Both refused, as Bernardini had done before them: their school commitments would have made it difficult for them to take a lengthy leave of absence and, furthermore, they did not feel adequate to the task.

It was they who advised De Seta to contact Francesco Tonucci, a primary teacher then employed as a researcher at the National Research Council in Rome, whose area of study was precisely avant-garde educational projects.[2] In consultation with Tonucci, De Seta decided to give up the idea of the teacher-actor, realizing that it was over-ambitious and likely to lead to "an excess of naturalism" (Natta 1972, p. 22), but he took on the researcher as educational advisor for the film. The Neapolitan actor, Bruno Cirino was subsequently cast in the role of Bruno D'Angelo, the teacher-protagonist of the mini-series.[3]

Shooting of the serial began in early April 1971 at the Istituto d'arte sacra (Institute of Sacred Art) in the run-down suburban area of Tiburtino III on the outskirts of Rome (at the time, the principal of the Institute was Enzo Rossi, father of Paolo, a socialist student killed in April 1966 by right-wing extremists). The twenty or so child-actors, recruited from the areas of Tiburtino III and La Torraccia, took part in an exceptional project lasting four months. Assigned to a fifth grade primary school class, they were not asked to recite a part, but to spontaneously respond to the input of the teacher-actor. They knew that they were being filmed, but their experience on set was a genuine educational experience: "it would have been absurd, utter nonsense, to speak about avant-garde forms of school and then

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[2]Francesco Tonucci (Fano, 1940) graduated from the Catholic University of Milan with a degree in education, working as a primary teacher before becoming a researcher at the Institute of Psychology of the National Research Council in 1966. His research work and educational projects were mainly focused on children and their cognitive development, as well as on educational methods for use with children. In 1991 he launched the international project *La città dei bambini* [The Children's City], aimed at inspiring city administrations to take into account the needs of children when developing urban spaces. He is the author of many books, including *La valutazione come lettura dell'esperienza* [Evaluation as an Interpretation of Experiences] (1978), *Guida al giornalino di classe* [Guide to the Classroom Newspaper] (1980), *La città dei bambini* (1996), *Se i bambini dicono: adesso basta!* [If children say: stop now!] (2002), *Il paese dei quadrati* [The town of squares] (2006). He is also a cartoonist of international repute, going under the pseudonym Frato. See D'Ancona (2003).

[3]Bruno Cirino (1936–1981), whose full name was Bruno Cirino Pomicino, was a highly regarded Italian actor, best-known for his work in theatre. De Seta wrote of him: "I realised that Bruno made the idea of a new kind of teacher, an unarmed prophet from the south, not only realizable but also legitimate. A teacher played by Bruno would have more heart, would be more poetic" (De Seta 2012, p. 61).

have a group of children parrot something they read in a script" (Cirino 1972, p. 28).

De Seta took full ad interim responsibility for the schooling of these children who, when the film-making was over, had to sit the primary school leaving examination as privately tutored students. As well as being involved in the filming of their classroom activities every morning, the children attended an after-school club—based on the same educational methods—in the afternoon, at which they were supervised by Sandro Ricci and Lucio Bardelli. All of the children except one successfully attained their primary school leaving certificate, as recalled by Tonucci in an interview with the author (10 August 2015).

Each evening, De Seta and Tonucci would devise a proposed scene to be shot the following day. However, the finer details only came into place as the scene actually played out. The object of the exercise was to make a film about the everyday life of a school, in a real classroom, and so it was necessary to choose between "children's real-life experience and what would have been fictitious screenplay, albeit based on good background knowledge of the environment" (Tonucci 1972, p. 17). Having opted for the former option, the director and his advisor had no choice but to work flexibly in keeping with daily events in the classroom and outside of it. Reality therefore came into the screenplay, modifying it in decisive ways. Through this creation of "narrative documentary" as opposed to classic script-bound screenplay (Felini 2015, p. 276), the classroom became a place of educational experimentation. Francesco Tonucci played a key role in defining the educational style showcased in the series. It was he who guided Cirino as to how to approach and respond to the students.

Thus, master D'Angelo's educational tactics were not the outcome of his personal flair and charisma, as much as based on the educational model informing Tonucci, namely that of the MCE, to which, as already mentioned, Bernardini also subscribed. However, the educational advisor, with the film director's approval, moved away from the figure of Bernardini to some extent to seek inspiration in that of Mario Lodi, another primary teacher connected with the cooperative movement. This was due to the fact, in the words of Tonucci, that "I felt Mario to be closer to my own outlook, more modern in his vision of school" (interview by the author on 10 August 2015). Consequently, it is not by chance that the only book that the teacher-actor is seen to refer to in the TV series is Lodi's *Il Paese sbagliato* [The Wrong Country], as though to explicitly and publicly underline this shift (*Diario di un maestro*, Episode 3). In 1971, this book had earned Lodi the prestigious Viareggio literary award for essay-writing, reflecting a high level of awareness and recognition of his educational method on the Italian cultural scene. A tireless teacher, educationalist and writer, Lodi worked unceasingly to promote forms of schooling that respect the rights and fulfil the specific needs of children.[4]

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[4]Mario Lodi (1922–2014) qualified as a primary teacher in Cremona in 1940, going on to become a leading figure in Italian education during the post-war period. He wrote several books based on his own experience in the classroom: some of these, such as *Bandiera* [Flag] (1960), *Cipì* (1961), and *La mongolfiera* [The hot-air balloon] (1978), were jointly written with his pupils; others

In light of this background, it is possible to analyse the film in relation to the contemporary school scene and situate the educational strategies it portrays within a broader theoretical framework. More specifically, *Diario di un maestro* promotes a democratic form of schooling, alternative to the mere transmission of factual knowledge, based on the principles espoused by Tonucci, which in turn were informed by the educational model of Mario Lodi, and which the educational advisor himself summarized as follows: "1. School should prepare students to live life rather than approaching it in a passive and resigned manner. Preparing children for life means believing in them, working with them to develop tools for critically analysing reality. Preparing for life means never withdrawing from it. 2. School is an open environment. It has a focus on external reality, people from the outside world come into the school. 3. The work method is that of enquiry. In enquiry and research, there is no place for those who know and those who do not know but all parties embark on it together, in order to address a real-life issue that is close to them. This inevitably gives rise to some form of action" (Tonucci 1972, p. 18).

17.4   The Educational Features

In the film, the work of the teacher is seen to bring about significant change in the classroom environment, which goes from disorderly and disinterested to industrious and collaborative. This transformation is effected by the teaching method implemented, which denies a leading role to text-books, focusing on themes that are close to the interests and concerns of the children, such as animals and nature, the local area with its history and problem issues, child labour, or law and order. Master D'Angelo comes across as harshly critical of traditional schooling right from the drama's opening scenes, which bring to light the superficial nature of the students' prior knowledge, solely based on learning by rote. His exchanges with the other teachers, played by professional actors, also reflect this critical attitude. His colleagues and the head teacher at the Tiburtino III school appear to see education as entirely based on delivery of the curriculum and assessment. "You have to teach them Italian, history, geography", a colleague advises D'Angelo, "They are kids that don't feel like making any effort […] why should you go to so much bother", the same teacher continues, in an explicit condemnation of the new teacher's

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(Footnote 4 continued)

document his activities, including *C'è speranza se questo accade al Vho* [There Is Hope if That Happens in Vho] (1963), *Il paese sbagliato* [The Wrong Country] (1971), *Cominciare dal bambino* [Begin with the Child] (1977) and *La scuola e i diritti del bambino* [School and Children's Rights] (1983). After retiring in 1989, he founded *La casa delle arti e del gioco* [The house of arts and games] in Drizzona (Cremona), a centre for teacher training and research on children's culture. In the same year, he was awarded an honorary degree in Education by the University of Bologna (Di Rienzo 2003; Salviati 2015).

attempts to try out a novel approach (*Diario di un maestro*, Episode 3). The effective school presented in *Diario di un maestro* is, on the contrary, centred round the students and their needs, and aimed at reinforcing their critical thinking skills, because "all kids like these […] deserve a school that can make independent, free and new men of them" (*Diario di un maestro*, Episode 4).

Four peculiar features of the educational experience presented in the TV series may be identified. These reflect, as earlier stated, the cooperative method advocated by Mario Lodi and more broadly, by the entire MCE. The first of these is the strong link between school and everyday life. The students bring their lives into the school and at the same time school influences their lives. The topics explored at school are based on the students' everyday experiences, not only guaranteeing a much higher level of engagement and interest on their part, but also helping them to positively address problematic situations encountered outside of the classroom. An example of this is the car theft incident: during a school day, a pupil started up a stolen car, crashing it into a wall. De Seta initially found this so discouraging that he considered giving up the entire film project, but—in contrast—it became a pretext for a discussion on theft and a broader research project on juvenile delinquency. This process included the testimony of Ralph, a young acquaintance of the teacher's, whose thieving past had culminated in him being sent to reform school, but who had now chosen to live an honest life again. "I had to choose between a school about life and a school about these books—master D'Angelo declares in the closing episode of the series—I chose a school about life".

A second key educational feature in *Diario di un maestro* revolves around the concept of collaboration. Self-discipline and self-mastery are fostered by the teacher because they are seen as key prerequisites for successful learning, in contrast with the children's egotistical tendencies. The teacher notes that the students' initial progress in this regard underpinned a change from the "undisciplined and rebellious [class] of the early days […] to a small community in which all members felt that they were participating in an active and responsible manner" (*Diario di un maestro*, Episode 2). The use of space in the classroom also reflected this collaborative spirit. Under Tonucci's guidance, the traditional layout with straight rows of desks facing the teacher's desk was abandoned in favour of seating the students around three large tables. This new organization of space not only had a strong educational impact, but also gave the director, cameramen, sound technicians and educational advisor more room to move around, leading Tonucci to declare that "an educationally superior choice also facilitates better work" (interview by the author on 10 August 2015).

The collaboration encouraged among the pupils was also sought in the relations between teacher and parents. In the scenes of the drama, D'Angelo visits the families, in an attempt to comprehend the children's background and habits. He wishes to communicate his teaching approach to the parents, sharing with them both the difficulties and the potential of their children. The aspiration that the teachers too might work together in an atmosphere of mutual support is also

expressed in the series, but does not become a reality at the Tiburtino III school, in which D'Angelo's colleagues are critical of his methods, and the head teacher, who is rarely present in the school, comes across as disinterested in the children's actual development and solely preoccupied with discipline and the rigorous application of the national curriculum.

The third educational feature of the approach modelled in the series is linked to the use of space as a tangible sign of the students' collaborative work. Specifically, the teacher does not use his own desk, which has been turned into a bookshelf, but spends his time going from one of the student tables to another, sitting with each group in turn, and showing himself to be a member of the class community. This reflects the desire to frame the teacher as an educator whose primary role is to stimulate his pupils' growth and development by joining their community. A teacher who provides the class with tools for interpreting reality and guides them in the first instance to discover themselves. He does not impose anything; he is not authoritarian; he encourages dialogue and debate; he actively participates in the life of the class, by contributing, for example, to paying for the educational materials purchased by the students. He is not concerned with making the class obey him, but with putting himself on a par with the students, so as to access their world and foster their own industriousness: "We were all working together at last—exclaims D'Angelo in one episode—there were no teachers" (*Diario di un maestro*, Episode 2).

Finally, the fourth and last educational feature of *Diario di un maestro* is the use of the various techniques advocated by Célestin Freinet, namely using a printing press for field research, producing a newspaper, free writing, and graphic-figurative expression. Such techniques were of key interest to the teachers in the Cooperative Education Movement, who viewed them as liberating activities, with the potential to capture the children's interest and allow them to express themselves (Tamagnini 2002). These methods gave pupils the opportunity to state their own opinions, share their own experience and engage in discussion with others without being afraid of making a mistake, getting a bad mark or not being rewarded by the teacher. In the series, for example, the class newspaper *Quinto non ammazzare* [Fifth Thou Shalt Not Kill], entirely written and printed by the students, was a source of pride for the children, who worked hard to produce it and were proud to make a gift of it to their families and friends. Furthermore, using instruments which they had never been exposed to before, such as the typewriter and the copying press, to produce their newspaper, not only sparked their curiosity but gave them valuable practice in working as a group, as it required them to share out tasks and value the contribution of each member.

In general, Freinet's methods are portrayed in the film as instruments by means of which the students lead their own learning and are encouraged not merely to represent their real-life surroundings as they are, but to "make choices, […] with a view to identifying the contradictions inherent in the social context and enquiring by what means human beings might resolve them" (Lodi 1977, p. 28).

17.5 Conclusions

Diario di un maestro met with huge success: each episode was watched by an average of 12 million viewers, thanks to "the rigour, clarity, patience and loving intelligence of De Seta who also enjoyed the sensitive contribution of cameraman Luciano Tovoli and Cirino's skill in producing something more than a purely acting performance. Neither an investigative film nor fiction, this is an original application of the theories of direct cinema" (Morandini et al. 2014, p. 414). Over the following months many Italian newspapers and magazines gave coverage to the series (Felini 2015, p. 276). The debate and interest aroused by the TV drama were destined to remain alive over the following decades. In 1975, a cut-down version of the TV serial was produced for the cinema and in 2004 a short film was made on the adult life stories of the children who had taken part in the TV experiment of 30 years earlier (this short by Marco Venditti, Luca Mandrile and Claudio Di Mambro bears the title *I malestanti, trent'anni dopo* and is a Todomodo and Farfilms production). In 2012, the famous Italian publisher Feltrinelli brought out the original four episodes on DVD, accompanied by a book with the commentaries—some of which had not been previously published—of De Seta, Tonucci, Cirino, and Bernardini amongst others, a combination which was also very successful.

Thus, Vittorio De Seta's series attracted much attention, and successfully documented the positive outcomes of an educational experiment. The creation of a new, active and democratic model of school, with the power to positively impact on the difficult life conditions of underprivileged students was therefore not an impossible undertaking and the TV serial was there to prove it. This message was once again driven home to the public by another of De Seta's works. Specifically in the spring of 1979, the RAI television channels broadcast the four episodes of an investigative report entitled *Quando la scuola cambia* [When the School Changes], in which De Seta presented four different innovative and successful educational experiments then being implemented in Italy, starting with the work of Mario Lodi in Vho di Piadena (Felini 2015).[5] In this new report, the film director again set out to illustrate the ability of some teachers and schools to truly place themselves at the service of children's development, by listening to and focusing on their students' interests and lives.

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[5]In addition to *Partire dal bambino*, concerning Lodi's experiences, the following three documentaries were: *Tutti i cittadini sono uguali senza distinzione di lingua* [All Citizens Are Equal Regardless of the Language], about the teacher Carmine De Padova who in San Marzano di San Giuseppe (near Taranto) ran an after-school club in his own home as part of an effort to keep alive the Albanian language and traditions; *Lavorare insieme non stanca* [Working Together Does Not Tire], on the work of teacher Caterina Foschi Pini at an experimental school in the Gorla district of Milan; *I diversi* [The Different], finally, narrates the reception of four children with disabilities at schools in the province of Lecce.

Diario di un maestro endowed the memory of the Italian people with an example of an avant-garde model of school, which in challenging the traditional model, generated debate and reflection and raised questions and issues. Master D'Angelo "stimulated, helped and aroused the curiosity of young teachers and students and strengthened the position of those campaigning for school reform" (Cirino 2012, p. 64). It had the merit of reaching a wide audience, including the families that were most marginalized within a schools debate that up to then had been confined to limited sectors of society.

Through his TV series, De Seta got across a message, which in the words of Mario Lodi, is "a natural thing but difficult to understand for those who, whether parents or teachers, bear within themselves the authoritarian model of school which they experienced and which formed them: that is to say, that another way of experiencing school is possible. A school without a teacher who 'gives orders' and children who must obey, without the same text books for all, without lessons to be learnt off by heart, without marks and therefore without failed students" (Lodi 1977, pp. 62–63). It was useful for teachers, for whom it acted as a sort of "televised in-service training course" (Felini 2015, p. 289) but also for the families of students, to whom it showed that every child has the right to an education and that the Italian school system was called upon to renew itself in order to meet the educational needs of all its students.

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Chapter 18
The Formation of the Teacher's Image in the Russian Soviet Cinema as a Social Myth About Values Creator-Demiurge

Elena Kalinina

18.1 The Professional Choice. Why Do the People Choose the Profession of the Educator?

One of the most significant problems of the social evolution and of the individual socialization is the professional choice. An individual chooses the profession of his life and tries to understand his or her vocation. It is a choice of values that will determine the social identification, the insertion in the professional culture and in a reference group. The individual will be identified with this group in future. Therefore, the formation of the motivation of the youth is very important. The motivation is a key component of a goal; it is the aspiration for the success and the understanding of his or her potential, an assessment of the proper skills for the competition in the labour market (Espinar et al. 2010).

One of the higher education functions is the professionalization of training, i.e. skills for employability that the universities have to provide (Casares García et al. 2010, p. 1). The objective and the challenge for the university are to consolidate the motivation of young people who made their conscious choice of a higher school institution. The second goal is to form the interest to a future profession (Kalínina 2014, p. 38). Family also influences deeply on the professional choice. The parental power is hard until today for the young people, although they may deny it categorically.

The cultural factors are also very important to determine the professional destiny of an individual. These factors are e.g. the fashion and the social valuation of one or another profession. The professional qualities are formed, fixed and transmitted in a culture. Today the means of the professional identity formation are the employability inserted as an element in the education system, the social propaganda of the

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qualities of this or those professions and media. Stereotypes, models, images and ideals of one or another profession should be formed, and they will influence the stability and the organizational commitment, the satisfaction, a feeling of mutual acceptance, the professional involvement and internal motivation (Shinyashiki et al. 2006, p. 601).

State and society sometimes associate to set in motion the process of destruction of some professional stereotypes. It can also be a process of profession devaluation, if the state or employers do not need professionals of this specialization. On the other hand the goal may be the contrary, i.e. the formation of attractive professional stereotypes of a high demand profession. E.g. it is possible to create an "ideal" literary or cinematic character. If this character becomes to be an idol for all the society or a social group (e.g. for young people), this profession will have a solid cultural foundation.

18.2 The Profession of Educator as a Social Myth

Individuals and social groups create their own reality that consists of elements of the actual world reflected by the consciousness and imagined elements. In other words, we cannot see the world as such; we can only perceive a picture of the world or its representation. The base of this image is a myth. Its idea is to create a comfortable and safety existence for a person. This does not mean that images are false. The reality is the set of images and myths.

Moreover, school is a link between the society and the state. Education as a complex system is inseparable from the society. The system of values, which form the basis of society, is constructed on the basis of the education system. The education was created to preserve and transmit social knowledge and values. The professional education should not be the training of any doctor, architect or teacher; it is the training of a doctor, architect or teacher with high ground moral level (Esteban and Buxarrais 2004, p. 93). The society and the state require the training of professionals capable not only to solve efficiently problems of the professional practice but also primarily to achieve a high professional ethics (Maura 2002). School represents a model of society. Students obtain the fundamental practice of the social relations in the school as a part of the process of socialization.

Education can serve to enhance the homogeneity of the society by communicating fundamental standards and values. That is why it is very important to integrate migrants into the education system, to transmit to them the basic social myths. In this respect education is a useful instrument for the state. The teacher is a subject who appreciates the social project and orients him- or herself to it, attaches importance to it in the educational practice (Malinowska 2007, p. 53). The state can and must create the unity of the nation, because it is a form of national security. From this point of view, the fundamental education is always related to the state and will always be its instrument. A global world also demands the reconstruction of the social ties for the coexistence and leads to the formation of democratic

citizenship. The educational institution will reaffirm its relevant place in this system (Zavala 2007, p. 60).

18.3   A Film as a Creative Form of Professional Stereotypes. How the Image of Teacher Is Being Formed in Film?

Both documentary and feature films have importance as instruments of formation and transmission of social myths and approved social behavior strategies. A film has the capacity to penetrate into the sensory-perceptual life and memory of the people, influencing their values, customs, ways of acting, and the configuration of reference models of identity (Campo-Redondo 2006, p. 13).

On the basis of behavioral stereotypes copied from the literary and cinematographic characters the consciousness forms a conceptual model of the reality. This model is based on the system of social values. The professional values, responsible for the formation of the social identity and the professional motivation, were also represented. Movies can create the sense of professional identity, as a basis to be the effective teacher (Day 2006, p. 69).

The influence of the cinema to the consciousness and its ability to form a social myth are based on the formation of the image analogous to the real object. However, it is not an exact copy, but rather a new structure, undoubtedly established on the base of its image and likeness, but according to different coordinates (Sánchez 1993, p. 199). Every social group receives a hidden message put in every film. Young people want to look like the characters and some of them can choose a profession of a protagonist. Those who are already professionals in this field get added evidence that they were right in their vocation. Others have formed a respect to this type of professional activity. It is a result of the excitement formed by a film. It is well-known and recognized that emotions are the significant part of cognition (Day 2006, p. 59); they also form a stable professional interest and professional values. A film can serve as a "didactic strategy" (Gorrochotegui 2009, p. 84) for the mass, forming the individual and social conscience.

18.4   The Soviet Russian Cinema and the Formation of the Educator's Image

Film is a global (meta) text of the culture; it contains symbols and myths and constructs the collective memory. The school memory is one of the mythological spaces of consciousness created by social tools. Film is a special tool so far as it forms images of future, and even reconstructs memories (Halbwachs and Díaz 1995). These memories make up an individual's "not experienced" memory as a part of the collective memory. The Russian Soviet cinema represented the system

of general ideas and myths of the Soviet society, which constructed the social and professional identity. It was a sort of "not experienced life" for generations of Soviet people.

From the moment of the formation of the Soviet cinema its creators were possessed by passion to create an image of the "new personality", creator of the world of justice. The new social mythology with its own protagonists was inspired. These characters had to serve as models in the professional and personal lives of the people. The school memory was formed as a part of the new social mythology. The mythological teacher was a personality of demiurge creator of the new generation. The profession of the teacher was obviously romanticized, because it was necessary for the state.

It was a successful idea. As a result the image of a teacher beloved by generations of Soviet people was created. An interesting socio-psychological phenomenon of the memory of the school "that did not exist" was formed. This phenomenon is linked with the process of social identity formation. The collective memory plays the important role for the identity of a social group. It supports the group integration and represents the projection of group interests linked to the identity in the past (Rivero et al. 2000). That's why social myths formed by the cinema are often more important components for the collective consciousness formation than real life events.

18.5   The Stages of the Teacher's Image and School Memory Evolution in the Soviet Russian Cinema

The evolution of the Teacher's image in the Soviet Russian cinema is related to the evolution of the understanding of the educational system role. The new state faced the problem of the educational system's place determination in the social structure. There was also a problem of the teacher's place in this system, because the new state had been declared as a state for workers and peasants. However, in the first legal documents just after the Revolution the education was declared as one of the most important social functions of the State.

Teachers never formed the part of the working class in the previous period, although this profession is very hard. This is not a manual labour and they don't produce any type of material product. This class is an ideological instrument in the concept of statehood. It was impossible to spread ideas and educate to professionals without teachers. The school was an important component of the social system.

The State's purpose was to create a new myth and to construct the identity of teachers. The image of the teacher was changing according to the fundamental needs of the state and society. During each period of the Soviet epoch new peculiarities of the teacher's image were created. Studying the films about school produced in every decade, we can find a specific character and peculiarities of the teacher's image. The educator from the screen had to reflect the reality and in the same time to form fundamental myths for the reconstruction of the reality.

The state's goal was to create a myth again and form the identity of the teachers. Each period of the Soviet era changed the image of the teacher according to their fundamental needs. Studying the school cinema in every decade we can find the specific character and peculiarities in the image of the master. The educator of the screen had to reflect the reality and form the myths initials for the reconstruction of this reality.

In the 1920s–1950s teachers didn't appear often in the movies. The state was just formed, so the main social actors were creators, e.g. builders and workers. During the Second World War this protagonists were changed by militaries. They were named the models of new personalities and the creators of the new society. However, the necessity of creation of professionals who were charged with the duty of education was obvious.

The first teachers' cinematographic protagonists differed from the pre-revolutionary professors. Those ones had been idealistic and intelligent persons, separated from the real world, who had little in common with the common people, the workers and peasants. This image was impossible for the society belonging to the workers and peasants. A teacher of Soviet cinema had to be born in the working environment. This character got a mission to raise the consciousness of the common people and to show them "the truth". It was a point of departure of the educational mythology in the Soviet society. The teacher-protagonist was a demiurge-creator and a bearer of fundamental ideas of the new society. He or she represented the incarnation of the justice which helped the students to understand the meaning of life. A myth about the teacher who devoted him or herself to the service of people was formed in the school memory.

In the 1950s–1960s, the situation was changed. Knowledge was perceived as absolute value for everybody. There were a lot of people without education after the War, and the country was destroyed. The state needed professionals for the reconstruction of the industry at short notice. This objective determined the need to form an idea of the universal schooling, i.e. the education for everybody irrespective of age, belonging to a social group, etc. It is obvious that the workers had crucial significance. Therefore, the fundamental ideas were formulated:

– The State requires teachers to convey knowledge;
– The State needs workers; a result of it the myth of worker as a respected creator was formed;
– A model of the "Soviet personality" as a new form of social identity was constructed.

This myth had to be transmitted as a core component of the collective memory and social consciousness. The teacher didn't represent an ideal person and bearer of values in this period according to the formulated points. He or she became a social instrument. However, there was a mental border between the working and the educated class. This fact was recognized by the representatives of the classes. Teachers recognized the great social mission of workers. Workers recognized the

spiritual values that were accessible to them thanks to teachers. The idea of continuous and fruitful communication between two classes was established.

The subsequent decades (1960s) the society was seriously changed. The myth of education underwent a very thorough change in course of time. The crisis of the official state ideology was evident. The teachers were not bearer of new ideas and absolute values yet. New questions arose. E.g.: what are absolute values? Do they exist? The education system had found itself in crisis, because teachers began to ask, where truth was, and if they had the right to teach and develop outlook of the students. In this situation we see a new image of a doubting teacher. This was a characterless teacher.

The 1970s were a turning point. A comedy about school got its screening and it absolutely changed the school myth. The previous trends were developed. Two important points were highlighted in the emblematic movie: the teacher was quite a bit younger than his students and he was an absolute unfortunate in the personal and professional life as well. This movie is one of the favourite till now, however, it destroyed the myth about the school and its mission.

18.6   Conclusions

The fundamental basis of the society is a constructive and positive myth. It is necessary for the general and legal consciousness formation, i.e. for the creation of the social reality. This reality is a set of images and myths, because our consciousness perceives only components of the objective world. Therefore, our worldview is partially a social construct. The state is based on different myths, and among them one of the most important is a school myth. It takes place because the school is a link between the state and the society. The Soviet state also created a myth that determined the social consciousness and the memory of school.

Education is not only a process of transmission of knowledge and experience. It is a system or instrument that can serve to enhance the homogeneity of the society by communicating fundamental standards and values. The educator's destination is to reflect and reproduce the paradigm for the process of socialization. The perceiving of the teachers' social mission was preserved throughout all the Soviet period. The teacher was recognized as a creator-demiurge who should model the student's spirit or moral.

The teacher's role depends on social and state consistency. The reason of this type of relation is the necessity to form the national unity, where the education is one of the social instruments. It is necessary for the maintenance of national security, peace and sustainable development. However, every state passes through hard crises of the development. The significance of the teacher's social role was reduced. The Soviet society of the 60-s found itself in the crisis the official state ideology. The teachers lost their position of personality creators and bearers of absolute values. The final decline point of the teacher's image was related to the remarkable weakening of the Soviet state. The image and myth of the teacher were

integrated in the image and myth of the state, that's why the decay process was mutual.

The consciousness formation is the ambivalent process. It can be constructed by the state, but it affects the social fundamental myth as well. After the teacher in film was represented as a grotesque comedy character, the image of the educator unfortunately began to be ridiculous. In modern Russia we can see that the role of the teacher is not respected in full measure, and the common myth is destroyed. It is an urgent mission to reconstruct the school myth as a core myth of the social system.

People of all the ages need an ideal school and an ideal teacher. It is distinctive feature of the individual and social consciousness. Everybody needs to have a reference point. It does not negate the existence of personal and social liberty. However, the liberty imply obligations, i.e. some limits for the successful social-ization and for the just society formation. That is why the society needs a myth that would construct a new type of school memory.

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Chapter 19
Aspects of School Life During the After War Period Through the Analysis of Greek Films

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This paper attempts to examine the role the Greek cinema played in the construction, preservation, and transference of the "collective memory" of education during the particularly crucial early post-civil era in Greece. It was a time characterized by social upheaval as well as by violent social conflict during which significant social and financial changes took place. These changes had a great impact on the country's educational and cultural life.

The Greek civil war broke out after the end of Second World War and lasted from March 1946 until August 1949. It followed the Resistance period against the German Occupation and was characterized by extreme violence. It was one of the bloodiest and toughest wars in Modern Greek History (Margaritis 2002, p. 51) which affected deeply the entire Greek society and established the procedures that transformed the Greek social and political reality during the following decades. The social and political isolation of the Left Wing during that period acquired disproportionate dimensions. Approximately 37,000 people were led to martial court and at least 3500 men and women were executed. From 1947 to 1949 the number of political prisoners and those in exile actually reached 50,000, while camps for mass incarceration were founded for the dissidents (Charalampis 1985).

Furthermore, an upsurge in immigration from rural areas towards urban centres characterized this period. Initially, populations were transported by the National Army but later on people's movement took the form of immigration in pursuit of better living conditions (Tsoukalas 1986).

Another huge social issue of that period was the mass transportation of children by both rivals away from the battlefields. The Democratic Army of Greece transported children from the areas it controlled to Eastern European countries while the National Army transported children to the so called Queen Frederica's Childtowns.

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In total about 25,000 children were sent to Eastern countries but only a few hundred returned home during the early post-civil war period.

During the war the education of children was disrupted while in certain areas school life completely ceased. In the mid-1940s most teachers had settled in urban centres, others had fled to the mountains to join the guerilla forces while others were arrested in the cities on the grounds of resistance activism.

Soon after the end of the civil war, the various governments took interest in the reform and reorganization of the educational system as they believed that the country's social and financial regeneration was contingent on the education offered to future citizens. In the early 1950s the Greek-Orthodox ideology established itself as the foundation of state education and during the following years it played a leading part in the country's educational system. It was an attempt to reconcile Christianity with science, aiming to establish Christian faith as the corner stone of state existence ("Manifest" 1946).

At the same time there was an increasing social demand for admission to university while pressure to secure that children of the lower classes would have access to education intensified.

Yet, the upheaval and hardships of that period did not disrupt the development of the Greek cinema which flourished during the early post-civil war years. Greece had already welcomed the Seventh Art, in the late 1890s and during the first half of the twentieth century the art of cinematography did not cease to develop starting from the initial amateur films of the early twentieth century to the production of the interwar speaking feature films. Meanwhile, the first film production companies were established between 1942 and 1949, amidst the German Occupation and the civil conflict.

In the two post-war decades Greek cinema went through its first flourishing period while seeking to establish an identity. This period was marked by the introduction of melodramas (1950) and the appearance of Neorealism (1951). International prizes were awarded (1955), the first color movies were shot (1956), the cinema festival of Thessaloniki was established (1960) and the big stars of the Greek cinema were born (1960–1970) (Mitropoulou 2006). Our research on the cinema of that period (1946–1965) has shown that out of approximately two hundred films which were commercially successful, only four of them were shot in a school setting. However, references to the educational system can be traced in the majority of them. In our paper we look into the way the Greek cinema pictured contemporary school reality, since the past can be constructed and reconstructed by socially active subjects. In our approach a distinction is made between "collective memory" as an individual reconstruction of the past and the so called "historical memory" as a scientific reconstitution of the past (Halbwachs 2013, p. 18).

In order to approach the memories ordinary people had of contemporary school life, two films shot in the early post-war period were chosen. The first one entitled *Improper Conduct* belongs to the comedy genre and was filmed in 1949. The second one entitled *Bitter Bread* was one of the first Greek movies, greatly influenced by Italian Neorealism and was released in 1951.

The comedy was a box-office success and the Greek audience welcomed it, accepting to a certain extent the way the movie interpreted the contemporary era and shaped their memory. Having received favourable reviews on the one hand and a partial rejection on behalf of the audience on the other, the second film helped us determine not only what people preserved but also how they constructed memory, and most importantly what they passed into oblivion.

In these terms the two films are seen as contributing to the construction of the "school memory" of the post-civil war era. The films helped build up an edifice which included myths, fantasies, assumptions, inductive inferences as well as a certain part of reality, elements that had been influenced by the social context and the dominant ideology.

We attempted to approach these two films, addressing their narrative form as a set of signifying systems. The cinematic narrative discourse was systematically studied according to four axes derived from Foucault's *Archeology of knowledge* (Foucault 1987):

(a) The axis of objects where elements that exist objectively, regardless of the narrative, are placed;
(b) The axis of articulation modes that addresses the material conditions of the film's production and its narrator (Doxiadis 1987);
(c) The axis of concepts which is related to the way concepts from literary criticism are applied to the text. This axis concerns the use of rhetorical schemata and stylistic elements (Heath 1990);
(d) The thematic axis which concerns contested issues (Doxiadis 1988).

In our analysis the filmic text is approached as a socio-historical entity in which form and content are inseparable. The film is inscribed in the societal context in which it was produced and both the ideology conveyed by language and that implied by the extra-textual context of action are analyzed.

The first movie which we will be referring to as *Improper Conduct* was a romantic comedy screened in the Athenian cinema halls, as well in Piraeus and some other suburbs in March 1949. The movie sold about 67,043 tickets while it ranked fourth among the eight movies shown during that year. During this difficult period, the film *Improper Conduct* was released. The directors of the film M. Gaziadis and J. Filippou were barely known and the script was written by D. Giannoukakis. The music was composed by the Russian composer Niki Yakovlev. As the plot unfolds, we follow the life of a graduate student in a rural secondary school named Bilio, a girl who, a young man Fotis as well as one of her teachers Mr. Papadakis, have fallen in love with. The teacher's feelings for the young girl offend the local community's sense of morality, while Bilio's father who happens to be the president of the local community, pulls strings with the help of his political acquaintances in order to have the teacher transferred to another place away from the village and have a female teacher replace him. Against all odds, the male teacher returns to the village, dressed up as the replacement teacher in order to abduct the beautiful girl. A series of comical events follows and eventually the

order is restored with the engagement of the two youngsters, Bilio and Fotis, who live happily ever after.

The fist element that catches the viewer's eye is the picturesque rural landscape depicted. The plot unravels in a quiet fishing village under the shade of green pine-trees. The village seems to have remained untouched by the hardships of the ten-year civil war. There is no reference to either the war still raging or to the social upheaval it caused, especially in the countryside. The poor fisherman has sold out his fish early in the morning and the leading actress is seen cooking lobster while the entire country starves to death and the population expects human aid by such organizations as U.N.R.R.A. (United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration). The war and its effects are absolutely muted. Although the film refers to the contemporary age, it is actually timeless. It could have been shot either during the interwar period or in the 1960s since there are no objective elements that allow us to inscribe it in the civil-war period.

Influences of the bucolic drama genre which was very popular during the interwar period and was re-performed in the 1950s can be detected. In one such bucolic drama, *Astero*, a very popular movie screened in 1929, the art director was M. Gaziadis, one of the two directors studied in this paper.

In the village, there is a high school for girls which presents a paradox, since at the time there were no schools in villages and girls and boys had to move to the capital of their district in order to study. The depiction of the all-female school is also picturesque. The girls can be seen dressed in neat and clean uniforms, attending classes in small groups, a direct reference to the few expensive private schools which had just started operating again whereas in rural areas crowded classes with shabbily dressed or barefoot students accommodated in derelict schools were common during this period (Dimaras 2008, pp. 136–143).

In the movie, education serves as the frame for the plot to be unraveled; it is a love story with details which would be considered quite bold at the time. The school runs in compliance with patriarchal values, serving as the "temple" of female innocence. The students seem to be immature and they have to be controlled and disciplined. At the same time, they are cute and naïve and at times cheeky without ever questioning the role reserved for them in a patriarchal society.

The film portrays a conservative, useless and obsolete educational system. The classroom has a completely traditional layout. The headmistress and the teacher sit away from the students, in a chair, which is raised, as a symbol of their authority. The students sit in couples in desks arranged in rows. Lessons are held exclusively in the classroom and strict discipline is apparently the rule. The "New School" and the educational innovations which it was attempted to be introduced in state schools in the interwar period do not appear in the film.

Teachers are absurdly depicted, dressed in very conservative clothes, in a bourgeois style with buns, waistcoats and monocles. They seem, therefore, to mismatch the rural background and incapable of earning the respect of their students and the local community. They are unable to inspire their students and they only earn their superficial obedience. The headmistress is an ugly and prudish

spinster while the teacher is a degenerate "fortune-hunter" while the girls are always playing pranks behind their teachers' backs.

They all represent an outdated educational mode. The directors subvert and mock this kind of school which rests on the uncritical and sterile memorization of classics, a school which does not meet the needs of contemporary society. The students are taught about Alexander the Great and Vucephalus, matters absolutely indifferent to them. The film also mocks the puritan ethics, the prudishness and the hypocrisy of the teachers' moralizing speech whose actual desires and actions seem to contradict everything they try to teach.

The school is presented as a prison which turns the students away from real life. The girls dream of fleeing this oppressive environment to live free, no longer subject to moral lessons and detention. This school does not prepare students for life but, on the contrary, it is a deterrent to life and love. In a typical scene the students are left alone in class, after they had played an offensive prank on the headmistress. They are depicted singing and dancing a modern dance of the time, Cha-Cha. The lyrics of the song are typical of the ideas put forward by the film as regards female education. The girls dream about getting free from school in order to fall in love and marry. Their destiny is to get married and they expect to have all their wishes fulfilled by an affectionate and devoted husband. Education does not seem to offer anything to women and by no means does it help them rise in status or enjoy personal success. All this can be achieved by contracting a happy marriage which is definitely implied as the most satisfying turn in a girl's life.

The scene where students are dancing in the classroom, rebelling thus against school discipline can be seen, almost identical, in other films of the 1950s. It is interesting to observe that in all these movies the girls dance to a modern Western tune, often dressed in fashionable clothes, something which would never have been allowed by any contemporary discipline standards.

Education, according to the film directors, is not very important to men either and is treated with disdain. A film's character, member of the Parliament, named "Rousfetis" (a name that implies political favoritism) while having a chat with his secretary he advises him not to be upset because he had failed to enter university. Drawing on his own experience, he explains how he had totally failed as an excellent graduate of law until he decided to seek a career in politics, taking advantage of people's naivety.

Then in this film, shot in a transitional period, education does not serve as a "springboard" into a better life. It does not seem to contribute to progress and social rise in a society where only power over the weaker is respected as the ultimate value.

The first post-war decades were a period of restoration, urbanization and financial development for Greece. During those years, a particularly rural country like Greece was taken into the process of industrialization. This in turn led to the increasing need for specialized personnel and participation of women in labour force. In these terms, the post-war governments attempted to reform the educational system by upgrading technical and female education. Moreover, the parliamentary system at the time when the warfare was of primary importance for political

developments was dysfunctional and not firmly founded as much as the film wanted to show. The film makers of *Improper Conduct* do not seem to follow the changes and developments in society. The ideas projected and the criticism voiced echo a world which had actually faded out on the eve of World War II.

Nevertheless, in the film *Bitter Bread* the criticism leveled at the contemporary society was totally different as was also its reception by the audience. In contrast with the commercial success of the above mentioned film, the first Greek movie with neorealist elements and influences from interwar French cinema (Charitos and Kyriakidis 1996, p. 92) was commercially a failure, since it ranked 12th among the 15 films produced that year.

Shot in 1951, the film *Bitter Bread* directed by G. Grigoriou and scripted by Inda Christinaki and G. Grigoriou, refers to the struggle of a poor family to survive with no apparent attempt to paint a rosy picture. The suffering inflicted by the war and the compelling living needs leads one of the family's sons to commit suicide and forces the other two to struggle hard to make ends meet in a country that enters a new era. At the end of the movie, the younger of the two sons is forced to drop school although he is an excellent student.

The film was censored. The first degree committee censored the phrase: "The longer people are infested with the cruelty of war, the more the maimed and the handicapped will be". In this way the film condemns the wars that had haunted the country. However, the second degree committee allowed its release with no cuts. The Soviet Union showed interest in the movie and only then the censor committee decided that the end of the movie exposed Greece to the communists and as such it requested the script should change and the youngest son be shown continuing his studies. The director added a closing scene and the film was ready to be distributed to the Soviets. However, they eventually did not buy it and therefore the director removed the added scenes (Andritsos 2004, p. 43).

Contemporary life was realistically portrayed in the movie. The "wounds" and hardships caused by the war were presented through the heroes' lives who were forced to give up their dreams.

There is no reference, however, to the civil war, not even suggestively. Yet, the movie makers made references to the concentration camps and the fate of the Greek Jewry, describing the lives of Louise and her father who live in the same premises as the family characters of the film. There is a significantly dramatic scene where Louise, bursting out in despair, is shown to prefer life in the camps where her father's heroic resistance against brutality allowed the family to keep their self-esteem to life in post-civil Greece where in their struggle to survive they abandoned their dreams and lost their dignity along the way.

Reform and reconstruction is present in the film as the country struggles to heal its wounds. It is very interesting to point out that the sounds of hammers, engines and construction sites are heard in the background throughout the film—it lasts approximately 83 min—thus realistically portraying contemporary life.

At the same time, famine, poverty and social injustice are forever present despite any hopes for social equality boosted by the bloody conflicts of the past decade. The period of Resistance against the German Occupation was followed by a bloody

civil conflict which shattered any dreams of social justice. Greece came out of the war with its societal and financial structure disintegrated, facing the spectre of famine.

There are three ways that seem to open up for the protagonists; either to commit suicide, literally and metaphorically, as the elder brother did, who, having lost his arms in the war, is unable to work or to emigrate, just like Louise who dreams of a new life in Palestine, or to put up a fierce struggle for survival, giving up their dreams for a better world.

Still, for some of them there is always a faint hope for a better life. School success appears to be the only hope for progress and social rise. In contrast with the previous movie, here, studies seem to be the only way out from a suffocating reality. The educational system allows social mobility only for the worthy and the capable. Yet, education is not only seen in utilitarian terms. Education is the foundation for moulding integral personalities and building up a better world. In response to the question of the school officer "Why do you want to study?" the youngest son replies: "To become a man".

Gregoriou presents a realistic picture of the educational system of the period that is, crowded classrooms, free school meals for the poorest children in the school yard and strict hierarchy. The teacher stays silent sitting on his chair for as long as it takes the school officer to examine the students, who do not enjoy equal opportunities at school. The youngest son, an excellent student, after having gained the approval of the school officer for his school performance is looking for a book to read while waiting in line for the school meal. He asks one of his wealthiest classmates to lend him a book but the latter refuses because his mum does not let him to. The closing scene of the movie where shows the young boy is shown leaving school and burying his few books along with his family's dreams for social rise in a chest presents an ordinary situation for that period when, as can be gleaned from contemporary statistics, the number of school dropouts was high.

In the movie, education is identified with intellectual labor which is differentiated from manual labor. Whoever has his hands is able to work and survive. The father works with hands in construction sites, the mother is not able to work because she suffers from arthritis and this makes things more difficult for the family, the eldest son commits suicide because he has lost his arms in the war. Hands versus spirit. Manual labor in Greece during the period of reconstruction was looked down on and poorly paid and manual workers suffered from poverty and injustice. On the contrary, through education, a person could be qualified and practice an intellectual profession gaining social recognition and a steady income. Education gives the opportunity of social rise but there are insurmountable hurdles for the education of the lower classes. There is an abundance of cement and concrete in many scenes the film but no books can be seen.

There is a striking scene where Louise's father, a hero of the concentration camps, now plunged into silence and madness in the post-civil Greece, tries to build a gadget for turning over the pages of a book with the purpose of helping the armless to read. The movie gives an account of the tragic war decade and dramatizes the problems and anxieties of the early post-civil years.

It is worthy to make two observations as to the way these two films contributed to the construction of memory of the educational system during the early post-civil war years. First, any reference to the civil war and its impact on the educational system is absent. Issues such as the transport of children from Greece to the countries of the Communist Bloc, the Childtowns where the orphans were sent, or the executions of the leftist teachers are not touched upon. Second, the audience welcomed the film which presented an idealised school reality and a whitewashed picture of the political and social life of the period. The film neither realistically recorded nor did it renounce contemporary reality.

The civil war and its impact on the Greek society were not only muted in cinematography but it also constituted a general characteristic of the period under study; it was silenced as much by the audience as by the intelligencia. In post-civil war Greece a policy of oblivion was gradually established dictating both the public as well as the private silence over the Civil War.

The authoritarian regime established by the winners of the Civil War, unlike what happened in other countries that experienced similar conflicts in the 20th century, developed and operated in the frame of an officially democratic state. The preservation of the parliamentary system until 1967 constitutes a special feature typical of the post war Greek state which attempted through a series of laws to secure that citizens would bear "healthy", that is anticommunist, beliefs. In a state that prosecuted certain beliefs and ideas, a number of leftist citizens who refused to give up on their views in order not to be marginalized, chose to remain silent while the Right Wing parties consigned the civil war atrocities to oblivion in order to legitimize themselves among the masses within the framework of a parliamentary system. At the same time, there was a haunting fear that "memory" of that period would provoke new conflicts since by no means had the society been able to handle this memory so as to create a consensus interpretation of the civil war.[1]

The Greek civil war can be described in terms of a cultural trauma, given the fact that all three components of the above notion are hereby included: memory, emotions and identity. The civil conflict affected greatly the collective memory and the organizational principles of the Greek society for the many decades to come. As a traumatic memory, it changed the terms in which the Greek society perceived itself (Demertzis 2013). It was a memory which could not be easily incorporated in the hitherto narratives about the self and the world. This is why society as a self-interpreting community opted for silence in an attempt to secure its consistence and preservation (Liakos 2007, pp. 100–101).

Under an oppressive regime, for many decades the society did not succeed in taking a critical stance towards itself and this is why it tended to be depicted and recognized through a non-critical cinema. However, the film, whether it chooses to

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[1]Contrary to what had happened in Greece, in Spain where as soon as the civil war ceased, a fascist dictatorship was imposed, a consensus historical memory was crystallized, even before the death of Franko and the transition to democracy, which allowed, to a certain extent, a commonly accepted interpretation of the civil war events and set as a priority to avoid such a similar historical experience (Aguilar Fernández 2005, p. 15).

picture reality or not, is still a story since the intentions and beliefs and the imaginary world of the people are inscribed in the story as much as the story itself (Ferro 2001, pp. 45–46).

As far as the ideology of the commercial cinema is concerned, as was presented in the movie *Improper Conduct*, it is a conservative ideology which projects and reproduces most of the dominant ideas about education, its function and its agents. As Nikos Poulantzas put it "Ideologies in the end concern human experience […]. Their social role is not to offer to active agents a real insight into the social structure but simply to engage them in a way into action which supports the above structure" (Poulantzas 1980, p. 38).

As for the western life style which gradually seeped through Greek cinema it can be noticed that through fictional stories concerning Greek education, this life mode was welcomed by the audience. These standards were in contradiction to the ideology of the Greek-Orthodox culture promoted and imposed by the state in an attempt to organize value systems which in turn would determine the acceptable social behavior standards and shape identities which the members of society would be able to internalize.

In this case the dominant ideology could not deal with the problems caused by the new conditions of the post-civil war society. The intense social and geographical mobility that characterized the first two post-war decades had, as a result, the pursuit of a new national and cultural identity by wide groups of population (Kirtsis 1994, p. 409). The deceptive, dreamy image of a society and a state led by the Greek-Orthodox ideals did not correspond to the demands and aims of big sections of the Greek population who could not identify with this image.

The dominant moralistic and nationalist ideology projected as the model for the education of the young generation did not seem to meet the needs of those social classes who wished to establish a new position and a new identity in the era of industrialization and urbanization which the country was striving to enter. These classes turned to the West which in their eyes represented a world of progress.

In the Greek cinema of this period, the reality of the educational system is not depicted in the scenes where female students copy the western lifestyle. However, the ideology these classes adopted in their attempt to fit into the social life of the post-war world was recorded. This ideology was different from the dominant educational standards which the official ideology projected and the educational mechanism was in favor of.

On the celluloid, memories of the post-war Greece were recorded and preserved. Yet, not all the memories were preserved—this would have been practically impossible—as memory itself selects what to remember and what to erase. Cinema chooses which memories to preserve. It depicts events while altering, distorting, sometimes even muting them, turning its lens not only to the events the official historiography considers as important, but also to those that take place in the margins of history. In short, cinema re-forms and re-creates reality which it finally re-signifies. The script incorporates and projects ideas, desires as well as metalinguistic elements of memory which are not easily preserved in the archives.

However, the final product of this process is mostly possible to be significantly different from the initial events in many aspects.

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Chapter 20
Archaeology of Memory and School Culture: Materialities and "Immaterialities" of School

Cristina Yanes-Cabrera and Agustín Escolano Benito

20.1 School Memory and Heritage Education

School culture is reconstructed based on two hinges: first, the recovery of individual and collective memory and, second, the archaeology applied to the palimpsest of memories and tangible and intangible records that provide empirical evidence of the modes of cultural sociability in which the formation of subjects is made visible. In communications that are now collected in these papers, the International School Memories symposium has discussed devices that reveal memory and implicit school culture.

As it became universal in enlightened societies with advanced democracy, school culture has become part of our personal and social memory as well as the corporate memory of the teaching profession. In this manner, school culture has begun to be perceived by the society of our time as a heritage value that should be included in new forms of education for citizenship and in training programmes for teachers.

Regarding subjects, the memory of going through school is an integrated landmark in the process of the construction or reconstruction of one's own narrative identity as a person. Thus, regarding what affects teachers, the memory of school practices that have historically regulated their profession represents the foundation of the available tradition where the culture of a profession or a frame of reference for critique and innovation develops.

Among other things, the memories of the lived experience in educational institutions allude to the influence that spaces and times that order school life had in

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structuring the body image and biorhythms of persons subjected to the disciplinary guidelines that governed schools. Additionally, they analyse the role played by the school in setting practices of sociability among peers of the same age who cohabit the same space and the creation of stereotypes about the image of teachers and their roles. Finally, they cover the records in memory about the materialities and mediations with which the pragmatics of training were implemented.

School memory has been incorporated into some patterns of our behaviour, often even in the form of bodily responses. The design and functionality of the elements of the material culture of schools have led to over-determining behavioural practices, gestures, forms of writing and graphics, modes of speaking, calculation techniques and topology, and other patterns in our ways of being in the world. This type of memory affects all anthropological dimensions of the subjects, the cognitive, the mental, the physical, and even the emotional. The materialities and immaterialities of that memory are part of educational heritage and preserve a patrimonial education of citizens that incorporates school culture in terms of value as content and common civic education as *ethos*.

The museographic experience that stimulates memory processes helps build, dynamically weaving personal microhistories, a type of *hermeneuein* that triggers a cognitive and emotional process that corroborates and affirms the value of diversity. By continuously interacting, the differences add meanings and attributions that build meaning. The School Memories Symposium has been an appropriate forum for these intercultural encounters. As Paul Ricoeur writes, all narratives shared with others are a creative process of the expansion of the languages that make up a way of reading the world and the generation of knowledge (Ricoeur 2001, p. 137 and 2003, p. 125ss).

Hermeneutizar la educación was the title that the Mexican editor gave to all of the papers that were presented at the First Colloquium on these issues, which occurred at the International Centre of School Culture in 2007, an event that led to the founding of the International Network on Educational Hermeneutics (Red Internacional de Hermenéutica Educativa—RIHE), with participants from Spain, Italy, and Mexico (Primero 2007). The work of this collective publication invites different fields and approaches to make use of hermeneutics as a universal *koiné* of our time, as coined by Gianni Vattimo, to approach the understanding and interpretation of formative processes of man and society, including memory of the school experience.

Some years ago, the renowned Spanish and Sevillian philosopher Emilio Lledó, a student of Gadamer, wrote: "being is essentially being memory (…), coalesced and latent time in the depths of our person". In this ontological ratio is our personal integrity, "the link between what we are, what we want to be, and what we have been". In expressing this idea in words or putting it into language, we assume a certain form of memory, in which one can even intuit possible futures. This same reflection, which gives ontological value to memory, as an element that synthesizes culture, is precisely an "exercise of interpretation", a hermeneutic practice that guides the world's intelligence and understanding of the construction of subjectivity.

"To live is to interpret" continues Lledo, placing the world that challenges us from the outside in communication with the world that we are, where we are constituted as subjects. The interpretation would be energy, *energeia* in the Aristotelian sense, which mixes what we are with the world in which we are through the language that we have learned. Thus, in this background is where there is the conglomerate that constitutes the "memory" that determines the space of what we are and what we have been (Lledó 1994, pp. 5–6).

From these premises, it is clear that, in the memory of education, there are some of the relevant codes that affect the process by which we have come to be subjects and by which collective memory has been configured. Additionally, this notion is the central thesis of the argument on which this text is based. Tradition, word, and memory are part of school culture, which has determined the sociability of subjects, community cohesion, and rules that make communication possible.

Using a hermeneutic approach to the memories of educated people is to promote an inter-subjective reading of school culture, the training received, the languages in which it was conveyed, and the anthropological guidelines that have formed the human group of membership. The school as memory is the cultural synthesis that proceeds from the consideration of the experience as the basis of the logic of practice and the assessment of this practice as a source of a mode of civilization, as suggested by Zygmunt Bauman.

20.2   Archaeology of Memory

The School Memories Symposium raised the possibility of an archaeological perspective on memory. It offered some examples of immersion in areas where the materialities of the school world or the representations of them that we have archived are deposited. As sources of school culture, such remains store secrets that affect the silences of the history of education and grammar that have codified schooling.

The archaeological approach is exemplified through four experiments performed in the vicinity of the International Centre of School Culture (Centro Internacional de la Cultura Escolar—CEINCE). The first shows how contact with a museographic situation may generate subjects' recovery of images of their school experiences, those that were fixed in their memories. The plurinational extraction of subjects offered the possibility of conducting a comparative analysis, and the presence in the group of people of different ages allowed us to elucidate the existence of cross patterns and generational differences.

The second of these experiences corresponds to field archaeology conducted in a school that was closed half a century ago and that still preserves in situ material elements of the era and earlier times, beginning with its opening in the nineteenth century. The situation offered the possibility of considering the site as a text or palimpsest because objects, writings, and images were observed in the school that

corresponded to several historical strata, with respect to both the materialities and the graphic records of childhood expression.

The third archaeological approach was substantiated in an encounter with a school environment that became an inheritance. In this place, the vicissitudes are narrated by the informant with regard to the discovery of an account that summarizes the personal story of an alumna of a national-socialist school in Germany in the first decades of the twentieth century. Scriptures and other childhood graphisms portray the characters, who printed signs of their identity into a type of education that corresponds to a markedly authoritarian culture.

The last of the noted experiences is derived from a Sherlock Holmes-like investigation that "sniffs out" the presence of school materials from urban waste. Analysing school waste invites us to not only study the reason for these acts of devaluation of the educational experience but also apply an archaeological perspective on these remains to explore evidence of cultural semantics. This analysis was completed with materials that children left written in the pages of manuals, whose content and semiotics reveal many secrets of child life.

The archaeological view of the school, a form of an archaeology of knowing and doing, leads to defining, from an anthropological and hermeneutic perspective, the socio-historical construction of a new subjectivity and a culture based on material positivities. The new subject that is born from the conjunction between memory and archaeology is, in this view, the structuring element of all school culture that covers an anthropological dimension.

The enhancement of memory as a source of knowledge of school culture invites us to conduct an archaeological immersion into the things, icons, and languages in which the material issues of education and their representations are manifested. This concerns not only conducting, as noted by Michel Foucault (1970) in his *Archaeology of Knowledge*, a look at the ruins that, over time, remain anchored in their secular silence, to observe them with curiosity, but also trying to decipher in the things themselves—and in their representations—the secret codes that regulate them and regulate their continuities and transformations over time. Discussing these materials leads to opening the memory that is inserted into them and intuiting the discourses that have constituted it.[1]

The current associated with material history took off a few years ago, in the context of emerging lines of so-called post-modern historiography, with the early works about school culture, approaches that have since blossomed in parallel with the creation of memory centres and the promotion of heritage education programmes as strategies of the historical formation of citizenship and professionals in education. A good historiographical review of this new movement is offered to us by the review conducted by Meda (2012, pp. 17–32). In Spain, a remarkable event in the launch of this new field was the National Conference of the Spanish Society of History of Education that was held in Burgos in 2003 (Jiménez Eguizábal 2003).

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[1]See the introduction to this important essay.

The analyst Pier Paolo Sacchetto conceived of the material elements that identified schools as "informer objects", inasmuch as the school is imprinted with many of the functional and symbolic characteristics of the culture, practices, and discourses that have informed social events and acts related to the processes of teaching and learning in educational institutions as circumstantial signals with semiotic value (Sacchetto 1986, p. 27).

A desk, an essential part of school furniture, could be viewed as a material synthesizer of the anthropometric, hygienic, and ergonomic conceptions of the time in which it was designed and used. A map of the world would be a representation of the physical nature, political divisions, and other geographical categories of the image of the universe or a part of it, a cartographic mimesis of a territory that has been transmitted through formal education. A notebook would show not only the content of the courses taken in the classroom but also everything related to the dominant calligraphic and aesthetic uses in a particular historical period, in addition to the graphic styles of the school and its projection in people's everyday life.

To that end, any material, image, or text for school use unearthed from a site in any archaeological operation can be considered a semantic capacitor or synthesizer and a narrative object or informer that tells things about the institution that used it, the practices of the teachers and students in schools, and the pedagogical theories underlying the educational activities that relied on the use of the object or document examined.

The archaeology of school materialities is a safe and reliable method of immersion in the world of training practices; that is, it is a mode of real exploration of the elements or situations in which the universe of the school or representations of it have been "materialized". In the sites that preserve these remnants of the school's material history, many silences of the educational past that we seek to reveal are deposited, such as those denounced by Harold Silver. Moreover, this immersion in the past is complemented with the ethnomethodological observation of materialities from schools of our time. Survivals and continuities of past models can be observed, in addition to great breaks with tradition and changes that are born with innovation as well as successive adaptations in which historical patterns that have shaped school culture in another time are transformed.

The archaeology of knowledge is generated when we have remains and documents in intelligible series that suggest statements and may give rise to discursive formations. These research practices are actions with their own logic that influence the construction of the archive, giving it shape and meaning. Thus, the organization of the sources and the formation of knowledge are two closely interdependent operations, although they can temporally and methodologically differentiate. For this reason, the empirical culture of the school, which is configured from the practices produced in a given place and time, in a space and its context, has been recorded in its archaeological, material, and intangible elements, which can be traced in the same institutional deposits or files that catalogue, sort, and display them.

Under these approaches, the archaeology of memory is geared towards the reconstruction of a school culture based on the materialities of the school but with

the presence of a subject, both with respect to the protagonists of life in the institutions in which they are situated and with respect to the historians who can inquire into sources with new questions beyond those that arise in a first approach to objects, images, and texts. In this manner, the archaeology of education constitutes a fully modern discipline that is open to new and plural readings and various interpretative possibilities of the past.

20.3   "Immateriality" in the School Context

The archaeological perspective on school memory also suggests not only the search for deposits of materiality and representations but also the possibility of rescuing deposits of immaterialities from memory. We are talking about manifestations of what could be considered the "intangibles of education" (by equating this with the definition given by UNESCO in 2003 in relation to intangible heritage), in the same manner in which the material heritage linked to the school becomes the visible element of the culture, carrying implicit signs and meanings that perform the function of the representative of the attributes of tacit culture in the object-impressions (Escolano Benito 2009, p. 33). As already defined in previous works, intangible educational heritage is constituted by the set of aspects that not only shape school culture but also are inherent in all processes related to educational practices throughout history (Yanes-Cabrera 2007, p. 69).

However, as noted by the anthropologist Richard Kurin, not only would it concern the actions, the carriers of meaning, that people would place within the traditions, but it also must be shared within a cultural community and is identified with it. It is traditional to the extent that it is transmitted orally from generation to generation (Kurin 2004, p. 68). This character of "tradition" does not exclude relatively recent practices, which constitute significant symbols of certain communities or societies that may become considered within this heritage.

Addressing these intangible narrative elements also leads to valuing memory as a source of knowledge of school culture through practices that allow us to rescue these traditions. Certainly, this approach is sometimes difficult when disentangling the symbolism of the material as an informant object because its research focus must necessarily arise from the methodological possibilities of social anthropology, producing in the school space an indissoluble interaction among the material, its symbolic representations, and the immaterial as a narrative space of the educational past.

In this setting, we can first consider the oral expressions or representations (individual or collective) that are specific to an educational context. Here, we are talking about songs that have a didactic purpose and that are used in the classroom for body language or learning content such as letters, provinces, and multiplication tables. This group also includes proverbs, tongue twisters, riddles as an educational resource, and, in short, all oral manifestations learned in a school context, representing a community and a culture and transmitted only through words.

Another intangible possibility to add value through collective memory consists of the set of rituals and school holidays, many of which still preserve their essence today. School holidays are a good example of this group. In Andalusia, for example, cultural or popular festivals such as Holy Week, the May Crosses, and state-wide official holidays of the respective Autonomous Communities have been celebrated for decades. Examples include works, such as those published by Miguel Salvatella, which highlighted these intangible transmitters of knowledge, values, and collective memories in 1944 (Torres 1944).

Finally, it is also worth noting a set of practices related to the development of educational processes, which, unlike the previous group, are not generated from a manifest will or intentionality. We would say that these practices in themselves are not apparently intentional but are full of symbols and meanings that explain the development of educational work in every age or geographical environment. They involve facts such as the fact that the student stands when the teacher enters the classroom, a practice that, until recently, was very common in schools, or being organized by rows with the sound of a bell to enter and exit the classroom. These are actions that have marked our educational past, and although they are apparently simple, they are not exempt from a marked symbolism that is representative of the society at the time.

Certainly, the very vagueness of this intangible element shows that there are no distinct boundaries with representations of the materialities of school, but it is not our aim to establish watertight compartments in which to place this rich tradition transmitted as part of the process of enculturation. Instead, we have attempted to identify and reflect on the permanence of these processes based on intangible sources and to build a historical discourse regarding our education that most approximates its practice.

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