

# HISTORY OF EDUCATION & CHILDREN'S LITERATURE

## XII/1 2017

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A Renata Lollo (1942-2017) cattedratica di Storia della Letteratura per l'Infanzia e protagonista di una straordinaria stagione di studi e di iniziative culturali all'Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore di Milano. *In memoriam.*

*To Renata Lollo (1942-2017) full professor of History of Children's Literature and protagonist of an extraordinary period of studies and cultural initiatives at the Catholic University of Sacro Cuore of Milan. In memoriam*

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# Collettive and public memory on the walls. School naming as a resource in history of education

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**ABSTRACT:** What do school names tell education and school historians? What do they reveal? This essay analyses the school names engraved on the plates affixed to school buildings, important «spies» of a collective and public memory sedimented into school culture over time. Starting from a case study of the city of Bologna between the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries, investigated in the archives and press records, particular attention is focused on the reasons behind and changes in the choices of schools names. What emerges is how school names, written on the walls and in the epigraphs, are shown to be the signs and instruments of political pedagogy readily promoted by the ruling classes, throughout the many metamorphoses of civil government between the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries, penetrating into the folds of school culture of entire generations.

**EET/TEE KEYWORDS:** Collective memory; Public memory; School memories; School names; Nation building, Cultural heritage; XIX-XX<sup>th</sup> Centuries.

## 1. *Why is a name written on the school walls?*

Strolling through the streets of a city, you will regularly come across the façades of far from recent school buildings still bearing a plate engraved with the name of a person or thing, at times accompanied by a special epigraph. What do the names engraved on these plates on the school walls represent? What meaning do they hold? Why do all members of a community associate the same name to that building, seeking through memory to remember everything that links their own personal experience to that school space? What do those names reveal to education and school historians? As the names are written on the school walls, we can state that they belong first and foremost to the

history of school and education, and to the memories of school, which in the past few years has been a very important issue for contemporary school historiographers, also expressed in an important conference held in 2015, the papers of which are partly collected in the book edited by C. Janes Cabrera, J. Meda and A. Viñao Frago<sup>1</sup>. School names thus belong to the school memory of a community, sharing mental associations referring to shapes, geometries of space, colours, smells and personal experiences, as well as common mental representations that become sedimented over time. For example, in Bologna two high schools for classic studies, «Luigi Galvani» or «Marco Minghetti» not only occupy different spatial positions but also slightly different *curricula*, different socio-cultural spheres of both teachers and pupils, or are at least fixed in the «collective subconscious» of an urban space: in the first case, reputed as a selective high school for the elite, and in the second a less elite and more «popular» school. School names therefore recall a collective memory, they are authentic «tanks of collective memory»<sup>2</sup> sedimented over time and which help to identify a community; school names hold and reveal a form of civil belonging and a set of common values, triggering strong educational values for the whole community. As names recall things, to paraphrase Foucault, school names also recall the historical dimension of the choice of names and the underlying «things», the cultural, political and social meanings of these choices<sup>3</sup>. As these school memories belong to the collective memory, the task of school historians may legitimately be that of investigating the historical moment in which such names were given. The choice of names cannot have been neutral or free of political implications or historically conditioned and defined values. Names transform school spaces into places; like monuments and street names, school names perform a function of public memory, and school buildings are transformed from spaces into «places of memory»<sup>4</sup> around

<sup>1</sup> *International symposium «School memories». New Trends in Historical Research into Education Heuristic Perspectives and Methodological Issues*, Seville 22-23 September, 2015. Following the conference, the *Abstracts* of the participants were published and a part of them was developed in C. Yanes Cabrera, J. Meda, A. Viñao (edd.), *School Memories. New Trends In The History of Education*, Cham, Springer, 2017.

<sup>2</sup> M. Halbwachs, *La mémoire collective*, Paris, Presses Universitaires de France, 1950; J. Le Goff (ed.), *La nuova storia*, Torino, Einaudi, 1977, pp. 347-399; P. Connerton, *How Societies Remember*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1989; A. Huyssen, *Present pasts. Urban palimpsests and the politics of memory*, Stanford, Stanford University, 2003; P. Nora (ed.), *Entre Mémoire et Histoire*, in Id., *Les lieux de mémoire*, vol. 1, Paris, Gallimard, 1984; J. Assmann, *La memoria culturale. Scrittura, ricordo e identità politica nelle grandi civiltà antiche*, Torino, Einaudi, 1997; Id., *Cultural memory and early civilization. Writing, remembrance, and political imagination*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2011.

<sup>3</sup> M. Foucault, *Le parole e le cose. Un'archeologia delle scienze umane*, Milan, BUR, 2004 (or. 1966); Id. *Archeologia del sapere*, Milano, Rizzoli, 1971.

<sup>4</sup> P. Nora (ed.), *Entre Mémoire et Histoire. Le problème de lieux*, in Id. (ed.), *Les Lieux de mémoire*, Paris, Gallimard, 1984; M. Isnenghi (ed.), *I luoghi della memoria. Simboli e miti dell'Italia unita*, Roma-Bari, Laterza, 1996; Id. (ed.), *I luoghi della memoria. Personaggi e date*

which a community identity and a sense of belonging are celebrated. A public memory which, of course, is also an «invented memory», in the sense that it was created by the ruling classes to educate the community, in the framework of the historical construction of *nation building* firstly, and later education to citizenship<sup>5</sup>. Still today, school names bear witness to choices linked to a given historical moment and the pedagogical intent of the ruling classes; they are presented as «monuments» for the new generations, in the sense indicated by Le Goff as «things» performing the function of the Latin verb «monere», i.e. «to make remember» or «warn», illuminate, «educate»<sup>6</sup> and therefore point out as an «exemplum» for the new generations. In choosing names, the ruling classes at times drew from the collective memory, particularly in the case of namings triggered by special events such as the death of a famous and popular figure; or on other occasions they used names unknown to most but considered crucial for contingent political needs, and in the choice of name they «constructed» or «invented» a public memory as a tradition to be acquired, shared and handed down, at times doing so by replacing previous names<sup>7</sup>. Often, having chosen the school names, an authentic ritual structure of initiation of the community in sharing the values represented by such names was created, including inauguration ceremonies, speeches by the authorities, the placing of epigraphs or commemorative stones or other forms of monument in the school space: a peculiar choreography, a theatrical performance, aiming to build a collective sense of belonging to the community.

In this sense, the study of school names falls within the history of school culture indicated by D. Julia, A. Viñao and, recently translated into Italian, by A. Escolano, as a set of rules, theories and practices acting within educational establishments and which underlie discourses, concepts and forms of school communication<sup>8</sup>. Specifically, school names are part of the regulatory

*dell'Italia unita*, Roma-Bari, Laterza, 1997; Id. (ed.), *I luoghi della memoria. Strutture ed eventi dell'Italia unita*, Roma-Bari, Laterza, 1997; B. Binder, *Luogo della memoria*, in N. Pethes, J. Ruchatz (edd.), *Dizionario delle memoria e del ricordo*, Milano, Mondadori, 2002, pp. 291-293.

<sup>5</sup> E.J. Hobsbawm, T. Ranger (edd.), *L'invenzione della tradizione*, Torino, Einaudi, 1983; A. Huyssen, *Present pasts. Urban palimpsests and the politics of memory*, Stanford, Stanford University, 2003; N. Gallerano (ed.), *L'uso pubblico della storia*, Milano, FrancoAngeli, 1995; Id., *Le verità della storia. Scritti sull'uso politico del passato*, Roma, Manifestolibri, 1999.

<sup>6</sup> J. Le Goff, *Documento/Monumento*, in *Enciclopedia Einaudi*, Torino, Einaudi, 1978, vol. 5, pp. 38-47, poi in Id. (ed.), *La nuova storia*, cit. p. 443.

<sup>7</sup> K.O. Logan, *Do Public School Names Have Any Educational Significance?*, «The Social Studies», vol. 28, n. 8, 1937; J. Goldstein, *National Identification in Winnipeg: An Analysis of School-Naming Events from 1881 to 1976*, «Prairie Forum», vol. 3, n. 2, 1978, pp. 117-130; D.H. Alderman, *Names as Cultural Arenas: The Naming of U.S. Public Schools after Martin Luther King, Jr.*, «Urban Geography», vol. 23, n. 7, 2002, pp. 601-626; J.C. Lehr, B. MCGregor, *Did Your Mother Go To Bimbo School?: Naming Schools, Power, and Politics in Canada's Prairie West*, «Canadian Ethnic Studies», vol. 47, nn. 4-5, 2015, pp. 111-112.

<sup>8</sup> On school culture see D. Julia, *La cultura scolaire comme objet historique*, in A. Nóvoa, M. Depaepe, E.W. Johanningmeier (edd.), *The Colonial Experience in Education: Historical Issues*

aspect of school culture, indicated in archive documents, certificates, postal correspondence, in the reports of headmasters and teachers, school reports and registers, etc., as an element of – far from neutral – support for the objects of the material culture of schools. As an element of the regulatory aspect of school, they belong to the written culture as well as the spoken one, part of the everyday life of the school, multi-semantic graphic marks wrapped in an infinity of meanings and personal and collective experiences. And thus, like a modern Sherlock Holmes, school and education historians may attempt to investigate the messages hidden therein, authentic written clues that refer to many meanings to be deciphered and understood, authentic «spies» to be analysed with the scientific method so cleverly illustrated by Carlo Ginzburg<sup>9</sup>. Developed with a profound theoretical basis by H. Perez Moreno, the study of school names may constitute a kind of «cultura escolenímica» of school. This term is a neologism born from the union of the Spanish word *escuela* and the Latin word *nomen*: a kind of discipline within the study of school culture, able to capture the different aspects underlying the study of school names, to be approached by the scholar from a perspective that is above all semiological, ethnographic and scientific, to cite Umberto Eco and Michel Foucault<sup>10</sup>. Some interesting works on school names in Spain published in the past few years lie in this perspective. In fact, in the same period, and with the same theoretical basis, we find the ethnographic mapping of school names in the district of Castilla y Leon in the province of Salamanca by Prof. Hernandez Diaz who, grouping together the names of the local schools by typology, offered some interesting thoughts on the semantic and historical-educational signature of the province. Along slightly different lines we find the studies initiated by a research group

*and Perspectives*, «Paedagogica Historica», vol. 35, n. 1 (supplementary studies), 1995, pp. 353-382, revised in Italian D. Julia, *Riflessioni sulla recente storiografia dell'educazione in Europa: per una storia comparata delle culture scolastiche*, «Annali di storia dell'educazione e delle istituzioni scolastiche», vol. 3, 1996, pp. 119-148; A. Viñao Frago, *Por una historia de la cultura escolar: cuestiones, enfoques, fuentes*, in *Cultura y Civilizaciones. III Congreso de la Asociacion de Historia Contemporanea*, Valladolid, Universidad de Valladolid, 1998, pp. 167-183, Id., A. *Sistemas educativo, cultura escolares y reformas*, Madrid, Ediciones Morata, 2002; A. Escolano Benito, *Las culturas escolares del siglo XX. Encuentros y desencuentros*, «Revista de Educación», vol. 26, extraordinary number, 2000, pp. 201-218; J. Ruiz Berrio, *La cultura escolar en Espana. Tendencias historiografica emergentes*, Madrid, Biblioteca Nueva, 2000; A. Escolano Benito, *La cultura empirica della scuola. Esperienza, memoria, archeologia*, Ferrara, Volta la carta, 2016; J. Meda, *Mezzi di comunicazione di massa. Saggi di storia della cultura materiale della scuola tra XIX e XX secolo*, Milano, FrancoAngeli, 2016.

<sup>9</sup> C. Ginzburg, *Miti, emblemi, spie. Morfologia e storia*, Torino, Einaudi, 1986; Id. *Il filo e le tracce. Vero, falso, finto*, Milano, Feltrinelli, 2006. On several occasions prof. A. Escolano Benito cleverly illustrated the scientific method in school history and cultural heritage, see among others *Sherlock Holmes goes to school. Ethnohistory of the school and educational heritage*, «History of Education & Children's Literature», vol. 5, n. 2, 2010, pp. 17-32.

<sup>10</sup> H.M. Perez Moreno, *La cultura escolenímica en Espana. Propostas para el estudio etnohistórico de los nombres de las escuelas*, «Cabás», vol. 7, June 2012, pp. 1-16.

from the Balearic Islands, directed by Bernat Sureda, who recently published a paper on the changes in school names in Palma de Majorca in Francoist Spain<sup>11</sup>.

In Italy, the study of school names is still in an embryonic phase, part of contemporary political history research that – also – focuses on namings, particularly in city settings<sup>12</sup>. Only recently have some works begun to further study what we may define as «school naming», often linked to the celebration of centenaries or anniversaries of the founding of historical schools or institutes, with an inevitable celebratory intent but with the added value of having recovered new documents in the school archives, including the origin of the school names<sup>13</sup>. In the following pages, we will focus our attention on

<sup>11</sup> J.M. Hernandez Diaz, *La escuelas de la ciudad tienen nombre*, in A.P.L. Moreno Martinez, A. Sebastián Vicente (edd.), *Patrimonio y toponimia de la escuela en España y Portugal durante el siglo XX*, Murcia, SEPHE/CEME Universidad de Murcia, 2012, pp. 145-172; G. Barcelo Bauzá, B. Sureda Garcia, *Cultura escolar inmaterial en temps de guerra. Els canvis de nom a les escoles de Palma*, in *XXII Jornades Internacionals de l'Educació, Valencia, 8-11 de novembre 2016*, Edició Societat d'Història de l'Educació dels Països de llengua catalana i Departament d'Educació Comparada i Història de l'Educació de la Universitat de València, Diputació de València, Institutió Alfons el magnànim Centre Valencia d'estudis i d'investigació, Valencia, 2016, pp. 387-398.

<sup>12</sup> B. Tobia, *Una patria per gli italiani. Spazi, itinerari, monumenti nell'Italia unita (1870-1900)*, Roma-Bari, Laterza, 1991; A.M. Banti, *Sublime madre nostra, La nazione italiana dal Risorgimento al fascismo*, Roma-Bari, Laterza, 2011. Specifically, refer in chronological order to S. Raffaelli, *I nomi delle vie*, in Isnenghi (ed.), *I luoghi della memoria. Simboli e miti dell'Italia unita*, cit., pp. 215-242; I. Porciani, *Identità locale-identità nazionale: la costruzione dei una doppia appartenenza*, in O. Janz, P. Schiera, H. Siegrist (edd.), *Centralismo e federalismo tra Otto e Novecento. Italia e Germania a confronto*, Bologna, il Mulino, 1997, pp. 141-182; M. Baioni, *Identità nazionale e miti del Risorgimento nell'Italia liberale. Problemi e direzioni di ricerca*, «Storia e problemi contemporanei», vol. 22, 1998, pp. 29-30; R. Balzani, *Itinerari della nazionalizzazione nella provincia italiana del secondo Ottocento*, in *Atti della Giornata di studi 'Dal Municipio alla Nazione'*, «Ravenna. Studi e ricerche», vol. 5, n. 2, 1998, pp. 167-181; C. Sorba, *Identità locali*, «Contemporanea», vol. 1, n. 1, 1998, pp. 157-170; M. Morandi, *La costruzione dell'identità locale: Cremona e Mantova nell'onomastica del secondo Ottocento*, «Memoria e ricerca», vol. 13, n. 20 (supplement), 2005, pp. 153-146; M. Ridolfi, *Il nuovo volto della città. La toponomastica negli anni della transizione democratica e della nascita della Repubblica*, «Memoria e ricerca», vol. 13, n. 20 (supplement), 2005, pp. 147-167; L. Baldissara, *Lo 'spazio degli storici'*, «Memoria e ricerca», vol. 14, n. 22, 2006, pp. 23-38; C. Mancuso, *La patria in festa. Ritualità pubblica e religioni civili in Sicilia (1860-1911)*, Palermo, La Zisa, 2013.

<sup>13</sup> See in this regard C. Mancuso, *Miti del Risorgimento a Palermo. Spazi urbani e simbologie patriottiche (1860-1911)*, «Mediterranea Ricerche storiche», vol. 11, 2007, pp. 545-576; M. Morandi, *Local e nation building nelle targhe degli istituti scolastici postunitari. Un percorso di ricerca*, in M. Ferrari, M. Morandi (edd.), *Documenti della scuola tra passato e presente. Problemi ed esperienze di ricerca per un'analisi tipologica delle fonti*, Azzano San Paolo, Edizioni Junior, 2007, pp. 41-53; Id., *Scuola è un nome femminile. Riflessioni intorno alle scelte denominative delle scuole normali in età liberale*, in C. Ghizzoni, S. Polenghi (edd.), *L'altra metà della scuola. Educazione e lavoro delle donne tra Otto e Novecento*, Torino, SEI, 2008, pp. 123-133; Id., *Lo spazio urbano*, in A. Arisi Rota, M. Ferrari, M. Morandi (edd.), *Patrioti si diventa. Luoghi e linguaggi di pedagogia patriottica nell'Italia unita*, Milan, FrancoAngeli, 2009, pp. 66-70; A. Ranieri, *Quando un monumento non basta. Gli Asili Monumento di Siena e Grosseto*, in N. Labanca (ed.), *Pietre di guerra. Ricerche su monumenti e lapidi in memoria del primo conflitto mondiale*, Milano, Unicopli, 2010, pp. 129-141; M. Morandi, *Que l'enfance soit éduquée dans le*

school names in the city of Bologna, part of a broader research project<sup>14</sup>, of which this essay constitutes one step. In particular we will look at the process of political choice which led to the naming of municipal primary schools and preschools, investigating above all the specific documentation found in the Historical Archive of the Municipality of Bologna from the late 19<sup>th</sup> century to more recent years.

## 2. *Nation building on the walls*

The development of a school system suited to constructing the Italian nation was a long and complex operation that demanded increasingly more funds, also to build specific spaces for primary school children. For around twenty years following Unification, the pupils of the city schools were housed in rented premises, and the school names were taken from the name of the street they were located on, or the name of the teacher who taught them. This was probably the expression of a small, tightly-knit community in which everyone knew the streets and the places used as schools. It was only from the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century that the municipal administration, in charge of managing the primary schools and the school buildings in the city, began to seriously tackle the problem of appropriate school premises. The first municipal school building used as a primary school was planned from 1889 in an area of Porta Galliera and was inaugurated in 1898, without however being named after any specific figure: the documents and newspapers of the time referred to the «Porta Galliera schools» or the «Orti Garagnani schools», confirming an identity shared by the community according to the place, perhaps by virtue of a lack of specific national regulation on public schools which were in any case strictly under municipal responsibility. The first proposal for the official naming of a municipal primary school in Bologna was put to the Municipal Council only in 1908, during the vote on the new local school building projects following the

*sillon de la gloire*. *Les écoles maternelles monuments aux morts de la première guerre mondiale en Italie*, «Rivista di storia dell'educazione», 2, 2015, pp. 209-218.

<sup>14</sup> M. D'Ascenzo, *L'onomastica scolastica come strumento di commemorazione del mondo della scuola tra dimensione locale e nazionale*, in *Abstracts/Resumens International symposium «school memories» New Trends in Historical Research into Education Heuristic Perspectives and Methodological Issues (Seville 22-23 September, 2015)*, Universidad de Sevilla Edita, Copiarte, 2015, p. 71; Id., *Creating Places of Public Memory through the Naming of School Buildings. A Case Study of Urban School Spaces in Bologna in the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> Centuries*, «El futuro del pasado», vol. 7, 2016, pp. 441-458; Id., *Linee di ricerca della storiografia scolastica in Italia: la storia locale*, «Espacio, Tiempo y Educación», vol. 3, n. 1, 2016, pp. 249-272. About history of education in the city of Bologna see M. D'Ascenzo, *La scuola elementare in età liberale. Il caso Bologna 1859-1911*, Bologna, Clueb, 1997; Id., *Tra centro e periferia. La scuola elementare a Bologna dalla Daneo-Credaro all'avocazione statale 1911-1933*, Bologna, Clueb, 2006.

loans granted by the State. The first municipal primary school in Bologna was not however named in memory of Giosuè Carducci, the famous Nobel Prize winner for literature and a key figure in the local political, cultural and school events, as would have been expected after his death in 1907. The high collective sentiment triggered by the death of the author of the book *Cuore*, Edmondo De Amicis, on 11 March 1908, led the socialist minority councillor Francesco Zanardi to propose that the primary school in Porta Galliera be named after the famous writer. The proposal was fully shared by the mayor Giuseppe Tanari, who stated

nobody more than us [...] understands how the sudden death of Edmondo De Amicis has caused universal sadness in Italy, because there is no Italian, from the highest and educated classes to the most modest, who did not know this author of many works all inspired by the highest ideals of truth, beauty and goodness; there is no child who, in his earliest, sweetest and most healthy emotions, does not remember the author of *Cuore*; there is no Italian who may forget the soldier faithful to the flag, the exemplary citizen whose soul was filled with the purest ideas of harmony, brotherhood and social justice. He states that the Executive Council accepts councillor Zanardi's proposal to name one of the new schools under construction after Edmondo De Amicis; and, while waiting to submit a concrete proposal to the Council, he invites them all to vote in favour, obtaining a unanimous show of hands<sup>15</sup>.

And it is thus that, on the emotional wave of the recent death of the famous author of *Cuore*, that the proposal made by Zanardi to name a municipal school building after De Amicis, the emblem of national unity and humanitarian socialism, was voted. This figure was not directly linked to local affairs, but was of national importance, and this was probably a cause of suffering for many. It was not by chance that in the same council meeting, municipal councillor Tassi spoke out that «another name, particularly dear to the people of Bologna, must not be forgotten: that of Enrico Panzacchi»<sup>16</sup>. And so, from the very first naming, the national-local dimension of the dialectic was also found on the «school walls»: despite the agreement of the municipal council to name a school after De Amicis, only four months later an immediate resolution of the municipal Executive Council named a new school being built in via Principe Amedeo after Enrico Panzacchi, famous poet, writer, politician and councillor for education in the Municipality of Bologna, a key figure of Bolognese culture<sup>17</sup>. The decision was taken officially yet mutedly by the municipal Executive Council, the body

<sup>15</sup> Municipal Historical Archive of Bologna (hereinafter ASCB), Bologna Municipal Council Deeds (hereinafter CC), 3 April 1908.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>17</sup> ASCB, Minutes of the Bologna municipal executive council meetings (hereinafter the Executive Council) 27 August 1908 and inauguration of the Panzacchi School on 7 January 1909 as per the resolution of the Executive Council of 6/1/1909. On Panzacchi, refer to the sheet drafted by me in G. Chiosso, R. Sani (edd.), *Dizionario Biografico dell'Educazione* (hereinafter DBE), 2 vols., Milano, Editrice Bibliografica, 2013, vol. 2, p. 279.

in charge of running the city. Why? Panzacchi died in 1904 and certainly did not achieve the same heights of fame as De Amicis, but probably the national author of *Cuore* may not have been so popular among a clerico-moderate municipal Executive Council, hostile to socialism, and humanitarianism, of which De Amicis was an expression, to be proposed by a socialist councillor like Zanardi<sup>18</sup>. At the current state of research it is not possible to be sure of this, however only two years later the municipal council voted in favour of naming the school building in Porta Galliera after De Amicis «who is renowned as one of the city's most important figures»<sup>19</sup>. In the same council meeting, the criteria chosen for the naming were also illustrated, clearly establishing that it was «appropriate to give the schools names that recall the worthy and illustrious men of the city of Bologna»<sup>20</sup>. Having clarified the priorities, during the same meeting the council voted to name three more schools after figures from the local Bolognese cultural world, Giovan Battista Ercolani, Ferdinando Berti and Ernesto Masi. The first was a famous professor at the university of Bologna; the second was one of the key figures of the city's (and the nation's) political and cultural life after Unification, as well as councillor for education in the Council<sup>21</sup>; the third was a renowned writer, patriot and historian, the author of important works on the Renaissance and head of the city's Education Department<sup>22</sup>. The choice of locally born and renowned figures continued throughout the following years with the naming of two new school buildings: the first to Tommasina Guidi, a famous children's and women's writer

*Tommasina Guidi* is, as is known, the pseudonym of the delightful Bolognese author, born into the Guidicini family, with the name Cristina. She devoted her life to children's education, producing highly interesting literary works, containing warnings and advice based on healthy morals<sup>23</sup>.

The second school was named after Salvatore Muzzi (1807-1884), teacher, famous writer and author of the popular *Cento novelline e quattro nuovi racconti* published by Zanichelli

*Salvatore Muzzi* was an illustrious Bolognese citizen, a worthy historian and scholar and an excellent teacher. Both one and the other are most worthy of being remembered to those who follow, particularly to our children, and to the world of education to which they both devoted much of their lives<sup>24</sup>.

<sup>18</sup> ASCB, CC, 03 April 1908.

<sup>19</sup> ASCB, CC, 18 July 1910.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>21</sup> M. D'Ascenzo, *Ferdinando Berti*, in Chiosso, Sani (edd.), *DBE*, cit., vol. 1, p. 150.

<sup>22</sup> M. D'Ascenzo, *Masi Ernesto*, in Chiosso, Sani (edd.), *DBE*, cit., vol. 2, pp. 128-129.

<sup>23</sup> ASCB, CC, 15 November 1911.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.* On Muzzi see R. Andreassi, *Muzzi Salvatore*, in Chiosso, Sani (edd.), *DBE*, cit., vol. 2, p. 22.



In this first phase of namings, managed by a coalition of mostly clerico-moderate politicians, the names of local cultural and political figures were given, the only exception being that named after Edmondo De Amicis. The naming of a school after Giosuè Carducci was voted only years later, during the management of the socialist Executive Council led by mayor Francesco Zanardi between 1914 and 1919, one of the names given to six more municipal school buildings. The proposed figures were all linked to local events, chosen for their political and cultural works in secular, masonic and socialist fields. The first was the naming of the Trachoma school after Augusto Murri, academic and physician renowned both in the city and across the country for his secular humanitarian and radical-socialist works<sup>25</sup>. Other illustrious figures from the scientific and literary culture were then identified. On 7 May 1915 the Municipal Council resolved to name schools after: Giosuè Carducci (via Dante schools), the famous poet Giovanni Pascoli (via Orfeo schools), the secular and masonic mineralogist and university professor Luigi Bombicci (Orbi schools) and the memory of Severino Ferrari (S. Ruffillo schools). The majority councillor Leonello Giommi justified the choice by stating that, although they were not registered socialists, they had worked according to ideas that were very close to socialism, such as Pascoli, who was remembered on his death for his patriotic socialism, and whose death was marked by the «condolences of democracy and humanity»<sup>26</sup>. The reason for naming the primary school after Severino Ferrari, born in the socialist municipality of Molinella, a much-loved pupil of Carducci, school teacher, poet and author of school texts, was supported strongly. He was chosen above all for his affinities with humanitarian socialism, remembered in the long citation which is given here in full, to underline the many speeches made by the municipal councillors

on Severino Ferrari, I who can still see that good, sharp spirit shining in his eyes, will modestly say why the socialist party pays homage to him. His art, in which Carducci recognised the freshness of the image of sentiments, flowing through a bright elocution of gay verse, would not on its own be sufficient for his name to be engraved on an educational establishment. But in Severino Ferrari we honour the man, who I will never forget for his duties as a citizen and a worker. Severino's work at school was hard and arduous, renouncing his verses singing the praises of love and courtesy for Italy, while with his *shoulders bent* (his own words) he corrected the spelling mistakes of his pupils. But keeping his shoulders bent over the pupils' papers, he gazed beyond the shabby classrooms to the thousands and thousands of *bent shoulders* of the workers in the Bolognese fields, curved like his own in a task, like his own, that was ungracious, noble and unrecognised. His gentle soul stopped many times and lent its ear to the pruners singing on the banks of the Reno, as the sun sent shafts of gold on the green meadows, or those of the carters in the deep of night, or the rice pickers saluting the end of the day *raising their beautiful curls to the sky?* For him, all these voices

<sup>25</sup> ASCB, Education, 1914, Folder on Trachoma School. Naming after Augusto Murri, Council resolution of 9 December 1914.

<sup>26</sup> ASCB, CC, 03 May 1912.

melted together in the harmony of the fiery verse of indignation against social iniquity, and the protest rose from his heart in the verse *degli Argini del Reno* (the speaker reads the main verses of the poem). But the sentiment of revolt against the oppression of the masses coming from the poets who flourished around Carducci, was contained in a measured temperance of expression and form. It is the old pagan idyll, the dreamed harmony of nature, and of the spirit, which is enriched with a new element for the prophesy of a fairer and less unhappy humanity. Today there can be neither dignity or greatness of the homeland separated from the prosperity of the working classes. Let us state this once again in the act of naming a school after Severino Ferrari who foresaw new carnage among the peoples of Europe yet glorified the Latin name which arouses the “still flowing civility for the centuries”. Mr Pedrazzi takes the floor, stating that not only the Socialist Party but the whole of Bologna wishes to name one of its schools after Severino Ferrari, all wishing to honour this man. And rightly so - he says - we honour Severino Ferrari by naming a school after him, a place where the minds and hearts of our children are educated. As councillor Giommi recalled, Severino Ferrari was the poet of love; love for the humble, love for humble things, but also love for his country. He saw our Italy and deemed it a pioneer for progress and well-being, obtained by raising the humble without the depression of any, the route to true progress and well-being, obtained with neither preaching nor the manifestation of hate. At the proposal of the Mayor, all councillors stood and applauded, showing their unanimous and solemn approval of the proposal<sup>27</sup>.

In the meantime, the Great War had also reached the city of Bologna, which, though far from the front was a place of passage of the troops and a shelter for injured soldiers. Although amid all the difficulties of the conflict, the socialist Executive Council had promised to build an open-air school and a large park in the centre of the city. The sudden death of a socialist municipal councillor in the war provided the opportunity to name the school after him, as a mark of the sacrifice of a socialist Executive Council that was in any case neutral towards the world conflict. Thus in 1917 the first municipal open-air school was named in the memory of Fernando Fortuzzi, a humble factory worker and municipal councillor in the socialist Executive Council, who had died in the Great War, as explained by Councillor Longhena

a man born in the fields, simple and intelligent, the clearest denial of a whole concept: alone, thinking, he was a good and strong reasoner; rough manual labour had not removed him from all ideal questions, and thus to us he seemed a new man, a man of tomorrow, able to hold within that political and administrative life which many believe to be a monopoly of a few<sup>28</sup>.

This was the first case in Bologna of a «martyr of war», offered to the city as an example of exemplary conduct and service to his country; the fact that he was also a socialist councillor was an added value, demonstrating the loyalty to the homeland expressed by the Bolognese socialists, accused of neutralism and

<sup>27</sup> ASCB, CC, 07 May 1915.

<sup>28</sup> ASCB, Administrative correspondence of the Municipality of Bologna, Title XIV Education (hereinafter Education), 1917, b. 503, Folder on Primary Schools. Open-air schools at the Margherita Gardens. Resolution of the Executive Council of 11 July 1917.

false patriotism. The practice of using martyrs of war as examples for the young generations was later used widely following Fascism. Far from being neutral, school namings were used in increasingly aware terms as an instrument of propaganda in the new national unity of the following years, with increasingly sophisticated and effective communication methods. In this period, the municipal council directed by Puppini lost no opportunities to commemorate the death of well and less known local university and cultural figures who were the expression of 19<sup>th</sup> century liberal Bolognese tradition including Giovanni Federzoni<sup>29</sup>, Adolfo Merlani<sup>30</sup>, Adolfo Albertazzi<sup>31</sup>, Vittorio Fiorini<sup>32</sup>, Vittorio Puntoni<sup>33</sup> as well as minor figures including Amalia Casali, the first female teacher appointed in the municipality of Bologna after Unification<sup>34</sup>, a very well-known teacher in the city<sup>35</sup> and even a municipal archivist<sup>36</sup>. The analysis of these commemorations does not escape a political reading of the figures remembered, exalted for the role they played in the local and national society and culture, but also as an expression of a «Bologna-ness» and a «nationality to be heralded as an example for the new generations. It was thus a great opportunity for reconfiguring the reading of the national and local political history according to the values of firstly Nationalism and later Fascism, blending the local and national dimensions yet with a strategic use also of the names of roads, streets and squares, as well as the naming of monuments and memorial stones and plaques to consecrate a certain kind of collective memory, focusing on the memory of «glorious» local history, the Great War and the legend of the Fascist Revolution, considered to be the redeemer of local and national fate. The choice of names for the new schools fell on figures from Bolognese cultural and political history, which the Fascism in power wished to publicly consecrate, their names written on the walls of 23 new primary schools between 1923 and 1945, in a number of different phases. During the Puppini phase (1923-1926)

<sup>29</sup> ASCB, CC, 31/07/1923.

<sup>30</sup> ASCB, CC, 21/07/1924.

<sup>31</sup> ASCB, CC, 12/05/1925.

<sup>32</sup> ASCB, CC, 20/12/1925.

<sup>33</sup> ASCB, CC, 21/03/1926.

<sup>34</sup> ASCB, CC, 17/04/1924.

<sup>35</sup> The retired teacher Ugo Parmeggiani was recalled like this: «in the vast school field, the teacher *Ugo Parmeggiani* stood out for his exceptional educational virtues; appointed as teacher in 1887, he retired from honourable service in 1917; he was headmaster in Arcoveggio and in the now-closed schools of S. Marcellino and Aurelio Saffi. He published a paper for teaching history and geography, which was highly appreciated as an effective teaching aid. He composed and published an atlas of the Renaissance, in which historical events were recorded clearly and precisely. His last work was a map of our city, updated with the most recent constructions. Our fond gratitude goes out to the memory of the late teacher, in the name of the local citizens and particularly all those who personally had the honour of appreciating the good works he did in his sacred mission of educating our young people, a mission performed for many long years with perseverance, faith, passion and rate modesty (applause)» in ASCB, CC, 26/5/1924.

<sup>36</sup> This was Benedetto Carpanelli, see ASCB, CC, 29/11/1925.

the school buildings that had already been ordered and initiated by earlier executive councils were completed and inaugurated, and between 1924 and 1926, 18 new municipal schools were named. The correspondence does not indicate any local naming commission established to study and propose useful names, but the choice of names was rather a joint work of the political bodies of the Executive Council and the civil servants working in the administration of the state education sector. For naming the new municipal schools between 1924 and 1926, they sought the opinion of Albano Sorbelli, director of the Archiginnasio Library, who was renowned for his knowledge of cultural history and local politics<sup>37</sup>. He proposed the naming of the new schools to figures from the city's recent and less recent history, offering a suitable motivation for each one. Among these, Puppini's Executive Council initially chose to name the school after Giulio Giordani, the nationalist councillor who was mysteriously murdered in the massacre at Palazzo d'Accursio on 20 November 1920 and who was made a martyr of the Fascist Revolution. The naming of the school in via Libia after him was one of the steps in this new city "legend" of proposing to the new generations models to be imitated, with the following motivations

the [...] memory of whom we can never exalt enough. We know of his excellent life and glorious end, and his memory rings through powerful to us every time we enter this hall. It is most worthy to name one of our schools after him, in one of the most popular and populated neighbourhoods in our city!<sup>38</sup>

In the same resolution of 18 April 1924, primary schools were named after Adelfo Grosso (Villa Ronzani school in Arcoveggio), Giacomo Venezian (via S. Vitale 63), Luigi Zamboni (via Zamboni 15), Anna Morandi Manzolini (via Andrea Costa 16) and Giovanni Federzoni (Arcoveggio Nuovo schools)<sup>39</sup>. Councillor Cremonini fully approved the motion, underlining particularly the figures of Giordani and Federzoni, Councillor Bonacorsi proposed to name future schools to the memory of the Fascist «martyrs» Gian Carlo Nannini and Oscar Paoletti, while Councillor Ballarini explicitly underlined the political and educational value of these choices of naming schools for the new generations

I have always given a twofold meaning to the use of names of illustrious citizens: revered homage to the memory of deceased great men, and an incitement to their survivors to follow their example. I note with particular satisfaction that the name of Giulio Giordani was given

<sup>37</sup> ASCB, Education, 1924, b. 967, File on Primary Schools. Naming of school buildings.

<sup>38</sup> ASCB, CC, 18 April 1924.

<sup>39</sup> In fact, the decree of 5 February 1923 of the prefectural administration had proposed to name the schools under construction in via Libia after Adelfo Grosso, at the proposal of some of Adelfo Grosso's ex-pupils; however this request suggested naming a rural school, and Puppini's Executive Council thought it more appropriate to name the school in via Libia after Giordani and the rural school in Villa Ronzani after Adelfo Grosso. On Grosso see M. D'Ascenzo, *Grosso Adelfo*, in Chiosso, Sani (edd.), *DBE*, cit., vol. 1, p. 692.

to one of our schools. The figure of martyr which had in such a short time been engraved on all the faces of his admirable, multifaceted life was in this instance particularly illuminated by his qualities as a teacher. It is just that in this aspect that his name be carried on in our schools, as a caution to our children<sup>40</sup>.

Who were the personalities the schools were named after? Adelfo Grosso had been the director of the «Scuola Normale» in Bologna from Unification to 1888 and the educator of many teachers who were still alive, and who remembered him as an example and a memory of schools of excellence<sup>41</sup>; Anna Morandi Manzolini was the famous 17<sup>th</sup> century Bolognese wax modeller, whose “gender” dimension was not even mentioned, but was in any case the preferred candidate among those chosen in this sense and indicated by Sorbelli; Luigi Zamboni, Bolognese Renaissance martyr, was explicitly linked to the need to give a name to the school that had been in the road of the same name for a long time; Giovanni Federzoni was the famous writer who was remembered by the Council for his teaching role in the city<sup>42</sup>; Giacomo Venezian was the Bolognese municipal councillor who died in the Great War and called a hero even during the school inauguration ceremony in front of the pupils

having erected the buildings, it is worth giving them a name. The names of the schools, where our future citizens are educated, must speak to the minds and hearts of the children. And thus the new municipal Executive Council has decided to name the new school which will be inaugurated next October after Giacomo Venezian. An excellent decision, the name of this tenacious claimer of the grandeur of Italy, who fought for the country and gave his life for it, will tell the children how the Homeland must be loved and served. Other schools were given names of people who devoted their best energies to the municipal schools, or who left long-lasting impressions in the field of studies and charity. And fortunately, the list of these names is long<sup>43</sup>.

The following year, in the municipal council meeting of 16 February 1925, a further 11 new primary school buildings were named, with the motivations given in the following table

<sup>40</sup> «We who were taught by him in our high school, were able to appreciate his rare qualities not only as a scholar but even more so as a teacher», in ASCB, CC, 18 April 1924.

<sup>41</sup> M. D’Ascenzo, *Adelfo Grosso*, in Chiosso, Sani (edd.), *DBE*, cit., vol. 1, p. 692.

<sup>42</sup> ASCB, CC, 18 April 1924; M. D’Ascenzo, *Federzoni Giovanni*, in Chiosso, Sani (edd.), *DBE*, cit., vol. 1, p. 535.

<sup>43</sup> E. Cappelletti, *Gli edifici scolastici*, «Bollettino del Comune di Bologna», February 1924, pp. 47-48.

Tab. 1. *School namings of 16 February 1925*

Surname and name	Motivation for naming
Albertazzi Adolfo	Renowned writer and journalist and teacher of Italian literature at the «Pier Crescenzi» Technical Institute
Bignami Giuseppe	Veteran of the battles for Italian independence and for 24 years Head of the Municipal Education Office
Casali Amalia	The first primary school teacher in our Municipal Schools
De' Vigri Caterina	15 <sup>th</sup> century miniaturist painter and ascetic author, raised by the Church to the honours of the altars
Gozzadini Giovanni	Ex-Senator of the Kingdom and illustrious historian and archaeologist
Gualandi Francesco	Municipal primary school teacher, who died following injuries sustained in the war
Marsili Luigi Ferdinando	General and scientist, founder of the Institute of Science in Bologna
Merlani Adolfo	Famous mathematician and astronomer
Sassoli Dino	Municipal primary school teacher, who died a hero in the Great War
Silvani Antonio	From an ancient Bolognese family, for many years a devoted municipal administrator
Tambroni Clotilde	Scholar of Greek literature and professor at our University

This was a choice which, alongside figures from high culture and the local administration, wrote the memory of three primary school teachers on the walls: Amalia Casali, Francesco Gualandi and Dino Sassoli. The first was chosen as a model of self-denial for her educational mission, and for being the Municipality's first patriot teacher<sup>44</sup>. The other two were teachers who died

<sup>44</sup> The municipal council had previously commemorated her as a «humble and modest lady, perhaps not known to many of Bologna's citizens [...] she was the teacher that the Government of King Vittorio Emanuele II assigned to the first school that the Government had opened in the municipality of Bologna. Mrs Mattiuzzi was the first primary school teacher who flew the Italian flag from a school in our city. She was born in Venice 98 years ago. She played a lively role in works of piety and patriotism from the very constitution of the Kingdom of Italy. In 1861 she lost her husband and had to work to survive; she thus qualified as a teacher, entering teaching when she was getting on in life, aged 38. She was in love with School. On Sunday she would teach girls and women. She kept the school open for her female pupils even during the summer. And many of them, overcoming that natural instinct children have of enjoying their holidays, attended the school even in the summer, such was their fondness for the teacher. She continued to teach until the age of 73. I repeat that I commemorate this first Female Teacher of the schools of Bologna not only to underline her own very special merits, not only to offer expressions of comfort for here own son, who was first a worthy teacher and then a headmaster in our schools, but because I feel that the name of the teacher Mrs. Mattiuzzi may, due to the special circumstances of her life, be considered a marker and a symbol. As soon as the opportunity presents itself, after completing all previous commitments, the municipal administration proposes to name a school after 'Amalia Casali Mattiuzzi'. In doing so we do not intend merely to honour this unsurpassed educator, this first female teacher in the municipality of Bologna, but also to honour, through her, all those teachers we had, many of whom live on only in our memory; and we also intend to keep the virtues

during the Great War, reminding the new generations of their sacrifice. The world of the militant school, of school teachers, thus entered the *pantheon* of deserving figures held up as examples for the young generations in the name plates affixed to the walls. The following year another primary school was named after Francesco Acri, a teacher of Pedagogy at the city university and a much loved figure among the Bolognese teachers, indeed the proposal for naming the school came from a large representative of the teaching community, who was then a headmaster, Francesco Bonatto, who stated

Bologna had dedicated some of the best primary schools to Giosuè Carducci and Giovanni Pascoli: spontaneously set alongside these names was that of Francesco Acri. And would it not be without great meaning for the population of Bologna to have one of its schools dedicated to a man who was a teacher of the highest levels of humanity, elected wisdom and goodness?<sup>45</sup>

Completing this first phase of Fascism naming came the name of Elisabetta Sirani, a famous 17<sup>th</sup> century Bolognese painter<sup>46</sup>. In the subsequent Fascist phase, the podestà period (1926-1945), the few new primary schools were named after illustrious figures from the local cultural world – including Vittorio Fiorini in 1929<sup>47</sup> – or from Fascism in its strict sense. In the meantime, from 1931 the management of the primary schools had been definitively transferred from the municipalities to the state, even for provincial capital municipalities like Bologna. During these years, the practice of school naming appears less clear in the transition of national and local regulations, and remained firmly in the hands of the local powers, that of the podestà. A new school near the railway station was named after Gian Carlo Nannini, a «martyr» of Bolognese Fascism, in 1931<sup>48</sup>, while on 29 October 1932 an official ceremony inaugurated a new school building without an official name, and the school was named only later after the Nobel Prize winner Guglielmo Marconi. In 1935 the construction of a new school was authorised, and this was later named after Costanzo Ciano, father of the Fascist hierarch Galeazzo Ciano, Mussolini's son in law, the specific date of which was not however recorded<sup>49</sup>.

of Mrs Mattiuzzi alive among our teaching staff, so that they may be kept in future, as was in the past and which continues today, worthy of our first and most noble of primary school teachers (applause)» in ASCB, CC, 17/4/1924.

<sup>45</sup> ASCB, Correspondence, 1924, b. 967, File Primary Schools. Naming of school buildings, Letter from Francesco Bonatto, 28 June 1924. The official naming ceremony was held on 5 March 1925 in the municipal council.

<sup>46</sup> ASCB, CC, 21 March 1926.

<sup>47</sup> scholar of the Renaissance, high school teacher of Literature and head of the education department, see P. Dal Toso, *Fiorini Vittorio*, in Chiosso, Sani (edd.), *DBE*, cit., vol. 1, p. 557. The naming resolution can be found in ASCB, Resolutions of the Podestà, 19 January 1929.

<sup>48</sup> No precise date of the naming for the Marconi or Ciano schools can be found in the resolutions of the podestà kept in the Historical Archives of the Municipality of Bologna.

<sup>49</sup> S.A., *Vita scolastica*, Il Comune di Bologna, vol. 11, 1932, p. 104.

### 3. *New names after the Second World War*

As explained, with the transfer of the primary schools to the State decreed between 1931 and 1933, in the 1930s the naming of primary schools became regulated and controlled by the state; in fact the local dimension of the choices was no less important, given that the legislation was in any case unclear and with shortcomings<sup>50</sup>. The city's naming practices also followed the metamorphoses of citizenship after the Second World War, referring to figures from the collective memory of the Resistance from a range of local, but also increasingly national, cultural and political spheres<sup>51</sup>. In the very first phase, some schools in the city named after clearly «fascist» figures were renamed after other people from local Bolognese history who were not involved in the Regime. For example, the «Nannini» schools were renamed after «Ernesto Cappelletti», an interesting figure in local school history<sup>52</sup>. The «Costanzo Ciano» primary schools also saw their name changed by force, to Alberto Dallolio, after the famous mayor of Bologna between 1891 and 1902, who later became Senator of the Kingdom, a key figure in liberal Bologna between the two centuries<sup>53</sup>. As the primary school management had transferred to the state, it would appear at this point more appropriate to focus attention on the naming of the preschools, managed by the municipality, even though the proposed names even of primary schools were also submitted for the approval of the Municipality. Attention on municipal namings after the Second World War is also interesting to understand any transformations in the choices, linked to the «metamorphosis of citizenship», with the passage from the 19<sup>th</sup> century *nation building* to a democratic perspective of education to citizenship.

<sup>50</sup> School namings were not specifically governed even by law n. 1118 of 23 June 1927, Naming of roads and monuments after contemporary figures (in the Official Gazette n. 164 of 18/7/1927) which set the criteria for naming roads and squares. Only in 1947 C.M. n. 4452/48 of 25 June 1947 placed the teachers and heads of the schools directly in charge of proposing the school names, to be approved directly by the Ministry with the favourable opinion of the Municipality concerned, the Prefecture and the Provincial School Board. On this law, which was in force until 1980, see N. Labianca, *La disciplina della toponomastica stradale e scolastica*, Palermo, Quattrosoli, 1995.

<sup>51</sup> On the concept of metamorphosis of citizenship see A. Ascenzi, *Metamorfosi della cittadinanza. Studi e ricerche su insegnamento della storia, educazione civile e identità nazionale tra Otto e Novecento*, Macerata, eum, 2009. On the changes in naming after the Second World War, also in relation to the Resistance see Raffaelli, *I nomi delle vie*, cit.; Gallerano (ed.), *L'uso pubblico della storia*, cit.; A. Ballone, *La resistenza*, in Isnenghi (ed.), *I luoghi della memoria. Strutture ed eventi dell'Italia unita*, cit., pp. 403-438; Ridolfi, *Il nuovo volto della città. La toponomastica negli anni della transizione democratica e della nascita della Repubblica*, cit.

<sup>52</sup> An ex-teacher, he was head of the primary schools of Bologna from 1904 to 1930, a very long period in which he had seen the passing of the clerical-moderate, socialist and then Fascist seasons, until he finally retired in 1930; see M. D'Ascenzo, *Cappelletti Ernesto*, in Chiosso, Sani (edd.), *DBE*, cit., vol. 1, pp. 269-270.

<sup>53</sup> On Dallolio refer to the sheet drafted by M. D'Ascenzo, in Chiosso, Sani (edd.), *DBE*, cit., vol. 1, pp. 429-430.



It therefore seems indispensable to provide some information on the context in which this topic is framed. After the Second World War, the local political situation had profoundly changed, with the rise to power of those political forces which had remained in the shadow of Fascism and had been active promoters of the Resistance<sup>54</sup>. Locally, the Communist Party took over the reins of the city of Bologna, which remains firmly in the hands of Mayor Giuseppe Dozza until 1966, then from 1966 to 1970 Mayor Guido Fanti and from 1970 to 1975 Mayor Renato Zangheri. From the Fifties onwards, precisely by virtue of being a «red» municipality, the city of Bologna was certainly an important political laboratory also in terms of education and school policies, the authentic place of experimentation of a social model of “welfare” sensitive to the needs of women and the working classes. In pedagogical terms, the establishment of the Faculty of Education in 1955 marked the assertion of a highly secular and problematicist line, characterised by the key figure of Professor Giovanni Maria Bertin, open to dialogue with the city. From the 1950s the municipality began to renew the summer schools, opening them up to active education methods, and introducing the Montessori method into preschools. In 1960 the young Ettore Tarozzi was appointed councillor for education, and guided the fate of municipal schools and education for fifteen years until 1975. In this phase, education and school policy was marked by the considerable expansion in the quantity of educational and preschool services, moving towards both pedagogical and teaching innovations, with important collaborations such as that with Professor Roberto Mazzetti and the Cooperative Education Movement represented by Bruno Ciari. This turmoil led to the diversification of educational services in preschools, the birth of the first municipal nurseries, the introduction of all-day schooling and the spread of social and democratic school management, appointed to joint school-society committees in the city districts, the families and the various free organised expressions of society. Tarozzi invented the «Pedagogic February» formula, a group of events, conferences, meetings, seminars organised in February in different parts of the city, open to a wide audience. The purpose was to promote joint thought on topics concerning education and schools in Italy and other countries, with the presence of experts, teachers, heads in service and university professors from various national departments with a range of cultural and pedagogical orientations. The Pedagogical Februaries were a showcase and a marketing tool, placing an education and school policy interested in promoting social participation and democracy in school management processes in the spotlight. By no means a neutral policy, but one which fostered values of secularity,

<sup>54</sup> On the Dozza Executive period and particularly on the school policies of the Municipality of Bologna after the Second World War, see M. D’Ascenzo, *Virginia Predieri, maestra di scuola dell’infanzia nella Bologna del secondo dopoguerra*, in M. D’Ascenzo, G. Ventura (edd.), *Dalla parte delle maestre. La stagione pedagogica di Virginia Predieri (1931-2009)*, Rovato-Lecce, Pensa Multimedia, 2016, pp. 17-63.

democracy and school for all, understood as a tool for obtaining effective equal opportunities for all citizens, particularly those who were historically excluded from culture and education<sup>55</sup>.

The 5<sup>th</sup> Pedagogical February in Bologna in 1966 focused on the educational value of the Resistance, planned a series of «conferences, supply to schools of books, plates indicating the reason for the granting of the Gold Medal of Military Valour for the Resistance to the city of Bologna»<sup>56</sup> which, as indicated by Tarozzi himself, «will attract the greatest interest in the public events held for the naming of 8 municipal schools after the young heroes fallen in the war for Liberation»<sup>57</sup>. Explaining further, Tarozzi illustrated the planned events, which were to involve the district councils and the parent-teacher committees, including the distribution of books and plates to the schools

all preschools, primary, middle and senior schools will be given 1950 colour plates reproducing the motivation for Bologna being decorated with a Gold Medal for Military Valour for the Resistance, so that they be placed in every classroom. At the same time, the school libraries will receive a set of books from the Municipality, chosen from the most qualified issues, on the history of the Resistance and the contribution of young people to the struggle for Liberation. The Vice Mayors, District Councils, parent-teacher committees have already been informed of the initiative, to ensure that the plates and the books are delivered in the methods and forms the city's representative bodies wish to adopt, in agreement with the Directors and Heads of the schools<sup>58</sup>.

and the naming of six preschools and two middle schools in the city which

will be named respectively after young Italians who fell in the war of Liberation and after two different and distant worthy figures of the anti-Fascist struggle: Irma Bandiera and Piero Gobetti<sup>59</sup>.

In this regard, Tarozzi underlined the new method for choosing the names and the epigraph to be written on the plate

the schools are located in the districts of Colli, Costa-Saragozza, Mazzini, Murri, S. Donato, S. Vitale and Centre. The names of the young fighters. proposed by the Department of Public Education – were chosen, for each school, by the district councils concerned. The parents

<sup>55</sup> On the Pedagogical Februaries and the councillor for education Ettore Tarozzi see D'Ascenzo, *Virginia Predieri, maestra di scuola dell'infanzia nella Bologna del secondo dopoguerra*, cit.; more generally B. Ciari, *Bologna: esperienze e problemi*, «Riforma della scuola», nn. 8-9, August-September 1969, pp. 22-28; Municipality of Bologna, Councillor for Basic Education, *Agenda del febbraio pedagogico bolognese 1962-1975*, Bologna, Luigi Parma, 1976.

<sup>56</sup> Municipality of Bologna, R.I.E.S.C.O. Documentation Centre, 5<sup>th</sup> Bolognese Pedagogical February, Press release n. 1 by councillor Ettore Tarozzi, s.d.

<sup>57</sup> *Ibidem* then in Municipality of Bologna. Department of Public Education, *Agenda del febbraio pedagogico bolognese 1962-1975*, cit., p. 6.

<sup>58</sup> Municipality of Bologna, R.I.E.S.C.O. Documentation Centre, 5<sup>th</sup> Bolognese Pedagogical February, Press release n. 2 by councillor Ettore Tarozzi, s.d. p. 3.

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid.*

of the Fallen Heroes, the representatives of the Partisan Associations, national figures from the Resistance and cultural figures have been invited to the school naming ceremonies. For each fallen hero, a dedication will be written to be kept in the school. The Department has proposed that the teachers of the city schools participate jointly and individually in the drafting of the text. This seems perhaps the most appropriate way of involving the world of school in the events of city life, rather than asking for an epigraph from a famous cultural figure, as used to be done and which was also thought of for this circumstance<sup>60</sup>.

The councillor thus clarified that some names had been proposed, among which the district councils concerned had made their own choice, thus decentralising the preference of the school name to local level. He also introduced a further innovation into the written memory of the naming: the epigraph would no longer be drafted by a cultural figure, as was done in the past, but would be composed individually or jointly by the school teachers, initiating a process of research and historical and civil appropriation of the human story of the fallen heroes of the Resistance. This choice aimed to foster the sharing and construction of the collective and public memory of the Resistance among the young generations, who were born after the war of Liberation and who therefore had no direct or personal memory of the events constituting the foundations on which the Republic was born. Indeed the councillor concluded that

of course, we all agree that it is not the case of celebrating the Resistance as a concluded event to which we must pay homage, but rather a fixed point of our society today, which we must study and reflect on so that it may continue to grow and mature with our children in the city<sup>61</sup>.

Another interesting aspect was the choice, for the first time in the city's school history, of naming schools not after famous cultural or political figures or personalities from adult history, but rather to courageous adolescents, little more than children themselves, from different parts of Italy. For each one, the motivation of the Gold Medal for Military Valour was indicated. Of Di Filippo Illuminato, after whom the preschool in the «Colli» district was named, it was stated that the

thirteen year old fighter in the insurrection of Naples against the German invaders, alone and with sublime bravery, while the grown men sought shelter, moved out against an armoured car which was entering Via Roma from Piazza Trieste e Trento. After throwing a hand bomb, he continued forwards beneath the enemy fire and threw another bomb, before falling, riddled with bullets. Supreme, noble audacity, which raised the thirteen year old boy among the Heroes of the Fatherland, made a proud example of in memory of Naples and the whole of Italy<sup>62</sup>

<sup>60</sup> Municipality of Bologna, R.I.E.S.C.O. Documentation Centre, 5<sup>th</sup> Bolognese Pedagogical February, Press release n. 1 by councillor Ettore Tarozzi, s.d. p. 3-4.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*, School naming and motivation for the gold medals, p. 1.

while of the young Giacomo Lettieri it was told that

aged fifteen, on 9 September 1943 he was doing his work in a square in Naples when he saw some German soldiers brutally shoot an Italian soldier. With generous indignation, he grasped a rifle left resting against the wall by other Italian soldiers, who looked on unmoving, killed two Germans and managed to escape. A few days later he was reported and fell into enemy hands, where he stoically suffered maltreatment and torture, sacrificing his young life for the ideals of liberty and the fatherland<sup>63</sup>.

and of Gennaro Capuozzo, after whom the preschool in via degli Orti was named, it was written that

just twelve years old during the insurrection in Naples, he took part in the battles against the Germans, firstly reloading the patriots' weapons and later taking up arms himself. In a battle against German tanks, on foot and careless of death, between two rebels firing their weapons, with great courage he through hand bomb, until a grenade crushed him in battle along with the machine gun he had by his side. A prodigious boy, and an admirable example of young bravery and sublime heroism<sup>64</sup>,

of Franco Centro it was written that

aged fourteen, he left his family to join the partisans and fight the Nazi-Fascists, brilliantly completing all his tasks until, in a very dangerous mission, he was captured carrying command documents. Aware of their importance, he managed to destroy them, and then stoically underwent the most atrocious torture without revealing the position of his comrades. Before the firing squad, invited to ask for grace given his young age, he proudly answered: «I ask only that you shoot me with my three-coloured star, the Garibaldian symbol of my faith». The enemy lead cut short his heroic youth<sup>65</sup>

and of sixteen-year old Ludovico Ticchioni it was told that

aged sixteen, with noble patriotic sentiments, he enrolled voluntarily in a partisan formation, dedicating himself to the cause of liberty with all the passion and bravery of his young age. Arrested after being reported, he spent forty nine days in prison, stoically and proudly facing torture of the worst kind, in an attempt to make him give the names of his comrades, but his lips remained sealed by honour and loyalty. The promise of saving his life if he renounced his faith did no good, and he preferred death of the shame of betrayal. A pure apostle of the love for the fatherland, he was shot down barbarically, to rise up again shining among the martyrs of the new Italy<sup>66</sup>

and of Ancilla Marighetto, the only woman after whom the preschool in via Arcobaleno was named, still present today in Bologna, a glorious story of the Resistance is told

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*, School naming and motivation for the gold medals, p. 2.

<sup>65</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid.*

generous daughter of Trentino, she left her home and her family to answer the call of the Homeland, to which her father had already given his life. Along with her older brother, she shared the serious risks and great sacrifices of the partisan struggle, in the coldest season and in a harsh and dangerous area. During a raid, with one ski broken by enemy fire, she took shelter up a tree. When she was found, she unloaded her pistol on the enemy until all her munitions had been used up. Captured and tortured, she did not bend. Offering to save her life if she gave up the names of her comrades, she refused indignantly, spitting in the faces of her torturers and shouting: «Kill me, I will never betray my brothers». The petty enemy cut short her heroic existence<sup>67</sup>.

The archive documents include a detailed biographical sheet on each figure of the Resistance after whom a school was named. For example, much was written on Ancilla Marighetto:

the history of Ancilla Marighetto, a young girl from Valsugana, began in July 1944 when her brother Celestino, escaping the Nazi command he had been forced to enrol in when on 8 September Trentino was annexed to Germany by Hitler, joined the Bellunese partisans. Thereafter his Brigade was transferred to Trentino, and Celestino could reach his family, where he learned that very frequently the Germans searched to house hoping to arrest him. Exhausted by the abuse received from the Germans, Ancilla asked her brother if she could go with him. And so Ancilla, along with a friend, joined the partisans in the mountains, and learned to use weapons, soon taking her turn in the guard shifts like the men. Alongside her brother, she bravely took part in many actions that kept the German forces occupied for a long time. The winter made their actions increasingly difficult. The group was tired and decimated, but this did not prevent them from continuing to fight. Ancilla's friend was captured and killed during a shoot-out against the Germans. On the evening of 19 February 1945, the group was caught in a mountain lodge in a surprise attack by the Germans. Ancilla Marighetto clipped on her skis along with the others and escaped, but a round of bullets snapped one of her skis. Not being able to continue, she climbed up a pine tree in the hope of escaping the Germans. They soon reached her, however, but Ancilla fired her ammunition against them. She hesitated for a second, thinking of the torture her friend Velia had suffered, and was about to put the gun to her own head, though she quickly gave up her gun and climbed down the tree. The Germans beat her in an attempt to make her talk, but Ancilla Marighetto resisted with great courage until a German soldier stood up and shot a round of bullets into her at close range<sup>68</sup>.

Comparing this preliminary text with the official one of the naming ceremony, in the first case we can see a more detailed and less emphatic story, perhaps more «objective» and closer to the truth; unfortunately it was not possible to trace the author of the two type-written «memoires», though it is clear that the official text proposed for the naming ceremony has a more celebratory and pedagogical intent<sup>69</sup>. In addition to these school namings there were a further two municipal middle schools. Those named after Irma Bandiera and Piero

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>68</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>69</sup> The official reasons for the namings were gathered in the book printed by the Municipality of Bologna Department for Public Education, *5° Febbraio Pedagogico Bolognese*, s.d., s.e. p. 12.

Gobetti, key figures in the struggle for Liberation. Irma Bandiera was chosen as a Bolognese partisan who received the gold medal of Military Valour for being

the first Bolognese woman to take up arms in the fight in the name of freedom, fighting constantly with great courage. She was captured by the SS in battle. Subjected to terrible torture, she did not say a word to compromise the safety of her comrades. After being blinded, she was shot barbarically in the street. The purest of heroines, worthy of the virtue of Italian women, she was a shining example for all Bolognese patriots during the war of liberation<sup>70</sup>.

Certainly more famous nationally, Piero Gobetti was remembered as

a political writer, thinker, literary and theatre critic, founder of the journals «Energie nuove» and «Il Baretto», Gobetti offers the clearest of examples of political correctness and coherence; his activities as a writer and thinker offered a precious contribution to the struggle against Fascism. The many attacks he suffered due to his anti-fascist activities were the primary cause of his death, in exile in Paris, on 26 November 1926<sup>71</sup>.

We cannot exclude that the naming of the school after Gobetti was in some way suggested by the friendship and close collaboration between Tarozzi and Gobetti's wife, Ada Marchesini Gobetti, writer and author of the famous «Diario partigiano» who collaborated several times on the Bolognese Pedagogical Februarys<sup>72</sup>.

In this complex operation of political pedagogy implemented in 1966 we can clearly see the strategic choice of adolescent figures, no more than twenty year olds, with the exception of Bandiera and Gobetti. This choice was all the more powerful in pedagogic terms, as it aimed to offer the students of Bologna a model to be imitated for its courage, love of freedom, civil commitment and love for the country, even more important given that, targeting young people who had not known the Resistance personally, being born after the war, it could remain even more impressed on them precisely because it was «written on the walls». Dedicated to martyrs of the war of Liberation, school spaces automatically became educating spaces, with highly symbolic values, sealed by the school naming plates, the books left in the city's school libraries, the public naming ceremonies in the presence of political authorities and representatives of the associations, as well as the relatives of the commemorated fallen hero. This trend of school namings remained long in the city's school history, even in the 1970s, in the state primary schools named after Don Giovanni Minzoni

<sup>70</sup> Municipality of Bologna Department for Public Education, *5° Febbraio Pedagogico Bolognese*, p. 12.

<sup>71</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>72</sup> See D'Ascenzo, *Virginia Predieri, maestra di scuola dell'infanzia nella Bologna del secondo dopoguerra*, cit.

in 1974<sup>73</sup>, Mario Longhena in 1977<sup>74</sup> and Dante Drusiani<sup>75</sup>, alongside cultural figures of the city including the children's author Adele Cremonini Ongaro in 1974<sup>76</sup> and the painter Giorgio Morandi<sup>77</sup>, or figures of peace such as Pope John XXIII in 1978<sup>78</sup>.

In 1980 the ministerial circular letter n. 313 dated 12 November was implemented to govern the naming of schools, classrooms and other school premises, including commemorative stones and monuments at state level, definitively abrogating the orders of 1928 for secondary schools and 1947 for primary schools. This order led to the increasing participation of schools and education bodies in the process of choosing state and municipal school names. In 1982 a preschool was named after Don Lorenzo Milani and another after Gianni Rodari<sup>79</sup> with a further choice of naming a primary school after the partisans Bruno Monterumici in 1982<sup>80</sup> and Dino Romagnoli (1986), with the following motivation given by the municipal executive council

whereas Dino Romagnoli, born in Budrio (BO) on 19 December 1927 and who died in Bologna on 18 April 1945, a very young man among the young, was committed to the anti-Nazi struggle with a spirit of self-denial, and who perished tragically on the eve of the Liberation along with other comrades, ready for the final charge of the partisan war<sup>81</sup>.

In recent years there have not been many inaugurations of new municipal schools in the city, also due to the effective reduction in the construction of school buildings. In 2014 however, an interesting and innovative naming procedure began for a nursery school being built in the outskirts of Bologna, which is worth examining. The Teachers' Board established an Internal Commission to assess the 16 proposals submitted by parents and children to name the new school. The Commission decided to exclude

the proposals, however valid, but which were linked to figures or symbols of national political groups<sup>82</sup>

identifying two possible solutions, «Parcobaleno» and «Futura» and expressing a clear preference for the latter

<sup>73</sup> Municipality of Bologna, Education and Training Department, School Naming, Decree of the Head of the Department of Education Bologna dated 22 November 1974.

<sup>74</sup> *Ibid.*, 25 February 1977.

<sup>75</sup> *Ibid.*, 01 December 1977.

<sup>76</sup> *Ibid.*, 11 November 1974.

<sup>77</sup> *Ibid.*, 01 December 1977.

<sup>78</sup> *Ibid.*, 04 August 1978.

<sup>79</sup> *Ibid.*, 02 March 1982.

<sup>80</sup> *Ibid.*, 02 March 1982.

<sup>81</sup> *Ibid.*, 18 August 1986.

<sup>82</sup> State Comprehensive Institute n. 1 nursery, primary and middle school of Bologna, school year 2013-2014, Minutes of the Executive Committee Meeting of 9/6/2014.

both due to the sentimental and cultural references of the song by Lucio Dalla, and in order to link the name Futura to the new generation of children the school will take care of in their process of growth and maturity, referring to the values of our Constitution<sup>83</sup>.

This was an interesting participatory process between the school, the families and the local community, also in historical and educational terms. On one hand, it shows the overcoming of a directive, authoritarian practice – and therefore a model of school and society – in favour of a democratic selection process based on discussion, participation, agreement, as a form of education to and of the local citizens themselves. On the other hand it underlines the will to remember the early death of Lucio Dalla, the Bolognese singer-songwriter known internationally for his songs «Caruso» and «Futura», representing the hope for a school and a society able to welcome children of different colours and cultures, in the shade and the shelter of the values of the Italian Constitution.

### *Conclusions*

From this case study of the city of Bologna between the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries, we can draw some considerations and stimuli for more general research. First of all, it confirms how the names of historical school buildings across the country constitute the «spies» revealing the educational intentions of a community, and of the ruling classes in particular, who through the specific choice of names build a public memory that is written on the walls as a tool of «national pedagogy»: *nation building* first, and subsequently education to citizenship after the Second World War. Secondly, it highlights the dependence of such choices on the political, ideological and cultural contexts of the period in which they were made, and become clues that reveal an identity model for citizenship over time: figures from high culture and politics during the liberal phase; socialists or victims of the Great War during the socialist government; once again, people from local culture and martyrs of Fascism during the Fascist phase; the change of the names of some «fascist» schools immediately after the war; the naming of schools after martyrs of the Resistance after the Second World War. Thirdly, the case study invites us to widen our geographical horizons from micro to macro. Indeed, further investigation of the school naming processes in other cities or rural areas in the country – in the framework of a research project on the local history of school and education which is now consolidated in Italy<sup>84</sup> – would allow us to identify similarities and differences in the names, studying the role of local political planning and the connections between local

<sup>83</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>84</sup> D'Ascenzo, *Linee di ricerca della storiografia scolastica in Italia: la storia locale*, cit.



collective memory and national memory sedimented in the school culture as a whole. School names become signs of spaces that, through their names, can tell of a complex and not only local history, but a history linked to the birth and development of public school as a socially recognised and shared educational space. Moreover a disaggregated study of different Italian urban and rural situations could offer an interesting historical and educational geography of school naming, the expression of a tangible and intangible cultural heritage that is certainly «all-Italian» yet worthy of comparison – specifically of school names – with other countries in Europe and around the world, according to that «comparative history of school cultures» that was once hoped for by D. Julia. It therefore seems clear that the study of school names is filled with considerable heuristic potential, the spy of collective memory, public memory and local, national and international school memories, an authentically new source of historical and educational research. Finally, I feel that the study of school names may constitute not only a field of research but also a further element for educational actions and policies for safeguarding the tangible and intangible cultural heritage of schools, along the lines also given by the UNESCO conventions on tangible heritage in 1972 and the intangible heritage in 2003. Indeed in the 2003 Convention it is stated that intangible heritage refers to

the practices, representations, expressions, knowledge, skills – as well as the instruments, objects, artefacts and cultural spaces associated therewith – that communities, groups and, in some cases, individuals recognize as part of their cultural heritage. This intangible cultural heritage, transmitted from generation to generation, is constantly recreated by communities and groups in response to their environment, their interaction with nature and their history, and provides them with a sense of identity and continuity, thus promoting respect for cultural diversity and human creativity. For the purposes of this Convention, consideration will be given solely to such intangible cultural heritage as is compatible with existing international human rights instruments, as well as with the requirements of mutual respect among communities, groups and individuals, and of sustainable development<sup>85</sup>.

School names across the country are indeed an intangible heritage, as «practices, representations, expressions, knowledge» as they hold the collective and public memory of the community, the heritage of a past to be known, preserved, critically processed and handed down to the new generations.

<sup>85</sup> UNESCO, *Convention for the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage*, Paris, 17 October 2003, also available at the link <<http://193.206.116.19/cni/index.php/cultura/patrimonio-immateriale>> (last access: 20<sup>th</sup> January 2017). In Italy, this definition lies at the origin of the Cultural Heritage and Landscape Act, Legislative Decree n. 42/2004, of the Ministry of Cultural Heritage and Activities. On this issue see the very recent contribution by C. Yanes Cabrera, A. Escolano Benito, *School memory and heritage education*, in Yanes Cabrera, Meda, Viñao (edd.), *School memories. New Trends In The History of Education*, cit. pp. 263-270.

