



CREATING PLACES OF PUBLIC MEMORY THROUGH THE NAMING OF SCHOOL BUILDINGS. A CASE STUDY OF URBAN SCHOOL SPACES IN BOLOGNA IN THE 19TH AND 20TH CENTURIES

La creación de lugares de memoria pública a través del nombramiento de los edificios escolares. Un estudio de caso de los espacios escolares urbanos de Bolonia, en los siglos XIX y XX

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ABSTRACT: This contribution sets out to analyse the official names of Italian schools in the 19th and 20th centuries, considering these schools as places of civil, political and scholastic memory. Studying national legislation and based on historical research into specific schools in Italy, the work focuses on the naming of the school buildings found today in the city of Bologna (Italy) during the period from Unification until the Second World War. Examining as-yet unexplored archive sources, the study investigates the motivations underlying the school names, the contexts in which they were debated and decided, the inauguration ceremonies and the relative official speeches given by the authorities, the stones laid or busts displayed in or outside the schools and the complex scenography set up for the local people offering a «pedagogic» and yet political discourse, as an authentic educational heritage of «public memory» and political pedagogy for the generations of the time and those to come. This study also shows some interesting surprises concerning famous and less well-known figures and personalities pointed out in the local school memory but legible on many levels of historical and educational interpretation. This work has confirmed that officially named of Italian school buildings are authentic places of memory assigned from birth to play a civil and public function for national education and cultural memory, as well as the literacy of the new generations.

Keywords: School memories; School buildings; Nation building; Public memory; Cultural memory.

RESUMEN: Esta contribución pretende analizar los nombres oficiales de las escuelas italianas en los siglos XIX y XX, teniendo en cuenta estas escuelas como lugares de memoria civil, política y escolar. Estudiando la legislación nacional y en base a la investigación histórica de escuelas específicas en Italia, el trabajo se centra en la denominación de los edificios escolares que se encuentran hoy en la ciudad de Bolonia (Italia), durante el período comprendido entre la Unificación y la Segunda Guerra Mundial. Examinando fuentes de archivo aún inexploradas, el artículo analiza las motivaciones subyacentes a los nombres de las escuelas, los contextos en los que se debatieron y decidieron, las ceremonias de inauguración y los discursos oficiales relativos dados por las autoridades, las piedras colocadas o bustos expuestos dentro o fuera las escuelas y la compleja escenografía establecida para la población local que ofrecen un discurso «pedagógica» y, sin embargo político, como un auténtico patrimonio educativo de la «memoria pública» y la pedagogía política para las generaciones presents y futuras. Este estudio también muestra algunas sorpresas interesantes en relación con las figuras y personajes, famosos y menos conocidos, señalados en la memoria local de la escuela, pero legibles en muchos niveles de interpretación histórica y educativa. Este trabajo ha confirmado que oficialmente el nombre de los edificios escolares italianos son auténticos lugares de la memoria asignadas desde su nacimiento para desempeñar una función civil y pública de la educación nacional y la memoria cultural, así como para la alfabetización de las nuevas generaciones.

Palabras clave: memorias escolares; edificios escolares; construcción de nación; memoria pública; memoria cultural.

SUMMARY: 1. Which name for a school, and why? Definition of the topic of study. 2. Naming of primary schools in the city of Bologna. Phase one 1908-1911. 3. Phase two: 1914-1920. 4. Phase three: Fascism from 1923 to 1945. 4.1. Phase 1923-1926. 4.2. Phase 1926-1945 The Podestà period. 5. Conclusions.

1. WHICH NAME FOR A SCHOOL, AND WHY? DEFINITION OF THE TOPIC OF STUDY

Since the 1980s, recent Italian historiography on *nation building* has focused on the forms of constructing the idea of citizenship through the public coding of the spaces and times of the nation, within a framework of political and patriotic pedagogy aiming to spread and strengthen a sentiment of national unity. The building and naming of public monuments, squares, streets and other places has always been functional to the affirmation of the dominant political and cultural power. Public naming or re-naming ceremonies for these public spaces have fulfilled the cultural and political task of increasing the community's sense of belonging, building a national sentiment and a collective identity able to define and consecrate the idea of citizenship. Studies on cultural memory (Halbwachs, 1950; Nora, 1984; Connerton, 1989; Huyssen, 2003; Assman, 2011) have shown how, for historians, spaces, streets and public monuments built by the forces in power and

officially named, with great pomp and circumstance, after national figures or events constitute authentic places of public and collective memory, sources to be studied for their historical and civil significance (Tobia, 1991; Levra, 1992; Soldani, Turi, 1993; Isnenghi, 1996; Porciani, 1997; Mancuso, 2007). In Italy there are very few historical-educational studies concerning the specific aspect of *nation building* through the public ceremonies held in memory of deceased school personalities, memorials or recognitions of merit-worthy teachers, and equally few studies on the collective rituals of school prize-givings, in terms of authentic pedagogy of citizenship (Nardi, 1993; D'Ascenzo, 2015). More attention has been paid to school buildings as authentic sources of collective memory, often on the occasion of an anniversary of their foundation or important restoration works; in these cases, the celebratory aim appears clear and this, while not strictly historiographical, has led to actions to safeguard and enhance school spaces and their archives, deposited, recovered and studied thanks also to intelligent research and teaching activities also involving the students. There are practically no studies in Italy on school naming, or the choice of school names. There are practically no in-depth historiographical studies on the specific legislation (Labianca, 1995) and those there are concentrate only on classic secondary schools or teacher training schools (Morandi, 2007; 2008; 2014), which have had a very different history: as is well-known, primary schools were managed at municipal level until 1911 and until 1933 in the provincial capitals.

As it is impossible to perform a full analysis of all the names of the schools across the country, also due to the fragmented documentation available in the central state archives, this analysis is limited to a specific *case study*, on the naming of primary schools in the municipality of Bologna, Italy, during the period between Unification and Fascism. Focusing our field of geographical investigation to Bologna and only to primary schools is even more interesting, as it allows us to verify the area of manoeuvre and the choices made by an administration enjoying autonomy in the management of municipal primary schools in post-Unification Italy. The research was carried out on a wealth of documentation, as yet uninvestigated in this area, found in the municipal historical archive and the state archive in Bologna, integrated by other printed sources of that time and set against the background of knowledge acquired on the educational and school policies of the Municipality of Bologna between the 19th and 20th centuries (D'Ascenzo, 1997; 2006). In this framework, the objective lies in understanding the reasons, contexts and methods of choosing the figures after whom local school buildings were named, as elements offering insight into the forms of patriotic political pedagogy adopted by the local administration in the period from 1859 to 1945 and the type of public memory built through the school name plates peripherally; indeed

shifting the analysis to local level, in the light of the peculiarity of Italian history and the deep-rooted municipal traditions, it is now more than ever appropriate to outline the features of the many peripheral patriotisms (Baioni, 1998: 29-30).

For the sake of practicality, the results of the research are presented by identifying an essential time frame of the various phases in which local primary school names were discussed and approved, indicating the contexts and reasons underlying the choices made by the ruling classes.

2. NAMING OF PRIMARY SCHOOLS IN THE CITY OF BOLOGNA. PHASE ONE 1908-1911

In the city of Bologna, home to a prestigious, ancient university and a place renowned for its pedagogic and educational studies from the 19th century, the first school building constructed specifically with the funding of the Municipality dates back to the late 19th century, near the railway station. Like other buildings used as primary schools, it was not given a specific name but was recognised by the whole city simply according to the name of the road the building stood on; many of the schools were housed in unsuitable buildings rented from the Municipality.

The first discussion on the naming of primary schools by the Bologna municipal council was recorded only in 1908, on the occasion of the proposal to build new schools drafted by Giuseppe Tanari, mayor of the clerical-liberal administration which ran the city from 1905 to 1911. In the council meeting, the minority socialist councillor Francesco Zanardi proposed the commemoration of Edmondo De Amicis, the great author of the book *Cuore*, an emblem of national patriotic pedagogy, who had died shortly beforehand, by naming a new municipal school under construction after him

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 *Giunta* («Executive Committee») 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 (ASCB, CC, 3 April 1908).

The request was accepted but a councillor from the majority immediately suggested that

another name, particularly dear to the people of Bologna, not be forgotten: that of Enrico Panzacchi (ASCB, CC, 3 April 1908).

Bolognese poet, writer and politician, previously councillor for education for the Municipality of Bologna who had also died shortly beforehand. And thus, right from the first decision taken on the naming of municipal school buildings, an important question was raised. I refer to the debate between the national and local dimension that has marked much of Italian school history and which here can also be seen: to name the first school built specifically for this purpose after the emblem of national unity through schools, i.e. Edmondo De Amicis, or give preference to the local identity via the proposal of Enrico Panzacchi? And why not remember Giosuè Carducci, who had also recently died, and who was certainly a more world-famous figure having won the Nobel Prize for Literature? The decision was taken officially and mutedly by the municipal Executive Committee, the body in charge of running the city. Without even submitting the decision to the Municipal Council, the Executive Committee autonomously decided to name the schools under construction not to Carducci or De Amicis but rather to the more 'local' Enrico Panzacchi, locally acclaimed poet and author (ASCB, Giunta, 27 August 1908); it was a sleight of hand by the Executive Committee, demonstrating in my opinion a choice of local priorities as well as a political choice, as De Amicis was a renowned Socialist sympathiser. Only two years later, in the session of 18 July 1910, the criteria for naming city schools in the coming years were clearly laid out, considering it «opportune to give these schools names that remember noteworthy men and illustrious Bolognese citizens» (ASCB, CC, 18 July 1910). On that date, the effective date of the naming of the school building in Porta Galliera after De Amicis, three other schools were also named after local political and cultural personalities: Giovan Battista Ercolani, Ferdinando Berti, Ernesto Masi. The first was a famous university professor. The second was one of the many stars of local political and cultural life in the progressist period, as councillor of education, in a period of expansion of the city's school system and one of the key figures of progressist battles in Parliament (D'Ascenzo, 2013a). The last, Ernesto Masi, was a liberal patriot, writer, historian, author of the first reasoned bibliography of the history of the Renaissance and a much-loved local figure, Head of the Education Department of Bologna and Florence and later a civil servant in the Ministry (D'Ascenzo, 2013b). The choice of famous yet certainly «minor» Bolognese personalities also continued in the following year with the naming of two new school buildings. The first was named after Salvatore Muzzi (1807-1884), a famous Bolognese teacher from before the Unification, author of school texts, scholar of local history, author of the renowned *Cento novelline e quattro nuovi racconti* published by Zanichelli (ASCB, CC, 15 November 1911; Andreassi, 2013). The second building was named after a woman, the first woman to be dedicated a primary school by the Municipality. This was Tommasina Guidi, ex pupil of Salvatore Muzzi, children's and women's author, today an almost forgotten figure but who at the time was very famous. The Council approved the name, with a more detailed motivation referring to their function as educators of the new generations through their works

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. *Salvatore Muzzi* was an illustrious Bolognese citizen, a talented 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 (ASCB, CC, 15 November 1911).

Between 1908 and 1911 the clerical-moderate Executive Committee named seven new school buildings after personalities known above all locally who were worthy of mention for their commitments to culture, politics and education in its broadest terms.

3. PHASE TWO: 1914-1920

Between 1914 and 1920 the city was governed by a new political cohort, led by the Socialist Francesco Zanardi who continued the school building works and named another six. The first was dedicated to Augusto Murri, a famous professor of Clinical Medicine at the University of Bologna, close to the humanitarian and universalist socialist ideals, whose profile was known both locally and nationally. At the proposal of councillor Mario Longhena, the Executive Committee resolved to give his name to the Trachoma School, a special school for children suffering from trachoma, an eye disease leading to blindness (ASCB, CC, 9 December 1914). The proposal was defended by councillors Ciamician and Bentini, who recalled Murri's work in caring for children and the poor. It must be underlined that Murri was still alive at the time, and for the first time municipal Executive Committee chose to name a school after a living person, with no objections even from the minority.

In 1915 the Municipal Council resolved to name four new primary schools after Giosuè Carducci, Giovanni Pascoli, Luigi Bombicci and Severino Ferrari. These men were again worthy figures from literature and science, who had worked widely in the city; two were perhaps known more locally but two were national and international names, the Nobel Prize winner for Literature Giosuè Carducci and the poet Giovanni Pascoli. The proposers motivated their choices calling on the «spiritual inheritance» of these personalities, close to Socialism and particularly Pascoli's «patriotic Socialism», his death leading to the «condolences of democracy and humanity» (ASCB, CC, 4 May 1911). Particular emphasis was used to push for the naming of a municipal school after Severino Ferrari, born in the Socialist municipality of Molinella, and much-loved student of Carducci, school teacher, poet and author of books including school texts who died young, remembered alongside the others precisely for his affinity with Socialism

not only the Socialist Party but the whole of Bologna wants 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 and humble things, but also for the Homeland. He deemed our Italy a pioneer for progress and well-being, obtained by raising the humble without the depression of anyone. (ASCB, CC, 7 May 1915).

Two years later the same Socialist Executive Committee chaired by Zanardi continued this trend of Socialist naming, dedicating the first open-air school in the Municipality to Fernando Fortuzzi. This was not an illustrious cultural and political figure but rather a humble factory worker, who was once a municipal councillor in the Socialist Executive Committee and who died in the Great War, as councillor Longhena argued

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 (ASCB, Correspondence, 1917, b. 503, File on 'Primary Schools. Open-air schools at the Margherita Gardens. Resolution of the Executive Council of 11 July 1917).

This was a choice that went against the tide – a humble man yet a Socialist – and for the first time a school called on its pupils to remember a soldier who died in the War, a man held up as an example for his sacrifice to the homeland, a sacrifice of men and property that the Socialist Executive Committee had discouraged yet who patriotically would be remembered forever. This was the first «martyr of war» after whom the Municipality named one of its schools, paving the way for a practice which was widely used after Fascism.

In this second phase, Bologna's Socialist council made particularly innovative choices over the policies of memory: naming schools after living personalities like Murri, constructing a memory of figures re-interpreted as examples of Socialism, and the first naming of a school after a soldier who died in the Great War, Fortuzzi.

4. PHASE THREE: FASCISM FROM 1923 TO 1945

The advent of Fascism in Italy and in the city brought about the conditions for a rapid and cruel political change, marked by radical anti-Socialism which aimed to destroy the places and instruments of power exercised by the Socialists during the period from 1914 and 1920. After a period of prefectural administration, in 1923 the new liberal-

conservative municipal Executive Committee led by the nationalist mayor Umberto Puppini took over until 1926, when a new form of power came into force until the fall of Fascism in 1943. An important operation of Fascist 'marketing' began, initiating an authentic «policy of local memory» through many commemorations of famous and less famous people after whom roads, streets, squares and schools were named. This was a complex construction of the collective memory aiming to renew the ties of 'Bolognese' and national citizenship after the European war, but also to reconfigure the relations between the conquered Socialists and the conquering Fascists in terms of a new collective and public memory. Thus the Municipal Council commemorated the death of famous figures from culture and the school and university world, as well as less well-known figures, clearly re-reading the remembered figures in a political key, for their role played in society and in local and general culture. It was thus a rich opportunity for reconfiguring the reading of the national and local political history according to the value 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 national and local martyrs of the Great War and the legend of the redeeming Fascist Revolution. A total of 23 new primary school buildings, the construction of many of which had already been decided on and started previously, were named. During the long period of Fascist government, some specific phases can be outlined.

4.1. Phase 1923-1926

During the period of government under mayor Umberto Puppini from 1923 to 1926, 19 municipal primary schools were named, and for this occasion the specific consultancy of Albano Sorbelli, director of the municipal library of the Archiginnasio, known for his knowledge of cultural history and local politics, was called for (ASCB, corrispondence, 1924 b. 967, File 'Primary Schools. Naming of school buildings'). In April 1924 six new schools were named after Giulio Giordani, Adelfo Grosso, Giacomo Venezian, Luigi Zamboni, Anna Morandi Manzolini and Giovanni Federzoni. These were very different figures, who however shared the common feature of having worked in Bologna and who were therefore very well-known there. In the case of Adelfo Grosso, this was the first «bottom up» naming, as the Council referred to a request made by some ex-pupils in 1922, who expressed their wish for a local rural school to be named «to remember that he trained teachers in the countryside with particular love and rare intelligence» (ASCB, CC, 18 April 1924; D'Ascenzo, 2013a). For the first time in the city, a municipal primary school was named after a school teacher, as Adelfo Grosso had been the director of the Boys' School in Bologna (a teacher training high school) from Unification until 1888 and a teacher of many other teachers who were still alive, and who remembered him as an example and a

memory of schooling of excellence. No particular justification was given to the choice of Anna Morandi Manzolini, famous 17th century Bolognese wax modeller, and the «gender» dimension was not even mentioned, even though she was a preferred candidate among those chosen in this sense and indicated by Sorbelli. The reference to the Bolognese Renaissance martyr Luigi Zamboni was explicitly linked to the need to give a school a name that had been in the road of the same name for a long time. Another more debated issue was that of the names Giordani, Venezian and Federzoni. Giulio Giordani was a very active nationalist war hero, who became a municipal councillor for the minority and was killed in the dramatic council meeting of 21 November 1920 in which the Fascists attacked the headquarters of the municipal council in Bologna, fighting the Socialists. His death was exalted by the Fascists as martyrdom

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 to him, in one of the most popular and populated neighbourhoods in our city! (ASCB, CC, 18 April 1924).

held up this example 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 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 counsel to our children. (ASCB, CC, 18 April 1924).

The choice of naming a municipal school after Giovanni Federzoni, the famous writer who was remembered by the Council for his teaching role in the city, was much appreciated

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. (ASCB, CC, 18 April 1924; D'Ascenzo, 2013 a).

Nobody expressed any objections to the choice of naming a municipal school after Giacomo Venezian, martyr of the Italian national cause who had recently died in the war, and a municipal councillor in Bologna. Exemplary were the words pronounced officially by Ernesto Cappelletti, director of the city's primary schools, during the imminent naming of the schools after Venezian, indicated as a model of action for the children

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 Committee 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 to love and serve their Homeland. 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. (Cappelletti, 1924: 47).

A few months later the Education Office in Bologna proposed new names for naming other primary schools to the councillor, providing appropriate motivation. The proposal was accepted by the Executive Committee and the Municipal Council, which voted on the matter on 16 February 1925 giving names to 11 school buildings

among those personalities who made their mark in studies, teaching activities and other singular virtues. (ASCB, CC, 16 February 1925).

The following names, with relative motivations, were chosen at the Council meeting of 16 February 1925:

- Adolfo Albertazzi, remembered as a «talented writer and journalist and teacher of Italian literature at the Pier Crescenzi Technical Institute» (D'Ascenzo, 2013a).
- Caterina de' Vigri, «15th century miniaturist painter and ascetic author, raised by the Church to the honours of the altars».
- Luigi Ferdinando Marsili, «general and scientist, founder of the Institute of Science in Bologna».
- Clotilde Tambroni, «scholar of Greek literature and professor at our University»
- Dino Sassoli, «primary school teacher in the municipal schools, who died a hero in the Great War».
- Antonio Silvani «from an ancient Bolognese family, for many years a devoted municipal administrator».
- Giuseppe Bignami, «veteran of the battles for Italian independence and for 24 years Head of the Municipal Education Office».
- Adolfo Merlani, «talented mathematician and astronomer».

- Giovanni Gozzadini «Senator of the Kingdom and illustrious historian and archaeologist».
- Francesco Gualandi, «municipal primary school teacher, who died following injuries sustained in the war».
- Amalia Casali, «the first primary school teacher in our Municipal Schools».

Primary schools continued to be named after noteworthy figures of Bolognese culture and science (Adolfo Merlani, Antonio Silvani, Giovanni Gozzadini and Clotilde Tambroni) and local politicians such as Giuseppe Bignami, who spent years as head of the municipal education office (D'Ascenzo, 2013a). The trend of naming them after Great War heroes also continued, particularly choosing teachers Dino Sassoli and Francesco Gualandi around whom, like Giulio Giordani, a rhetoric of memory was built with highly theatrical yet highly effective tones in conserving a deeply patriotic sense of belonging and identity, as discovered by Fortuzzi's Socialism and then widely exploited by Fascism. Also exemplary was the organisation of the blessing ceremony for the flag displayed in the Giordani schools on 4 January 1926, in the presence of all the city authorities. The Italian flag blessed by the Archbishop was held by the daughter of teacher Dino Sassoli, who died in the war, and after whom the Municipality had named another school. The girl's mother, and Sassoli's widow, taught in the same Giordani school, very close to another school named after another school teacher who died in the war, Francesco Gualandi. In terms of collective representation, this was a pantheon uniting the dead and the living in an inalienable bond, as described by Arnaldo Cocchi, headmaster at the Giordani school, himself another war hero, for whom

it may almost be said that the most sacred memories, those most dear to the Homeland, are joined here, that the spirits of the teachers who fell in battle for Italy have met here, almost to warn us, offering a worthy escort for the spirit of Giulio Giordani. Giulio Giordani, teacher. Because no man is more worthy of the title of teacher than he who teaches to die through martyrdom, who teaches and prepares the lives of the future generations. (S.A., 1926: 236).

Thus a circuit of vital energies was created, keeping the dead bound to those who returned from the war and their families, in a great, single and painful breath, commemorated in the public ceremonies and on the plates of monumental stones, as also demonstrated by historiography. The naming of a school after Amalia Casali was a singular and noteworthy case, as she was unknown at national level, not having been the author of any books or having taken part in the organised teachers movements. She had also been commemorated the previous year by the municipal council both for

her patriotic virtues, as the first teacher in the municipality of Bologna and for having raised the «Tricolore» flag in the school after Unification, and for her humble devotion to the battle against illiteracy for over thirty years (ASCB, CC, 17 April 1924). The documents in the archive do not however confirm this sweetened image of a humble, devout and submissive woman, indeed to the contrary. At the start of her career, a widow with three children, she was accused of immorality and suspended from service. She was reinstated only following her many letters of protest, written with great linguistic and reasoning skills. From the correspondence in the archives we do not get the impression of a pious and devoted teacher, the expression of first-hand patriotism, which Fascism wished to offer the local people, pushing aside the historical truth of the facts for reasons of political convenience. Indeed she was used as an example of patriotism, humility and devotion for a vast crowd of local female primary school teachers who, from the start of the 20th century, had taken up legal battles in Italy and in the Municipality of Bologna, highlighting a role that was not second to power or to that traditionally male role (D'Ascenzo, 2013c). Clearly the public memory that Fascism wished to offer as an example and model was that of a humble and devoted teacher, a patriot loyal to her service, an image that was indeed very different from the historical reality of the facts.

Completing the school namings, in 1925 and 1926 there were two more. At the request of director Francesco Bonatto, protesting at the fact that

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 it would 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 (ASCB, correspondence, 1924, b. 967, File: Primary Schools. Naming of school buildings, Letter from Francesco Bonatto, 28 June 1924; D'Ascenzo, 2013 a).

Another school at Canton de' Fiori was named after Francesco Acri, Catholic philosopher who had worked both in the University of Bologna and the municipal council, who had also taught at the teacher training college – the «Pedagogy School» – training headmasters, where Francesco Bonatto had perhaps had the best chance of knowing and appreciating him best (ASCB, CC, 5 March 1925). This was therefore a «bottom-up» request from the Bolognese headmasters, for a scholar recognised as the educator of many. The last school naming by the council in 1926 was that of Elisabetta Sirani, previously proposed by Sorbelli and remembered here as a «kind painter, emulating Guido Reni, who lived from 1638 to 1667» (ASCB, CC, 21 March 1926).

4.2. Phase 1926-1945 The Podestà period

From 1926 the Fascist regime imposed the figure of the Podestà to lead the municipal administration. The Podestà held all decision-making powers, choosing whether or not to consult the advisory body of the municipal council.

In Bologna, the construction of school buildings was much slower and more difficult during the Podestà period of the Fascist regime. Historical research in this area also appears to be much more complex, with many gaps, as the namings were reduced to mere resolutions of the Podestà without the public debate that had accompanied them in the past. This reconstruction has highlighted how until 1943 four more primary schools were built in the municipality, with a public memory policy that pursued the previous choice of glorifying Fascism. Worthy of note is the fact that the resolutions never referred to the national legislation of the time which, from 1923, had started to set forth some criteria for school naming. This aspect also underlines and confirms the persistence of peripherally and autonomously managed cultural and administrative practices. The new namings thus continued along the previously defined tracks, in a dialectic between the national and local dimensions of the patriotic and Fascist pedagogy of the time.

In 1929 the Podestà Leandro Arpinati resolved to name a new school building after Vittorio Fiorini (ASCB, Resolutions of the Podestà, 19 January 1929), famous intellectual of the Risorgimento period, professor of Literature in Italian grammar schools, and later Head of the Education Department of several cities. In 1931 the schools in Arcoveggio were named after the Fascist 'martyr' Gian Carlo Nannini, while on 29 October 1932 an official ceremony was held to inaugurate a new school building, without however naming it after any specific person (S.A., 1932: 104) and only later was it named 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.

After the Second World War the policies and methods of school naming did not change, although the presence of the State was increasingly felt over the autonomy of the municipalities during the previous period, and state legislation was imposed (Labianca, 1995). Some schools named after figures from the Fascist period were renamed after local historical figures who were not involved in the Regime: the 'Nannini' schools were renamed Ernesto Cappelletti, ex-primary school headmaster in Bologna from 1904 to 1930 who died in December 1945; the 'Costanzo Ciano' schools were renamed after Alberto Dallolio, a famous mayor of Bologna between 1891 and 1902, senator of the Kingdom and a symbol of free Bologna between the two centuries (D'Ascenzo, 2013a). From the 1950s, new schools were named increasingly on the basis of ministerial regulations which spanned the whole nation. As with street names, the choice of school

names ran from local and national figures and places from the anti-Fascist period and the Resistance (Gallerano, 1995), confirming the role of school buildings and their names as a tool of national pedagogy, identifying them as places of public memory.

5. CONCLUSIONS

Based on the 36 namings examined between 1859 and 1945, it can be seen how above all the names of writers, poets, artists, scientists and politicians appear, models held up as an example for their skills, commitments and devotion to the city and to the Homeland. There are very few actual teachers in the list, as if the dominant cultural and political model aimed to reproduce itself through the school names. The inauguration and prize-giving ceremonies, the commemorations of the dead and various other events organised in schools also contributed to strengthening the image of a school as a place of construction of the collective identity and an idea of civic belonging in any case managed by the powers that happened to be in force at the time. This confirms a vision of an elitist school, built by those in Power to confirm themselves, with their legends, edifying examples, symbols, expressed even in the simple plates affixed outside the schools, the true places of memory built specifically for the new generations; but it also bears witness to the little power the militant school had in conquering the honour of naming a primary school after those who, ultimately, had lived it to the full: the teachers.

Moreover, from the research carried out in the archives on the naming of primary schools in the municipality of Bologna between Unification and the fall of Fascism, the role of the ruling classes in the naming of schools as a tool for construction of a collective memory functional to the political powers of the time clearly emerges. In particular it can be seen how the choices of the local ruling classes confirmed the continuing dialectic between the enhancement of the local dimension over the national one in the construction of Italian schools and the construction of the nation itself, in line with that happy idea of «nationalising the periphery and localising the nation» (Morandi, 2007:44; Cammarano, 1993; Sorba, 1998; Balzani, 1998) which clearly marked the transformations of public city spaces in the liberal era, including the naming of monuments, roads and, in this case, schools. In detail it emerged how different policies of memory were applied over a long period, each functional to the referred ideological orientations: firstly the liberal-conservative period, celebrating the local dimension of merit-worthy cultural figures; then that of the Socialist period, focusing on figures close to Socialism, particularly martyrs of the war; and finally the Fascist period, which aimed to exalt figures of local culture and politics as well as heroes of the Great War and indeed of Fascism, skilfully and pedagogically orchestrating the consensus system through all sorts of symbols and inauguration ceremonies. This element thus confirms the metamorphosis of citizenship (Ascenzi, 2009) and the invention of tradition (Hobsbawm, Ranger,

1983), produced throughout history also through school naming, which had the task of constructing a collective and common public identity through the name of school buildings, authentic pedagogic tools offered up as counsel for the new generations, and authentic places of public memory.

6. REFERENCES

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Abbreviations of archive references

ASCB= Historical Municipal Archive of Bologna (Italy).

CC= Minutes of the Bologna Municipal Council Meetings (Italy).

Giunta= Minutes of the Bologna Municipal Executive Committee (Italy).

Correspondence = Administrative correspondence of the Municipality of Bologna,
Chap. XIV Education (Italy).