BEYOND PINOCCHIO: ITALIAN NATIONAL IDENTITY IN CARLO COLLODI'S WORKS FOR PRIMARY SCHOOLS (1877-1890)

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Abstract

My thesis focuses on the nineteenth-century Italian writer and journalist, Carlo Collodi. Specifically, it proposes a re-reading of the texts he wrote for primary school children from 1877 to 1890, centred around the child character of Giannettino. To date, these texts have received little attention, and are still regarded as revealing a conservative stance. My investigation was prompted by the recent studies on Collodi. More recent criticism has focused on *Pinocchio*, and revealed a progressive image of the author who criticised the establishment. However, Collodi's schoolbooks production has been neglected, and these texts are still assessed as supporters of the Italian middle-class hegemony.

My study aims to address such a disconnection through a theoretical reading based on contributions of scholars such as Benedict Anderson, Eric Hobsbawm, and Alberto Mario Banti. I will examine how Collodi's schoolbooks posit themselves in a discourse of nation building by examining how they engaged with the construct of authority and the controversial topic of shared language and cultural customs in post-unification Italy. Studies such as the aforementioned highlight how the consolidation of national communities cannot prescind from a strong sense of authority and shared cultural customs. In this perspective, my research will investigate how Collodi's texts presented the two constructs, taking into account the post-unification scenario. Hence, I will focus on the familial authorities—symbolised by the *madre* and *padre*—as well as the public ones, the State and the Catholic Church. Beyond that, the examination of the cultural aspects inherent in the nation-building project will pivot around the dichotomy between the homogenisation of culture and the local cultures, which includes dialects, local celebrations, and local foods.

The hypothesis and contribution towards the studies on this author focus on showing how even in his school texts, Collodi engaged critically with his society, and advocated for an Italian national community that needed to face some very crucial challenges. When addressing the construct of authority, he aimed at presenting a non-idealised scenario, in which even the main characters embodied social dysfunctions, such as scarce respect of authority, inadequate attention for the public interest, and poorly qualified public administrators. On the other hand, his way to portray the cultural dichotomy between a sole cultural heritage and the local traditions seems to support the latter, weakening the cultural homogenisation perpetrated by the Italian élites.

Collodi wrote *Pinocchio* in the same years as his schoolbooks; therefore, any ideological discrepancy seems needful of a new analysis, which takes into account the contemporary interpretation of the writer Collodi, the specificity of the literary genre, and the historical time in which he lived.

Declaration

This thesis contains no material which has been accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma at any university or equivalent institution and that, to the best of my knowledge and belief, this thesis contains no material previously published or written by another person, except where due reference is made in the text of the thesis.

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Il viaggio per l'Italia di Giannettino. Parte prima (L'Italia superiore). Florence: F. Paggi, 1880.

La grammatica di Giannettino per le scuole elementari. Florence: F. Paggi, 1883.

Il viaggio per l'Italia di Giannettino. Parte seconda (L'Italia centrale). Florence: F. Paggi, 1883.

La geografia di Giannettino: adottata nelle scuole comunali di Firenze. Florence: F. Paggi, 1883.

L'abbaco di Giannettino per le scuole elementari. Florence: F. Paggi, 1885.

Libro di lezioni per la seconda classe elementare secondo gli ultimi programmi. Florence: F. Paggi, 1885.

Il viaggio per l'Italia di Giannettino. Parte terza (L'Italia meridionale). Florence: F. Paggi, 1886.

Libro di lezioni per la terza classe elementare secondo gli ultimi programmi. Florence: F. Paggi, 1889.

La lanterna magica di Giannettino. Libro per i giovanetti. Florence: R. Bemporad e figlio, 1890.

Introduction

Beyond Pinocchio, as the title suggests, focuses on the lesser-known works of Carlo Lorenzini, widely known as Collodi (1826-1890). The project is located within the debate that in the last two decades initiated the consideration of cultural products for the analysis of the Italian national identity and its problematic development. Principally, this study fills a gap in the critical scholarship on Collodi's contribution to Italian national identity by adding to it the examination of the hitherto little explored educational books.

I will focus on Collodi's schoolbooks written between 1877 and 1890 with specific emphasis on the eight-book *Giannettino* collection, and explore how it relates to the formation of an Italian national identity. The first text, *Giannettino*, was published in 1877. It was followed by *La geografia di Giannettino*, *L'abbaco di Giannettino*, *La grammatica di Giannettino,* and *Il viaggio per l'Italia di Giannettino*, a volume made up of three books, published in 1880, 1883 and 1886 respectively, dedicated to tales of Giannettino's travels throughout Italy's North, Centre, and South. *La lanterna magica di Giannettino*, in 1890, concluded the collection. Other texts that were also destined for school use, such as *Minuzzolo* (1878) or *Libro di lezioni per la seconda classe elementare, secondo gli ultimi programmi* (1885), will be taken into account for their interesting connections to the *Giannettino* collection.[1]

In recent years, Daniela Marcheschi—head of the commission for Collodi's *Edizione Nazionale*—re-examined Collodi's masterpiece *Le avventure di Pinocchio* (1883) and questioned its once-accepted limited reputation of it being the Italian-bourgeois *Bildungsroman*.[2] Most of the twentieth-century critical debate—and part of more recent criticism—viewed the wooden puppet, who defeated poverty thanks to hard work and commitment, as an archetype for the Italian bourgeoisie.[3] Marcheschi, instead, discovered elements of dissonance from the core values associated with the formation of a shared national

[1] Other texts are from Collodi, *Opere*, ed. Daniela Marcheschi (Milan: Mondadori, 2006).
[2] Daniela Marcheschi, *Il naso corto: una rilettura delle Avventure di Pinocchio* (Bologna: EDB, 2016).
[3] For example, see Giovanni Spadolini, *Gli uomini che fecero l'Italia* (Milan: Longanesi, 1989).

identity and staunchly promoted by the Italian State.[4] She demonstrated how values prized by the Italian State—loyal respect for and identification with official authority; the promotion of a stable middle-class—seemed to be subverted in *Pinocchio*. This reinterpretation of Collodi's supposedly implicit critical self-positioning towards the Italian State through *Pinocchio* contrasts with earlier criticism which saw the text as a manifesto of the ruling class. As a result, *Pinocchio* and its author are now linked with progressive and anti-establishment positions, along the same lines of a recent analysis of Collodi's journalistic texts.

However, this reconfigured, politicised analysis of *Pinocchio* does not take into consideration Collodi's schoolbooks. These texts are still perceived as books written to facilitate the Italian State's cultural and political strategies. Pino Boero and Carmine De Luca, in fact, did note how *Giannettino* represented "il primo caso di scardinamento del sistema ideologico che sacrifica l'infanzia all'altare della morale borghese."[5] These critics referred to scholars such as Luigi Santucci, who already in 1950 highlighted Collodi's innovative contribution to destabilising the "solidissimo edificio" of the Italian bourgeoisie. Santucci underscored how *Giannettino* was based on preferring the "morale taumaturgica della fantasia" over the pedagogical seriousness that characterised the other contemporaneous schoolbooks.[6] Boero and De Luca, however, failed to investigate the potential political and social nuances in these educational texts and confined *Giannettino*'s innovation within a stylistic perimeter. In the recent years, scholars such as Roberto Sani and Anna Ascenzi still consider these texts supporters of the cultural and political strategy promoted by the Italian State, and regard

[4] I will use the term 'dissonance' referring to Silvia Valisa's examination "on the dissonant configurations of gender within socially symbolic acts in the context of Italian modernity, as well as on the characters that complicate and oppose a hegemonic understanding of the relationship between narrative and gender." Silvia Valisa, *Gender, Narrative, and Dissonance in the Modern Italian Novel* (Toronto, Italian Studies. 2014), 19. Valisa investigates the modern Italian novel, and underscores how certain characters—such as the nun Gertrude in Manzoni's *I promessi sposi*—epitomise a dissonance if related to the dominant "ideological framework they inhabit". According to Valisa, these characters "are carrying two ideological messages at once, or, in some cases, one message that is however in such clear opposition to the structural context as to continuously create doubts about its validity for the bearer of the message." Ibid., 18. In a similar way, I will examine possible "dissonances" in Collodi's school texts, in relation to (paraphrasing Valisa) the nation-building framework they should have promoted.

[5] Pino Boero and Carmine De Luca, *La letteratura per l'infanzia* (Rome; Bari: GLF Editori Laterza, 2010), 23.

[6] Luigi Santucci, *Letteratura infantile* (Florence: G. Barbèra, 1950), 77.

Giannettino an "ideale educativo chiaramente ispirato al sistema di valori, ai modelli di comportamento e ai costumi civili della borghesia urbana."[7]

This study aims to redress such incongruent politicised interpretations of Collodi's legacy. It will re-examine the question of whether Collodi's textbooks unproblematically endorse a bourgeois ideology or are instead organic to the anti-establishment stance taken in *Pinocchio* and Collodi's journalistic texts. It will also investigate whether Collodi engaged critically with his society even in his school texts, inviting his young readers—and their parents—to reflect on significant social issues such as opportunities for individuals to contribute to society, their duties and responsibility towards the nation, and the implications of a promoted cultural homogenisation. Through close reading of his schoolbooks, the project will explore how Collodi framed these issues and what kind of directions childhood education should provide to create a harmonious and progressive society.

Beyond Pinocchio will investigate the feasibility of a contrasting message between Collodi's *Pinocchio* and his pedagogical writings, given that these materials were written in the same period. Collodi started writing *Pinocchio* in 1881 in the magazine *Il Giornale per i Bambini*, while his schoolbooks were written between 1877 and 1890.[8] The interpretation of his schoolbooks as toeing the governmental line would then seem to clash with that of *Pinocchio* as an anti-establishment text. Re-reading these school texts in relation to their historical context—including Collodi's biography, the specificity of the educational literature *genre*, and the contemporary interpretation of Collodi the writer—offer new compelling insights concerning their social commentary.

The examination of his school texts and how they related to topics that were essential for the Italian State's cultural strategy will be supported by an analysis of how Collodi approached the same topics in many journalistic texts he wrote for various newspapers and

[7] Anna Ascenzi and Roberto Sani, *Storia e antologia della letteratura per l'infanzia nell'Italia dell'Ottocento*, 2 vols, vol. 2 (Milan: Angeli, 2018), 126.

[8] Ferdinando Martini, founder of the magazine, explains the reason for his decision to found such a magazine in his "Come andò…" in *Giornale per i bambini*, 1, I, 1881, 3. In that article, he figured a story about young children who ask their father—maybe Martini himself—to buy them a magazine similar to the one owned by some American children they had met. Martini then thought of something that was new every week, and engaging, with contributions such as pictures, poems, travel stories, puppets, lives of famous children.

magazines, together with a vast number of official governmental documents and letters. This broader reading (and re-reading) of Collodi's published texts allows for a deeper understanding of how his schoolbooks grapple with a discourse of nation-building and, more historiographically, whether existing scholarship—which suggests that Collodi's schoolbooks fully supported the governmental cultural strategies—is adequate.

I.

This project's close link with the concept of nation-building guided me to examine what scholars have theorised as being at the very core of a nation. In this regard, studies by Benedict Anderson and Eric Hobsbawm identified the concepts of authorityand shared cultural custom—in their various articulations—as the fundamental benchmarks that support the building of a national community. These aspects—authority and a shared culture—will hence be the two main critical lenses through which I will examine my primary sources. While in the first part of this study I will investigate how Collodi's schoolbooks relate to the concept of authority, in the second part I will analyse their link to a shared national cultural heritage.

Hugh Seton-Watson made it clear that the concept of nation is not easy to frame.[9] However, in an attempt to examine it, Anderson and Hobsbawm famously demonstrated how nations-as-monoliths rely upon two key concepts: that of authority and that of knowledge—in particular its linguistic and cultural dimensions. Anderson theorised that the re-interpretation of the two "fundamental cultural conceptions" of linguistic knowledge and authority allowed people to imagine the "political community" to which they belong as a nation. According to Anderson, the pre-national communities laid on accepted interpretations—"all of great antiquity"—of authority and knowledge. He believed that the "loss of axiomatic grip [of old interpretations of those constructs] on men's minds" was the core reason behind the social construct eventually called nation. In other words, when people changed their approach to concepts such as authority and knowledge—together with that of temporality—they started to

[9] "Thus I am driven to the conclusion that no scientific definition of the nation can be devised; yet the phenomenon has existed and exists". Hugh Seton-Watson, *Nations and States: an Enquiry Into the Origins of Nations and the Politics of Nationalism* (London: Methuen, 1977), 5.

imagine themselves as part of a national community. The definition of these concepts is summarised in the following excerpt:

> The first of these was the idea that a particular script-language offered privileged access to ontological truth, precisely because it was an inseparable part of that truth […] Second was the belief that society was naturally organised around and under high centres – monarchs who were persons apart from other human beings and who ruled by some form of cosmological (divine) dispensation.[10]

Accordingly, Anderson conceptualises the term nation as "an imagined political community – and imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign".[11] Therefore, people imagine a confined territory where other people like them are ruling in a horizontal 'fraternity', establishing a national imaginary common to an undetermined number of other people. This imaginary could encompass markers of nationality, including exterior appearance, language and/or shared values.

Anderson's theorisation of nation implicitly intersects with Hobsbawm's interpretation of nation. Although Hobsbawm's nation is a Marxism-inspired, concrete (rather than imagined) entity, it also evokes Anderson's notions of knowledge and authority; for example, when he states that nations first depend upon a

> historic association with a current state or one with a fairly lengthy and recent past […], […] the existence of a long-established cultural élite, possessing a written national literary and administrative vernacular […] [and] it must unfortunately be said, […] a proven capacity for conquest.[12]

Thus, according to Hobsbawm, the moment in which a community was able to fulfil such criteria, then it was "allowed to be firmly classed as a nation".[13]

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[10] Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 1991), 36. Together with authority and a shared idiom, Anderson added a third concept which he defined as "a conception of temporality in which cosmology and history were indistinguishable". Ibid., 36.
[11] Ibid., 7.
[12] Eric J. Hobsbawm, *Nations and nationalism since 1780: programme, myth, reality* (Cambridge University Press, 2017), 37-38.
[13] Ibid., 37.

In line with these concepts, I will investigate how Collodi's schoolbooks approach the concept of authority in the specific context of post-unification Italy and which elements are put forward as cultural constituents of a shared imagination. To do that, *Beyond Pinocchio* will consider the extent to which these works conveyed the interaction of plurality and homogeneity. This choice lies in acknowledging that the second half of the *Ottocento* emerges as a conflictual moment in Italian history, particularly about the issue related to the multi-fragmented reality of the newborn nation at that time and the attempts of the Piedmontese government to homogenise it. In this perspective, Silvana Patriarca's clear distinction between the two concepts of national 'identity' and 'character' emphasises the conflictual relationship between a 'private' and a 'public' interpretation of nation, which was—and still is, according to Patriarca—controversial in post-unification Italy. Patriarca theorised the national 'character' as related to "disposizioni oggettive, consolidate (un insieme di particolari tratti morali e mentali) di una popolazione".[14] In contrast, national identity indicates a more subjective dimension made of perception and self-imaging that will affect the perception of the other nations in a binary way.[15] Patriarca theorised that the consistent critique of character that took place in Italy since the *Risorgimento* resulted in a definition of character in which different "vices became salient and were emphasized at different times and for different purposes".[16] As a result, 'private' vices such as "mammismo" or "furbizia" became descriptors of the 'public' Italian character.[17]

Recently, Maria Truglio has extended Patriarca's theory and applied it to children's literature. Truglio contributed to studies on Italian children's literature and explored the

[14] Silvana Patriarca, *Italian vices: nation and character from the Risorgimento to the republic* (Cambridge, UK; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 11.
[15] "[…] national identity, a term of more recent coinage, tends to indicate a more subjective dimension of perception and self-images which may include a sense of mission and self-projection in the world. Ibid., 3. It does not seem a coincidence that the word conflitti—which is more comprehensive than guerra—precedes identità in Cecchinato's and Isnenghi's book titled *Gli Italiani in guerra: conflitti, identità, memorie dal Risorgimento ai nostri giorni*. Mario Isnenghi and Eva Cecchinato, *Gli italiani in guerra: conflitti, identità, memorie dal Risorgimento ai nostri giorni*, vol. I (Turin: UTET, 2008). Isabella claims that Cecchinato and Isnenghi aimed to "examine not only the more traditional political, ideological and social conflicts, but also dissensions regarding culture, territory, memory and gender". Maurizio Isabella, "Rethinking Italy's nation-building 150 years afterwards: the new Risorgimento historiography," *Past & Present*, no. 217 (2012), 252.
[16] Patriarca, *Italian vices*, 241.
[17] Ibid., 241.

"fictional bases of national identities".[18] The scholar employs broader studies on Italian nation-building such as Patriarca's to theorise how "children's literature in Italy between unification and fascism enacted the construction of melancholy as a definitive mode of subjectivity for Italians".[19] Truglio examines approximately 40 texts published after the Italian unification and detects an "analogy between Italy's modernization and a child's maturation, and made that analogy seem natural and necessary."[20] Such an approach shows how the Italian nation-building process has been problematic, and makes room for studies such as *Beyond Pinocchio* that aim to further develop the connection between children's literature and nation-building. [21]

Hence, the Italian core problem of failing to keep balance between public and private—epitomised by the dichotomy 'character'/'identity'—highlights how the conflictual relationship between homogeneity and plurality—which could also be seen as the conflict between State and local communities—offered to this study a different way of reading Collodi's schoolbooks. Also, this study investigates how these texts adhere to or critically present the construction of a shared cultural identity within the context of a discourse on nation-building. In post-unification Italy, *regionalismo* was one of the most complex and conflicted aspects of national identity, a core issue that lay underneath linguistic, political and social controversies. For example, the importance given to regional communities developed in a fervent debate—to which Carlo Cattaneo had a primary role—regarding the political structure that the State should have had.[22]

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[18] Maria Truglio, *Italian Children's Literature and National Identity: Childhood, Melancholy, Modernity* (New York: Routledge, 2018), 19.
[19] Ibid., 14.
[20] Ibid., 1.
[21] Such an approach seems to follow studies like those by Wolf Lepenies, who theorised how, for example, the German bourgeoisie in the eighteenth and nineteenth century experienced a sense of melancholia, to which he refers as "a loss of order". Lepenies argues that the melancholy results "from the enforced hypertrophy of the realm of reflection, from imposed loss of the ability to exercise real power, and from the consequent pressure to justify one's situation." It is that "loss of capacity for action" that Lepenies sees as one of the factors that left German society impotent to prevent or adequately come to terms with the twentieth-century totalitarian Nazi regime. Wolf Lepenies, *Melancholy and society* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1992), 9-61-6. Although Lepenies's study did not engage with the Italian context at the end of *Ottocento*, the acknowledgement of a 'failure' in the European *Staatsträger* seems to be trans-national.
[22] Cattaneo was an enthusiastic supporter of regionalism's political potential and believed that Italy needed a federalist, region-based government to accomplish entirely the liberational endeavour attributed to Risorgimento. See also Carlo Moos, *L'altro Risorgimento: l'ultimo Cattaneo tra Italia e Svizzera* (Milan: Angeli, 1992).

Moreover, *Regionalismo* had a considerable impact on both establishing a firm authority, and on the attempt to create a shared cultural heritage. The so-called *Questione della lingua*—the intricate process of supplying the newly formed Italian State with a sole language—for example, is defined by Patriarca as a "questione regionale" and is seen as a critical factor that upset the authority of post-unification Italy's liberal government.[23] Mario Alberto Banti instead focused on regionalism's political nuances and stressed how *regionalism* was more decisive than political ideals in terms of political alliances within the Italian Parliament.[24] Ilaria Porciani also examines how regionalism also had cultural consequences, as she theorises the *doppia identità* when analysing the dynamics of identity in post-unification Italy.[25]*Beyond Pinocchio* regards the interplay of homogeneity and plurality within the "questione regionale" as a key aspect of post-unification Italian society, and as such, will examine this critically neglected aspect of Collodi's school texts.

II.

In the last two decades, a review of previously established interpretations of *Risorgimento* and Italian nation-building—nationhood being the natural outcome of nation-building—took place thanks to the employment of cultural products as primary sources. Scholars such as Manlio Graziano and the already mentioned Banti, Patriarca, and Porciani re-examined the concept of Italy as a nation and claimed that the Italian 'failed nationhood' developed in "un état sans nation."[26]

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[23] Patriarca, *Italian vices*, 8. This kind of hindrance created a national character based on anxiety and unhappiness, in the same vein as Steinberg's *Pinocchio effect*. Suzan Stewart-Steinberg, *The Pinocchio effect: on making Italians (1860-1920)* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007).

[24] "[...] dopo il 1870 [...] gli schieramenti politici si erano ben presto frantumati in una serie di gruppi parlamentari a base regionale (la permanente piemontese, la consorteria toscana, [...] ecc.) [...] tra i quali le alleanze spesso prescindevano dall'appartenenza ideale all'area di Destra o quella di Sinistra." Mario Alberto Banti, *Storia della borghesia italiana* (Rome: Donzelli, 1996), 45.

[25] Porciani, mentioning Bruno Tobia, examined how regional provenance has sometimes been accepted and promoted, in concomitance with significant events, like King Vittorio Emanuele II's funerals. Ilaria Porciani, "Identità locale-identità nazionale: la costruzione di una doppia appartenenza.", in *Centralismo e federalismo tra Otto e Novecento: Italia e Germania a confronto*, edited by Oliver Janz, Pierangelo Schiera, and Hannes Siegrist (Bologna: Il Mulino, 1997), 147; Bruno Tobia, *L'altare della patria* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 2011), 9-38.

[26] "un état sans nation" is the title of the French edition of Graziano's *Failure of Italian Nationhood*. Manlio Graziano, *L'Italie, un état sans nation?: géopolitique d'une identité nationale incertaine* (Ramonville Saint-Agnes: Éd. Éres, 2007).

Around 2011, on the occasion of the 150th anniversary of Italian unification, an increasing ambivalence developed in response to new approaches to *Risorgimento*. The unification anniversary coincided with Italy being in the middle of a global financial and ethical crisis. Consequently, the aforementioned scholars, amid others, revisited the well-established ideological conceptions of the *Risorgimento*. They investigated the onset of the profound destabilisation affecting the historical memory of the *Risorgimento* and the consequently altered concept of Italy as a nation-State. Gramsci's Marxist definition of the *Risorgimento* as a failed revolution—"rivoluzione senza rivoluzione"—was hence questioned.[27] According to Maurizio Isabella, Gramsci focused almost essentially on "party politics and political history" and neglected the impact of cultural products on the *Risorgimento*.[28] Prior to this re-examination of Gramsci's writing on the *Risorgimento*, widespread acceptance of Gramsci's theory discouraged critical discourse on the late *Ottocento* and consolidated the image of *Risorgimento* instead as a bourgeois project that instituted a bourgeoisie-inspired society.[29] Therefore, a critical consensus among Italianists was that Collodi's government-approved school texts adhered to the values of the ruling class. It is precisely in this dismissive debate on Collodi's schoolbooks that *Beyond Pinocchio* intervenes, situating this present research into a broader discussion about interpretations of Italian history.

Mario Alberto Banti's approach to *Risorgimento*—which he sees as a mass cultural movement—through the lens of cultural studies and cultural history encouraged me to re-read cultural products such as Collodi's schoolbooks keeping in mind the new analysis that invested post-unification Italian society. Banti examined a list of strategic cultural texts at the time of *Risorgimento,* which he calls the *canone.* That list included texts such as Alessandro Manzoni's *Marzo 1821*, Goffredo Mameli's *Fratelli d'Italia* (the current national anthem's lyric), and Giuseppe Verdi's *Nabucco*. Banti believes that these texts share three specific "architetture narrative" (s)—the "figure profonde"—: 1. nation as a familial entity; 2. nation as a sacrificial community; and 3. nation as a sexed community, where gender defines roles and hierarchy.[30] It was this three-faceted concept of nation that, according to Banti, outlined the new Italian

[27] Antonio Gramsci, *Quaderni del carcere 1. 1* (Turin: Einaudi, 1977), 41.
[28] Isabella, "Rethinking Italy's nation-building 150 years afterwards", 249.
[29] Giorgio Candeloro, *Storia dell'Italia moderna: 1-8* (Milan, 1956); Ruggiero Romano and Corrado Vivanti, *Storia d'Italia* (Turin: Giulio Einaudi, 1972).
[30] Mario Alberto Banti, *Sublime madre nostra: la nazione italiana dal Risorgimento al fascismo* (Rome: Laterza, 2011), VII.

discorso nazionale. He applied macro-systemic theories to the Italian context; for the notion of nation as a sexed community, he considered Mosse's studies on the relationship between sexuality and nationalism regarding post-unification Italian society.[31] Similarly, I aim to employ macro-systemic theories including those by the abovementioned Anderson and Hobsbawm to support my argument.

For the most part, the examinations of events such as *Risorgimento* through the lens of cultural studies is based on a disconnection from the previous Gramscian image of *Risorgimento* as a product of "constitutional engineering".[32] Instead, the employment of cultural studies shifted the perception of *Risorgimento* towards a sentimental and passionate semantic field, which Banti believed crucial in convincing thousands of citizens to fight for a new—and unknown—concept of nation. This is the premise for Banti's objection to the claim that the *Risorgimento* was a 'failed revolution'; instead, he identified the failure in the *prosaic* post-unification Italy, which followed the *poetic Risorgimento* and created the disappointment of seeing the ideals of *Risorgimento* sacrificed on the altar of politics and private interest.[33]

Banti's investigation shifted the emphasis from the 'failed revolution' to 'failed nationhood', to which Patriarca adhered, although from a different perspective. Patriarca highlights a gender-based conflict that did not allow the post-unification Italian community to accomplish the aspired cultural aim of re-virilising an indolent and effeminate society that the

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[31] George L. Mosse, *Nationalism and sexuality: respectability and abnormal sexuality in modern Europe* (New York: H. Fertig, 1997).
[32] Banti, *La nazione del Risorgimento*, 29.
[33] The new perspective of a Risorgimento as a mass cultural movement encouraged scholars to revisit other consolidated aspects of the end of Ottocento. For example, Axel Korner challenged the established perception of opera and theatre—particularly Verdi's and Rossini's—as a powerful vehicle for patriotic message and identity. Also, Gian Luca Fruci questioned the assumed axiom of the plebiscite as a prime piece of evidence of the newly formed Italian government's authoritarian approach, claiming that, contrary to a general historiographic idea, post-unitary plebiscites were evidence for the participation of the masses in the formation of the Italian nation. Axel Körner, "Opera and nation in nineteenth-century Italy: conceptual and methodological approaches," *Journal of Modern Italian Studies* 17, no. 4, 393-399. Gian Luca Fruci, "La nascita plebiscitaria della nazione (1797 - 1870)," in *La costruzione dello Stato-nazione in Italia* (Rome: Viella, 2012); Gian Luca Fruci, "Cittadine senza cittadinanza: la mobilitazione femminile nei plebisciti del Risorgimento (1848–1870)," *Genesis* Una donna al voto, Special issue (2006); Gian Luca Fruci, "Il sacramento dell'unita` nazionale: linguaggi, iconografia e pratiche dei plebisciti risorgimentali (1848–70)," in *Il Risorgimento*, ed. Alberto Mario Banti and Paul Ginsborg (Turin: Giulio Einaudi, 2007); Gian Luca Fruci, "I plebisciti e le elezioni," in *L'unificazione italiana*, ed. Giovanni Sabbatucci and Vittorio Vidotto (Rome: Istituto della Enciclopedia italiana, 2011).

Risorgimento propaganda targeted. Patriarca claims that one of the main goals of such propaganda—implemented through the *canone*—was to replace the key "vices" of indolence and effeminacy with "a more masculine quality of military virtue".[34] According to Patriarca, the failure of post-unification Italy determined the failure of *Risorgimento*'s cultural ambitions and created the conditions for a corrupted national character.[35] Hence, Banti and Patriarca shifted from Gramsci's position and placed the responsibility for a 'failed nationhood' to post-unification Italy.

The acceptance of such failure within the process of nation-building in post-unification Italy seems to uncover a shortcoming in the Italian political élites' propaganda. This study investigates this recent acknowledgement of a socio-political defeat and how it reflects in the *sub-genre* of educational schoolbooks—in particular Collodi's—which at the time was considered a powerful instrument of propaganda. My choice wants to extend to the educational material the re-reading that has already been applied to *Pinocchio*. In particular, the fact that *Pinocchio* is now interpreted as a critique against the Italian ruling class that contributed to 'betray' the *Risorgimento* and its ideals, motivated my research to broaden the investigation to include Collodi's school texts, and examine whether they managed to convey a critique of the establishment through the official channels of propaganda.

The significance of cultural products within the new concept of *Risorgimento* as a cultural revolution—symbolised by the *canon*—has to include textbooks in the analysis, as they can be considered as an integral part of nation-building. This project aims to extend the approach Banti outlined to detect how a sense of citizenry was conveyed to future generations through texts for school, which needed an official endorsement by a governmental approval. Also, it focuses on highlighting the points of friction in how the Italian State promoted the concepts of authority and shared cultural heritage. In this perspective, the project will aim to explain how, in those years, governments started to acknowledge the impact that such a genre

[34] Silvana Patriarca, "Indolence and Regeneration: Tropes and Tensions of Risorgimento Patriotism," *The American Historical Review* 110, no. 2 (2005).
[35] For a basic overview on the re-consideration of Risorgimento, see also: Silvana Patriarca and Lucy Riall, *The Risorgimento Revisited* (London: Palgrave Macmillan UK, 2012); Silvana Patriarca, "Italian neopatriotism: Debating national identity in the 1990s," *Modern Italy* 6, no. 1 (2001), 21-34; Porciani, "Identità locale-identità nazionale: la costruzione di una doppia appartenenza"; Loreto Di Nucci, Ernesto Galli della Loggia, *Due nazioni: legittimazione e delegittimazione nella storia dell'Italia contemporanea* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 2004).

could have within a nation-building discourse. Hence, *Beyond Pinocchio*'s primary sources need to be contextualised within the genre of children literature, which underwent relevant changes during the last decades of the nineteenth century. In this context, the characteristics of children literature at the time should therefore also be considered in order to investigate whether Collodi's schoolbooks could be a canonical expression of the time.

This project will progress within the path initiated by scholars such as Giorgio Chiosso, Anna Ascenzi, and Roberto Sani. They have shed new light on education policies, processes, and contexts in post-unification Italy by examining literature for children within a historical and cultural context. The *Centro di documentazione e ricerca sulla storia del libro scolastico e della letteratura per l'infanzia*, established in Macerata in 2004 by Ascenzi and Sani, has the specific mission to "engage in historical-educational research into educational publishing and children's literature in Italy in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries."[36] Ascenzi underscores how scholars such as Chiosso, Sani, but also Porciani and Mariano Raicich "regarded and used children's literature as a source of primary importance to throw light […] on the […] construction […] of the popular imagination around childhood, the family […] and to capture […] the way in which, from the nineteenth-century, the ideological and cultural hegemony of the bourgeoisie in our country has been asserted."[37] Thanks to these contributions, Ascenzi leaves behind what she—together with Sani and Chiosso—called the "pregiudiziale crociana"; that is, the condemnation of Benedetto Croce who by identifying literature for children as inferior to adult literature, discouraged the development of critical studies in the field.[38] Croce claimed that because young readers did not have the instruments to appreciate art, the genre needed to be simplified. As an outcome, a scholarly approach to literature for children has been predominantly dismissive, and those texts did not receive the attention they deserved for many decades.[39]

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[36] "Cescom", https://www.unimc.it/cescom/it. (Consulted on 23/03/2020).
[37] Anna Ascenzi, "Children's literature as a 'source' for the history of cultural and educational processes", *History of education & children's literature*, VII/2, 2012, 505.
[38] Anna Ascenzi and Roberto Sani, *Storia e antologia della letteratura per l'infanzia nell'Italia dell'Ottocento*, Vol.1 (Milan: Franco Angeli, 2017), 23.
[39] Benedetto Croce, *La letteratura della nuova Italia*, vol. 3 (Bari: Laterza, 1922), 116-117. Croce also excluded Collodi from the six volumes he dedicated to the New Italian literature, and the significance given to literary quality had repercussions on *Giannettino*'s critical appraisal in the first decades that followed.

Up until the second half of the nineteenth century, school texts and books conceived for the amusement of children outside school were two neatly separated *subgenres* of children's literature. While schoolbooks often came from the pen of conservative writers—in Italy, many of those belonging to the clergy, such as Parravicini and Tarra—and often resulted in proscriptive behavioural and didactic lectures, 'recreational literature', quoting Marina Warner, "consists above all of acts of imagination, conveyed in a symbolic Esperanto".[40] The book primarily conceived for delight and amusement shows some distinctive characteristics. Firstly, as Jack Zipes outlined, literary fairy tales—"complex symbolic social acts intended to reflect upon mores, norms, and habits organized for the purpose of reinforcing a hierarchically arranged civilizing process in a particular society"—adopted the oral folk tradition to "reflect upon rituals, customs, habits, and ethics and simultaneously to serve as a civilizing agent".[41] It was in those years, for example, that Perrault's *fables* were distributed in Italy, translated by Collodi.[42] As I will examine in Chapter 1, the adaptation of fairy tales to different eras will also characterise Collodi's experience. Zipes has thoroughly explored the world of fairy and folk tales, and similarly to Seton-Watson's outcome with regards to nations, still believes "the fairy tale's irresistible and inexplicable appeal" to be something that still needs to be investigated.[43] Warner theorises—by mentioning scholars such as Italo Calvino, André Jolles, and Angela Carter—that the "heroic optimism" of fairy tales allows these "consolatory fables" to create a world in which "the miraculous is […] the only possible guarantee that the immorality of reality has stopped."[44] Their being imaginative in time and space was the "Esperanto" that Werner described. This *genre* targeted the universal imagination, which differed substantially from the firm educative purpose of books conceived for school education.[45] Again, Zipes frames in one

[40] Marina Warner, *Once upon a time: a short history of fairy tale* (Oxford: United Kingdom Oxford University Press, 2014, XIX).
[41] Jack Zipes, *Happily Ever After: Fairy Tales Children and the Culture Industry* (New York: Routledge, 2013), 3,4.
[42] Collodi, *I racconti delle fate* (Milan: F. Paggi, 1876).
[43] John Zipes, *The irresistible fairy tale: The cultural and social history of a genre* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2012), 1.
[44] Warner, "*Once upon a time*", XXII-XXIV.
[45] Truglio highlights the importance of Jack Zipes's contribution in "bridging Italian studies and Children's Literature through his major contributions as both translator and critic". However, his main focus was on folk and fairy tales, rather than school texts. Truglio, *Italian Children's Literature and National Identity*, 24.

clean sentence the main reason for fairy tales' ongoing success: "To read a fairy tale was to follow the narrative path to happiness."[46]

Schoolbooks instead had two specific targets, especially in post-unification Italy. On the one hand, they aimed to perfect the education of the élites through an academic-oriented education. On the other, they were designed to accomplish the "dirozzamento delle plebi" to refine the uneducated masses through the impartment of primary education—*scrivere, leggere, far di conto*.[47] This dual purpose was particularly evident in texts for primary school, as lower-class children rarely attended higher grades of education, such as *Ginnasio* or *Liceo*. Italy, as a predominantly agricultural society then, needed older children in the workforce. The deep-rooted rural system was not accustomed to school education, and primary schools were often seen as impediments that deprived rural families of essential labour.

Beyond the two main sub-genres of entertaining texts and schoolbooks, Anna Ascenzi and Roberto Sani theorised the existence of a third sub-genre called *letteratura anfibia*, a 'transversal' educational literature suitable for both school-based education and out-of-school entertainment.[48] Edmondo de Amicis's *Cuore* is the perfect example of a text that was not expressively conceived for school, as it did not teach subjects or topics such as history, grammar or geography; however, its strong moralism made it suitable for being read and discussed at school. On the other hand, *Cuore*'s novel structure allowed such texts to be widely distributed outside of the merely educational circuit.

Giannettino seems to fit very well in this last category, as it has transversal characteristics from both mentioned *sub-genres*. First, the editor's strategy of naming the protagonist after Parravicini's *Giannetto*—the most popular school text at the time—is a clear indicator of Collodi's books' educational purposes. Such an objective is supported by the label "*Approvato dal consiglio scolastico*" that appeared underneath the title of *Giannettino*. In order

[46] Zipes, *Happily Ever After*, 4.
[47] Ascenzi and Sani, *Storia e antologia della letteratura per l'infanzia nell'Italia dell'Ottocento*, Vol.1, 157.
[48] "L'editoria scolastica presenta una natura anfibia, nel senso che la maggior parte dei tipografi ed editori specializzati nel genere scolastico sono anche tipografi ed editori che pubblicano opere narrative precipuamente destinate all'infanzia e alla gioventù, e viceversa. Nella stragrande maggioranza dei casi, infatti, le due tipologie di produzione editoriale si affiancano e, in diverse occasioni, si sovrappongono e si fondono." Ibid., 11.

to be distributed within a school circuit, books needed approval by the School council. Also, unlike fairy tales, there was no imaginary place and time. *Giannettino* was solidly inserted in the society of which the readers were part, post-unification Italy, and especially in some volumes—in particular, the three volumes of *Il viaggio per l'Italia di Giannettino*, intended as the child's travels around Italy—Collodi offered a lively and detailed portrayal of the newly founded nation, including its problematic aspects. Furthermore, together with this historical determination, and in line with their purpose, these books contained sections of mere education, according to the school policies at the time. In *Giannettino* and all of Collodi's other school texts, many subjects are taught, such as maths, grammar, geography, history, and chemistry.

At the same time, *Giannettino* could not be considered a canonical schoolbook, as its engaging and informal style overcame the stylistic and communicative distance between educator and children that previously characterised schoolbooks. Also, Collodi's schoolbooks were somehow connected with the world of fables. For example, in these texts, Collodi included imaginary moments, such as animals like parrots or donkeys talking in Italian. Moreover, some narrative strategies recall those of the folk tale, perpetrating the oral tradition that Warner deemed as distinctive of fairy tales, as the incipit of the very first book Collodi wrote for school in 1877, *Giannettino*, plainly evokes: "E ora ragazzi, se starete attenti, vi racconterò per filo e per segno la storia di Giannettino. Giannettino, quando l'ho conosciuto io […]".[49]

For these reasons, *Giannettino* seems to fit within the *letteratura anfibia*, proposed by Ascenzi and Sani. Through careful use of the fictional characters, and the constant alternation between Giannettino's school and his mentor, Dottor Boccadoro, *Giannettino* managed to "instruct with delight", following a tradition that had a substantial influence outside of school.[50]

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[49] Collodi, *Giannettino*, 1.

[50] When mentioning "instruct with delight", I refer to John Newbery's book for children *A Little Pretty Pocket-Book* (1744), whose motto was *Delectando monemus* (instruction with delight). According to Lydia Kokkola, Newbery can be considered the most successful writer for children who brought to children's literature the innovation of "instructing with delight": "Prior to Newbery, instruction was considered a goal in its own right; a pill that did not need to be sweetened. Since Newbery has been attributed with developing a style of narration that has affected children's literature for a period spanning four centuries, a discussion of the features of that style seems long overdue." Lydia Kokkola, "'Instruction with Delight': The Narrator's Voice in John Newbery's Early English Children's Books." In *Instructional writing in English: studies in honour of Risto Hiltunen*, ed. Matti Peikola and Risto Hiltunen. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 2009, 163. Since 1922, the Association

The use of humour in children's literature, a common thread that connected the vast critical literature of this genre—including Zipes, Demers, Silvey, and Warner amongst others—entered with Collodi into the Italian primary school curriculum for the first time. Throughout this project—particularly in Chapter 2—it will be shown how irony plays a pedagogical role in Collodi's schoolbooks. All these elements support the definition of *Giannettino* as an excellent example of *letteratura anfibia*.

However, the reputation of Collodi as a mordacious journalist who often expressed his viewpoint on his society makes the link between *Giannettino* and the *letteratura anfibia* problematic. When Ascenzi and Sani theorised the existence of the *letteratura anfibia*, they did not consider the author behind the book. As I will show in this project, the detachment from specific social or political contexts of texts such as Parravicini's *Giannetto* was the key to their editorial longevity. Most of the time, the authors of school primers were mere 'compilators' who did not add any social or political reflections linked to the contemporaneous Italian society. However, in books such as *Cuore* in which the patriotism and the sense of State were the central aspects, we might tend to think—as I will examine in Chapter 1—that the author's stance concurred with that of the ruling class, hence not offering a dissonant criticism. It was such intersection that allowed those texts to circulate in the Italian schools' network for decades, as they supported the official propaganda of attachment and loyalty to the Italian State and nation.

As Chapter 1 will highlight, Collodi has been acknowledged as an innovator within Italian educational literature *because* of the stylistic contribution he added to his books for children. As he had done with the translation of Perrault's fairy tales, Collodi made the narrative style accessible to the children's worldview, personalising and *tuscanising* Perrault, in order to adapt the French seventeenth-century author for his contemporaneous Italian readership. The Tuscan writer was an atypical schoolbook writer. At the time, his popularity was due to his being a playwright, an ironic and political journalist, a crime-fiction novelist, a reviewer for opera, and a translator. Collodi's important career as a politically committed journalist should not be overlooked when examining his schoolbooks. The examination of

for Library Service to Children (ALSC), a division of the American Library Association (ALA), awards with the *John Newbery Medal* the most distinguished contribution to American literature for children.

recurrent *topoi* in Collodi's literature that show affinity with his journalistic work facilitated a re-reading of *Pinocchio*. If such continuity—in terms of official politics dissonance—is to be taken into account when examining his schoolbooks, then a new category definition other than that of *letteratura anfibia* will be needed for these books as well.

In my analysis, I will avoid the word 'bourgeoisie' to define the social, political, or cultural 'entity' that Collodi addressed in his schoolbooks. For want of a better English-language term or phrase, *Beyond Pinocchio* refers to this element of the Italian national community by using the German-language political terminology: the *staatstragende Schicht* (State-supporting class) or *Staatsträger* (State supporter).

In examining the critical literature on Collodi, I often found that the word *borghesia* was the most used, and that the term seemed too elitist and too confined for describing the extent of Collodi's critique. This term seems to limit my investigation to the middle-class *Weltanschauung* and values such as productivity, moderation, and radical pragmatism. Through this study, I will consider whether Collodi limited his critique to particular social classes—*borghesia* and/or aristocracy—or extended his observation to the political and cultural contexts, which might not be included in the word *borghesia*.

The keyword "useful"—outlined by Franco Moretti in his analysis of *Robinson Crusoe*'s bourgeois spirit—seems to describe well the radical pragmatism that the Italian bourgeoisie promoted as a core value after the unification.[51] According to scholars such as Silvio Lanaro, Raffaele Romanelli, and Banti, the Italian *borghesia*—after having contributed to the fall of the ancient regime—became the ruling class in post-unification Italy, and aimed

[51] According to Moretti, "useful" is one of the keywords that better describe the bourgeois mentality in literature. Moretti believes that "the peculiarities of bourgeois culture will emerge from the implicit, and even buried dimension of language: a 'mentality' made of unconscious grammatical patterns and semantic associations, more than clear and distinct ideas." Franco Moretti, *The bourgeois: between history and literature* (Brooklyn: Verso, 2013), 19. Other keywords are: "efficiency", "comfort", "serious", "influence", "earnest", "roba". In his examination of Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe*, Moretti underscores how the keyword "useful" outlined Robinson's bourgeois mentality. In the bourgeois world, Moretti believes that "no object is an end in itself-in the kingdom of the useful, nothing is an end in itself-but always and only a means to do something else. A tool. And in a world of tools, there is only one thing left to do: work. […] ln such a world of tools, human beings become themselves tools-that is to say, mere cogs in the social division of labour; thus, Robinson never evokes the other sailors by name but only by activity: seaman, carpenter, gunner..." Ibid., 36.

to extend its cultural control to the other members of the national community. [52] Consequently, this entity—typically defined by Marxist literature "reductively" in solely economic terms—acquired increased political and cultural clout. However, Collodi's critique is economic, political, and cultural. Hence, *Beyond Pinocchio* calls for a more comprehensive understanding of the object of Collodi's critique, which is capable of encompassing all aspects of the so-called middle-class power. This requirement finds in *Staatsträger* the appropriate defining term.

III.

This research takes as a starting point the premise that in the nineteenth century, the building of a nation was based on aspects such as the presence of an authoritarian State and the necessity to share or create known or new traditions and to communicate through a common language *hic et nunc*. Four key questions guide my investigation; firstly, 'how did Collodi's schoolbooks relate to the constructs of authority and shared cultural custom?'; secondly, 'did he manage to convey his personal educational path to his readers, albeit through a more careful and moderate approach, because of the medium?'; thirdly, 'was *Giannettino*'s innovation merely stylistic, or does it encompass a wider set of initiatives?'; lastly, 'does *Giannettino* still need to be considered a series of texts through which Collodi supported the State, that is: can it be considered a *Staatsträger* supporter?'.

In order to answer these questions, *Beyond Pinocchio* will be structured into five chapters. These will focus on how the primary sources reflect the concept of nation-building and relate to the complexities of the concepts of authority, the national language, and relations between plurality and homogeneity. In the critical discourse pertaining to national identity

[52] Silvio Lanaro, *Nazione e lavoro: saggio sulla cultura borghese in Italia, 1870-1925* (Venice: Marsilio, 1979); Raffaele Romanelli, *L'Italia liberale: 1861-1900* (Bologna: Il mulino, 1990); Raffaele Romanelli, *Urban patricians and 'burgeois' society: a study of wealthy elites in Florence, 1862-1904* (London: Routledge, 1995); Marco Meriggi et al, "Dove va l'Ottocento? (a cura di Arianna Arisi Rota e Marco Rovinello)," *Il mestiere di storico* X, no. 2 (2018); Mario Alberto Banti, *Storia della borghesia italiana* (Rome: Donzelli, 1996); Paola Ponti, "Il tempo è moneta? : Pinocchio e il denaro", *Rivista di letteratura italiana*: XXXVI, 2, 2018. (Pisa : Fabrizio Serra, 2018); Franco Cambi, *La pedagogia borghese nell'Italia moderna, 1815-1970* (Florence: La Nuova Italia, 1974); Marzio Barbagli and Janina Markiewicz-Lagneau, *Scuola, potere e ideologia* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 1975); Guido Baglioni, *L'ideologia della borghesia industriale nell'Italia liberale* (Turin: Einaudi, 1974); Benedetto Croce, *La "Borghesia"* (Bari: G. Laterza, 1945); Samuel Smiles and Asa Briggs, *Self-help; with illustrations of conduct and perseverance* (London: John Murray, 1859).

formation, authority and cultural policies are put forward as critical aspects leading to a sense of citizenry. Thinkers such as Anderson, Banti, Hobsbawm or Seton Watson provided helpful insights in understanding how Collodi himself approached identity formation and nation-building in his schoolbooks. All the examined critical studies emphasise how a nation cannot exist without a strong sense of authority and shared cultural customs. Thus, I similarly adopt and critically reflect upon this focus on the concept of authority and that of shared cultural heritage. I will approach the concept of authority, keeping in mind Patriarca's distinction between 'identity' and 'character'. For this reason, I will separately examine authority from a 'private' and a 'public' perspective, focusing on the family and on public institutions.

I will approach the shared cultural customs similarly, and separate the national language aspect from that of the national collective imagination, based on public celebrations. My examination will outline the educational model that emerges from Collodi's schoolbooks through a parallel analysis of how he related to the aforementioned constructs in his journalistic texts and contextualise how other schoolbooks approached the same aspects at the time of Collodi.

This analysis will be prefaced by Chapter 1, which focuses on Collodi's cultural background and offers the instruments to re-read his schoolbooks. In this chapter, I aim to contextualise the man Collodi, his journalistic activities, and his texts for children. The chapter will outline aspects of his journalistic work that are also present in his schoolbooks and explore the connection of Collodi's journalism to the contents of his schoolbooks. It will bring to the fore the type of social conscience Collodi is trying to impart to his young audience, albeit covertly.

Chapter 2 addresses the first part of the first research question 'how did Collodi's schoolbooks relate to the construct of authority?', and focuses on the private aspect of authority; that is, the family. The chapter aims at a comparative analysis of how the ruling classes promoted the family—the maternal and paternal figures—as building blocks of society at the time and how Collodi portrays and discusses them in his journalistic and educational works. In order to outline Collodi's unicity, I will analyse how other schoolbooks of the time related to the 'private' familial authority. I will use this further analysis to assess what emerges from Collodi's educational texts in relation to the family as a social institution and the social

or political interpretations of the outcome. For example, I will compare maternal characters that Collodi creates in his schoolbooks with the various historical maternal figures such as Maria Drago and Adelaide Cairoli, and the issue of *mammismo*. Also, I will reflect on how Collodi represents the paternal authority in his school texts, and how that relates to how the *Staatsträger* conveyed the figure of the *pater* in their nation-building strategy.

In Chapter 3, I will extend the analysis on authority to its public exemplifications by examining how Collodi's texts represented the two traditional leading public institutions, the Italian State and the Catholic Church. The aim is to define how Collodi pedagogically presented public figures of authority and what message he delivered to new generations of Italians. Moreover, this chapter will consider the thorny relationship at the basis of the controversy between the secular Italian State and the Holy See, also known as the *Questione Romana*. While Collodi engaged in aspects of this controversy in his journalistic texts for an adult audience, the issue is to see whether and how these crucial cultural and political strategies promoted by the *Staatsträger* are echoed in his pedagogical material for his young audience.

With Chapter 4, I will shift my focus to the shared cultural customs and address the second part of the main research question, 'how did Collodi's schoolbooks relate to the construct of shared cultural custom?'. Specifically, in this chapter I examine how Collodi's schoolbooks posit themselves within the challenging linguistic—and political—controversy that afflicted Italy after unification, also known as *Questione della lingua*. I address issues such as whether the imposition of a promoted standard language could contribute to building a collective imagination or whether the multilinguistic reality of Italy needed a different approach. An in-depth analysis of some strategic choices adopted by Collodi will help in assessing the social and cultural messages delivered in his schoolbooks and highlight Collodi's position towards governmental homogenising strategies. In particular, Collodi's approach to regional dialects in his schoolbooks will be analysed also in context with other educational texts.

The dichotomy plurality/uniformity that emerges from Chapter 4 in terms of linguistic diversity will be further explored in Chapter 5, which focuses on the local communities' social and cultural heritage. The chapter will examine Collodi's approach when describing regional and local traditions and how he represented national events, such as the national day, the *Festa*

dello Statuto, which were highly esteemed by the government and elevated to the status of the *festa degli Italiani*. Moreover, I will expand my analysis and investigate how Collodi reflects on local food and as part of a cultural tradition.

In summary, *Beyond Pinocchio* re-examines Collodi's schoolbooks through the lens of nation-building, aiming to raise questions not only pertaining to the positioning of Collodi and his pedagogical contribution. My analysis aims to isolate the key aspects of authority and cultural heritage, and highlight possible dissonances with the *Staatsträger* and their nation-building strategy. More widely, it follows the line originated by the studies of Banti, Patriarca, and Truglio among others, and focuses on the controversial strategy of nation-building implemented after the unification, stressing those 'vices'—as Patriarca would have it—that characterised the construction of the Italian national community.

Chapter 1

Collodi, a journalist for children

> Lasciatemelo dire: l'arte è un libro ben difficile, in cui non sanno leggere che i pochi eletti: l'arte, informata da un concetto civile, è una pagina dove leggono tutti, dall'erudito fino all'uomo del volgo.[1]

Carlo Lorenzini was born into a family of servants. His parents were underprivileged people, working for rich Tuscan families. His mother Angelina Orzati was a dress-maker, working for the Marquis Garzoni, while his father Domenico was cook for the Ginoris, a wealthy family that built its financial success in the production of fine china. Once married, the Ginoris greatly supported Angelina and Domenico, and provided for Carlo's and his brother Paolo's education. Carlo was directed to the religious school of the Padri Scolopi, while Paolo studied to become an accountant, and he eventually became the general manager of the Ginori's business, gaining the title of *Commendatore*.[2] Although Carlo withdrew from his religious school, he managed to achieve—thanks to his writing—the status of *borghese*, as witnessed by his nephew: "Assunse un contegno più serio, si fece più accurato nel vestire, si comprò orologio e catena d'oro, l'anello col brillante, insomma si imborghesì."[3]

Carlo and his brother Paolo embodied the figure of the self-made man; born in a small house to two domestics, they eventually became part of the élite. Paolo, for example, was a talented businessman who contributed to the expansion of the fine-china brand Ginori beyond Italian borders. Once wealthy, he aimed to obscure any evidence of his modest past and wanted

[1] Carlo Collodi and Giuseppe Rigutini, *Divagazioni critico-umoristiche* (Florence: R. Bemporad e figlio, 1893), 120.
[2] Enea Giusti, *Inaugurazione del busto del comm. Paolo Lorenzini nel Museo Ginori a Doccia, 18 dicembre 1895: parole*. (Florence: Tipografia di Salvadore Landi, 1896).
[3] Ibid., 37.

to be accepted in higher-class society.[4] In contrast, Collodi always proudly defended his humble background, as his nephew Paolo—son of their other brother Ippolito—recalls:

> Volle essere sempre, anche esteriormente un figlio del popolo. Non si vergognava davvero di essere il figlio di un cuoco e di una brava donna da casa […]. Ricordo che un giorno […] come al solito Paolo aveva invitato a pranzo persone di riguardo e aveva raccomandato al cuoco di farsi onore. Il cuoco fece del suo meglio ma [...] lo zio Paolo [...] lo rimproverò dicendogli che gli aveva fatto fare brutta figura con gl'invitati [...] Carlo chiese di punto in bianco al fratello: - Paolo, ti ricordi come erano buoni quei fagioletti in via Taddea? -. Il fratello lo guardò sorpreso, vide che rideva con quel suo sorriso a fior di labbro che gli illuminava il viso, quando lanciava una delle sue frecciate[...] Con quelle poche parole, Carlo lo aveva richiamato alla sua modesta origine, e al momento più difficile e triste della sua esistenza. [5]

Carlo was also part of another élite—the cultural one—and received amongst other honours a Knighthood in 1878 from the King of Italy. This title, apparently, was conferred because of the success he had with *Giannettino*, published the year before.[6] By the beginning of the 1880s, Collodi was, without doubt, an authority within the Italian cultural élite, and his reputation as a journalist led him to be a celebrity before beginning his career as writer for children.

Collodi was hence a renowned figure who lived in a city that also was central in the political and cultural life of the newborn Italian State. In 1866, Florence was selected to succeed Turin as the new Italian capital. Already an important cultural centre for its theatres, music, and art, Florence hence became a hub of movement and mobility of people, ideas, and activities, both within Italy and beyond in other European countries. The intense pace of change persisted even after 1871, when Rome was designated as Italy's ultimate capital.[7] Additionally, the proliferation of magazines and newspapers—intense throughout the newly formed Italy—was in Florence exceptionally intense.[8] In those years, more than thirty papers were released

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[4] "[...] Paolo si era fatto aristocratico, negli usi, in tutto il suo tenore di vita e con le persone che praticava." Lorenzini, *Collodi e Pinocchio*, 40.

[5] Ibid., 67-68. The dynamic of this event has been also re-adapted in *Giannettino*, when the servant Ireneo gets fired because of a whimsical lie that Giannettino told his father. The child did not want to confess that he took-and lost- his father's watch, and blamed the servant. In the first edition of 1877, Ireneo eventually died because of the psychosis related to being accused of something he did not do.

[6] Massimo Prada, "Giannettino tra sillabario e grammatica: un'analisi linguistica della tradizione dei manuali collodiani," (2018), *Italiano LinguaDue* 10 (2018), 314.

[7] Ferdinando Martini, *Confessioni e ricordi* (Milan: Treves, 1929), 123.

[8] Although a high turnover. Regarding numbers of press industry, see Giorgio De Santi, "Carlo Collodi e l'esperienza del 'Lampione' (1848-49)" in *Studi collodiani: atti del 1. convegno internazionale: Pescia, 5-7 ottobre 1974,* (Pistoia: Cassa di risparmio di Pistoia e Pescia, 1976), 210.

daily in Florence, even at different times of the day. *La Nazione* was issued in the morning, *La Gazzetta del Popolo* at lunchtime, *L'Italia* in the late afternoon, *Il Lampione* and *Fanfulla* at night.[9] After 1866, the editorial boards of other newspapers and magazines also relocated to Florence, like the liberal *L'opinione, La Gazzetta Ufficiale,* the Catholic *L'Armonia*, and the democratic newspaper *Il Diritto.*[10]

It was in such a context that Collodi began his journalistic career on December 29th 1847, with his first article "L'arpa", published in *L'Italia Musicale*. He wrote his last contribution to *Scena Illustrata* on January 1st, 1888. Throughout these four decades, he was prolific in his journalistic endeavours and wrote for many newspapers, magazines, and pamphlets. He founded *Il Lampione* (1848), *L'Arte* (1851), and *La Scaramuccia* (1853). He collaborated with newsprints such as *La Nazione, Il Fanfulla, La Lente, La Gazzetta del Popolo, L'Italia Musicale, Il Novelliere, La Scena Illustrata, Il Giornale per i Bambini, Il Novellino, L'Opinione*.

Ultimately, being a journalist further contributed to heighten Collodi's reputation and centrality.[11] A journalist's reputation could rapidly develop thanks to the fact that, at that time, a single article could have an expected wide readership as it could be simultaneously published in various magazines.[12] Also, as noted by historian Ugo Pesci, political journalists were particularly appreciated, as the influence of new media—such as journalism—contributed to the growth of a fervent public engaged in social and political discussions. Pesci noted how, in those years, readers perceived journalists as reliable and authoritative contributors to social and

[9] Pesci, *Firenze Capitale*, 450-451.
[10] Precise numbers regarding the Piedmontese "invasion" of Florence in Roberto Maini and Piero Scapecchi, *Collodi giornalista e scrittore* (Florence: Studio per edizioni scelte, 1981), 32.
[11] Collodi's popularity within the journalistic environment is symbolised by his role in the delicate political *querelle* that involved senator Bettino Ricasoli, who chose Collodi to disentangle a very delicate diplomatic dispute. In 1859, the future second Prime Minister of the Italian Kingdom Florentine Baron Bettino Ricasoli's entourage asked Collodi to intervene in the dispute with the Catholic federalist Eugenio Albèri. Albèri was a detractor of unified Italy, and the dangerous time this diatribe happened is testament to Collodi's high reputation. Collodi published the spirited and ironic volume called *Il Sig. Albèri ha ragione!: dialogo apologetico*. The outcome of Collodi's intervention was satisfactory, and Ricasoli managed to retain the fragile equilibrium that Albèri could have upset. As recognition, the following year Collodi was offered a job within the administrative subdivision of the newly formed Kingdom, as Aggregate at the Theatre Censorship commission, through Marquis Lorenzo Ginori's intercession. Collodi, *Il sig. Alberi ha ragione!: dialogo apologetico* (Florence: Cellini e C, 1860).
[12] Daniela Marcheschi, "Da Collodi a Collodi: concezioni e pratiche dell'umorismo nell'Ottocento," *Studying Humour-International Journal* 3 (2016).

political life. On their side, journalists and publishers had a more conscious approach to their responsibility as social identity contributors.[13]

After 1877, when *Giannettino* was first released, Collodi's popularity reached its apex and attracted the attention of high-ranking publishers. In 1880, Collodi published *Macchiette*—a collection of satirical articles that Collodi wrote for *La Scaramuccia, Il Lampione* and other tabloids from 1854—with Gaetano Brigola. [14] Brigola was a well-known editor who published works of key writers such as Giovanni Verga (*Nedda*, 1874), Luigi Capuana (*Profili di donne*, 1879), and Paolo Mantegazza (*Igiene dell'amore*, 1877).[15] All these factors contributed to elevate Collodi as one of the most authoritative *pens* and certainly amongst the most caustic ones, as emphasised by Cosimo Ceccuti who claims that "La Firenze dei giornali e dei giornalisti è per tanta parte la Firenze di Collodi."[16]

Collodi's journalistic prestige remained strong until he passed away in 1890. A considerable crowd of people from all walks of life attended his funeral: politicians from the *prefettura* of Florence, where he worked for many years, the famous painter Telemaco Signorini, aristocrats such as the members of the Ginori and the Torrigiani families, Catholic figures such as his priest and friend Zipoli, and publishers such as the Bemporad family and Piero Barbera. Moreover, many Italian and European journalists attended on behalf of newspapers and magazines, such as the French *Journal des artistes*.[17] During the subsequent days, media colleagues defined him as "tra i migliori giornalisti contemporanei", "a tutti noi maestro: maestro da pochi emulato, non superato forse da alcuno".[18] His journalistic legacy was mostly due to his passionate approach to journalism and his articles' political impact.[19]

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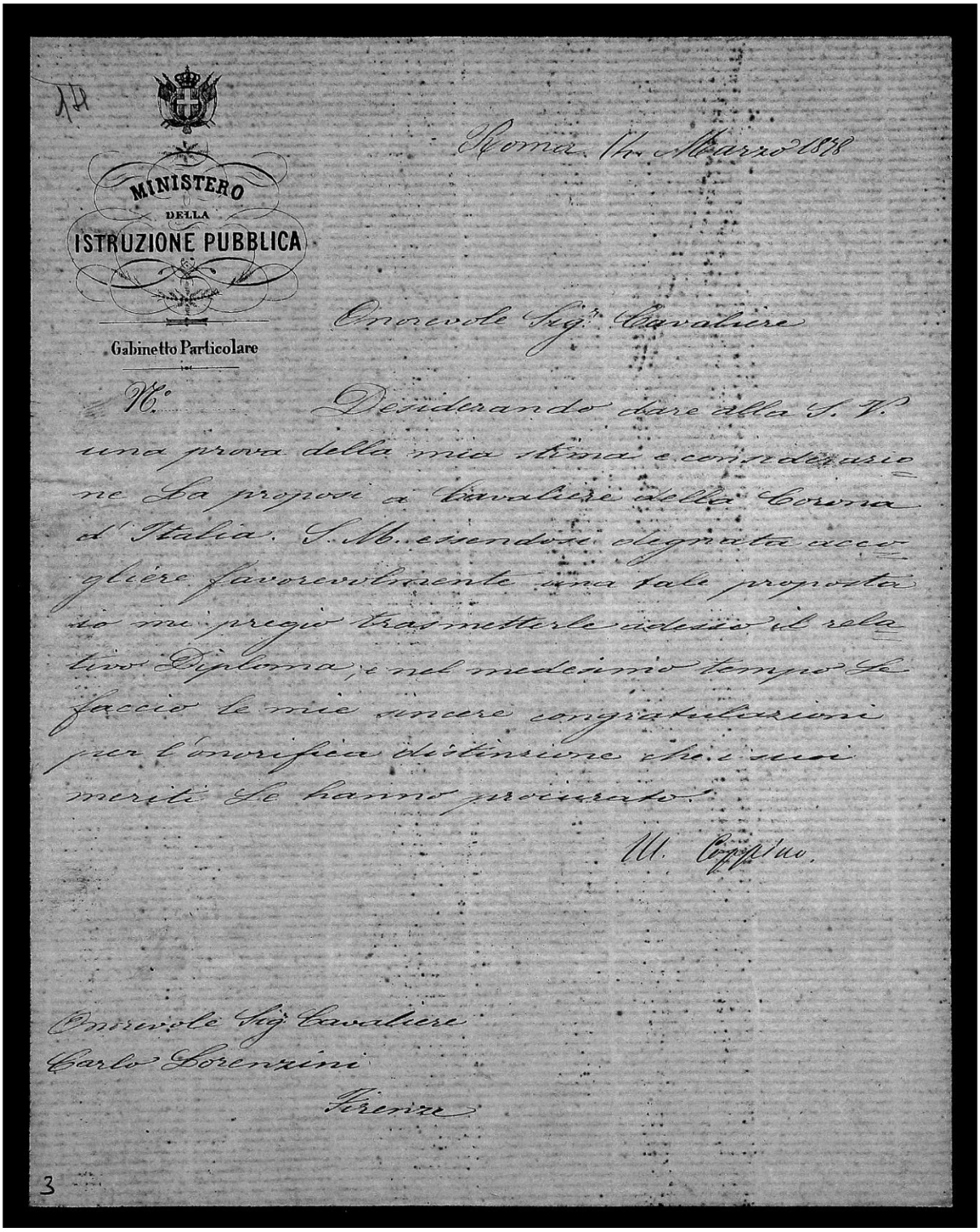
[13] Pesci, *Firenze Capitale*, 454.
[14] Collodi, *Opere*, 5.
[15] *Macchiette* was physically printed in Florence by Salvadore Landi, an exponent of the cultural *avant-garde*, who also printed Artusi's *La scienza in cucina e l'arte di magiar bene*. Collodi, *Opere*, 821.
[16] Cosimo Ceccuti, Vincenzo Cappelletti, and Daniela Marcheschi, *Carlo Lorenzini protagonista dell'unità d'Italia* ([n.p.]: Fondazione nazionale Carlo Collodi, 2011), 33.
[17] Carlo Maini, "28 ottobre 1890: una rassegna stampa dopo cent'anni", in Gianni Eugenio Viola and Franca Carlo Rovigatti, *Lorenzini oltre l'ombra di Collodi* (Rome: Istituto della Enciclopedia italiana, 1990), 42.
[18] "Il Diritto" 29 October 1890; Eugenio Checchi in *Fanfulla della domenica*, 29 October 1890.
[19] Collodi, *Opere*, CXXIII; Daniela Marcheschi, "Per rileggere l'Ottocento: aspetti e problemi dell'Edizione Nazionale delle Opere di Carlo Lorenzini", *Rivista di letteratura italiana XXXVI*, no. 2 (2018), 25.



MINISTERO DELLA ISTRUZIONE PUBBLICA

Gabinetto Particolare

N.°

Roma, 14 Marzo 1878

Onorevole Sig.r Cavaliere

Desiderando dare alla S. V. una prova della mia stima e considerazione La propose a Cavaliere della Corona d'Italia. S. M. essendosi degnata accogliere favorevolmente una tale proposta io mi pregio trasmetterle adesso il relativo Diploma, e nel medesimo tempo Le faccio le mie sincere congratulazioni per l'onorifica distinzione che i suoi meriti Le hanno procurato.

M. Coppino.

Onorevole Sig.r Cavaliere
Carlo Lorenzini
Firenze

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Fig. 1 Michele Coppino, *Lettera a Carlo Lorenzini*, 14/3/1878. In this letter, the Minister of Public Education Coppino congratulates Collodi on his Knighthood, claiming that he personally interceded with the King and recommended Collodi to him.

The profile of a journalist in the critical literature

In this chapter, I put forward two professional profiles of Collodi that will help contextualise the background to the schoolbooks: the journalist and the writer of children literature. In the first part, I offer an overview of his journalistic career in relation to its social and historical context, and show how the assessment of Collodi's journalistic work evolved in the scholarly debate. In the second part of the chapter, I delve into the scenario of Italian children's literature in Collodi's time and highlight some of the key critical positions on Collodi as a writer for a children audience.

Scholars have noted that what Collodi had written as a journalist often criticised the ruling class, which promoted a society inspired by a bourgeois *weltanschauung*. However, the acceptance of Collodi as a supporter of the *Staatsträger* propagandised values came into question as critical attention delved deeper into his system of beliefs as embodied in his substantial journalistic corpus. For example, acknowledgment of Collodi's ideological tenacity and examination of his journalistic works have allowed researchers such as Daniela Marcheschi, Suzanne Steinberg, and Maria Truglio to re-consider *Pinocchio* from perspectives other than those framed within a bourgeois perimeter. I argue that a similar examination will contribute to understanding in a new light the series of schoolbooks that Collodi started with *Giannettino* in a new light. These works will emerge as texts in which Collodi criticised his society and somewhat disagreed with the system of values imposed by the authorities.

With regards to Collodi's journalism and his style, scholars such as Daniela Marcheschi have emphasised how his writing was op-ed rather than mere fact-reporting.[20] His journalistic contributions varied in genre across short stories, theatre and musical reviews, short poems, opinion articles, sarcastic comments and caricatures. He enjoyed dealing with many different topics such as music, theatre, politics, customs, or simple *divertissement*. As Renato Bertacchini suggests, Collodi "rivela una sostanziale coscienza linguistica" to the point that

[20] Marcheschi, "Per rileggere l'Ottocento", 30.

Bertacchini chooses the term "guardaroba linguistico" to describe Collodi's communicative skills.[21]

Collodi's journalistic texts show a mordancy and a critical approach towards his society, as will be discussed further in the chapter. Also, he did not entirely agree with the contemporaneous positivist approach to life, particularly when filtered by the arts. According to Collodi, the artist's role was that of offering a critical approach to society and not—as he albeit naively blamed *veristi* to do—of merely reporting the reality as it presented itself. In *Ciarle fiorentine*—an article he published in *Fanfulla* on 4 November 1879, Collodi ironised on *Verismo* and its unemotional approach. He claimed to have seen on the walls of Florence "tanto e così diverso sudiciume, quanto ce ne vorrebbe per mettere insieme cinque capitoli di un romanzo, per come si dice, *verista*" and advocated for an openly polemic stance. Collodi stresses the importance of the artist and of the cultural industry as having the social responsibility to offer their interpretation of reality.

One of Collodi's stylistic prerogatives was that of clearly and neatly capturing characters which appeared in a short novel, book or article in a few compelling words. Many fictional profiles reappeared in other works, such as *Il ragazzo di strada*—the portrayal of the street child—who can be linked to characters such as Lucignolo or even Pinocchio.[22] Many of those concise portrayals are grouped in *Macchiette* as well as in *Occhi e nasi*, another anthology of short stories, most previously published in magazines or newspapers. *Occhi e nasi*, published in 1881, was a collection of social profiles whose style had been inspired by the French *Physiologies*, a sarcastic social adaptation of the scientific description which was characterising the science environment of the beginning of the nineteenth century.[23] Collodi wrote short *fisiologie* such as *La madre della debuttante* (the self-interested mother of a theatre debutante), *L'uomo colla* (a man who sticks fast to those who want to be left alone), or *Scampolino*, a

[21] Renato Bertacchini, "Guardaroba linguistico di Collodi giornalista", in Fernando Tempesti, *Scrittura dell'uso al tempo del Collodi - Atti del convegno del 3-4 maggio 1990* (Scandicci: La nuova Italia, 1994), 55.
[22] Marcheschi, "Per rileggere l'Ottocento", 26.
[23] Valérie Stiénon, "La Littérature des Physiologies Sociopoétique d'un genre panoramique (1830-1845)", *Classiques Garnier*, (Paris: Classiques Garnier, 2012).

humble public servant who underplays his financial poverty because of his devotion to the new Italian State.

Collodi described his technique of caricature development in the introduction of *Occhi e nasi*. There he also stressed how his style required attention and interpretation from the reader. As will be highlighted later in this study, this dialogic style will also characterise his schoolbooks:

> L'ho chiamato così per fare intendere che non è una mostra di figurine intere. È piuttosto una piccola raccolta d'occhi e nasi, toccati in punta di penna e poi lasciati lì, senza finire. Che il lettore li finisca da sé, e c'è il caso che gli diventino tanti profili o tante caricature.[24]

These features form a useful profile of Collodi's journalistic style to consider when examining the schoolbooks. Through his journalistic texts, Collodi showed himself to be a writer who knew how to use a few apt words to deliver his critical message—even and most frequently through irony—and was always aware of his audience. Such characteristics are at the core of his journalistic profession and reverberate more broadly in his writings. It is crucial to keep in mind this type of reader interaction, which Collodi stressed, when analysing his schoolbooks. Collodi never underestimated his child readers simply because of their age and was far from accepting what Ascenzi and Sani called the "pregiudiziale crociana".[25]

After his death, Collodi's journalistic contribution was almost ignored for many decades. Most scholars and critics accepted the interpretation of Collodi as the middle-class spirit paradigm. His personal story—the son of servants, who fought for the independence of his country, worked for the State he participated in creating and ultimately achieved middle-class status—was considered the perfect script for educating new Italian generations to the spirit of the *self-made* man. Scholar Giovanni Spadolini, for instance, singled out Collodi as one of the men who, although from a modest background, contributed to creating the Italian identity in his *Gli uomini che fecero l'Italia*:

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[24] Collodi, *Opere*, 177.
[25] Ascenzi and Sani, *Storia e antologia della letteratura per l'infanzia nell'Italia dell'Ottocento*, Vol.1, 12.

> La borghesia, che aveva elevato il 'lavoro' a misura della stessa dignità dell'uomo, a metro della sua grandezza, trovava nell'impiegatuccio della prefettura di Firenze, nel collaboratore del Giornale dei bambini, nel favolista di Minuzzolo e di Giannettino, nel frequentatore spiantato o ubriaco del Caffè Michelangelo [Collodi], uno dei suoi interpreti più profondi e più consapevoli, uno dei suoi più autentici filosofi.[26]

The popularity of *Giannettino* and subsequently of *Pinocchio* was then manoeuvred by bourgeois-inspired scholars and critics, who consolidated the image of Collodi as the middle-class spirit paradigm, almost ignoring the reputation of being a "mazziniano sfegatato" he held during his life.[27]

Scholars have progressively acknowledged the conceptual and stylistic impact of Collodi's journalistic background on all his *oeuvre*, and gone as far as questioning the consolidated reputation of books such as *Pinocchio* as being *Staatsträger* supporters. In my re-reading of Collodi's schoolbooks, I will focus on how his journalistic polemical positions and his particular tendency to address his readers, involving them in the textual process, contributed to a nuanced layering of his pedagogical texts also.

Renato Bertacchini and Italiano Marchetti have a leading role in the reassessment of Collodi's ideological position in his major works.[28] Following their contribution, Collodi scholars began to consider historical, pedagogical, and anthropological methodologies outside of the intrinsic narrative dimension. Scholars examined the impact of the journalist on the development of Collodi and his career. Marchetti highlighted the dark influence of robust pragmatism and veiled bitterness that the journalist Collodi had on the writer for children.[29] Moreover, he acknowledged how Collodi used his bittersweet sense of humour in approaching

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[26] Spadolini, *Gli uomini che fecero l'Italia*, 243.

[27] "Tornò dalla guerra mazzininano sfegatato, e, nei mesi che corsero dall'armistizio di Salasco alla battaglia di Novara, fu dei più operosi fra gli scrittori di giornali democratici." Martini, *Confessioni e ricordi*, 168. Martini had been a long-time member of the Italian parliament, a journalist, and the founder of the *Giornale per i Bambini*, in which *Pinocchio* was published. The relationship between Martini and Collodi was both professional and personal, and Martini directly appointed Collodi to succeed him as director of *Giornale per i Bambini*.

[28] Renato Bertacchini, *Collodi narratore* (Pisa: Nistri-Lischi, 1961); Italiano Marchetti, *Carlo Collodi* (Florence: Le Monnier, 1959).

[29] "In tutti questi scritti si riscontrano più o meno i caratteri già rilevati nel giornalista e nell'uomo: un fervido amor di patria, una dirittura politica che non conosce mezzi termini o patteggiamenti, un'esperienza severa e spesso amara della vita che si riflette in chiara evidenza nella pagina con quel suo stile discorsivo, alla buona, privo di fronzoli." Ibid., 51.

the contradictions of his society.[30] On the other hand, Bertacchini drew attention to how the engaging style Collodi used in his journalistic texts was the key to success for his schoolbooks.[31] Overall, the two scholars paved the way for a more comprehensive analysis of Collodi and began to consider the writer for children as an evolution of the journalist.

Following the work of Bertacchini and Marchetti, the two symposiums organised by the *Fondazione Collodi* in 1974 and 1978 represented a critical turning-point in the scholarly approach to Collodi's work. After that, the centrality of Collodi's journalistic texts became a staple within the examination of his *oeuvre*. In other words, the critical discourse, quoting Franco Cambi, "è passata dalla superficie del testo e dai suoi più lineari significati, alle matrici, al gioco degli archetipi, ad un piano metasemantico di lettura."[32] Hence, Collodi's journalistic experience stimulated an extensive reading of his other writing, and produced important contributions from scholars such as Giorgio Candeloro, Saverio Desideri and Concetta D'Angeli.

Although the debate mainly focused on the ideological aspect, it had the merit of highlighting the need for a new examination of Collodi's works. Giorgio Candeloro's words are revealing of the new critical positions taking place: "mi pare che esista una continuità tra il Collodi giornalista e il Collodi autore di Pinocchio, non solo per lo stile, ma anche per il sostrato

[30] "A leggere per trasparenza vedi l'uomo che sa ficcare a fondo dell'anima umana [...] e scruta analizza indaga con acceso interesse scoprendo in lampi geniali relazioni, contrasti, controsensi di fronte ai quali egli reagisce con un tipico umorismo scarnificato e amaro, per quanto apparentemente bonario e sorridente, e che talvolta sconfina nella satira." Ibid., 51. Marchetti also first examined how Collodi aimed to an interaction with his readers, as his introduction to *Occhi e nasi* attests. Collodi "accenna in brevi tratti ben rilevati e intensamente allusivi, ma con mano leggera figure, ambienti, situazioni lasciando al lettore la cura di completare secondo il proprio gusto e la propria fantasia". Ibid., 51.

[31] "Con questa serie di libri Collodi giornalista diventa 'l'idolo di tutti i ragazzi che a scuola si annoiavano di meno, e si divertivano un mondo perché vedevano che i maestri si divertivano anche loro." Renato Bertacchini, *Collodi educatore* (Florence: La Nuova Italia, 1967), 18. Besides, Saverio Desideri defined Collodi's journalistic style as original, unambiguous, and multi-coloured: "osservazione umoristica che supera spesso il limite del respiro provinciale, quando il motto arguto perde il carattere di naturalità per diventare fatto di fantasia creativa." Saverio Desideri, "Collodi giornalista", in *Studi collodiani*, 247-262. Bruno Traversetti endorsed Bertacchini's and Desideri's position, highlighting Collodi's narrative style based on a "continua frammentazione tematica, della volubilità ed estemporaneità di interessi che caratterizzano, nell' insieme, tutta la scrittura di Collodi." Bruno Traversetti, *Introduzione a Collodi* (Rome; Bari: Laterza, 1993), 65.

[32] Franco Cambi, *Collodi, De Amicis, Rodari: tre immagini d'infanzia* (Bari: Dedalo, 1985), 29.

ideologico che è quello tipico dell'ala progressista del movimento risorgimentale."[33] Candeloro initiated the construction of Collodi as a cosmopolitan author whose creative use of dialogues and satire placed him in a European scenario—similar to what Desideri previously acknowledged in regard to Collodi's re-visitation of the French *physiologies*.[34] Desideri described Collodi as having "un atteggiamento moderato, distaccato dagli avvenimenti stessi, per considerarli da un'angolazione più personale e più congeniale al suo spirito."[35] He reflects on how the more rational approach to specific topics such as the problems of the newborn Italian State shown by Collodi in his last years, is not to be seen as a renouncement of his stance.

Since the 1974 critical 'breakthrough' more in-depth contributions connecting Collodi to critical positions towards his society have been published. Successive studies such as D'Angeli's offer an image of Collodi as a man—and writer—well-embedded in his times and passionate about topics related to his contemporaneous society. D'Angeli's text-based work finally dismantled the "mito falso" of Collodi's political naïveté initiated by Gualtiero De Santi and contested by Desideri.[36] Nonetheless, for D'Angeli Collodi failed to adapt to the changing times and remained anchored to an old system of values. According to D'Angeli, Collodi's

[33] Giorgio Candeloro, "Carlo Collodi nel giornalismo toscano del Risorgimento", in *Studi collodiani,* 59-82. In particular: "È probabile che il Lorenzini fosse già tendenzialmente un democratico, quando nel marzo del '48 si arruolò volontario insieme al fratello Paolo e a Giulio Piatti. [...] Infatti, come è noto, i volontari in generale non furono di idee moderate." And also: "Politicamente non si può collocarlo in alcun partito o corrente determinata; ma ad alcuni principi egli rimase sempre fedele: l'indipendenza e l'unità d'Italia, la libertà, la giustizia, la dignità della persona umana. Al tempo stesso egli fu dotato di uno spiccato senso della realtà e di una notevole capacità di adattarsi ad essa, senza peraltro mai perdere la sua indipendenza di giudizio. In alcuni momenti decisivi seppe impegnarsi politicamente e pagare di persona [...] Fu uomo di convinzioni profonde, ma non fu mai fanatico e fazioso; nemico della retorica, espresse le sue opinioni in tono faceto e sbarazzino, facendo largo uso di paradossi e di trovate bizzarre." Candeloro, "Carlo Collodi nel giornalismo toscano del Risorgimento", 61, 79.

[34] "dal piccolo e parziale cantuccio è sollevata in più spirabil aere." Desideri, "Collodi Giornalista.", 247.

[35] Ibid., 255. Ludovico Incisa di Camerana disagreed: "Scapolo invecchiato e un po' maniaco […]. Spregiatore dei titoli cavallereschi, nel 1878 diverrà cavaliere della Corona d'Italia […]. Esempio del tipo che "non ci tiene", da lui stesso preso in giro, tipo nazionale anche lui, tra scettico e mammone, quasi vicino alla caricatura di sé stesso." Incisa Di Camerana, *Pinocchio,* 53.

[36] Gualtiero De Santi, "Carlo Collodi e l'esperienza del Lampione (1848-49)", in *Studi Collodiani,* 207-246.

reticence on Italian society's big problems like the plague of illiteracy symbolised Collodi's moderate stance.[37]

Alberto Asor Rosa paved the way for a more symbiotic study of Collodi's *oeuvre*. He portrays Collodi as the perfect symbol of the relationship between the *Risorgimento* intellectual tradition and the new media of newspapers and magazines.[38] Asor Rosa emphasises Collodi's strong link with his society and finally consolidates all the different profiles around the journalist: "questa figura di patriota-giornalista-scrittore-scrittore per bambini […] incarna come pochi altri la tipicità di un rapporto fra la tradizione intellettuale risorgimentale e i nuovi mezzi di organizzazione e diffusione della cultura, che sono per l'appunto i giornali." [39]

The new critical strategies that this methodological evolution brought to the discourse on Collodi's works inspired other recent contributions concerning a re-interpretation of his works for children. The new critical debate focused predominantly on *Pinocchio*. Suzanne Steinberg, in her *The Pinocchio effect: on making Italians*, presents *Pinocchio* as the symbol of the conflicts over which the newly formed Italian nation was anguishing. As she claims "I propose Pinocchio [...] to the extent that he embodies broader social and cultural conflicts centred on the problem of the postliberal subject's increasingly contested autonomy in the face of forces beyond his control."[40]

A more recent important milestone in the critical fortune of Collodi has been the creation by the Italian government of the Edizione Nazionale of Carlo Collodi in 2009. This late acknowledgement—which recognises the author as a major contributor to the Italian cultural production—shows how the perception of Collodi's works has been changing since his death, and has had the substantial advantage of bringing to the fore much of his little known or unpublished works.

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[37] Concetta D'Angeli, "L'ideologia 'moderata' di Carlo Lorenzini, detto Collodi," *Rassegna della Letteratura Italiana* no. 1 (1982).
[38] Riccardo Merolla, and Alberto Asor Rosa. *La cultura e la formazione dello stato unitario* (Florence: La nuova Italia, 1981), 141-143.
[39] Alberto Asor Rosa, *Storia e antologia della letteratura italiana 18,1* (Florence: Nuova Italia, 1981), 1227-1228.
[40] Stewart-Steinberg, *The Pinocchio Effect*, 24.

In recent years, Maria Truglio also connects *Pinocchio* to a discourse of Italian national identity, and identifies it as an indicator of melancholy and a primary feature of that identity. Truglio puts forward the concept that many children's books at the time—including *Pinocchio*—convey an image of a nation "that must "grow up" with its children and that must modernise—economically, technologically, and politically—as its citizens mature cognitively, morally, and psychologically."[41] Her analysis is founded on the acknowledgement that "Italy's new citizens were constituted as proper national subjects"; it is with this slant that Truglio examines how Collodi, for example, describes King Victor Emmanuel II and Garibaldi with a tone inspired by "modesty and functionality".[42] Such a shift from the solemn heights of the official propaganda of the *padri della Patria* perpetrated by the Italian State, according to Truglio, is Collodi's attempt to convey the message that "the hearth of Italy's new secular Christ must be essential, not a mere accessory."[43] The value of contributions such as Steinberg's and Truglio's lie in their exploration of the link between State, nation, and books for children. While Steinberg pictures the character Pinocchio as the epitome of the conflicts faced by the Italian nation, Truglio associates the Italian nation with those children who—precisely like the nation—were approaching their path to adulthood.

While Truglio and Steinberg consider *Pinocchio* in the wide discourse of national character, Daniela Marcheschi links Collodi's most famous work to a super-imposed

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[41] "The isomorphic construction and its use in "making Italians" emerge from the way in which these books leveraged two epistemological paradigms: recapitulation and melancholia." Truglio, *Italian children's literature and national identity*, 2-3.
[42] Ibid., 188.
[43] Ibid., 187. As I will examine later in the thesis, I believe *La lanterna magica di Giannettino* to be the only book by Collodi in which the sense of a conservative governmental imprint is present. I will outline how, for example, the military-inspired campaign promoted by Guido Baccelli—the Minister at the time—was predominant throughout the book. In specific relation to Truglio's observation, one might think that, being published in 1890, *La lanterna magica di Giannettino* might have represented the spirit of the time, characterised by what Maurizio Ridolfi calls "ostracismo verso le memorie risorgimentali". Maurizio Ridolfi, *Le feste nazionali* (Bologna: Il mulino, 2003), 21. Garibaldi and Victor Emmanuel had died in 1882 and 1878 respectively. A consideration of their position within a discourse of national identity needs to take into account the situation of the Italian State at the time. It was in fact in 1889 that the 'Uccialli treat' *de facto* initiated the colonial strategy against Ethiopia. Also, the *Festa del XX Settembre*, that celebrated the *Breccia di Porta Pia* and the annexation of Rome, saw in between the two centuries a rapid decline, after a high popularity in the 1870s and 1880s. According to Ridolfi, that was also caused by the fact that in those years there was a "rinnovata sintonia tra mondo socialista e galassia democratico-liberale", which prompted the liberals to boycott the *Festa*. As I explain in Chapter 3, this situation reminds us of the shifting reputation of the maestro, who rapidly became a socialist threat after being the cultural hero of the Italian nation. Ibid., 43.

weltanschauung. Her *Il naso corto* is relevant to this study since its subtitle, "una rilettura di *Pinocchio*", reveals Marcheschi's aim of unlinking *Pinocchio* from a consolidated reputation as supporter of the new ruling class. She begins her work by affirming that Collodi was intensely aware of the society he was living in and mindful of what he believed necessary for a better society. Marcheschi emphasises Collodi's independence and puts forward the intellectual profile of a free thinker who refused the prevalent cultural models of his contemporaneous society, an "onesto democratico non estremista".[44]

Most importantly, Marcheschi highlights a disconnect between Collodi and the bourgeoisie, which he approached with disenchantment particularly in *Pinocchio*. Her work is the foundation of *Beyond Pinocchio*, as it significantly prompted me to consider if and how Collodi conveyed the same disenchantment with the *Staatsträger* in schoolbooks as well:

> L'ottica di Collodi, il suo innato senso delle responsabilità morali e civili, il totale disincanto con cui guardava all'aristocrazia e alla borghesia italiana, non solo lo avevano preservato da ogni sorta d'ideologismo consolatorio, ma hanno anche restituito nel tempo originale profondità ed energia alle sue osservazioni. Collodi era pertanto un intellettuale in attrito con la società della sua epoca e ne rifiutava i modelli culturali prevalenti, perché animato da un grande slancio ideale: credeva fermamente che un disinteressato dibattito di idee e la letteratura potessero dare un contributo alla costruzione di una civiltà italiana nuova, contrassegnata da una maggiore giustizia e dignità.[45]

The most crucial aspect of Marcheschi's work for this project is that she insists on the subversive message and underscores how *Pinocchio* is far from an endorsement of bourgeois mentality. Also, she agrees with the accepted influence of the journalist Collodi on the childrens' writer Collodi, and believes irony to be as prominent a feature in the children's writer as it was for the journalist: "Pinocchio non sarà mai conformista, come molti vorrebbero invece che fosse, per annullarne la carica esplosiva. [...] Ed è questo che Collodi vuol dire ai bambini e ai grandi: rimanete sempre Pinocchio, non diventate conformisti!"[46]

Marcheschi claims that Collodi's message is condensed in the very last sentence of *Pinocchio*, when the protagonist realises that his life as a puppet has ended, and Pinocchio has

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[44] Daniela Marcheschi "Carlo Collodi scrittore per i bambini", in *Carlo Lorenzini-Collodi nel centenario*, (Rome: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 1992), 85.
[45] Marcheschi, *Il naso corto*, 29.
[46] Ibid., 19.

become a well-behaved human being: "Pinocchio si voltò a guardarlo; e dopo che l'ebbe guardato un poco, disse dentro di sé con grandissima compiacenza: 'Com'ero buffo, quand'ero un burattino! e come ora son contento di esser diventato un ragazzino perbene!..."[47] Marcheschi underscores how the suspension dots at the very end, the exclamation point, and the use of *superlativo assoluto* "grandissima compiacenza" are three elements of sarcasm. She stresses that this narrative strategy is evidence of Collodi's journalistic humoristic and parodic style: "Collodi sbeffeggia gli adulti [...] che mentono, ingannano, trafficano in maniera losca pur di raggiungere i propri scopi meschini. Sceglie per questo l'opzione della scrittura umoristica e parodica nel giornalismo e nella prosa o nel romanzo: per un'aderenza coerente alle condizioni dell'Italia della sua epoca."[48] The critic observes how Collodi criticised the bourgeoisie's façade of believing in values such as productivity and good behaviour but failing the social, historical, and ethical mission they were supposed to accomplish: "Collodi afferma con forza, attraverso Pinocchio e Pipì [a short story he published after *Pinocchio* of which it seems to be the sequel], l'urgenza morale di rimanere diversi rispetto a una società guasta, a una classe dirigente, o ad adulti in genere, il cui essere 'perbene' significava purtroppo tradire le responsabilità civili, culturali e politiche, di cui essi erano stati investiti."[49] Marcheschi seems here to refer to the disappointment in the *prosa* of the post-unification that supplanted the *poesia* of the *Risorgimento* and the fervour of its idealised society. I believe Collodi did something similar in his schoolbooks, using irony and narrative subplots that his 'selected community' could recognise as subversive.[50]

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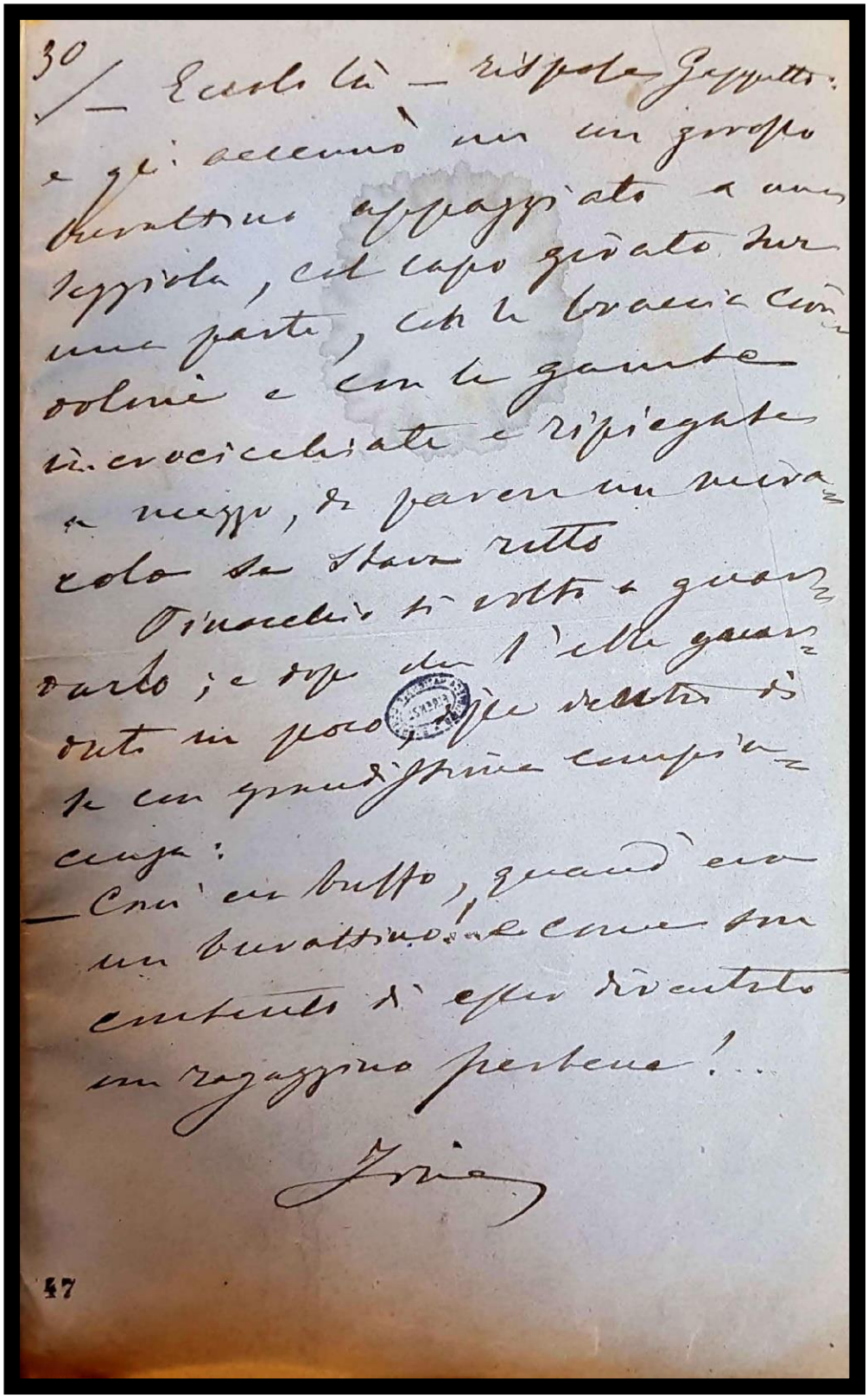
[47] Collodi, *Opere*, 526. In the original manuscript, the suspension dots are also after "burattino!". Manuscript is kept at Biblioteca Nazionale di Firenze, N.A. 754 III.
[48] Marcheschi, *Il naso corto*, 5-6. Collodi rarely used the noun *compiacenza*, and always with a negative connotation.
[49] Ibid., 9.
[50] As Wayne Booth would put it, "every irony inevitably builds a community of believers even as it excludes." Wayne C. Booth, *A rhetoric of irony* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1974), 28. The concept of 'selected community' will be examined in Chapter 2, p. 98.



30/ — Eccolo là — rispose Geppetto:
e gli accennò un un grosso
burattino appoggiato a una
seggiola, col capo girato sur
una parte, con le braccia cion-
dolone e con le gambe
incrocicchiate e ripiegate
a mezzo, da parere un mira-
colo se stava ritto
Pinocchio si voltò a guar-
darlo; e dopo che l'ebbe guar-
dato un poco, disse dentro di
sè con grandissima compia-
cenza:
— Com'era buffo, quand'era
un burattino!... e come son
contento di esser diventato
un ragazzino perbene!...

Fine

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Fig. 2 Finale dal manoscritto di *Le avventure di Pinocchio*. The three suspension dots after “burattino!” are clearly evident.

The figure of Pinocchio—and particularly the illustrations throughout the various editions—inspired Ann Lawson Lucas to call the wooden puppet "a boy for all seasons".[51] Lucas argues that Pinocchio, in its being "endlessly malleable", has seen an "exploitation" since quite soon after Collodi's death "for the expression of evil attitudes and for the pursuit of dishonourable causes" such as colonialism or Fascism.[52]

In more recent years, other scholars such as Stefano Jossa, Martino Marazzi and Stefano Pivato followed the way paved by Lucas and expanded on *Pinocchio*'s contribution within a discourse of national identity. Jossa stressed how *Pinocchio* has continuously been championed as a symbol of Italian-ness across the decades since its fictional birth. According to Jossa, élites across the board promoted Pinocchio as their epitome for various moments in contemporary Italian history: "whether we go for a revolutionary or conformist Pinocchio [...] [he] is the one who unifies, and all conflicts disappear in the presence of Pinocchio".[53] Jossa examined how various biased interpretations of *Pinocchio* through the decades—together with the diffusion of monuments to Pinocchio throughout Italy—led to what he called a "neutralisation" of Pinocchio, the integration of its insubordinate aptitude within "a more general process of harmonisation."[54] He listed some of the interpretations, starting from that of Pietro Pancrazi, according to whom Pinocchio was the symbol of the old rural "umbertina" Italy.[55] He then continues by citing Marazzi, who instead examined how the puppet became the symbol of the fascist youth.[56]

Pivato highlighted how Pinocchio was also the wise Christian-Democrat supporter who manages to avoid the neo-fascist and communist risks because of his father, Geppetto.[57] Jossa theorised that Pinocchio symbolises an ideal compromise between all the incongruities, the

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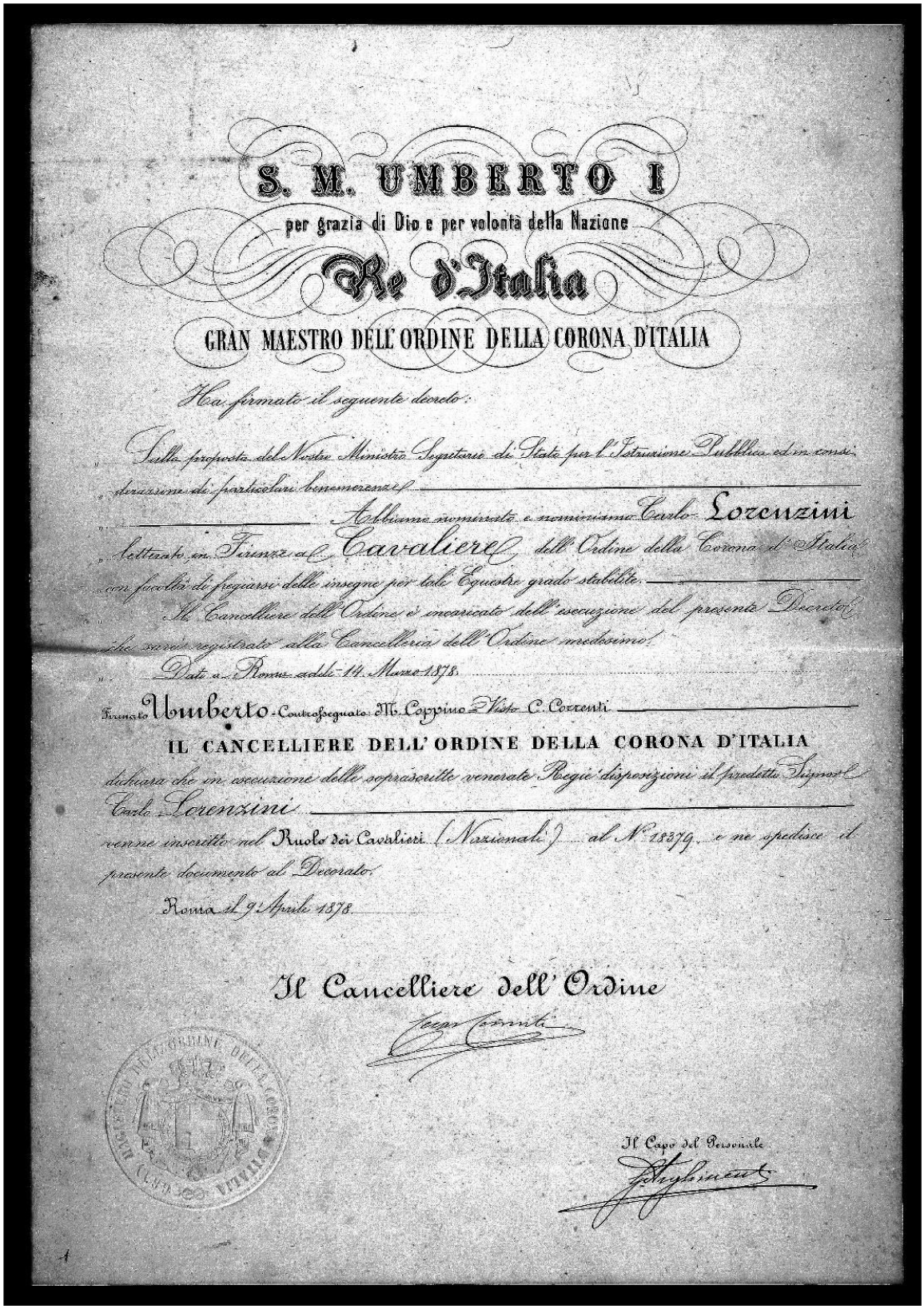
[51] Ann Lawson Lucas, "A boy for all seasons. Nation and Ideology in Images from Pinocchio" *Spunti e ricerche*, vol. 17 (2002).
[52] Ibid., 18, 24.
[53] Marcheschi "Carlo Collodi scrittore per i bambini", 53.
[54] Stefano Jossa, "Neutralizing Pinocchio (and Italian-ness): From Puppet to Monument," *ISLG Bulletin* 17 (2018), 48-52.
[55] "non ridete; ma dietro il *Pinocchio* io vedo la piccola Italia onesta di re Umberto", Pietro Pancrazi "Elogio di Pinocchio", *Il Secolo*, March 7th, 1922.
[56] Martino Marazzi, "Multiplo Pinocchio: la critica per grandi nel Novecento," *Rivista di letteratura italiana* XXXVI, no. 2 (2018), 148.
[57] Stefano Pivato, *Favole e politica: Pinocchio, Cappuccetto rosso e la guerra fredda* (Bologna: Il mulino, 2015), 106-7.

fundamental aspect of Italian character—and identity, in Patriarca's perspective. Pinocchio is yet again perceived as another aspect of the national character/identity: the symbol of melancholy, the carrier of a subversive message, and even the perfect *trasformista*.

The influence of the journalistic career in Collodi's books for children by now has been unanimously accepted. The more contemporary critical discourse also views Collodi as a person who maintained his ground and expressed his criticism on social issues and the reality that surrounded him throughout his career. However, somehow his schoolbooks seem to have escaped a critical revision in light of these more recent critical positions. In this context, the reputation of his schoolbooks as fully supportive of a *Staatsträger*-inspired society appears as a blatant contradiction to what the most recent analysis has brought to the fore, and one which must be addressed.

The profile of Collodi as a writer for children

The second part of the chapter will focus on Collodi as writer for children. I will first contextualise the literary scenario in Collodi's time, and then offer a critical review of Collodi's writing for children. This section will highlight the innovative impact of Collodi in the surging world of literature for children and assess what it was that made Collodi one of the most popular writers for children at the time, to the point that the Italian Government, holding his schoolbooks in such high esteem, epitomised such regard with the conferral of a knighthood. Nonetheless, as this project will endeavour to show, Collodi, through various strategies, managed to deliver critiques of the Italian State and society through those very texts that the same State approved and praised.



S. M. UMBERTO I

per grazia di Dio e per volontà della Nazione

Re d'Italia

GRAN MAESTRO DELL'ORDINE DELLA CORONA D'ITALIA

Ha firmato il seguente decreto:

Sulla proposta del Nostro Ministro Segretario di Stato per l'Istruzione Pubblica ed in considerazione di particolari benemerenze

Abbiamo nominato e nominiamo Carlo Lorenzini letterato in Firenze a Cavaliere dell'Ordine della Corona d'Italia con facoltà di fregiarsi delle insegne per tale Equestre grado stabilite.

Il Cancelliere dell'Ordine è incaricato dell'esecuzione del presente Decreto che sarà registrato alla Cancelleria dell'Ordine medesimo.

Dato a Roma addì 14 Marzo 1878.

Firmato Umberto - Controfegnato M. Coppino - Visto C. Correnti

IL CANCELLIERE DELL'ORDINE DELLA CORONA D'ITALIA

dichiara che in esecuzione delle soprascritte venerate Regie disposizioni il prefatto Signor Carlo Lorenzini venne inscritto nel Ruolo dei Cavalieri (Nazionali) al N° 18379, e ne spedisce il presente documento al Decorato.

Roma il 9 Aprile 1878.

Il Cancelliere dell'Ordine

Il Capo del Personale

Fig. 3 Nomina di Carlo Collodi a Cavaliere della Corona d'Italia, 1878.

The development of literature for children in Italy is an iconic representation of Italian society's turmoil and change during the nineteenth century. While at the beginning of the nineteenth century it was predominantly a niche editorial phenomenon limited to the aristocracy, by the end of the *Ottocento* it became one of the most remunerative and prolific sectors of the book industry. From a financial perspective, the creation of the new area of business classified children as a new, unexplored audience. Furthermore, in a very short time, Italian unification created the condition for further expansion of the 'educational market'. The new potential market of the 'public educational books' industry twinned with the already existing private market. Like a domino effect, the 'books for children' industry boomed. Many publishers tried to present texts suitable for both distribution channels: the educational and the entertainment ones, creating, according to Roberto Sani and Anna Ascenzi, phenomena such as the ambiguous sub-genre of *letteratura anfibia*.

Italian children began to share a new cultural heritage from their early years, contributing to developing a sense of community. Also, in the second half of the century, the élite began to understand the political impact that literature for children could have had on shaping a national community. Within a few decades, what was considered entertainment for aristocratic children evolved into a powerful tool for an ideological and cultural definition of community.[58] Sani and Ascenzi underscore the political potential of literature for children in Italy. They stress the increasing impact of the genre on the sense of community: "già a partire dagli anni Trenta e Quaranta come fenomeno di massa e da assurgere a strumento in grado di influenzare la mentalità e i costumi civili di larghi strati della popolazione".[59]

Collodi and his editor Felice Paggi chose the title *Giannettino*—little Giannetto—for the schoolbook series, as an open reference to *Giannetto*, up till then the most popular book for children. Collodi and Paggi hence decided to follow the way *Giannetto* previously paved throughout Italy. Such a decision explains why an analysis of how Collodi posits himself within the literature scenario for children needs to be accompanied by an overview of the high-paced

[58] After Italian unification, the Italian government acknowledged the contribution that primary school education would bring to the nation-building programme. In 1881, a specific commission was instituted to select the most suitable schoolbooks from a "tropicale ricchezza della flora libraria elementare italiana".
[59] Ascenzi and Sani, *Storia e antologia della letteratura per l'infanzia nell'Italia dell'Ottocento*,Vol.1, 7.

development that literature for children underwent during the nineteenth century. Because of its *anfibia* nature, the contextualisation of literature for children at the time of Collodi will not just include books for solely school use but also texts that were popular at the time, as they can offer insights into the interpretation of Collodi's texts. As Collodi himself when he describes the books in Pinocchio's schoolbag polemicises: "[...] e sciolti i fagotti de' loro libri di scuola, cominciarono a scagliare contro di lui i *Sillabari*, le *Grammatiche*, i *Giannettini*, i *Minuzzoli*, i *Racconti* del Thouar, il *Pulcino* della Baccini e altri libri scolastici."[60]

Collodi's contribution to literature for children has been substantial. It varies from translated fairy tales (*I racconti delle fate,* 1875) to books conceived for school use, such as the *Giannettino* series or *Libro di lezioni* (1880). He contributed to the field with many short stories and articles in various magazines for children. His most notable contribution is, of course, the collection of episodes published in *Il Giornale per i Bambini* which eventually became *Le avventure di Pinocchio* (1883). Furthermore, other texts, such as *Minuzzolo* (1880) and *Il regalo istruttivo* (1887*)* were conceived for entertainment outside the educational environment, recalling Sani's *letteratura anfibia*.

The year 1875 was a turning-point in the context of educational literature. That year witnessed the publication of a report on primary school books that allowed the Minister for Public Education, Ruggero Bonghi, to underscore the overabundance of school texts available. Simultaneously, the publication of Ida Baccini's *Le Memorie di un pulcino*—mentioned by Collodi in the quote from *Pinocchio* above—inaugurated a new stylistic approach to school texts, as will be examined further in this chapter. In the same year, Carlo Collodi published his first book for children *I racconti delle fate,* a collection of French fairy tales by Charles Perrault, Madame Leprince de Beaumont, and Countess d'Aulnoy, initially gathered in the book *Contes de ma mere l'Oye* (1697). Editors Alessandro and Felice Paggi asked Collodi, whose knowledge of French was excellent, to translate those fairy tales, including *Little Red Riding Hood* and *Puss in Boots*, which were hence presented to Italian children for the first time.[61]

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[60] Carlo Collodi and Ornella Castellani Pollidori, *Le avventure di Pinocchio* (Pescia: Fondazione nazionale Carlo Collodi, 1983), 58.

[61] Collodi's knowledge of French was already renowned. As I will examine in Chapter 4, in 1868 Collodi was appointed by the minister of Education Broglio to contribute to the compilation of the *Novo*

Scholars such as Franco Cambi, Paolo Paolini, Italiano Marchetti, and Renato Bertacchini highlighted how Collodi's translations shaped his style as a writer for children. At the same time, they noted how Collodi's multi-disciplinary experiences allowed him to switch codes easily, while his journalistic experience provided him with a meticulousness in choosing the right words for the right audience. Collodi's journalistic know-how, according to Bertacchini, facilitated his work of adaptation of seventeenth-century French tales to his contemporaneous public, and allowed Collodi to add to those stories his personal touch: " dal 1875 […] volge le sue qualità e le migliori risorse del suo "mestiere" di giornalista all'ideazione e composizione di testi scolastici".[62] Collodi managed to "ridire nella sua lingua a un uditorio d'oggi quel che fu scritto per un pubblico francese due secoli prima".[63] In doing that, he used what Aldo Rossi called the "mastice popolaresco".[64] In these tales, Collodi grammatically and socially 'tuscanised' Perrault through Tuscan expressions and words, switching to a colloquial folk style. The frequent use of vernacular expressions such as "traccheggiare" or" spillaccherare" inspired Carlo Cassola in defining Collodi's linguistic style the "manzonismo degli stenterelli".[65]

Collodi's re-interpretation was linguistic as well as stylistic, and educational. Unlike Perrault—who wrote his moral of the tale in the form of little rhymed poems—Collodi adopted a style based on a colloquial dialogue with his readers. Quoting Enzo Petrini, Collodi mixed "una spregiudicatezza tutta fiorentina con uno stile narrativo tipico […] al buon gusto delle dame francesi e al cartesianesimo del secentesco accademico di Francia".[66] For example, Perrault ended *Cendrillon* (Cinderella) with two morals, the second being:

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vocabolario della lingua italiana secondo l'uso di Firenze. In this dictionary, Collodi's role was to identify the French-inspired words and suggest the best Tuscan replacements.

[62] Bertacchini, *Collodi educatore*, 17.

[63] Paolo Paolini, "Collodi traduttore di Perrault", in *Studi collodiani*, 448.

[64] Aldo Rossi, "Modelli culti (iniziazione) e connettivo popolare nella Fiaba di Pinocchio", in *Studi collodiani*, 541.

[65] Carlo Cassola, "Riflessioni su Pinocchio", Ibid., 124. Stenterello, the traditional Carnival mask of Florence, represented the Florentine populace, and it has been often used by scholars to approach Pinocchio: Fernando Tempesti claimed that Stenterello is Pinocchio's "modello strutturale"; Fernando Tempesti, *Collodiana* (Florence: Salani, 1988), 79.

[66] Enzo Petrini, *Dalla parte del Collodi* (Bologna: Patron, 1982), 23.

> AUTRE MORALITÉ: C'est sans doute un grand avantage/D'avoir de l'esprit, du courage/De la naissance, du bon sens/Et d'autres semblables talents/ Qu'on reçoit du Ciel en partage;/ Mais vous aurez beau les avoir/Pour votre avancement ce seront choses vaines/ Si vous n'avez, pour les faire valoir/ Ou des parrains ou des marraines.[67]

In these lines, Perrault opted for a rhymed stanza. However, this could have been unattractive to Italian children at the end of the *Ottocento* and difficult to translate from French while respecting the rhymes. Collodi hence adopted a more informal style and renounced poetry. In his text:

> Altra morale: grazia, spirito, coraggio, modestia, nobiltà di sangue, buon senso, tutte bellissime cose; ma che giovano questi doni della Provvidenza, se non si trova un compare o una comare, oppure, come si dice oggi, un buon diavolo che ci porti? Senza l'aiuto della Comare, che cosa avrebb'ella fatto quella buona e brava figliuola di Cenerentola?[68]

The intervention of Collodi in the translation infers a critical comment regarding the need above all of a social network of support symbolised by the "comare". According to Giuseppe Marchese, it also had an impact on the educational approach. Collodi, as Marchese observed, used a "buon senso popolaresco" to soften the "severità del pedagogista" that characterised the original French tales. Marchese claimed that *I racconti delle fate* epitomised Collodi's view of society based on a "legge di solidarietà e di fratellanza fra gli uomini, che universalizza gl'individui e ci fa considerare fuori dalla nostra particolarità".[69]

The whole narrative atmosphere is then re-elaborated. Collodi adapted a style conceived for seventeenth-century upper-class French children to an audience of nineteenth-century middle-class young Italians. It is in this space, according to Bertacchini, that Collodi found room to lower the poetic tone and adapt it to a more personal and fresh dimension: "Si sente che Collodi torna a godersi le immagini eleganti e signorilmente preziose di Perrault [...] volgarizzandole spesso in termini semplici, modesti, insaporiti di verve paesana."[70] Collodi will reiterate this ability to adapt the narrative style and register in his schoolbooks; again, Bertacchini stressed this first, claiming that Collodi's most crucial contribution to schoolbooks

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[67] Charles Perrault and Jean-Pierre Collinet, Contes: suivi du: Miroir ou la Métamorphose d'Orante, de La peinture, poème et du Labyrinthe de Versailles (Paris: Gallimard, 1981), 178.
[68] Collodi, *I racconti delle fate* (Milan: Fabbri-Bompiani, 1983).
[69] Giuseppe Marchese, *Collodi poeta dell'infanzia* (Palermo: Ando, 1963), 25.
[70] Bertacchini, *Collodi narratore*, 189.

was adapting the characters to the level of the readers. Bertacchini went as far as comparing Collodi's characters—Giannettino, Minuzzolo, and non-human characters such as Pipì and Pinocchio—to the "maschera del ragazzo-monello", as in the *Commedia dell'Arte*; it was their liveliness, according to Bertacchini, that sanctioned the success of Giannettino and his fictional friends.[71]

Other scholars such as Franco Cambi, Antonio Faeti, Fernando Tempesti, and Bruno Traversetti have connected Collodi's fairy-tale experience to his re-elaboration of the tale context in his *Pinocchio*.[72] Moreover, they have mainly considered the experience with the fairy-tales as a chance for Collodi to enter the "spazio liberatorio della favola, nelle quali le contraddizioni potevano convivere" and resolve his "delusione esistenziale" that he was venting through irony and a refusal of "acquisire una plausibile immagine pubblica".[73] Once again, the concept of Collodi's discontent with the 'failed nationhood' comes to the fore, although the interpretation given to Collodi's social disenchantment was that of creating an evasive space in which he did not have to deal with his society and its problematics.

However, such contributions do not take into account any educational aspect in such re-elaboration and foreground instead the stylistic re-elaboration, albeit still a significant aspect. It seems nonetheless unlikely that Collodi completely suppressed his polemical social scrutiny exclusively when writing schoolbooks. *Giannettino* and the other schoolbooks need to be considered in terms of the personal approach that Collodi invested in *I racconti delle fate*. Traversetti's theory of Collodi's—"riduzione del valore eroico, dell'assolutezza sacrale che avvolge i personaggi fiabeschi, ad un valore di ammiccante esemplarità"—should be explored in *Pinocchio* as well as all his other texts for children.[74] Traversetti—who believed Collodi to have *reduced* Perrault's "prezioso abito cerimoniale" into "panni più borghesi e nostrani"—had the merit to highlight that the way Collodi approached his audience in *I racconti delle fate* was an innovation which he also applied to *Giannettino* and *Pinocchio*.[75] Nonetheless, a more in-depth examination shows that in this addressing of his audience, Collodi also considered the

[71] Ibid., 240.
[72] Antonio Faeti, *Guardare le figure: gli illustratori italiani dei libri per l'infanzia* (Turin: G. Einaudi, 1972); Tempesti, *Collodiana*; Cambi, *Collodi, De Amicis, Rodari*; Traversetti, *Introduzione a Collodi*.
[73] Faeti, *Guardare le figure*, 24.
[74] Traversetti, *Introduzione a Collodi*, 84.
[75] Ibid., 83.

‘selected community’ of attentive readers who could capture a more nuanced critical message from his books, as evidences in *Giannettino*’s incipit where in his “se starete attenti” he urges his young audience to read carefully.”[76] This expression “se starete attenti” seems to relate to his introduction to *I racconti delle fate*, in which he appears to suggest a predilection for the non-conformist, for small—but significant—changes that only a careful reader will be able to unearth: “Nel voltare in italiano i *Racconti delle fate* [..] qua e là mi feci lecite alcune leggerissime varianti, sia di vocabolo, sia di andatura di periodo, sia di modi di dire[…] Peccato confessato, mezzo perdonato: e così sia.”[77]

Collodi’s attention to the readers of his books, inviting them to participate in the interpretation, has been a constant in his texts, as he often repeated the same concept in the prefaces to his books. For example, while in the preface mentioned above of *Occhi e nasi* Collodi openly asks his readers to complete his sketches, in the preface of *Macchiette* he wrote:

> Ve la racconto in poche parole. Erano un centinaio di foglietti, tutti sparpagliati qua e là, come se il vento ci si fosse baloccato. […] Moltissimi libri, in giornata, si fanno così, […] con un filo di refe si cuciono insieme; e il libro è fatto. Quel modestissimo filo di refe […] è il vero nesso logico che serve […] a mantenere intera l’unità di concetto dal frontespizio alla fine. Questa storia è breve, ma chiara, specie per chi la sa leggere.[78]

Collodi seems to be aware that *good* readers were hard to find in his society; nonetheless they were necessary for the development of a healthy society. On *Fantasia*, published in his magazine *Scaramuccia* in 1854, Collodi has a clear idea about the quality of most readers. According to Collodi, careless reading permitted the establishment of a society in which meritocracy could not emerge. The same concept will recur in many of his articles, as well as in his schoolbooks. The following chapters will further highlight this attention to his readers:

> Oramai è provato: la grande caratteristica del nostro secolo è quella di leggere per leggere. È questo un mezzo come tutti gli altri, per ammazzare il tempo. Gli Europei leggono, come i Chinesi bevono l’oppio, e gl’Indiani fanno i salti mortali e le piramidi. [...] Quando

[76] Collodi *Giannettino*, 1.
[77] Collodi, *I racconti delle fate*, 1. The same aspect will be considered in Chapter 2, in which Collodi’s use of irony will be examined about the characters of uncle Ferrante and Dottor Boccadoro in *Giannettino*.
[78] Collodi, *Opere*, XXX.

> la parola è tutto, l'idea diventa un accessorio, un lusso inutile: quando la parola è tutto, il ciarlatano e l'uomo della scienza sono divisi da una linea impercettibile.[79]

The "qua e là" mentioned in the preface of *I racconti delle fate* speaks of the Collodi's tendency to directly participate in the story he writes, modifying translations as well as asking the reader to discover the "filo di refe"; an important aspect of his work which has rarely been considered in a socio-political perspective for his schoolbooks. *Qua e là* in his texts for school, Collodi disseminated narrative fragments in which he expressed criticism towards a conformist interpretation of society. As he did with the translation of Perrault's fables, Collodi managed to mask and deliver critiques of his contemporaneous society, using the same texts that the ruling class employed to promote itself and its values. In reading *Giannettino*, it is important to go beyond the label as a *maschera* whose only goal is to alleviate his fictional predecessors' pedantic personality—such as *Giannetto*—and not to allow the creative exceptionality of *Pinocchio* to eclipse the social and political unconventionality of texts such as *Giannettino*.

The reception of Collodi as author for schoolbooks

The way scholars examined Collodi's schoolbooks seems to be divided into three distinct phases: after the contemporaneous reception, when his books were praised for their innovative 'instruct with delight' approach; a prolonged second stage—influenced by the *pregiudiziale crociana* and *Pinocchio*'s flamboyant popularity—relegated *Giannettino* and the other texts to mere groundwork material for *Pinocchio*. Finally, after the 1970s symposiums, Collodi's texts began to be examined from a multi-disciplinary perspective, and new readings of his schoolbooks took place. However, even the most recent studies, for example, that of Ascenzi, Sani, Massimo Prada, and Riccardo Squarcina, still link the schoolbooks exclusively to a middle-class spirit.[80] In 1988—almost a century after Collodi's death—Tempesti observed how *Giannettino* was the bourgeois development of *Giannetto*, but with an added innovative

[79] Collodi and Rigutini, *Divagazioni critico-umoristiche*, 7.
[80] Massimo Prada, "Giannettino tra sillabario e grammatica: un'analisi linguistica della tradizione dei manuali collodiani," (2018), *Italiano LinguaDue* 10 (2018); Enrico Squarcina and Sandro Malatesta, "La geografia del "viaggio per l'Italia di Giannettino" di Carlo Collodi come strumento per la costruzione nazionale italiana," *Scripta nova* 418, no. 16 (2012).

emphasis on knowledge functionality.[81] While Giannetto received imparted notions as a duty for him to perform, Tempesti argued, Giannettino considered his knowledge a tool for personal success.[82] Also, the book *Giannettino* was meant for a capitalistic context in its form and substance.[83] In contrast, *Giannetto* was pre-industrial and pre-bourgeoisie in its outlook: "Editorialmente poi, con questi volumetti piccoli, poveramente stampati, che mirano al basso prezzo e a dire 'tutto' senza rimandare ad altri libri, siamo ancora ad una mentalità preborghese, preindustriale."[84] Instead, *Giannettino*—and particularly *Il viaggio per l'Italia di Giannettino*—was an expression of a middle-class way-of-life, "un'idea evidentemente legata alla nuova realtà dell'Italia unita, ma connessa anche con l'alba di un certo benessere che è anche turistico".[85]

Bruno Traversetti(1993), although questioning how the "polemista, arguto, scanzonato Collodi" could express himself within a middle-class enclosure defined as "inamidato", concluded that Collodi accepted the mission with "rassegnata serenità lungo l'itinerario risaputo, lungo le prevedibili retoriche della storiella educativa, quasi che a compitarla fosse solo un distaccato automatismo della sua scrittura; ma solo fin quando l'occasione non si presenti troppo invitante."[86] Traversetti argued that the character of Giannettino is the stereotype of what the bourgeoisie considered harmful; therefore, his educational path was still considered a bourgeois *purification*. Collodi occasionally 'winks' at the reader with his

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[81] "è metodo indiretto introdurre quell'appetibilità sociale che la condizione borghesemente larga di Giannettino ha; [...] Ma soprattutto […] far vedere i vantaggi del sapere in termini di riuscita sociale e non perché si deve". Tempesti, *Collodiana*, 39.

[82]In Tempesti's opinion, this method contributed to the affirmation of a secular pedagogy, exemplified by "accanimento contro i pregiudizi e le piccole superstizioni della vita quotidiana: il sale e l'olio versati, i cavalli bianchi, i gatti neri, etc." Ibid., 44.

[83] According to pedagogist Benedetto Vertecchi, a handbook is pedagogically and didactically creditable when it is efficient, dynamic, comprehensive and integrable. Specifically, it needs to be on the child's wave length in terms of interesting content; it should not be a mere notions deposit but also stimulate questions; its gnoseologic hierarchy needs to be well organised and finally, it needs to be suitable for integration with other teaching media, such as audio-visuals or tests. Benedetto Vertecchi and Roberto Maragliano, *La programmazione didattica* (Rome: Editori Riuniti, 1978).

[84] Tempesti, *Collodiana*, 58.

[85] Ibid., 40.

[86] "Collodi, nel Giannettino, sembra acquattarsi fra le pieghe ordinarie del racconto, per balzarne fuori di tanto in tanto a riderne, a smussarne la sentenziosità con il pimento dell'umorismo, a ravvivarne la scena con lo scintillio della coloritura descrittiva, o a redimerne l'artificiosità di fondo con una complice strizzatina d'occhio al giovane lettore." Traversetti, *Introduzione a Collodi*, 93-94.

sarcasm, Traversetti noted, but overall accepts the bourgeois educational pattern.[87] The label of bourgeois-supporter lasted until quite recently; even in 2018 Ascenzi and Sani highlighted how *Giannettino* can still be considered a supporter of "un ideale educativo imperniato sui valori della borghesia laica e progressista."[88]

However, before Croce's turning point, Collodi's style was widely appreciated.[89] For instance, philologist and lexicographic Giuseppe Rigutini, in the introduction he wrote for the 20th edition of *Giannettino,* acknowledged its importance for the national community, and recognised in Collodi the ability to "saper scegliere e saper presentare le cose scelte in guisa che gli animi dei giovinetti se ne invaghiscano".[90] Furthermore, Rigutini emphasised Collodi's use of "quella buona e sana lingua, che è in gran parte comune all'Italia, e che è destinata ad unificare o prima o poi nell'idioma tutte le provincie italiane."[91] *Giannettino*'s goal, according to Rigutini, was "formarne, in una parola, la figura morale e intellettuale, preparando così alla famiglia e alla patria un buono e valente cittadino", making the child Giannettino the paradigm for the perfect Italian child.[92] What emerges from this contemporaneous review is that the pedagogical perspective was still placed above the child, missing the positivistic debate's crucial shift of prompting the child to be inquisitive. It considered *Giannettino* as a manual for creating clones of "perfect citizens", rather than educating children to achieve the skills they needed to become productive, gratified, and well-adjusted citizens within society, still within a context of social harmony.

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[87] Such interpretation reiterates others, such as Pancrazi's, who underscored that in his books for children Collodi "si diverte; ma è subito chiaro che [...] non fa sul serio: e proprio questo lo salva".Pietro Pancrazi, *Tutto Collodi per i piccoli e per i grandi* (Florence: F. Le Monnier, 1948), XVII.

[88] Ascenzi and Sani, *Storia e antologia della letteratura per l'infanzia nell'Italia dell'Ottocento,* Vol.2, 127.

[89] The contemporaneous reviews about the various parts of *Giannettino* were almost unanimously celebrating Collodi's ability to be fun for both adults and children: the grace of his style was always the main attractors of compliments. See *Fanfulla della domenica,* 3/12/1881 (on *viaggio per l'Italia di Giannettino*), 14/12/1885 (on *L'abbaco di Giannettino*).

[90] "[…] Rigutini thought Collodi's method consisted in the perfect selection of "quel che solamente è opportuno e adatto […] e nel modo del colorire tanta verità e naturalezza, mista di tanta leggiadria ed urbanità, che il libro appena cominciato a leggere non si lascia che alla fine". Giuseppe Rigutini, "Introduzione," in *Giannettino: libro per i ragazzi, approvato dal Consiglio Scolastico* (Florence: R.Bemporad e figlio, 1892), 7-8.

[91] Ibid., 7.

[92] *Giannettino*'s educational model was so praised that Rigutini recommended every parent to read *Giannettino* before their sons, in order to create "una santa invidia e un acceso desiderio che il vostro figliuolo somigli a Giannettino rifatto dal capo alle piante". Ibid., 8.

After Collodi's death, largely because of *Pinocchio*'s worldwide success, the critical focus was towards the author's creativity and artistic stance rather than his acute civic sense. As a result, many scholars approached all his children literature from a similar angle, creating a critical scenario—in which *Giannettino* has been regarded as merely a preliminary step towards the zenith of *Le avventure di Pinocchio*. Therefore, examination of *Giannettino*'s fundamental cultural and social messages has been largely neglected, and Pietro Pancrazi's words clearly express that: "chi scrive del Collodi, quando è arrivato a *Pinocchio* vorrebbe cambiare il pennino. *Pinocchio* è un'altra cosa".[93]

Giannettino was the target of major criticism. For example, Marchese and Raya underlined *Giannettino*'s literary paucity to justify their focus on the blockbuster *Le avventure di Pinocchio* and overlooked any possibility of there being in *Giannettino* social and political value.[94] Furthermore, Piero Bargellini highlighted how, unlike Pinocchio, the *real* characters of Giannettino and Minuzzolo were actually "falsi ragazzi", as they unrealistically ask questions only for educational purpose.[95] Scholars such as Antonio Lugli and Luigi Santucci extended their critique to the texts' narrative structure. The critics argued that in *Minuzzolo* and *Giannettino* Collodi did not succeed in blending the instructional parts with the narrative ones. In other words, they argued Collodi separately instructed and amused, and missed the chance to "instruct with delight".[96]

In this extended timeframe lasting at least until the international symposiums dedicated to Carlo Collodi in 1974 and 1978, the main contributions to the debate around *Giannettino* came from Italiano Marchetti and Renato Bertacchini. Their critical studies initiated the analysis of *Giannettino*'s cultural aspects. Marchetti's work acknowledged *Giannettino*'s brave revolutionary value in rejecting a super-imposed education. Marchetti argued that *Giannettino* does not pretend "di voler insegnare, ma di voler prendere quasi per mano il

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[93] Pancrazi, *Tutto Collodi per i piccoli e per i grandi*, XXVIII.
[94] Gino Raya, *Collodi* (Rome: Ciranna, 1972), 20; Marchese, *Collodi poeta dell'infanzia*, 48-54.
[95] Piero Bargellini, *Canto alle rondini* (Florence: Vallecchi, 1954), 120.
[96] Lugli criticised *Giannettino* for having "irrimediabilmente separati i due elementi costitutivi: da una parte la narrazione, ch'era fresca e viva e divertente; dall'altra il complesso delle nozioni [...] che, pur ideato e condotto con una certa grazia, restava inefficace e fittizio". Antonio Lugli, *Storia della letteratura per la gioventù* (Florence: Sansoni, 1966), 222. Santucci also emphasised how *Giannettino*'s literary appeal was crucial: "Nel primo [*Giannettino*] la materia resta divisa nettamente in due settori diversi, che non riescono ad amalgamarsi ed a celare lo scopo didascalico dell'opera". Luigi Santucci, *Collodi* (Brescia: La Scuola, 1968), 26.

piccolo lettore e accompagnarlo in una lieta piacevole passeggiata durante la quale si parla del più e del meno".[97] Distancing himself from Bargellini, Marchetti argued that Giannettino was a reliable embodiment of the middle-class Italian child and not a fake fictional version.[98] *Giannettino* created a parallel universe where the main characters were perceived as real children, with their relentless will to play and lack of discipline; that allowed the young readers to receive these fictional children as their peers, unlike the impeccable child in Parravicini's *Giannetto*.

This child-centred approach has also been stressed by Bertacchini, who pointed at Collodi's "instruct with delight" skill as the most crucial innovation in the contemporaneous context.[99] According to Bertacchini, character Giannettino's progress throughout the collection is seen as a message of hope for all the children who felt inadequate: "un tipo umano simpatico e vivace, il meno scolaro possibile, cui gli altri ragazzi (i futuri lettori) possano affezionarsi davvero".[100] Also, Bertacchini praised the optimistic educational message in those books, "sempre istintivamente serena e positiva, non pesa mai sul principio di autorità di chi insegna".[101] Overall, the critic paved the way for the crucial distinction between school boy and child that Gianni Rodari would define a few years later.[102] This separation, which epitomises the dichotomy between the private and public dimension, has been crucial in defining this project's methodology and separately examining the concept of authority from a private and a public perspective.

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[97] Marchetti, *Carlo Collodi*, 56.

[98] Giannettino is a "ragazzo di buona famiglia borghese […] Ma non è un manichino di cartapesta: è un ragazzo vivo, [...] svogliato, irrequieto, impertinente", Ibid., 56-57.

[99] Bertacchini highlighted the enjoyment Collodi brought into schools, which until then were reigned by boredom. As Collodi's friend and academic Guido Biagi witnessed, "Era la prima volta che uno scrittore arguto si degnava di scendere fino a loro e trattarli da uomini"; Bertacchini suggested that this was possible because of Collodi's multidisciplinary approach, which included the journalistic, novelist and witty bourgeois bohemian skills, that he used in his writing for children. Ibid., 17-18.

[100] Bertacchini, *Collodi educatore*, 54. Bertacchini still considered *Giannettino* a step towards Pinocchio, and positioned it between Parravicini's *Giannetto* and *Pinocchio*. The character Giannettino, according to Bertacchini, was in fact an evolution of Parravicini's Giannetto schoolboy: "poche volte interessa come creatura viva" but not yet "quella figura del 'ragazzo' in precedenza tante volte intuita (che) raggiunge il suo compimento con Pinocchio" Ibid., 77.

[101] Bertacchini argued that for Collodi, education "vuol dire non tanto applicazione indiscussa e supinamente accettata di un criterio di autorità, ma piuttosto continuo sforzo creativo". Ibid., 64-65.

[102] Gianni Rodari, "Pinocchio nella letteratura per l'infanzia" in *Studi Collodiani*, 37-58.

Moreover, regarding the development of the critical literature on Collodi's schoolbooks, acknowledging both personal and public aspects of the child facilitated multi-disciplinary approaches, such as Frabboni's behaviourist and structuralist analysis of *Giannettino*, which allowed him to regard the text as a comprehensive pedagogical book through the application of educationalist theories such as Piaget's, Dewey's, and Merril's. Contributions such as Frabboni's opened the last phase of the critical literature on Collodi's schoolbooks—and works for children in general—allowing the multi-disciplinary approach that would eventually lead to the afore-mentioned Marcheschi's and other contributions—such as Prada's and Squarcina's—that will be examined in the following chapters.[103]

As this outline has revealed, little work has been done on linking these texts with an emerging concept of 'nation' as an imagined Italian community. In contrast, a substantial amount of work has been done examining the texts' innovations from stylistic, literary, and pedagogical perspectives. Moreover, Collodi's varied background has been linked to the pioneering importance of his educational texts. However, the most crucial aspect that needs here to be stressed is that—despite some acknowledgements of controversial elements—the link between the *Giannettino* texts and a *Staatsträger weltanschauung* is still unchallenged.

Literature for children in nineteenth-century Italy

The final part of this chapter focuses on the scenario of children's literature at the time of Collodi, with attention to those texts that were also used within the school context. The aim here is to highlight how most of those works aimed at what Roberto Sani called the 'dirozzamento delle plebi', a refinement of the uneducated classes and a homogenisation of society.

[103] Frabboni read *Giannettino* through the lens of pedagogical milestones like Merrill's instructional design or Piaget's cognitive imbalance. The critic believed that *Giannettino* allowed children to apply their interpretational structures in the impartment of fundamental knowledge, hence empirically validating Bertacchini's and Marchetti's analyses. The results of this detailed investigation, according to Frabboni, established *Giannettino* as a good work of instructional design, where design means "la volontà di unire alla bellezza lo scopo funzionale degli oggetti didattici." Franco Frabboni, "Collodi autore di libri scolastici?", in *Pinocchio oggi: atti del convegno pedagogico* Pescia-Collodi, 30 Settembre-1 Ottobre 1978 (Pescia, 1980), 60.

It is not a coincidence that Collodi's career as a writer for children began with the translation of Perrault's manuscripts. Before Italian unification, many successful French books for children were translated and distributed within the Italian market, and significantly contributed to creating the new market of children's literature. Manuscripts from writers and pedologists such as Fenelon (*Les aventures de Telemaque,* 1699) or Madame Leprince de Beaumont (*Le magasin des enfants*, 1757) contributed to creating a space for the boom of the children's literature in the late *Ottocento*. According to Stefania Valeri, literature for children in Italy was in a "condizione di grave ritardo", and the introduction of translated works significantly stimulated the debate regarding the importance of literature for children in a national community discourse.[104]

Between the end of the eighteenth century and the Italian unification, the most relevant texts were *Novelle morali ad uso de'fanciulli* (1782) by ecclesiastic Francesco Soave and abbot Luigi Alessandro Parravicini's *Giannetto* (1838). Together with the translated French texts, such books dominated pedagogical principles and the educational process within the society.[105]

Novelle morali had a wide diffusion and its success lay in its "rassicurante conservatorismo" and its being unrelated to any specific society, which made it adaptable to the many government changes.[106] *Novelle*, which supported the *status quo* of Holy Roman Emperor Joseph II and his *assolutismo illuminato*, also promoted the importance of the virtues without any exclusive connection with a precise social class. Some stories, such as *Alimek, o la felicità*, celebrated the simplicity and humbleness of rural life and praised the traditional values of honesty, moderation, and prudence. Others, instead, endorsed the new urban middle-

[104] Stefania Valeri, "La fortuna della letteratura francese per l'infanzia nell'Italia della seconda metà del Settecento", *History of education & children's literature* I/2 2006, 207.
[105] *Novelle morali* and *Giannetto* share a similar creative process. Although separated by more than half a century, they were both the result of competitions, both instituted by aristocratic promoters. Neither won the competition, at least not in the first attempt (in the case of *Giannetto*). Soave sent *Novelle morali* to a scholarship instituted by Lombard count Carlo Bettoni in 1782, who destined the amount of 100 zecchini to the author of a series of twenty-five short stories, chosen by a commission of academics from the University of Padua. These stories needed to follow clear guidelines: they needed to be written in a "purgatissima lingua italiana", and they had to promote conservative values, such as "quella prudenza regolatrice dell'uman vivere". Although the commission did not award any of the submitted books, Count Bettoni, after reading part of Soave's *Novelle morali*, decided to publish them at his expenses. Ascenzi and Sani, *Storia e antologia della letteratura per l'infanzia nell'Italia dell'Ottocento*, Vol.1, 16.
[106] Ibid., 21.

class and their new and extended borders. The new Italian bourgeoisie took inspiration from the conservative values promoted by Soave, and literature for children gained a critical status within the political élites.

Abbot Luigi Parravicini submitted *Giannetto* to a scholarship competition granted by the *Società per la diffusione del metodo di reciproco insegnamento di Firenze* in 1833.[107] The competition guidelines outlined that the award-winning manuscript should emphasise a sense of duty, together with "quel principio solenne di morale: Non fare ad altri quello che non vorresti fatto a te medesimo."[108] The commission, presided over by the influential historian and pedagogist Marquis Gino Capponi, did not award any of the participants, as no one could "riputarsi degno di premio".[109] The following year, the *Società* renewed the call for manuscripts and finally awarded Parravicini's text. The verdict highlighted *Giannetto*'s merit of being anchored to a realistic description of the life of an ordinary child who elevates his social status with his good values and his hard work: "se non altro, in veduta del concepimento di una condotta cosi ben disposta soltanto pel felice divisamento di trarre le norme della morale dai fatti."[110]

Giannetto is a three-volume story of the homonymous child who manages to rise from his humble origins to an entrepreneur's status. The three books focus on various topics, from the human body, arts and crafts, sciences, life within the society and the family, to the main events of Italian history, from the ancient Romans to the Restoration.[111] The young protagonist is the son of Antonio Masini, a workhorse grocer and mercer, and the humble Gioconda. The child lives with his parents, a sister and three brothers and eventually becomes the benefactor and the moral guide of his native village. According to Emilio De Marchi, the text's narrative

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[107] This society, established by Florentine noble Cosimo Ridolfi in 1819, aimed at "diffondere l'istruzione elementare specialmente nella bassa classe del popolo", and counted in its members authorities such as Raffaello Lambruschini. Ridolfi also directed the Accademia dei Georgofili, an educational institution that had promoted the study of agronomy since the seventeenth century, from 1842 to 1865.

[108] Luigi Alessandro Parravicini, *Giannetto: opera che in Firenze ottenne il premio promesso al più bel libro di lettura ad uso de' fanciulli del popolo, e che è adottata come premio nelle scuole elementari del regno Lombardo-Veneto, nel cantone del Ticino, ec. Ec. (1851),* 3.

[109] Ibid., 4.

[110] Ibid., 5.

[111] Elisabetta Patrizi, "The Representation of the Cultural and Natural Heritage as a Training Tool of National Consciousness in Three Classics of the nineteenth century Italian School: Giannetto, Il Bel Paese and Cuore" *History of education & children's literature* 2017, no. 1.

atmosphere makes *Giannetto* a precursor of the so-called *self-helpismo*, the genre that later would develop under the influence of Samuel Smiles's *Self-help* (1865).[112]

Giannetto seems today a symbol of inauthenticity; the picture-postcard village where Giannetto lives allowed Elisabetta Patrizi to define the child Giannetto as a "waxwork".[113] For example, in the end, Giannetto is elected as the model to follow for the newborn Italian State, an exact representation of a fiction completely detached from reality. In these terms, the civilisation of the masses, 'dirozzamento delle plebi', through the educational program appears a naively idealistic endeavour:

> Le belle istituzioni di Giannetto resero in breve felici gli abitatori di sì fortunata provincia. I contadini erano 'dabbene' e coltivavano le terre con tale diligenza, che parevano giardini: le prigioni erano vuote: il popolo si mostrava istruito, laborioso, onesto, cortese ed agiato. Tutti quanti allora portavano Giannetto in palmo di mano: benedicevano il suo nome, ed asserivano con ragione, che se in ognuna delle nostre province vi fosse un Giannetto, l'Italia presto diventerebbe un paradiso terrestre.[114]

Parravicini's book had an incomparable distribution and reached its 66th edition in 1896. According to scholars such as Marino Berengo and Nicola Del Corno, the key reason for this incredible popularity in such an era of social and political upheavals as the second half of the Italian *Ottocento* was its political and ideological indeterminacy.[115] Berengo highlighted that *Giannetto*'s ideological vagueness contributed to it being viewed favourably both in the Austrian State of Lombardy and in the liberal unified Italian State.[116] Another key to its success has been identified in its "richiamo al buon senso quotidiano e il suo innocuo enciclopedismo, scevro di richiami ideologici [che] gli aprivano un credito e un'udienza, che avrebbe a lungo

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[112] Emilio De Marchi, "Parravicini Luigi Alessandro", in *Dizionario illustrato di pedagogia* (Milan: Francesco Vallardi, 1900), 166-167.
[113] Patrizi, "The Representation of the Cultural and Natural Heritage", 24.
[114] Parravicini, *Giannetto*, V.4, 311.
[115] Nicola Del Corno, "Alle origini del long-seller: il Giannetto del Parravicini", in Luisa Finocchi and Ada Gigli Marchetti, *Editori e piccoli lettori tra Otto e Novecento* (Milan: F. Angeli, 2004), 47-60.
[116] Marino Berengo, *Intellettuali e librai nella Milano della Restaurazione* (Turin: G. Einaudi, 1980), 197-198. Marcella Bacigalupi and Piero Fossati, on the same line, defined *Giannetto* an "enciclopedia elementare" in which the parts dedicated to knowledge were more present than the moral and ideological education. Marcella Bacigalupi and Piero Fossati, *Da plebe a popolo: l'educazione popolare nei libri di scuola dall'Unità d'Italia alla Repubblica* (Scandicci, Florence: La Nuova Italia, 1986), 11.

continuato a godere."[117] Similarly to *Novelle morali*'s, philanthropic conservativism was the core reason for its wide distribution, even after the unification occurred in 1861.

Beyond Parravicini and Soave, authors like Cesare Cantu' and Pietro Thouar also heavily permeated their works with an "accentuazione della narrazione in senso didascalico e precettistico".[118] Their primary texts, *Il buon fanciullo* (1837) and *Racconti pei fanciulli* (1847), were imbued with a liberal-catholic tendency and a heavy pedantic style. The so-called 'first generation' of writers for children in Italy included also Milanese abbot Giulio Tarra and Florentine professor Pietro Dazzi. Tarra was an exponent of moderate Catholicism, while Dazzi was an academic member of the *Crusca*, and the typical philanthropist-educator figure. Tarra reached popularity with texts such as *Il libro del bambino* (1864) and eventually dedicated himself to the education of deaf-mute children. At the same time, the name of Dazzi was linked to texts such as *L'amico degli asili* (1872) and initiatives such as the *Società delle scuole del popolo* in Florence, an organisation he founded in 1867 that offered free education to young adults on Sundays. All these writers addressed a conformist society focused on the 'dirozzamento delle plebi'.

After unification, the market rapidly became more extensive, with many more potential buyers who could be accessed without customs, legislative impediments, and "senza più le limitazioni imposte dalla censura preventiva".[119] Collodi was at the helm of this surging literary world, and his being Florentine contributed to his centrality.

Florence was, at the time, the 'Italian Athens'", the fulcrum of culture and arts for Italian society. The city was the hub for initiatives such as the *Istituto di Studi Superiori*, an educational institution for advanced studies founded in 1859. Personalities such as Augusto Alfani and Pasquale Villari—two prominent figures within the educational context—perfected their formation at the *Istituto*, and inspired magazines such as *La Scuola, rivista italiana*

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[117] Berengo, *Intellettuali e librai nella Milano della Restaurazione*, 288-290.
[118] Letter of Atto Vannucci to Ida Baccini, in Ascenzi and Sani, *Storia e antologia della letteratura per l'infanzia nell'Italia dell'Ottocento*, Vol. 2, 260.
[119] Gianfranco Bandini, Carla Ida Salviati, and Aldo Cecconi, *Paggi e Bemporad editori per la scuola: libri per leggere, scrivere e far di conto* (Florence; Milan: Giunti, 2008), 84. For example, *Giannettino* was adopted by many schools across Italy, and primary schools sent Collodi letters of praise from the remotest areas. One of these letters, sent by the School Council of the Sicilian town of Trapani in 1878, is kept at the Biblioteca Nazionale of Florence, N.A. 754, III, 18.

dell'istruzione pubblica. *La Scuola* was printed in Florence and directed by Alfani; according to Ilaria Porciani, *La Scuola* was part of a 'programma di rilancio della centralità fiorentina" within the academic world.[120]

In this environment, editors such as Paggi, Barbera, and Le Monnier rapidly became central figures in the surging educational literature world. The centrality of editors shifted the perspective on their commercial interest. For example, the Paggi brothers, who distributed Collodi's works until 1889—when they sold the business to their nephews Enrico and Roberto Bemporad—were reputed "più furbi del diavolo".[121] Such centrality—linked to their shrewdness—gave them the power to contact the various ministerial departments and learn in advance about incoming programmes.[122] As a result, they could solicit the approval of their texts from the authorities or promptly make changes in case of necessity. The central Commission instituted in 1882 concluded its report with the "verità dolorosa" according to which "la maggior parte dei libri scolastici sono compilati per mera avidità di guadagno, non già per nobile desiderio di giovare alle scuole."[123]

However, editors like Paggi had also the merit of gathering many intellectuals and writers at their Florentine bookshop in Via del Proconsolo. They created a proactive laboratory of ideas and projects that Aldo Cecconi called *La Paggeria*—a group of "uomini d'ingegno, di cultura, di spirito fiorentino e di lingua molto affilata."[124] *La Paggeria* included Collodi,

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[120] Porciani, "L'industria dello scolastico", 476.
[121] Archivio di Stato Firenze, "Presidenza del Buongoverno, Archivio segreto, anno 1850, pezzo 40, affare 248." Paggi brothers were disseminating "prohibited" books during Risorgimento, such as Gioberti's *Parole* and Guerrazzi's *L'assedio di Firenze*. Collodi, who began his career as writer for children thanks to an intuition of "sor Sandro" Paggi, had in his youth obtained an authorisation to go in the Vatican library and access the *indice*—the list of prohibited books.
[122] Alberto Barausse, *Il libro per la scuola dall'Unità al fascismo: la normativa sui libri di testo dalla legge Casati alla riforma Gentile (1861-1922)* (Macerata: Alfabetica, 2008), 20.
[123] *Relazione generale sui servizi per gli anni 1881 e 1882: a sua eccellenza il comm. prof. Guido Baccelli Ministro di Pubblica Istruzione* / Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione, ed. istruzione Italia: Ministero della pubblica (n.p.: Ippolito Sciolla, 1883), 11.
[124] Aldo Cecconi, "Prima della Bemporad. La Libreria Editrice di Alessandro e Felice Paggi" in Gianfranco Bandini, Carla Ida Salviati, and Aldo Cecconi, *Paggi e Bemporad editori per la scuola: libri per leggere, scrivere e far di conto* (Florence; Milan: Giunti, 2008), 84.

academic Giuseppe Rigutini, Ida Baccini, Emma Perodi and Pietro Thouar, and was behind the creation of several schoolbooks published by Paggi in the collection *Biblioteca scolastica*.[125]

Despite the predominance of Florentine editors and distributors, the industry of educational books was prolific in other parts of the Italian kingdom; in 1881, 3922 different textbooks were circulating throughout Italian schools.[126] Also, the multiple government changes in the first decades after unification—thirty-three in the first thirty years—compromised the implementation of a medium-term educational strategy and allowed an uncontrolled diffusion.[127] The schoolbook milieu was hectic, and authorities used expressions such as "abbondanza tropicale" or "arruffata matassa" to describe the uncontrolled number of books that invaded the market.[128] Besides, the secular twist propagandised by the Italian State naturally prompted a reaction from the Catholic world, which encouraged the publication of

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[125] Ilaria Porciani, "Il libro di testo come oggetto di ricerca. I manuali scolastici nell'Italia postunitaria", in *Storia della scuola e storia d'Italia: dall'Unità ad oggi*, ed. Antonio Santoni Rugiu, Riforme e potere, (Bari: De Donato, 1982), 248.

[126] *Relazione sull'origine e sullo sviluppo della quistione di esame dei libri di testo dal 1859 al 1881. Breve discorso del Prof. Luigi Gabriele Pessina*. Incaricato dei lavori dei libri di testo presso la Segreteria del Consiglio Superiore di Pubblica Istruzione, in ACS, MPI, CSPI, I Serie 1849-1903, Atti versati posteriormente, b. 5, f. 7. Libri di testo: relazioni, giudizi e corrispondenza (1875-1884). This issue was already known to the authorities. The various ministries tried to regulate such exuberant distribution attempting to outline some national guidelines. In 1875 the Minister for Public Education Ruggero Bonghi published the result of a special commission on primary textbooks aiming at a clearer view of a situation that was becoming unmanageable. The report underscored the overabundance of texts. Such excess was due to the direct management of primary schools by individual municipalities, which complicated the architecture of centralised management: "[…] nelle province del Regno sono già indicati per le scuole elementari 72 sillabari di altrettanti autori diversi, 65 grammatiche, 56 aritmetiche, 52 geografie, 27 storie sacre, 31 storie patrie, 22 serie di modelli calligrafici, e la bellezza poi di 121 libri di lettura." In Bacigalupi and Fossati, *Da plebe a popolo*, 18.

[127] The strategy of a centralised commission, re-established by Baccelli in 1883—which did not approve, for instance, *Giannettino*—could not operate consistently because of the many changes at the Ministry of Public Education, and remained unresolved until 1894, when Baccelli returned to the Minerva (the palace of the Ministry of Public Education's head office). See also Barausse, *Il libro per la scuola dall'Unità al fascismo*, in which Barausse stresses how decisions on crucial topics—such as the structure of textbooks approvals by the government—was inconsistent for at least the first twenty years.

[128] Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione. "Relazione Generale a S.E. il Ministro, Presidente del Consiglio Superiore della Pubblica Istruzione*." Commissione sopra i libri di testo per le scuole elementari e popolari, per le scuole tecniche e normali, per gl'istituti tecnici e per le scuole ginnasiali e liceali*. (Rome: Tipografia Ippolito Sciolla, 1883), 8; Camera dei Deputati, Discorsi pronunziati dal ministro Paolo Boselli nella discussione del bilancio del Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione per l'anno 1890-91, Rome, 1890, 56-58.

confessional texts and hagiographies, the *Vite dei Santi* for children.[129] Overall, the world of books for primary schools was deprived of a consistent direction. Although the governmental commissions did exercise some sort of control—as the non-approval of *Giannettino* in 1883 demonstrates—it was undoubtedly difficult to monitor all the texts distributed through the primary school network.

Such a ferment led to a situation in which educational strategies were largely unmanaged. Aristide Gabelli, in fact, at the time stressed the danger of such a situation and lamented a lack of tradition within the primary education cultural heritage. He believed that in the two decades before 1880, Italy's educational programmes did not implement any transparent educational methodology.[130] Marcella Bacigalupi underscores how "l'immagine del popolo e la sua educazione si mantengono inalterati, […] con una persistenza che attraversa il succedersi delle pedagogie e dei Programmi ministeriali" in many schoolbooks published in the nineteenth century.[131] Moreover, post-unification Italy witnessed the uninterrupted circulation of books written by the so-called "first generation".[132] The Catholic background of the writers of those school texts kept alive a religious dimension that—in years characterised by a decisive attempt by the government to foster a secular society—did not strengthen the message of the Italian nation as a secular-based community, whose new 'religion' was supposed to pivot around the newborn State.

The intellectual élite, representative of the higher classes, took advantage of such uncertainty, strengthening their perspective on society, creating a bourgeois approach to

[129] Anna Ascenzi and Roberto Sani argue that, even after unification, the diffusion of the *Vite dei Santi* was substantial, as proved by the "inchiesta della Società Bibliografica Italiana sui libri più letti dal popolo italiano, nell'ambito della quale operette come la celebre Vita di S.Luigi Gonzaga del padre Cesari e la versione adattata per la gioventù delle non meno celebri Vita di S. Filippo Neri del Bacci e Viata di Maria Vergine del Massini risultavano aver venduto, nell'arco di alcuni decenni, oltre diecimila copie." Ascenzi and Sani, *Storia e antologia della letteratura per l'infanzia nell'Italia dell'Ottocento*, Vol.2, 217.
[130] Ibid., 27.
[131] Bacigalupi and Fossati, *Da plebe a popolo*, 22-3.
[132] Alberto Barausse emphasises how the 1882 commission was very critical of the "first generation" of schoolbooks. For example, Pietro Thouar's texts were considered unsuitable because they contained too much Catholic inspiration. Nevertheless, many similar texts still circulated within the schools. Barausse, *Il libro per la scuola dall'Unità al fascismo*, 43.

education that over the years came to represent the official ideology. According to Bacigalupi, the unclear policies contributed to a bourgeois hegemony over the school texts:

> L'idea di ciò che […] doveva essere il popolo si era formata […] in quella classe di intellettuali [..] e nella scuola era penetrata attraverso i loro scritti. Con l'avvicinarsi della fine del secolo quell'idea era ormai assimilata dalla struttura scolastica che intendeva saldamente amministrarla omogeneizzandone i contenuti.[133]

Anna Ascenzi and Roberto Sani also believe that the Italian bourgeoisie instilled its cultural hegemony in most of the texts which circulated through Italy at the time. In line with the "prima generazione di libri per bambini", they underscore how the Italian *pedagogia nazionale* after Unification pivoted around the endorsement of the middle-class's core values.[134] Honesty, rectitude, honour, defence of private property, respect for authority, moderation, resignation to a pre-established social condition, rigidly classist society, *buone maniere*, and sometimes also a deep Catholic faith were considered the bases of a right society.[135] Such values, according to Jacques Gleyse, were very similar to those promoted by school texts in France at the same time.[136] The ideals of the bourgeoisie eventually merged with the Italian State's cultural programme built around the golden rule of the 'dirozzamento delle plebi'. Ascenzi and Sani stressed how such an approach widened the gap between the élite and the masses and pointed to the bourgeoisie as the quintessential model to imitate; the Italian State was hence the bourgeoise and vice-versa:

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[133] Bacigalupi and Fossati, *Da plebe a popolo*, 27.

[134] Ascenzi and Sani, *Storia e antologia della letteratura per l'infanzia nell'Italia dell'Ottocento*, Vol. 2, 158.

[135] Ibid., 97. Domenico Berti was at the head of the Concorsi per sillabari e libri di lettura per le scuole elementari. In the *Relazione a S. E. il Ministro della pubblica istruzione*, he outlined the main requirements for reading books to be awarded: "Due parti principali e tra loro distinte dovrebbero comporlo; [...] nella prima dovrebbersi comprendere le cose attinenti alla lingua ed all'aritmetica, il sistema metrico, l'insegnamento del leggere e dello scrivere [...]; nella seconda, destinata a costituire il fondamento vero della educazione e della istruzione, dovrebbersi comprendere, oltre i doveri dell'uomo e del cittadino, quelle prime cognizioni intorno al mondo fisico e al mondo morale che possono giovare a indocilire l'animo dei bambini e tornare più utili nei casi della vita. [...] Quanto alla parte morale [...] essa dovrebbe avere per obbietto Dio, l'uomo, la famiglia, la patria, perciocché in questo si racchiude ogni dovere, ché se per gli ordinamenti che ci reggono non v'è nelle nostre scuole l'obbligo d'istruire nella religione, nondimeno non d'altronde che dalla fede nei sommi veri può scendere nel cuor del fanciullo la nozione e il sentimento del dovere." Domenico Berti, *Concorsi per sillabari e libri di lettura per le scuole elementari. relazione a S. E. Il Ministro della Pubblica Istruzione*, Rome, 1880.

[136] Jacques Gleyse, "Making Angels. Bodily restraints championed in French school textbooks on moral values (1880-1964)" *History of education & children's literature*, no. 1 (2014).

> La nazionalizzazione delle classi popolari, portata avanti attraverso la scuola[…] era destinata a risentire fortemente di una simile impostazione, al punto che—almeno nelle scuole elementari—l'educazione al sentimento della patria e la promozione dell'identità nazionale finirono col sovrapporsi con il più complessivo progetto delle classi dominanti […] di estendere all'intera società italiana i valori, i modelli culturali, la morale e i costumi della borghesia, fino a configurarsi come un unicum.[137]

Cuore

The quintessential representation of the middle-class *Weltanschauung* is undoubtedly *Cuore*, published by Edmondo de Amicis in 1886. Inspired by Jules Michelet's *L'amour*, *Cuore* is the most renowned symbol of Italian literature for children in the second half of *Ottocento* and had immediate and overwhelming success.[138] In the first year, the novel had forty editions, growing to three hundred within eighteen years. In terms of copies released, the 330,000 copies in 1906 became one million by 1923. *Cuore* is a blend of school and family life episodes that mark the 1882 school year of Enrico Bottini, a middle-class child who lives in Turin with his wealthy family. These episodes are conveyed through several fictional genres, such as school diary texts and Enrico's and his parents' notes. De Amicis offered moralising *exempla* to his audience through these stories, in which the main characters are children from different parts of Italy, such as *Il piccolo patriota padovano, Il piccolo scrivano fiorentino, Il tamburino sardo, Sangue romagnolo.* Enrico's classmates and many other characters in *Cuore* belong to various social classes, and represent, according to Bruno Tobia, "exempla viventi di moralità […] o di vizi".[139]

De Amicis offers a portrait of a society that bonds around the *buon cuore* of the bourgeoisie. The Italian middle class is invested, in *Cuore*, with the sacred duty of creating a new society based on fraternity, unity and patriotism which, however, reflects strict social immobility. According to Giuseppe Zaccaria, *Cuore* aimed to promote a society "arisen from

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[137] Ascenzi and Sani, *Storia e antologia della letteratura per l'infanzia nell'Italia dell'Ottocento*, Vol.2, 158.

[138] See Patrizi, "The Representation of the Cultural and Natural Heritage as a Training Tool of National Consciousness"; for the letters between De Amicis and his editor, Mimì Mosso *I tempi del cuore: vita e lettere di Edmondo De Amicis ed Emilio Treves* (Milan: A. Mondadori, 1925); Gino Bertolini, "Come nacque il "Cuore" di Edmondo De Amicis" *La Lettura: rivista mensile de Il Corriere della Sera*, 1908.

[139] Lucetta Scaraffia and Bruno Tobia, "Cuore di E. De Amicis (1886) e la costruzione dell'identità nazionale," *Dimensioni e problemi della ricerca storica*, no. 2 (1988), 121.

the ashes of the old regional states and which must universalise the triumph of bourgeois right".[140] The cultural programme conceived by the middle class found in *Cuore* its most outspoken representation, promoting core values such as: the "paternalism" of the bourgeoisie towards the lower classes; the sentiment of authority and the constant reference to duty; honesty; the sense of mercy towards the poor and all social outcasts; the refusal of any excess; the acquiescent acceptance of the social condition and the idea of human brotherhood, without impacting the rigidly classist society.[141] Alberto Asor Rosa claimed that *Cuore* was the ideal link between the intellectual hegemony of the Northern Italian bourgeoisie with the European middle-class, which for him was the reason that explained the vast success that *Cuore* had all over Europe. Asor Rosa stressed how "[Cuore] fu uno degli strumenti più potenti di unificazione culturale nazionale [...]sotto il segno dell'egemonia intellettuale della borghesia settentrionale. [...] Facendosi voce di tali idealità il De Amicis si ricollegava al tempo stesso a tendenze culturali e spirituali proprie della borghesia europea contemporanea". [142]

Cuore is also the symbol of the secularisation of the Catholic semantics that the Italian *Staatsträger* implemented in those years to promote their propaganda, which I will examine further in the thesis. Roberto Ubbidiente backs this interpretation, as he labels *Cuore* the secular Gospel for the new Italian society, aimed at replacing the Catholic religion with a "coscienza nuova per i cittadini di un mondo migliore".[143] Ubbidiente's understanding of *Cuore* as a secular gospel—echoed by Portinari, who defined De Amicis the "Don Bosco laico"—is clearly outlined in the following: "Alla religione rivelata De Amicis sostituisce quella laica dell'Umanitarismo protosocialista basato sulla rivisitazione delle tre virtù teologali in 1)

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[140] Giuseppe Zaccaria, "Un 'Cuore' d'appendice?" in *Cent'anni di cuore: contributi per la rilettura del libro* (Turin: Umberto Allemandi, 1986), 108-109. Translation in Patrizi, "The Representation of the Cultural and Natural Heritage as a Training Tool of National Consciousness", 44.

[141] The Minister for Public Education Paolo Boselli, considered *Cuore* "il miglior libro che fosse mai stato scritto per l'infanzia". Such a declaration highlights once again how the Italian bourgeoisie and the *Staatsträger* were not separate entities. See Massimo Grillandi, *Emilio Treves* (Turin: Unione tipografico-editrice torinese, 1977), 429-439.

[142] Alberto Asor Rosa, "Le voci di un'Italia bambina ('Cuore' e 'Pinocchio')", in *Storia d'Italia. Dall'unità ad oggi*, edited by Ruggiero Romano and Corrado Vivanti. (Turin: Einaudi, l975), 928.

[143] Roberto Ubbidiente, "Fare *gli Italiani". La Scuola in "Cuore" di Edmondo De Amicis tra missione sociogenetica e utopia sociale* (2007), 97.

compenetrazione per i più deboli (Pietà), 2) cieca fiducia negli ideali socialisti (Fede), 3) anelito di riscatto attraverso istruzione e cultura (Speranza)."[144]

Other readings for children

Bacigalupi and Fossati identify a shift between the first and the secont part of the nineteenth century. According to them, the relation of "obblighi reciproci tra ricchi e poveri", based on the mutual obligation—"Il povero serve il ricco e ne ha mercede. Il ricco sostiene il povero e lo aiuta"—disappeared in the schoolbooks of the second half of the nineteenth century.[145] In that perspective, the two scholars identified in Ida Baccini the break-point between the two seasons of heavy moralism and a more progressive, entertaining style.[146] Her *Le memorie di un pulcino* is the story of a little pullet that lives on a Tuscan farm. It became a big editorial success, to the extent that the author confessed to be "una vittima delle *Memorie di un pulcino*. E quantunque abbia tentato […] moltissimi generi letterari […] sono sempre rimasta la soave, la gentile, la delicata scrittrice per ragazzi".[147] The stylistic innovation seems to be the only major twist. Although innovative if compared to Thouar and Cantu, books such as Emma Perodi's *Cuoricino* (1886), according to Giovanni Bitelli, "trasudavano quella pedanteria didascalica opprimente che i ragazzi non inghiottirebbero neppure ravvoltolata nello zucchero e nella liquirizia".[148]

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[144] Ibid., 97.
[145] Bacigalupi and Fossati, *Da plebe a popolo*, 60-70.
[146] This group of writers, mainly teachers or people involved in the educational system, included authors such as Ildebrando Bencivenni and, principally, an influential group of women teachers, such as Ida Baccini, Anna Vertua Gentile, Emma Perodi, Sofia Bisi Albini and Cordelia. These authors became *compilatori di testi scolastici*, although authors like Baccini or Perodi had experiences also in escapist literature for children.
[147] Ida Baccini and Laura Nacci, *Memorie di un pulcino* (Milan: Greco & Greco, 2001).
[148] Giovanni Bitelli *Piccola guida alla conoscenza della letteratura infantile*, ed. Giovanni Bitelli, Per la cultura del maestro, (Turin: G. B. Paravia e C, 1947). These books from this 'second generation', on the whole, still maintained a rather conservative stance. Bencivenni, for example, promoted a new society based on industriousness: "La povertà da che dipende? Dall'ozio e dalla prodigalità […] Chi lavora e chi risparmia, non può essere povero." Ildebrando Bencivenni, *Il libro complete per gli alunni e le alunne della quarta classe elementare* (Turin: Tarizzo, 1883), 21. Also, financial success was not considered enough for a class upgrade. In the schoolbooks written after the unification this kind of social conservativism was still substantial. Paolo Mantegazza described an exemplar situation in the booklet for children *Testa* (1887): "è vestito da signore, col suo tubino di feltro nero, coi calzoni di casimira all'ultima moda, col panciotto a colori vistosi. Nel tutto assieme ti accordi però subito, ch'egli non è un vero signore, ma uno che vuol scimmiottare una classe a cui non appartiene". Paolo Mantegazza, *Testa: libro per i giovinetti* (Milan: Treves, 1888), 146.

The sub-genre of the Italian *self-helpisti* books inspired by Samuel Smiles is another indicator of how Italian middle-class values were pervading the literary scene. Bacigalupi believes that the strong message of the 'self-made man' that Smiles promoted in his book was strongly mitigated in Italian books, such as Michele Lessona's *Volere è potere* (1869), Carlo Mariani's *Il Plutarco italiano. Vite di illustri italiani* (1869), and Paolo Mantegazza's *Le glorie e le gioie del lavoro* (1870). Such a moderated approach was due, according to Bacigalupi, to the hostility of the Italian bourgeois élite to social mobility. Ascenzi and Sani also stress how this sub-genre opposed those values that eventually merged into a socialist interpretation of society:

> Il lavorismo si propone di promuovere la fascinazione per chi è all'apice della scala sociale e il vero e proprio culto della realizzazione individuale; al principio della lotta di classe si contrappone quello dell'emulazione delle classi superiori, nella ferma volontà di contenere ed incanalare il malessere e i gravi disagi delle classi popolari e di conservare, in tal modo, gli equilibri sociali e politici tradizionali.[149]

Within such a dynamic context, Catholic propaganda was still central and well-embedded in the community. A well-organised distribution network, based on the many parishes spread across Italy and a rich collection of texts, contributed to give the Holy See a solid stance for the new challenge against the secular State. Those pamphlets or leaflets—commonly Catholic-inspired life manuals or hagiographies, the *Vite dei Santi*—were published by either representatives of the Vatican's control (Salesiani, Gesuiti, Antoniana from Padua amid others) or devout private publishers such as the Agnelli from Milan.

Hagiographies not only witnessed a strong distribution in the *Ottocento* (also because of the improvement in female literacy) but were also re-fashioned by the Italian government with a secular perspective.[150] After unification, the biographies of the most prominent personalities contributing to the creation of the Italian State, such as Garibaldi, Cavour, and Vittorio Emanuele II, were often included in schoolbooks. Collodi's *La lanterna magica di Giannettino*, for example, also ends with the portrayals of Garibaldi and the king of Italy Vittorio Emanuele II.

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[149] Ascenzi and Sani, *Storia e antologia della letteratura per l'infanzia nell'Italia dell'Ottocento*, Vol. 2, 43.
[150] Ibid., 218.

Magazines for a children audience also developed significantly after 1881—the year of foundation of the popular *Il Giornale per i Bambini*—contributing to the diversification of the new market. Following the immediate success of *Il Giornale per i Bambini*, many other magazines were founded in the following years, such as *Cordelia* (1881), *La Pergola* (1881-1883), *Il Giornale dei Fanciulli* (1884-1901), *Il Paradiso dei Bambini* (1888-1894).

Ferdinando Martini created and directed *Il Giornale per i Bambini* for the first two years and was eventually replaced by Collodi in 1883 and by Emma Perodi in 1887 until its closure in 1889. Martini was a prominent figure in the educational environment and was also in charge of the Ministry for Public Education from 1892 to 1893.[151] Many famous authors collaborated with *Il Giornale per i Bambini* with short stories, doggerel, episode-stories (such as *Pinocchio*), and illustrations: Baccini, Collodi, Perodi, Luigi Capuana, Neera, Matilde Serao, and many others contributed to the success of the *Giornale*, which quickly reached a distribution of 25,000 copies per issue.[152] The educational model promoted by the *Giornale* was, according to Fabiana Loparco, "lo specchio fedele di quella parte delle élites italiane che sostenevano la necessità di educare la gioventù ai valori classici (quali la bontà, la carità e la pietà verso i meno fortunati, l'obbedienza filiale, lo spirito di sacrificio, l'amor di Patria)".[153] As a result, Loparco believes the *Giornale* promoted a classist society inspired by an "educazione laica di matrice positivista, basata sulla valorizzazione dell'industria e del lavoro, sulla centralità della famiglia, sulla netta distinzione delle classi, che dovevano però imparare a vivere in armonia".[154]

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[151] In the opening editorial in the first issue of the *Giornale*, Martini stressed how he aimed at giving Italian children the same opportunities of those from America, England, and France. Once again—as previously seen in regard to the impact of French fables—other countries' pedagogical policies influenced the development of the Italian context: "Perché quel che si fa per i bambini in America, in Inghilterra, in Francia, non si ha da fare in Italia? Tante volte si fece queste interrogazioni, che alla fine giudicò utile di rispondere non colle parole ma co' fatti. E la risposta, ragazzi miei, eccola qui." In Alberto Carli, *Prima del Corriere dei piccoli: Ferdinando Martini, Carlo Collodi, Emma Perodi e Luigi Capuana fra giornalismo per l'infanzia, racconto realistico e fiaba moderna* (Macerata: EUM, 2007), 47.
[152] Ibid., 31.
[153] Fabiana Loparco, "Ferdinando Martini e la direzione del «Giornale per i bambini» in alcuni documenti inediti (1881-1889)", *History of education & children's literature*, I-2014, 762.
[154] Ibid., 761.

Conclusion

The heterogeneous spectrum of literature for children in Italy, especially in the second half of the *Ottocento*, significantly developed in terms of genres and social fruition.[155] Whereas in the first half of the nineteenth-century books for children were the prerogative of an enlightened aristocracy, the whole scene quickly evolved into a "fenomeno di massa e da assurgere a strumento in grado di influenzare la mentalità e i costumi civili di larghi strati della popolazione".[156]

The liberal élite anchored the national pedagogy to the core concept of the 'dirozzamento delle plebi', and supported the neat separation of the classes, promoted by most of the texts. They presented a socially conservative society in which the duty of the élite was to refine a loutish *plebe* and induce in the *popolo* the aspiration to resemble the middle class. The élite's aim to inculcate the principal virtues in the people pivoted around a bourgeois sense of restraint and respect for authority.

In the following chapter, the focus will be on showing how Collodi's schoolbooks represented a unicum in such an editorial context. This analysis will underscore the discrepancy between the rigidity of the bourgeois diktat and what emerges particularly from *Giannettino* and his other texts conceived for school use. Although not openly critical of the élite's instructions, Collodi disseminated elements of criticism throughout his books. The literature on Collodi describes a fierce and socially engaged writer who was aware of the many different audiences he addressed. In his endeavours, he employed his journalistic competence to readapt texts and content for selected readers. These combined elements offer a lens through which to engage in a re-reading of his schoolbooks, with the aim of assessing the extent to which they reveal non-conformist positions within a national identity discourse, just like his journalistic work and other texts.

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[155] Many other subgenres, other than the above-mentioned ones, characterised the field of literature for children in the second half of Ottocento: for example, scientific books, such as Antonio Stoppani's *Il Bel Paese*. *Conversazioni sulle bellezza naturali, la geologia e la geografia fisica d'Italia* (1876), or Vamba's *Ciondolino* (1893), despite a meagre distribution, represented the variety that was caused by the literal explosion of a new editorial market.

[156] Ascenzi and Sani, *Storia e antologia della letteratura per l'infanzia nell'Italia dell'Ottocento*, Vol.1, 7.

Chapter 2

Collodi and the private authority

Perché il sesso mascolino si chiama *il sesso forte*? Perché, per il solito, è il più debole.[1]

The term *authority* is a core concept in the pedagogy of a new nation. However, it is easy to imagine that framing such a concept in a stable framework is almost an impossible task. Moreover, various studies across decades have shown that the perception of authority and related critical approaches seem to adjust significantly to the historical context in which it is examined.[2] Benedict Anderson, for example, claimed that "the impact of economic change, 'discoveries' (social and scientific), and the development of increasingly rapid communications" were active factors in new approaches to concepts such as authority, emphasising the volubility of that construct over time.[3]

In this chapter the focus is on the concept of authority, and on how Collodi's schoolbooks addressed it within the familial context. More specifically, the chapter investigates how the representation of authority in the schoolbooks relates to the government's portrayal of the construct of family within the discourse of national identity. In particular, this chapter examines how the Italian State propagandised the constructs of *madre* and *padre*, and how these models appear in Collodi's schoolbooks. The combined analysis of his schoolbooks and his journalistic texts will constitute a valuable resource to understand Collodi's response to the official paradigms promoted by the *Staatsträger* in those years. The analysis of Collodi's journalistic texts will also offer new elements to consider in a stylistic reading of the primers.

[1] Collodi, "Manuale per uso dei giovanetti di primo pelo", in *Opere*, 739.
[2] See, for example, Hannah Arendt, "What was authority?", in Carl Joachim Friedrich, *Authority* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard Univ. Press, 1958); J. Roland Pennock and John W. Chapman, *Authority Revisited* (New York: New York University Press, 1987); Carl J. Friedrich, *Authority, Reason and Discretion* (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1958).
[3] Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 36.

In particular, the frequent use of irony in the journalistic writing will potentially help to identify the irony that Collodi employed when writing his books for school as well.

Authority's volubility

There is a strong interconnection between perceptions of authority and historical context. For example, after devastating events such as World War II, 'authority' epitomised the sense of bewilderment that characterised some philosophical interpretations of contemporary society. Starting from the postulate that "practically as well as theoretically, we are no longer in a position to know what authority really is", Hannah Arendt identified the disappearance of authority as one of the causes of modern society's crisis.[4] This sense of instability was reiterated decades later when Roland Pennock highlighted a "frequent appearance of the words' ambiguity' and 'perspectives' and similar cautionary flags" in a group of essays related to authority published on the 1985 NOMOS.[5]

The variability of authority had a considerable impact on the pedagogical approach to entities—such as the mother, the father, the State or other public institutions—that have been historically perceived as authoritarian. Carl Friedrich defined authority as the relationship "different from that of power and force" that allows a child to understand the "reasons which animate the parent in asking for obedience as well as for agreement."[6] He stressed how the paternal role was relevant in educating the child—hence the society—to the concept of authority. Friedrich underscored how authority was the quintessential link between *private* and *public*. Hannah Arendt went further and stressed how the crisis of modern society affected the pedagogical approach to authority, corrupting those "prepolitical areas as child-rearing and education, where authority in the widest sense has always been accepted as a natural necessity."[7]

The pedagogical aspect of authority seems to be a vital link between acceptance and agreement; combining Arendt's and Friedrich's words with Anderson's, we might say that educating to the concept of authority seems crucial both for the imagination of a national

[4] Arendt, "What was authority?", 82.
[5] Pennock and Chapman, *Authority Revisited*, XI-XII.
[6] Friedrich, *Authority, Reason and Discretion*, 34.
[7] Arendt, "What was authority", 82.

community as well as for an acknowledgment of the self as part of that community. It is the inclusion of the self to the approach to authority that epitomises the development of the discussion in the decades that follow Arendt and Friedrich; for example, whereas Arendt noticed a "disintegrated" authority, Nancy Rosenblum theorised a "pluralistic authority", opening the connection between authority and the self-development of individuals, therefore offering new *private*—or as Rosenblum defined them, "romantic"—perspectives on authority.[8]

Authority's educational significance and the influence of the historical context on its interpretation highlight the necessity of examining how post-unification Italian society perceived authority in its political and philosophical perspectives. Giorgio Fedel claimed that "Il problema dell'autorità ha scarsa profondità nella cultura politica in Italia".[9] The scholar believed that, as the Italian State was of recent institution, the concept of authority had not had enough time to consolidate within the citizenry, despite being highly promoted by the Risorgimento. For example, Fedel emphasised how Mazzini regarded authority as the political energy that allowed Italian people to create the Italian State despite the fragmentation of the regional States in the *Ottocento*: "il mondo oggi ha sete, nonostante ciò che alcuni dicono, di autorità. Tutte le insurrezioni sono dirette, non contro l'idea del potere, ma contro la parodia di questa idea, contro un fantasma di autorità, una forma senza vita che non può più fecondare le nostre vite."[10]

According to Fedel, the issue of authority underwent a radical revision in the passage from Risorgimento to post-unification Italy. The conflict between the Italian State and the Catholic Church after unification illustrates the quarrel over authority, which I will examine in Chapter 3. The search for consensus and the conflict with the Holy See favoured a sort of sacralisation of the State, expressed by declarations such as that of conservative politician Silvio Spaventa—"sono un adoratore dello Stato"—or texts such as *Cuore*, in which the *patria* is to be worshipped and adored.[11] The Italian State wanted to be viewed as having a "symbolic

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[8] Nancy L. Rosenblum, "Studying Authority: Keeping Pluralism in Mind," in *Authority revisited*, 102-130.

[9] Giorgio Fedel, "Autorità", in *Dizionario del liberalismo italiano*: tomo 1. Soveria Mannelli: Rubbettino, 2011, 70.

[10] Salvo Mastellone, *Giuseppe Mazzini: pensieri sulla democrazia in Europa* (Milan: Feltrinelli, 1997), 93.

[11] "Quanto poi all'autorità e forza dello Stato, [...] Me ne compiaccio, questa è la mia fede[...] Voi siete adoratore dello Stato? Sì, io sono adoratore dello Stato. Quando viviamo in un'epoca dove tutto si

dignity" in the eyes of its people and aimed to challenge the Catholic Church's established reputation as the uncontested carrier of "supremacy of Faith and profound meanings".[12] Anticipating the pedagogical twist that Friedrich stressed years later, the Italian State aimed at consensus and obedience, two concepts that Friedrich fused into his interpretation of authority.

The challenge for authority between the secular State and the Catholic Church also emerges from contemporaneous philosophical texts. Italian positivist philosopher Aristide Gabelli identified authority as a crucial core concept within the conflict between the Catholic Church and the Italian State after 1861. He claimed that Catholic education crystallised a dogmatic method that inhibited free thought, thus creating a retrograde society. Gabelli construed authority as a combination of spiritual (intended as dogmatic methodology) and political authority (intended as authoritarian figures and institutions). He believed that, although reliance on authority was crucial in society, it inhibited free thought and the positivist *ricerca del vero* through the imposition of dogmas: "[l'autorità] è la moneta che serve in certa maniera alle piccole spese della giornata, quando invece il libero pensiero fa quelle più grandi degli anni e dei secoli."[13] According to Gabelli, the Catholic Church's dogmatic method prejudiced the concept of authority, which needed to be re-built from its foundation in light of the new secular State.

Political and philosophical approaches to authority merge in Giuseppe Mazzini's political manifesto *I doveri dell'uomo*, in which Mazzini defined authority as a "combinazione di virtù e genio".[14] The dichotomy between a *private* and *public* interpretation of authority here reoccurs; while the *genio* emphasises the individual's ardour and creativity, *virtù* symbolises the prerequisite for a fair-minded community. Furthermore, in the essay's preface, Mazzini listed the four core values in which he believed as being the "cose più sante che noi conosciamo. […] Voglio parlarvi [...] di Dio, dell'umanità, della Patria, della Famiglia."[15]

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distrugge, poco o niente si edifica, la fede nella patria, la fede nella solidarietà umana, la fede in qualche cosa che non sia solamente il nostro miserabile egoismo, [...] questa fede io la credo necessaria e salutare per il mio paese." Silvio Spaventa, *Discorsi parlamentari di Silvio Spaventa. Pubblicati per deliberazione della Camera dei Deputati* (Roma: Tipografia della Camera dei deputati, 1913), 423.

[12] Fedel, "Autorità", 70.

[13] Aristide Gabelli, "Del principio di autorità presso le nazioni cattoliche," in *Positivismo pedagogico italiano*, ed. Renato Tisato (Turin: Utet, 1874), 602.

[14] "alla vera, all'unica Autorità, l'autorità della Virtù coronata dal genio." Giuseppe Mazzini, *I doveri dell'uomo: pensiero ed azione, Dio e popolo* (Roma: Rechiedei (tip.), 1872), 59.

[15] Ibid., 7.

Mazzini defined these four concepts *doveri*, emphasising their authoritative feature. Besides, he distinguished a 'private' dimension—embodied by humanity and family, the individual and his/her familial environment—from a 'public' one—the State and God, hence the government and Catholic religion.

In this project, a separate examination of the public and private aspects of authority will guide the analysis of how Collodi related to the concept of authority in his schoolbooks. While public institutions aimed for admiration, loyalty and respect, Positivism's impact brought to the fore aspects such as the individual's importance. Moreover, as I will examine later in this chapter, the family as social institution and its authoritative figures began to be perceived as fundamental also in the context of national identity. On the one hand, the child's private world was represented by his family and the key figures of mother and father. On the other, the school and priests, churches, and Catholic rituals would instead represent a significant presence in the child's vision of the public side of society. According to these terms, then, the concept of authority will be delimited to family, Italian State and the Catholic Church.

Collodi and Private Authority

According to cultural scholars such as Marzio Barbagli and Piero Melograni, the family played a central role as an authoritarian model in Italian society, at least since the fifteenth century.[16] Moreover, historians such as Porciani and Banti argued that the family's pivotal role and the related familial semantic vocabulary had a key impact on the popularity of Risorgimento.[17] If the two protagonists of the conflict—the secular Italian State and the Holy See—aimed to be the only depository of constructs such as authority, it is no surprise that they tried to link the family to their propaganda. For example, Pope Leo XIII inaugurated his pontificate in 1878 by promoting Catholic familial education for a Catholic society with the encyclical *Inscrutabili Dei Consilio*.[18] Conversely, the Italian government propagandised a familial image of the

[16] Marzio Barbagli, *Sotto lo stesso tetto: mutamenti della famiglia in Italia dal XV al XX secolo* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 1984); Piero Melograni, Lucetta Scaraffia, and Piero Bairati, *La famiglia italiana dall'Ottocento a oggi* (Bari: Laterza, 1988).
[17] Ilaria Porciani, *Famiglia e nazione nel lungo Ottocento italiano: modelli, strategie, reti di relazioni* (Roma: Viella, 2006); Banti, *La nazione del Risorgimento*.
[18] "Now, the training of youth most conducive to the defence of true faith and religion and to the preservation of morality must find its beginning from an early stage within the circle of home life; and this family Christian training sadly undermined in these our times, cannot possibly be restored to its

Italian nation, in which the *patrioti* and their relatives loved their motherland as it was their natural family. Regardless of the perspective, the family was an accepted authority within Italian society, upon which the institutions aimed to build their loyal community.

In Collodi's schoolbooks, however, families are not described as a vital fulcrum of society but as dysfunctional and miseducating communities, showing a bilateral dissonance. This chapter examines how Collodi almost exclusively presented dysfunctional families in his journalistic and school literature works, regardless of their social status. For example, paternal characters such as Giannettino's father are the epitome of a flawed society and embody defects such a scarce sense of responsibility, a failing that Collodi often highlighted in his journalistic texts. Moreover, Collodi rarely pictured idealised familial situations in his books, even beyond those designed for school use. The complete absence of an actual maternal figure in *Pinocchio* or the ambiguous paternity of a father like Geppetto, who is the father-creator of Pinocchio and created the puppet for his financial improvement, is already evidence of the sort of dissonant message imparted by Collodi with regard to the family as one of the central pivots of the newborn Italian society. This kind of representation conflicts with the concept of family as the primordial community of the Nation perceived as a community of families by cultural and historical studies.[19]

As well as that of authority, the complexity of the concept of 'family' in post-unification Italian society directs the methodology to a separate analysis of the two main instances of 'family'; mother and father. It is also necessary to keep in mind that the same word 'family' is a semantic umbrella that includes many different realities. For example, the family of *mezzadro* in rural Tuscany had entirely different dynamics from the family of a farmer who worked in a *masseria* in Puglia. These differences affected relational dynamics, salary, alimentation, marital strategies, and the number of children. Nevertheless, the term 'family' can indicate either a nuclear or an extended family; according to sociologists such as Barbagli,

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due dignity, save by those laws under which it was established in the Church by her Divine Founder Himself." Leo XIII wrote 86 encyclicals, the most famous being *Rerum Novarum* (1891), where he first acknowledged the problem of the social masses. In many other encyclicals, such as *Arcanum Divinae* (1880), he promoted the value of the family. Leo XIII also used the encyclicals to criticise the Italian State (*Diuturnum Illud*, *Etsi Nos*).

[19] Banti, *La nazione del Risorgimento*, 34; Silvana Patriarca, "Relazioni pericolose: 'razza' e nazione nel Risorgimento" in Adriano Roccucci, *La costruzione dello Stato-nazione in Italia* (Roma: Viella, 2012), 109-120.

Sandra Cavallo, and Chiara Saraceno, at the end of *Ottocento*, the Italian scenario revealed a similar presence of modern or traditional families.[20] However, either type of family condensed the authority within the critical figures of the mother, father and, in the case of extended families, other relatives.

The Italian *mamma*: a symbol of identity

In Collodi's works, maternal characters do not seem to have the relevance that historical and cultural studies have attributed to the mother figure within the end-of-nineteenth-century Italian society. Collodi's fictional mothers are mainly either disregarded or, at the other extreme, toxic. There is no maternal character in all Collodi's texts for school who embodies traditional and reassuring qualities. In some cases, Collodi—not without a masculinist approach—decided to create fictional mothers who represented what he believed to be harmful in his contemporaneous society.[21]

In Collodi's time the concept of *madre* was a multifaceted authoritative figure and not a subordinate element of the familial and national context.[22] The conceptual development of the idea of *madre* in those years appears to be a convergence of many different symbols that eventually merged into the comprehensive concept of *madrepatria*, an authoritative construct essential to the creation of a shared Italian cultural identity. *Madre* seemed to be associated with the biological mother and the concept of the motherland. Collodi's contemporaneous essayst Giulia Cavallari Cantalamessa made this concept clear in a conference held in Bologna in 1893, and focused on the role of women within the *Risorgimento*. Cavallari Cantalamessa gave emphasis to the centrality of the woman within the family, which she sees as the foundation of any national community:

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[20] Sandra Cavallo, "L'importanza della 'famiglia orizzontale' nella storia della famiglia italiana" in *Generazioni: legami di parentela tra passato e presente: atti del convegno*, Pisa, 29 Settembre-1 Ottobre 2005, 69-92; Chiara Saraceno, "Trent'anni di storia della famiglia italiana," *Studi Storici* 20, no. 4 (1979).

[21] Misogyny in Collodi seems to be undisputed. For example, when describing Palermo in *Il viaggio per l'Italia di Giannettino-Sud*, Giannettino's friend Onofrio stresses how, in Palermo, women are not allowed to enter cafes: "Una signora poi, non oserebbe entrarvi." Collodi, *Il viaggio per l'Italia di Giannettino-Sud*, 166.

[22] Banti, *Sublime madre nostra*; Silvana Patriarca, "Mammismo/Momism: On the History and Uses of a Stereotype, c.1940s to the Present," (2018), 29-50.

> Il regno della donna è la famiglia, [...] la famiglia è la base delle nazioni: quanto più tenaci sono gli affetti famigliari [...] tanto più vivo e possente sarà l'amor della patria [...]. I più grandi eroi dai soavi e dolcissimi affetti traevano invincibile ardire.[23]

In the recent years, Banti delved into this role of *madre* within a discourse of national identity. He argues that the figure of the *madre* was crucial for the development of Italian identity within the texts he grouped in the "canone"—a "costellazione testuale che nell'esperienza di quei lettori che furono anche patrioti contribuì a fondare l'idea di nazione italiana"—which decisively contributed to the creation of a "morfologia elementare del discorso nazionale".[24] Those texts significantly contributed to the emotional premises of Italian identity. According to Banti, they facilitated the shifting of nationality towards a matter of *biological fate*, more than a well-pondered and rational choice. Banti claimed that the Italian nation was perceived as a community firstly based on familial relationships and descent.[25] Within this core familial construct of a nation as biology-based genealogy, he believed both the conceptual and concrete construct of *madre* to be decisive in shaping national identity.

The authority of the *madre* is believed to be so preponderant in Italian society that Corrado Alvaro coined the neologism *mammismo* to describe the overpowering presence of the mother.[26] Patriarca elaborates on Alvaro's neologism, arguing that the definition of the 'patriotic mother' during Risorgimento initiated that dynamic process which led to a complex conceptual archetype of the mother.[27] For Patriarca, the stereotype of the Italian mother that Alvaro captured in his neologism *mammismo* was the result of a long historical process of

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[23] Giulia Cavallari Cantalamessa, *La donna nel Risorgimento nazionale. Conferenza* (Bologna: Ditta Nicola Zanichelli, 1893), 8-9.
[24] Banti, *La nazione del Risorgimento*, 53.
[25] Ibid., 15.
[26] Corrado Alvaro, "Il mammismo", in *Il nostro tempo e la speranza: saggi di vita contemporanea (Milan: Bompiani, 1960),* 183-190. Catholic institutions and politicians, in recent years, have used the term mammismo to define Italian males' supposed indolence. "The flames of this debate were fanned when, in October 2007, the Italian Finance Minister Tommaso Padoa-Schioppa famously referred to stay-at-home adult offspring as "bamboccioni" (big babies). He thereby launched an unfortunate expression (the use of which has proved remarkably persistent) that led to a furore in the Italian media." Penelope Morris and Perry R. Willson, *La Mamma: Interrogating a National Stereotype* (2018), 3. "Two stories that were particularly widely reported, both in Italy and abroad, were the assertion by Cardinal Angelo Bagnasco (Archbishop of Genoa) in 2014 that mammismo was one of the greatest threats to marriage in Italy and the claim by Gian Ettore Gassani (lawyer and president of Italy's matrimonial lawyers' association), that 30 per cent of marital breakdowns were caused by interfering mothers-in-law and their over-dependent sons." Ibid., 3-4.
[27] Patriarca, "Mammismo", 30.

sedimentation of experiences, views, and prescriptions about the role of mothers in Italian society. Banti and Patriarca perceive the authority of the *madre* as a stable construct within the shaping of the Italian identity. The concept seems to be either publicly sacred—Banti's *madre*—or pervasive to the point that Italian men, while promoting a paternalistic society, privately depended on her—Alvaro's and Patriarca's *mamma*.

Although some dissenting voices to the emphasis given to the figure of the mother emerged, they remain a minority. Nicoletta Bazzano, for instance, claimed that the authority of the Madre della Patria—the feminine and maternal allegory of Italy as a woman, emulating the French paradigm—progressively declined during Risorgimento. While Bazzano argued that icons of the Padri della Patria, such as King Vittorio Emanuele II or Giuseppe Garibaldi, were preferred over the image of Donna Italia, the feminine symbol of the Italian nation, she claimed that the feminine—and therefore maternal—concept continued to be relevant in terms of a symbolic medium of patriotic messages: "Accade così che, dinanzi alla rappresentazione dei 'padri della patria' quello della 'madre patria' dapprima costituisce una figura di secondo piano, poi gradatamente impallidisce, perde i propri segni distintivi per acquistarne di diversi, sempre nuovi, in un caleidoscopico gioco in cui essa finisce per smarrire la sua precisa identità iconografica.".[28]

Adelaide and Maria: *mamme* and *madri*

The two dominant paradigms of these theoretical interpretations of *madre* in the second half of the *Ottocento* can be represented by Adelaide Cairoli and Maria Drago (Giuseppe Mazzini's mother). Their interpretation of the maternal role seems to be in line with Banti's "epic contribution" as well as Patriarca's "overwhelming presence". Adelaide Cairoli's sacred feminine perception during and after the Risorgimento has been analysed by Marina Tesoro, who also extended the research to the whole Cairoli family and their active participation in the

[28] Nicoletta Bazzano, *Donna Italia-storia di un'allegoria dall'antichità ai giorni nostri* (Vicenza: Angelo Colla, 2011), 143-144. Giorgio Vecchio also accepted the masculine predominance, with regards to cultural and social official acknowledgements, but claimed a private authority for the mother. According to Vecchio, the mother was a key character of daily life, regardless of the propagandistic strategies that officially promoted the authority of the paternal figure. In other words, the maternal role was perceived as relevant, beyond the chauvinism of Italian society at the time. Giorgio Vecchio, "La famiglia", in Monica Ferrari, Arianna Arisi Rota, and Matteo Morandi, *Patrioti si diventa: luoghi e linguaggi di pedagogia patriottica nell'Italia unita (Milan: Angeli, 2009),* 25-42.

Risorgimento.[29] Adelaide had to mourn many family losses during the patriotic wars, which contributed to elevating her as the stereotypical Italian mother who sacrificed her sons on the altar of national freedom.[30] The constructed mythic Adelaide was also re-used in successive times, as the fascist regime found in that figure of the mother who 'donated' her four sons (and two nephews) to the motherland the perfect symbol of devotion. Monuments, reliquiae, graves, and other propagandistic strategies contributed to creating the legend of the *mater dolorosa,* who directly participated in the *Risorgimento*.[31]

Marina D'Amelia instead indicated Maria Drago as the omnipresent mother, who, in liberal Italy, was the fundamental initiator of the evolution which eventually led to a multi-faceted profile of mother. In D'Amelia's eyes, the symbiotic relation between Giuseppe Mazzini and his mother was so paradigmatic that the specific adjective "mazziniana" was needed to describe such an incredibly close connection.[32] Maria Drago wrote to her son Giuseppe Mazzini in 1839:

> E d'altronde chi mai se non io conosce le tue intime sensazioni di tutte le specie, lievi come profonde? Non puoi crederlo né anco tu stesso fino a qual grado io sia teco immedesimata, e se per ipotesi, che mai Dio non voglia, tu diventassi muto e fossi meco, io intenderei tutto quanto giovasse al tuo morale ed al minimo tuo desiderio senza il minimo cenno tuo.[33]

D'Amelia claimed that the construct of mother somehow embodied the dualism between a Catholic and a secular approach. According to the scholar, the dichotomy of the quintessential Catholic mother—based on the Catholic values of submission and restraint—and the secular mother—"artefice e levatrice del riscatto morale degli italiani"—characterised the *Risorgimento*.[34] This dichotomy merged into an omni-comprehensive maternal profile at the

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[29] Marina Tesoro, "Lessico familiare: sentimenti e politica nei rapporti tra i cugini Cairoli e Cavallini" in Ibid., 115-130.
[30] The role of the family within the Risorgimento has also been the main topic of a 2005 conference, to which contributions have been grouped in Porciani, *Famiglia e nazione nel lungo Ottocento italiano: modelli, strategie, reti di relazioni*.
[31] Tesoro, "Lessico familiare", 115.
[32] Marina D'Amelia, "Ruolo materno e narrativa nazionale: rappresentazioni, immagini e figure retoriche della madre italiana" in *Generazioni*, 163-184.
[33] Maria Mazzini, Alessandro Luzio, and Giuseppe Mazzini, *La madre di Giuseppe Mazzini. Carteggio inedito del 1834-1839*. Con prefazione e nota di A. Luzio (Turin 1919), 276.
[34] D'Amelia, "Ruolo materno e narrativa nazionale", 182. Within this opposition, D'Amelia identified many maternal profiles, such as the mother-doctor, the mother-teacher, the poor and the rich mother;

end of the nineteenth century. Such a complex maternal concept was for D'Amelia the beginning of an "omologazione mentale nazionale" that elected the *madre* as a paradigm of shared identity.[35] D'Amelia hence stressed the centrality of the *madre* stronghold within a discourse of Italian identity.[36]

These studies emphasise the maternal figure's authority within Italian society; the concept of the mother appears as a complex element that has influenced Italian literature and political propaganda up to the present. In such a scenario, the minor presence of maternal characters in Collodi's texts, does seem odd and merits attention.

Mother in Collodi's schoolbooks

Collodi presented a limited number of maternal characters in his schoolbooks, all of whom are described as scarcely intelligent, superficial, and not interested in their children's education and acquisition of concrete values. Collodi critiqued the way the *Staatsträger* interpreted the concept of the family in his journalistic texts. In particular, he pointed his finger at the way the aristocracy managed to keep their social status through strategic marriages, and how that strategy was exposed and denounced after the unification. Also, analysis of some journalistic texts reveals how Collodi accused the Italian bourgeoisie—that should have burnt its bridges with the previous establishment—of perpetuating a similar familial pattern. With regard to his schoolbooks, however, the fact that Collodi decided to offer such an unconstructive maternal profile to the generations of new Italians—in clear opposition to other contemporaneous popular texts, such as *Cuore*—stands out as a *unicum*, and needs to be addressed.

Edmondo De Amicis's *Cuore* is considered a cornerstone of the patriotic post-unification Italy's pedagogy. In *Cuore*, De Amicis used the term *madre* 348 times (this number

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furthermore, D'Amelia believed that liberal Italy's model of good mother, based on "abnegazione e di programmatica assenza di reciprocità", was also decisive in terms of the definition of the bad mother, the "madri snaturate". Marina D'Amelia, *La mamma* (Bologna: Il mulino, 2005), 129.

[35] "quel 'luogo' della madre nella scrittura della nazione, espressione e creazione di un tessuto discorsivo comune in grado di rafforzare quel processo d'omologazione mentale nazionale". D'Amelia, "Ruolo materno e narrativa nazionale", 182.

[36] For Marina Tesoro, the concept of mater dolorosa—the mother mourns the loss of her children who died fighting for their country—coincided with the concept of the nation Italy—torn by the Risorgimento wars—with real stories of devastated families—and mothers—such as the Cairoli family. Tesoro, "Lessico familiare", 115.

includes the 52 times in which he uses the variations *mamma/mamme*).[37] The word *madre*—which has the same meaning as *mamma*, but with a more formal, almost religious aura—is used 296 times and often next to the adjective *santa* (holy). In *Pinocchio*, *mamma* appears 20 times, while *madre* only once.[38] In all the six volumes of the *Giannettino* collection—*Giannettino, Il viaggio di Giannettino per l'Italia, L'abbaco di Giannettino, La geografia di Giannettino, La grammatica di Giannettino* and *La lanterna magica di Giannettino*—the words *mamma* and *madre* combined, including the variations *mammina, mamme, madri*, are used 103 times.[39]

Mariella Colin elected *Cuore* as a text that "reflects a strong male identity, which makes heroism, particularly the military one, his fundamental stereotype".[40] However, according to Colin, the maternal figure's religiousness contributed to not completely excluding a "certo teismo" from Enrico's education and was hence central in the narration.[41] The concept of *madre* as a benevolent divinity within the familial context was also frequent in many schoolbooks of the time. For example, Giulio Tarra described the madre as "un angelo mandato dal Signore" who lives in symbiosis with her child ("con lui ride, con lui piange, con lui teme, con lui spera").[42] For Tarra, the type of mother such as Giannettino's, who does not correct her children, is "prova di non amarli."[43] On the other hand, the children are always portrayed as

[37] The sacredness of the mother was the common thread in many schoolbooks inpost-unification Italy. The mother is portrayed as "una donna che ha dei figli: li nutre, li cura, li assiste, […] li ama con grande tenerezza, vive e si consuma per loro." At the same time, the children love their mother significantly: "l'amerò sempre; la conforterò e le darò assistenza nella vecchiaja. Io voglio viver sempre con mia madre sulla terra e nel Cielo." Giulio Tarra, *Primo libro di letture graduate allo sviluppo progressivo del linguaggio, delle idee e della morale ed all'avviamento al comporre ad uso delle scuole elementari pel popolo / del Sac. te Giulio Tarra* (Milan: Giocondo Messaggi, 1864), 194-196.
[38] The only time the word *madre* appears in Pinocchio, it is pronounced by Geppetto in his ironic "Che nome gli metterò?—disse fra sé e sé.—Lo voglio chiamar Pinocchio. Questo nome gli porterà fortuna. Ho conosciuto una famiglia intera di Pinocchi: Pinocchio il padre, Pinocchia la madre e Pinocchi i ragazzi, e tutti se la passavano bene. Il più ricco di loro chiedeva l'elemosina." Collodi and Castellani Pollidori, *Le avventure di Pinocchio*, 6.
[39] This number also includes at least 20 times in which *madre* is not used in reference to some character's mother (for example, it indicates the nun Mother Superior, it is used as a metaphor in "la madre di tutte le Chiese", or it indicates the mother of Ancient Roman's divinity, as in "il tempio della Gran Madre, ossia Cibele"). Collodi, *Il viaggio per l'Italia di Giannettino-Centro*, 129.
[40] Mariella Colin, "Un Cuore azzurro, un Cuore rosa", 487.
[41] Ibid., 495.
[42] Tarra, *Primo libro di letture graduate*, 194.
[43] Ibid., 194.

full of unconditional love towards their mothers, as books such as Borgogno's *Letture graduate* prove ("la mamma è quanto dire della persona per lui più cara al mondo.")[44]

Sofia: a mother with no authority

In *Giannettino*, the child's mother Sofia is the only female character, but does not hold a principal role.[45] Collodi presents Sofia as a rich woman with no interests other than social gatherings, whose cultural status seems to be non-existent. Instead, she seems to educate her child to a life in which the easiest and most comfortable option should be the preferred one.

Collodi's description of her at the very beginning of the book is implicitly critical. Sofia is worried because the sixteen guests she hosts every night for elegant soirées have decided not to attend her gatherings anymore due to Giannettino's bad behaviour. The first sentence Collodi gives regarding Sofia, ironically emphasises the hypocrisy of parents who fail to perform an educating role towards their children: "e la sua mamma, per dir come si dice, non lo guardava, dalla paura di consumarlo."[46]

The story reveals that the love Giannettino's parents profess to have for their only child is meaningless, given their decision to leave him in the hands of mentor Dottor Boccadoro. Giannettino's parents are so engaged in managing their own public lives that they completely forego the opportunity to educate their only child. Moreover, their personal needs affect their relationship with Giannettino, with whom they very rarely seem to have a conversation. The lack of intimacy between relatives in middle-class families was common in the nineteenth century, as examined by scholars such as Marzio Barbagli.[47] However, the fact that Giannettino builds genuine and honest relationships with Boccadoro and other adults such as uncle Ferrante, rather than with his parents, is an element that stands out and needs to be considered

[44] Giuseppe Borgogno, *Letture graduate per gli alunni della quarta elementare* (Turin; Milan; Roma: Ditta G.B. Paravia e comp., 1889), 164.
[45] Other female characters are Minuzzolo's mother and her servant Cecchina, but they do not say a word. Other generic female characters are shown at the theatre; mothers, and young girls who only cry.
[46] Collodi, *Giannettino*, 1.
[47] According to Barbagli, until the end of nineteenth century, the formal way to approach parents—by using voi or lei—was the natural praxis: "In altri termini, dare del 'voi' o del 'lei' ai genitori diventava per i figli un fatto naturale, spontaneo, ed a nessuno di loro sarebbe venuto in mente di comportarsi in maniera diversa." Barbagli, *Sotto lo stesso tetto*, 452. Barbagli stressed that this model started to collapse in those years, and the informal intimacy between prole and parents would have prevailed.

when examining such texts as promoters of a national community based on values such as the family.

Sofia, again, in the episode where she needs to deal with Giannettino's request to change schools, is depicted as failing in her maternal guidance. The child blames his current *maestro* for his low marks. Sofia, rather than investigating the reasons for her son's poor school performance, opts to acquiesce to his demand simply because she does not want to hear any complaints from her son: "E la signora Sofia, un po' per contentarlo e un po' per non aver rimorsi, finì col trovargli un'altra scuola".[48] On this occasion, Collodi underscores the parental figure's lack of guidance and authority.

Further on, Giannettino steals a watch from his father's room to show it to his friends and ends up losing it. When his father questions him, Giannettino denies any involvement; Giannettino's father hence blames and fires the servant Ireneo, a very honest country boy.[49] After a few weeks, Giannettino finds out that Ireneo died in a hospital due to severe mental illness caused by the injustice he suffered.[50] Later in the story, Giannettino lies again, and Sofia reminds him of Ireneo. However, the mother misses the chance to educate the child on the severe consequences of lies. Collodi underscores the mother's superficiality by choosing the word *marachella*—prank—to describe what happened: "-Chi è bugiardo, è ladro. Rammentati del povero Ireneo!- -Scosso a quest' ultima parola, Giannettino confessò il suo peccato alla mamma; e la mamma, da quella brava donna che era, dopo averlo severamente sgridato e dopo avergli raccomandato di non far più simili marachelle lo perdonò e tutto fu finito."[51]

Sofia's authority is further undermined by her brother Ferrante, who laughs at her in front of his nephew Giannettino. Ferrante's fictional role in the story—which will be examined

[48] Collodi, *Giannettino*, 20 Ed., 55.
[49] Ireneo is described as "bietolone" (silly), Giannettino is described as very smart, in his lying. Ibid., 46.
[50] Ireneo dies only in the first edition. From 1878 second edition, Ireneo goes to hospital, and after Giannettino confesses his lie, his father re-hires him.
[51] Ibid., 63. Differently from this confession, in the first edition, does not confess to have lied with regards to Ireneo's dismissal. In this excerpt, "brava donna" is a description that seems closer to a child's point of view, stressing the mother's immediate forgiveness. Therefore, *brava* can be interpreted as either a child's evaluation or an ironical criticism on the part of the narrator; in any case, the authority of the maternal figure is insubstantial, and no educational relationship is established between mother and son.

later in this chapter—is to embody the adventurous traveller's spirit and promote self-gratification over the comforting and dispassionate perspective epitomised by Boccadoro and the middle-class spirit.[52] Sofia's irrelevant familial authority is once again compromised when Ferrante reacts to Sofia's aspiration for Giannettino to become a public employee. Before lecturing Giannettino on how to manage his future, the uncle laughs at his sister: "Tutte a un modo, queste benedette mamme, disse il Capitano ridendo e guardando la sorella."[53] Collodi's decision to create this opposition with her brother seems to be misogynist, which was not unusual at the time and consonant with Collodi's scarce liking for feminine characters. Moreover, it might be interpreted as a precise narrative strategy; in this way, Collodi sets Sofia in opposition to the most positive character of the whole series, Ferrante. The outcome of such a choice is the annihilation of the maternal authority.

Other *mamme* in Collodi's schoolbooks

Collodi's critical stance against the maternal figure is confirmed in other schoolbooks. In *La lanterna magica*, he used a mother to epitomise the linguistic problem of extensive use of foreign lexicon. In the book, he dedicates a chapter to the correct use of the Italian language, in which the child Giocondo confesses that his mother recommends he use *francesismi* in an attempt at appearing refined and detached from the lower classes. For example, the child admits that his mother wanted him to use the word "gilé" instead of "sottoveste", as the mother believes the word "gilé" to be used by "persone pulite e bene educate", while "sottoveste" is a "parola triviale" used by "bottegai".[54] Giannettino then follows up by explaining to his students the importance of the Italian language in terms of national identity. In this chapter, Collodi creates a situation in which upper-class mothers are represented as promoters of the criticised

[52] Collodi, no longer a public servant by then, uses the only fully-positive character of uncle Ferrante to criticise public works. "Il giorno che sarai impiegato, comincerai subito dal perdere i due più grandi beni della vita: cioè la indipendenza e la libertà, e tutti i giorni, avrai un orario fisso…come i treni delle strade ferrate." Ibid., 35. A version of *Giannettino* modified during the years of Fascism omits the part related to the loss of freedom, probably in the name of a real glorification of the State. Carlo Collodi and Giuseppe Scortecci, *Giannettino: libro per i ragazzi* (Florence: Marzocco, 1939). The same scene reoccurs in *La lanterna magica di Giannettino*. Here, Giannettino plays Ferrante's lines, showing a low consideration of the maternal authority, considering his role as teacher in that moment. In fact, in *La lanterna magica*, Giannettino is a grown-up teenager, who replaces another uncle, Maurizio, as a rural primary school teacher.
[53] Collodi, *Giannettino*, 35.
[54] Collodi, *La lanterna magica di Giannettino*, 170.

widespread usage of *francesismi*. According to Collodi and many other linguists, that linguistic tendency negatively affected the consolidation of the pure Italian language throughout the nation.[55]

In *Il viaggio per l'Italia di Giannettino*, the mother of Beppino shares the train carriage with Giannettino and other people on the way to Ravenna. In this episode, the child is behaving badly, stepping on people's feet, and continuously opening and closing the window. While Beppino keeps disturbing other passengers, his mother peacefully sleeps until the child attempts to remove a wig from a lawyer's head. At that point, the older man slaps Beppino on the face, and his mother's complaints are silenced by all the other passengers, who instead cheer the lawyer. Collodi criticises the mother's neglect as the cause of Beppino's bad manners and yet again undermines her authority as a mother.[56]

Libro di lezioni, which is not part of the *Giannettino* collection but still produced for didactical school use, shows a different approach to the maternal role. Collodi seems to create a parallel society in which the more indigent people are, the more aware they are of the importance of the family. In this textbook—probably designed for rural schools—the *maestro* teaches a class of lower-class children.[57] Collodi dedicates a whole chapter to the family, which he titles "Ubbidite e rispettate il babbo e la mamma". Although such a message was the norm in post-unification Italy—as seen with *Cuore*—it is noticeable how Collodi seems to deliver an indirect critique to middle-class families. What emerges from a text such as *Lezioni* is that

[55] See Chapter 4 in regard to Collodi's role in the project of the Novo Vocabolario. French words that substituted Italian ones, probably from a desire of the bourgeoisie to refine its appearance through use of the French language. See Giovanni Montroni, "La famiglia borghese" in Piero Melograni, Lucetta Scaraffia, and Piero Bairati, *La famiglia italiana dall'Ottocento a oggi* (Bari: Laterza, 1988), 107-139.
[56] Collodi, *Il viaggio per l'Italia di Giannettino-Nord*, 82-84. In *La geografia di Giannettino*, Giannettino's aunt Margherita seems to be an exception in the spectrum of the fictional inadequate mothers, as she does not embody any negative characteristic. Her role in the story is marginal, even if she seems to understand the reasons for her children's unhappiness as they struggle with geography. Collodi *La geografia di Giannettino*, 9.
[57] We can understand the social extraction from a dialogue in which students describe their parents' professions to the *maestro*: the jobs listed are carpenter, blacksmith, farmworker, garment maker, and miller. Alberto Barausse has examined how, after 1882, the Italian State stressed the importance of having schoolbooks which could be specifically suitable for rural schools. Those books needed to focus on "agricoltura e a tutte le industrie affini". See Circolare Ministeriale 12 novembre 1882, n. 688 - Norme da seguirsi nella scelta dei libri di testo, in Barausse, *Il libro per la scuola dall'Unità al fascismo*, 192. The same distinction was repeated in the Decreto Ministeriale 31 Luglio 1884 - Concorso per libri di lettura ad uso delle scuole elementari urbane e rurali, in which the Ministry created a scholarship for two reading books, one for primary urban schools and the other for rural ones. Ibid., 196.

Collodi underscores laboriousness as the parents' most important characteristic. Moreover, their children appear to be more aware of their parents' efforts and hard work, creating an ideal working mentality which should be also a middle-class fundamental value, and not exclusive to the lower classes. Collodi describes a parallel society in which everyone works if needed:

> E tuo padre, Ernesto, che mestiere fa? -Io non ho più il babbo. La mamma mia fa la tessitora. -Dimmi qualcosa sul mestiere che fa la tua mamma. – Mia madre fa le tele da tovaglie, da tovaglioli e da lenzuoli, *tralicci* da materasse e *roba ordinaria* da sacchi e da balle, e da *camicie* per i contadini. -E che cosa adopera? -Adopera filo di *canapa*, di *lino*, o di *cotone*. Poi *incanna, ordisce, mette la tela sul telaio*, fa i *cannelli, ravvia, imbozzima*, ossia ammorbidisce la tela e *tesse*.[58]

Collodi shows that the child's technical terminology and specific tools are worthy of being information included in a school text. The valorisation of work that takes place in these pages might be interpreted as a further implicit criticism of the *Staatsträger*, as the bourgeois fictional counterpart's superficiality collides with the hard-working mothers—and fathers—in this text. It seems here that Collodi criticises the laboriousness that the *Staatsträger* promoted as a distinctive sign of the new middle-class. Unlike Sofia, Ernesto's mother is a person committed to work, even if she does not belong to the bourgeoisie.

Although not designed for school use, in *Pinocchio* also Collodi accentuates this maternal irrelevance by completely removing the birth mother from the story. Hence, the puppet grows in a maternal ambivalence where the mother figure is either a status symbol or a superfluous presence within the family. Scholars such as Jean-Marie Apostolidès argue that *Pinocchio* created a unique educational environment within the spectrum of the *bildungsroman*, in which education is openly gender-oriented and offers a misogynist perspective.[59] Pinocchio does not have a clear idea of a mother and identifies the older woman—one of the personifications of the blue-haired fairy—with a person who could play that role. Giovanna Summerfield theorises that "the fairy represents Freemasonry, the ideology that combines charity and rationalism rather than goodness and faith."[60] In a Masonic-inspired

[58] Collodi, *Libro di lezioni*, 90.
[59] Jean-Marie Apostolidès, "Pinocchio, or a Masculine Upbringing," *Merveilles & contes* 2, no. 2 (1988).
[60] Giovanna Summerfield, "(R)Evolution of Man, Pinocchio." in *Charles Darwin: A Celebration of His Life and Legacy*, ed. James T. Bradley. (Montgomery: NewSouth Books, 2013), 213.

reading of *Pinocchio,* Summerfield believes Collodi to have designed Pinocchio—and Geppetto—as symbolic representations of a maturation that is "not only physical, but also ideological and individual. He [Collodi] has allowed an inner transformation that reflects […] the external setting."[61]

Pinocchio sees the figure of the mother as an achievement, a figure that could allow the puppet to reach the status of a standard middle-class child, and not the centre of the child's education: "E io l'ho caro dimolto, perché così, invece di sorellina, vi chiamerò la mia mamma. Gli è tanto tempo che mi struggo di avere una mamma come tutti gli altri ragazzi!..."[62] Further on, when Pinocchio gets dragged by Lucignolo on the way to the *Paese dei Balocchi*, the ill-disciplined child tries to misinform Pinocchio and describes the mother as a disrespected family member who is not informed about what happens in her family. Once again, the irrelevance of the maternal role within the family is emphasised: "E la mia mamma?—Le mamme non sanno mai nulla—risposero quei malanni."[63]

Either an object to possess or an insignificant presence in the family, Collodi offered an image of the maternal figure in *Pinocchio* that lacks a solid presence. It seems that Pinocchio and the fairy desire to have or to be a *mamma* throughout the story.[64] However, the *mamma* seems to be a confusing entity for both Pinocchio and the fairy, as Pinocchio believes the fairy to be "per lui una specie di mamma".[65] Pinocchio describes what he believes should be a mother's duty: "vogliono un gran bene ai loro ragazzi, e non li perdono mai d'occhio, e li assistono amorosamente in ogni disgrazia, anche quando questi ragazzi, per le loro scapataggini e per i loro cattivi portamenti, meriterebbero di esser abbandonati e lasciati in balìa a sé

[61] Giovanna Summerfield, and Lisa Downward, *New Perspectives on the European Bildungsroman* (London: Bloomsbury Publishing Plc, 2012), 80. The same interpretation has been offered by Freemason Giovanni Malevolti, who believed the fairy—whom Pinocchio identifies as his *mamma*—to be the "personificazione della Massoneria, l'espressione della Ragione" and stressed how the whole story of *Pinocchio* is a Masonic initiation. Giovanni Malevolti, "Pinocchio, mio fratello", http://www.freemasons-freemasonry.com/pinocchio.html.(Consulted on 13/03/2021).
[62] Collodi and Castellani Pollidori, *Le avventure di Pinocchio*, 53.
[63] Ibid. , 55.
[64] "Ti ricordi, eh? Mi lasciasti bambina, e ora mi ritrovi donna; tanto donna, che potrei quasi farti da mamma." Ibid., 53; "Ecco perché son venuta a cercarti fin qui. Io sarò la tua mamma..." Ibid., 54;
[65] Ibid., 67.

stessi."[66] However, his continuous solitude emphasises how the maternal figure seems far from being a secure educational figure.

The Italian State propagandised the figure of the mother as a pivotal character within national identity. Mother was both the *mamma*—who devotedly loved her children—and the *madre*—who proudly contributed to creating the national community with the sacrifice of her offspring. Hence, the mother was the private authority who allowed the Italian people to have a solid emotional connection, and the maternal contribution to the Italian nationhood was undisputed.

Collodi's mothers diverge from the model of the good mother, based on "abnegazione e di programmatica assenza di reciprocità".[67] Giannettino's mother is the epitome of a selfish mother and impacts negatively on her child's education. Sofia never values the importance of her authority in Giannettino's education. In general, Collodi's fictional mothers—especially those belonging to the bourgeoisie—are inadequate in their authority within the familial context, particularly towards their children. There is no moment in the story in which the complexity and intensity of *amore materno*, as presented by Maria Drago or Adelaide Cairoli, come to the fore supported by concrete actions, neither from the mother or from the child.

Collodi's critique seems to undermine the bourgeois representation of the maternal role, by exposing her failures. However, the absolute concept of mother is never marred. Instead, he presents a middle-class society in which the mother's authority and her contribution to the educational process are insignificant, and at times deleterious, thus discrediting one of the main strongholds around which the *Staatsträger* anchored their idealised society. The fact that there is no trace of any maternal character even remotely linked with the qualities of figures such as Maria Drago or Adelaide Cairoli strengthens the hypothesis of the dissonance of Collodi's school texts, as opposed to the established critical label of supporting the *Staatsträger* cultural programme.

[66] Ibid., 81.
[67] D'Amelia, *La mamma*, 129.

The *mamma* in Collodi's journalistic works

Collodi's representation of the mother as significantly distant from the maternal construct that was propagandised in post-unification Italy is reiterated in his journalistic texts. Similar to those in the school texts, maternal characters in Collodi's journalistic texts are few in number and of little narrative purpose. The scarcity of *mamme* in Collodi's articles emerges from examining his journalistic texts, in which the maternal character appears only twice.[68] These mothers, far from nurturing their children, are instead greedy creatures who aim to exploit someone else's talents—the young daughter's beauty or some man's wealth—exclusively for their financial gain. Besides, the texts show a typical masculinist approach, as he sharply relates the mothers' personalities to their physical attractiveness.

In *La storia di un furbo*, published in *Almanacco di Fanfulla pel 1876* and eventually gathered in *Macchiette*, Collodi critiqued the upper echelons' venality through the story of young bourgeois Roboamo, a supporter of the Tuscan against the Piemontese political supremacy. Roboamo's political stance denotes a positive characterisation by Collodi, who also backed Tuscany against Piedmont.[69] In the story, Vittorina's mother, Cammilla, takes advantage of Roboamo's alcohol-induced fuddle during a soirée and contrives a *commedia dell'arte*-type of imbroglio—reminiscent of masks such as Brighella but also of characters such as Mirandolina in Goldoni's *La locandiera*—to make him sign a wedding promise with her daughter. Roboamo's friend Tonino promises to help him revoke the signed deal, but ends up being tricked by Cammilla and eventually marries Vittorina.

In this story, the character of Cammilla is the ultimate winner of the context; she is described as an intimidating, tall, ugly woman in her fifties with masculine attributes. Her only hope is to find either a profitable theatre career or a husband for her daughter Vittorina; Cammilla's only concern is financial:

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[68] Collodi's articles and texts are also grouped in *Note gaie* and *Divagazioni critico-umoristiche*. Some texts have been grouped – and sometimes re-managed – by professor Gastone Rigutini, Collodi's friend, after Collodi's death.

[69] The so-called "Tuscan" parliamentary group will determine the fall of the Destra Storica, the piedmontese-inspired conservative government, in 1876. See Arnoldo Salvestrini, *I moderati toscani e la classe dirigente italiana (1859-1876)* (Florence: Leo S. Olschki, 1965).

> La signora Cammilla, ossia la madre, era una pertica lunga, secca, angolosa. Veduta in veste da mattina pareva una cavalla inglese, da corsa, ritta sulle gambe di dietro. Portava sulle spalle una cinquantina di primavere, e nemmeno un fiore. Voce baritonale, gesto eroico: un occhio solo, quello diritto: il mancino era chiuso da una tendina di seta verde, per causa di riparazione; capelli e baffi grigi che la rendevano sacra ed inviolabile come un articolo dello Statuto [...]La signora Cammilla si alzava tutte le mattine colla speranza di trovare una scrittura, o un impresario per la figlia. [70]

In this description, Cammilla's unattractiveness seems to contribute to her evil aura, underlining how Collodi tends to restrict female characters to two main profiles; the ugly and evil woman, or the beautiful and stupid. During the story, Collodi describes Cammilla as a terrifying monstrous creature whose ugliness works well for her mean purposes:

> con quel suo occhio unico, ma lungamente esercitato[…]quell'occhio unico e tremendo che valeva per quattro[…]roteando minaccioso dentro la sua orbita dilatata e sanguigna, appariva ora biancastro, ora verde, ora rosso scarlatto, come i segnali notturni delle strade ferrate[…]quel flagello[…]pigliando un sol diesi di petto, da fare invidia ai più famosi baritoni del nostro tempo.[71]

This tendency to align the physical description with the psychological one is reiterated in Collodi's description of Vittorina. The young girl is encoded in typically feminine stereotypes. Once again, the feminine character does not seem to carry any positive stance, talent, or intelligence; Vittorina is simply an attractive object, and Collodi's description is openly sensual and physical:

> una bella fanciulla, sui venti anni, fresca, colorita, con due labbra leggermente tumide e proclivi al bacio, e con due occhi…di quegli occhi che, dove si posano, ci lasciano il segno per un pezzo. Aveva poco orecchio e pochissima voce: ed è forse per questa ragione che sua madre l'aveva tirata su per cantante.[72]

Collodi ironically created two feminine characters who are victims of their own bodies in opposite ways. Cammilla functions as Vittorina's ruthless business agent rather than her mother, and Collodi abstains from creating any moment of familial intimacy between the two women. However, Cammilla's apparent immorality is in line with the exclusive middle-class

[70] Collodi, "La storia di un furbo" in *Opere*, 92-93.
[71] Ibid., 97-114.
[72] Ibid., 93.

interest in material possession; in this perspective, Cammilla pragmatically resolves the situation of her incumbent impoverishment overruling her daughter's feelings.

Moving to another profile of a mother, we find the caricature *La madre della debuttante*, published in the magazine *La Scaramuccia* in 1855. In this text, Collodi sarcastically portrays a theatre debutante's mother and approaches this story by caustically defining the mother as an old woman who pretends to be still young and criticising the hierarchy within the family. Unlike Cammilla, this mother is—or was—attractive but becomes desperate as her looks begin to fade with age. Collodi restated here his criticism to a society in which being attractive is more important than the role of educating children: "ai suoi tempi, è stata una bella donna, o almeno lo crede: e ciò che maggiormente lo prova, si è che lo dice a tutti. Se avete l'inavvertenza di domandarle quanti anni ha, vi risponde con un sospiro, poi con un'occhiata, quindi con un altro sospiro, e poi esclama: - Quarant'anni!-"[73]

The whole portrait revolves around the description of the mother who pretends to be her daughter's manager and aspires to look younger than her age. Once again, Collodi creates a fictional character who is entirely uninterested in her daughter's needs and feelings. Instead, she pursues individual satisfactions; while Cammilla directly aims at pecuniary rewards—because her unattractiveness does not allow her to satisfy her vanity—and Sofia is mainly concerned with her social life, this *madre* is her daughter's competitor and wants her youthful appearance to be acknowledged. Collodi here seems to criticise the vanity of a society in which external beauty is a status symbol and almost a skill. His critique against the danger of an idle society finds here another strong element of support:

> La Madre della debuttante tenta per ogni verso di mascherare la sua maternità, e giunge fino a vagheggiare l'idea di farsi credere la sorella della figlia. Se volete impunemente corteggiare la ragazza, cominciate con l'ingrazionirvi la madre con questo complimento di effetto sicuro: -Madre e figlia, sembrate due sorelle di latte. - [...] Dopo questo complimento, la madre abbassa le armi, vi riceve, vi accoglie come un fratello, e voi doventate l'arbitro della famiglia.[74]

In these few lines, Collodi muddles the meaning of keywords like mother, brother, sister, daughter, son, and family. This conveys another dysfunctional perception of the family, in

[73] Collodi, "La madre della debuttante", in Collodi, *Divagazioni critico-umoristiche*, 280.
[74] Ibid., 282.

particular the one deprived of the *pater familias*. There is no family support for women, and no form of social protection: once old, they perish. Cammilla understands that financial precariousness for a woman in that society can be drastic, and does not want her daughter to suffer the same agony.[75] The story's final sentence, "Dinanzi alla madre, la figlia non ha diritto di parola", presents a sense of rivalry between mother and daughter, a sentiment which undermines the value of the family as a support structure.[76]

Collodi caustically condemned the *Staatsträger*'s façade of *perbenismo*, and ironically exposed it as one aspect of the post-unification 'prosaic' reality, which did not reflect the 'poetic' propaganda. In this specific case, Collodi unmasked the superficiality with which the *Staatsträger* interpreted the maternal role. Collodi addressed this gap between propaganda and reality in his journalistic texts, schoolbooks, and theatre scripts such as *Gli amici di casa* or *L'onore del marito*, in which the vacuity of the upper-class is also ironically exposed. He undermined the maternal figure, an *antonomasia* of altruism, empathy, and helpfulness, and attributed to her negative sentiments such as envy and selfishness. The unconditional and superficial pragmatism, represented by the search for money, men's appreciation, social life or attractiveness, offers a bourgeois version of the *madre* that is distant from propagandised figures such as Drago and Cairoli, who contributed to elevating the *mamma* as a foundation of the newborn Italian society.

Collodi's respect for the maternal role is supported by the fact that he—according to his relatives—seemed to be very attached to his mother. As his nephew Paolo stated:

> era [Collodi] una [sic] carattere che non soffriva giogo o soggezione, non voleva dipendere da nessuno, nemmeno dalla mamma, per la quale aveva una vera adorazione. Ascoltava i suoi consigli, le sue raccomandazioni, la blandiva, la carezzava, prometteva, poi faceva a modo suo; non per disubbidienza, ma per un naturale bisogno di indipendenza.[77]

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[75] For an interpretation of how women acknowledged their submission in a bourgeois society—although French—see Alberto Mario Banti, "Interni borghesi. A partire da *Madame Bovary* di Gustave Flaubert", in Alessandro Barbero, Alberto Mario Banti, Lucy Riall, Salvatore Lupo et al, *Romanzi nel tempo: come la letteratura racconta la storia*, (Bari: Laterza, 2017).
[76] Ibid., 283.
[77] Lorenzini, *Collodi e Pinocchio*, 64.

However, in his texts—although the stereotype of a woman as a ruthless purveyor of husbands is persistent in Collodi's poetry—the specific figure of the mother is very rarely present. The complete absence of positively connoted mothers in Collodi's writings stands out, as does the little importance given to maternal nurturing. The mothers are described as rivals or agents rather than educating figures. Moreover, they have no interest in transmitting to their children those values ascribed to the Italian mother's contemporaneous archetype, such as altruism, helpfulness, and empathy. In other words, Collodi contests the *Staatsträger*'s propensity to propagandising the figure of the ideal *madre*, and puts forward instead stark images of negative mothers, *de facto* accusing the élite of practices which conceal social reality.

The *padre*, the supreme authority

The paternal figure was an acknowledged familial authority in post-unification Italian society. The *padre* was the firm educator, the ultimate figure who demanded obedience, and the one who had to provide for the whole family's financial needs. He was the role model to be followed, the herald of wisdom and justice: "il capo della famiglia e rappresenta Iddio" as Giulio Tarra defined him.[78] Unlike the mother, the father's strength resided in his being a person with no sentimentalism. Scholars such as Pietro Costa went as far as defining the paternal figure as the nucleus of the family; according to Costa, the family is a "luogo dove una molteplicità di figure soggettive esistono in rapporto con la dominante figura del pater."[79]

While the mother played a role of authority in the private sphere, the *padre* was publicly and legally acknowledged as the titleholder of the familial community. His relevance within the family—exemplified by the family name, which still applies today—was the logical consequence of a paternalistic society based on ideals that were considered 'masculine' at that time: detachment, vigour, objectivity, and pragmatism. Italian society was still a predominantly masculinist community after unification; while the evidence is abundant, suffice to say that in those years—and until 1946—men politically controlled Italian society, as women could not vote or participate in political life. Moreover, as in many other countries, Italian women's

[78] Tarra, *Primo libro di letture graduate*, 194-196.
[79] Pietro Costa, *La civiltà liberale*, vol. 3, Civitas: storia della cittadinanza in Europa, (Roma: Laterza, 2001), 364.

salaries were generally lower than their male counterparts; for example, a *maestra* (primary school teacher), earned considerably less than her male colleague *maestro*.[80]

However, the father's lack of emotion has not always been seen as a sign of superiority. Marina D'Amelia has noted the sentimental supremacy of the mother over the father. According to D'Amelia, the idolisation of the *madre*, that began in the *Risorgimento* period, contributed to undermine the complete authority of the *padre*. For D'Amelia, who has quoted Mantegazza, the father could not love a son as deeply as mothers do. "Nelle gioie paterne non vi troverete mai quel fondo di lava sempre rovente che ribolle continuo nel volcano del cuore materno."[81] Men's decisional supremacy, however, was an acknowledged privilege that female authors such as Anna Maria Zuccari, known as Neera, have emphasised in their texts. Neera stressed that gender imparity was not limited to the familial hierarchy, but extended to personal achievements. In an article she wrote for the young girl's magazine *Cordelia* in 1881, Neera imagined the frustrations of a young girl in the masculinist society around her: "Come mi piacerebbe essere un uomo, mamma! […] Un uomo fa quello che vuole; va, viene, parla forte, comanda; [...] può essere avvocato, dottore, ingegnere, deputato, ministro, generale. Una donna non può essere altro che una donna. [...] Perché la donna è debole."[82]

The post-unification Italian State endorsed the *padre*'s authoritative presence and solidity for its political propaganda. The dichotomy between man—or father—and woman—or mother—characterised the cold war between the secular State and Catholic Church. The Italian secular State superimposed a paternal figure over the maternal image of *Madre Patria*, or *Donna Italia*; the fundamental archetype that the secular propaganda promoted as the highest patriotic symbol was the one of the *padre della patria*.[83] Conversely, the Catholic Church promoted itself as a maternal, reassuring, and uninterested authority, the "nutrice, maestra e madre".[84] Such a distinction does not intend to oversimplify a rivalry that characterised the first

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[80] The Casati law expressly set female teachers' salaries lower than their male colleagues. Carla Ghizzoni, "Il maestro nella scuola elementare italiana, dall'Unità alla Grande Guerra" in Roberto Sani and Angelino Tedde, *Maestri e istruzione popolare in Italia tra Otto e Novecento: interpretazioni, prospettive di ricerca, esperienze in Sardegna* (Milan: Vita e pensiero, 2003), 35.
[81] Paolo Mantegazza, *Fisiologia del piacere* (Pordenone: Studio Tesi, 1992), 270.
[82] Banti, *Sublime madre nostra*, 78.
[83] Ester De Fort, *La scuola elementare dall'unità alla caduta del fascismo* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 1996), 133. De Fort underlined how the dichotomy between masculinity and femininity was shifted to the challenge between the secular State—the masculine part—and the Catholic Church—the feminine side.
[84] Papa Leone XIII, "Inscrutabili Dei Consilio," (1878).

decades following Italian unification. However, the Italian State created a propagandistic narrative through which it predominantly promoted itself as a decisive and masculine authority. Conversely, the Catholic Church prevalently adopted a reassuring approach that can be linked to the Marian iconography.

Once again, the dualism between a private and a public approach seems to describe the propagandistic controversy; while the Holy See focused on a maternal and private relationship with the faithful, the Italian State aimed to superimpose a masculine and authoritarian public image. Cesare Correnti's speech for King Vittorio Emanuele II's funeral in 1878 stresses the Italian State's aim to be perceived as a familial community under the *pater*'s command. The Italian nation—simultaneously described as mother and daughter—was under the paternal command of the King: "Italia/con orgoglio di madre/con dolore di figlia/implora/al re liberatore/che fu cittadino fedele e capitano vittorioso/l'immortalità/ dei giusti e degli eroi".[85] The shift from private to public is here clearly expressed. The King—hence the State—was the father of the whole community and needed to be respected, obeyed, and somehow feared by his subjects.

The newborn Italian State aimed at a masculine image of itself and elected the *padre* figure as the supreme authority. In those years, Minister of Education Guido Baccelli was on the frontline in promoting the image of a secular paternal State in which masculinity was encouraged and endorsed by the introduction of military gymnastic in schools. Baccelli aimed at a society composed by "cittadini utili a sé e difensori disciplinati, coraggiosi e robusti al paese".[86] He believed that the emotional instability and the lack of determination of the citizenry facilitated the success of Catholic propaganda in the rivalry between State and Church, underscoring how the conflict was conveyed as a gendered issue.[87] State propaganda

[85] Quoted in Tobia, *L'altare della patria*, 22. In the iconography of post-unification Italy, the figure of the King is accompanied by three other padri della Patria: Giuseppe Mazzini, Giuseppe Garibaldi, and Camillo Benso di Cavour. Federica Albano has examined how those padri have been utilised for propagandistic purposes; Albano examined how that communicative campaign needed to carefully avoid any Catholic link to the concept of father, as it traditionally referred to the definition of God, as in the Pater Noster prayer. See Federica Albano, *Cento anni di padri della patria: 1848-1948* (Roma: Carocci, 2017).

[86] Istituzione della scuola popolare di complemento all'istruzione obbligatoria (17 novembre 1881), in Camera dei Deputati *Atti Parlamentari, Documenti, leg.XIV, sess.1880-1881*, n.240.

[87] Until 1919, women were inhibited, even if married, from donations, inheritances, hypothecations, and management of bank accounts. See Montroni, "La famiglia borghese", 137.

considered emotional stability a masculine strength. Hence, the Italian government discouraged frivolousness and any sign of feminine weakness in primary school books including *Giannettino*, that for this reason was not approved by the school commission in 1883: "han pregi molti di sostanza e di dettato, ma sono concepiti in modo così romanzesco, da dar soverchio luogo al dolce, distraendo dall'utile; e sono scritti in stile così gaio, e non di rado così umoristicamente frivolo, da togliere ogni serietà all'insegnamento".[88]

However, scholars such as Marco Cavina have underscored how, in the second half of the *Ottocento*, the supreme authority of the father figure began to falter in Italy and in the Western world. According to Cavina, the dissolution of the *patria potestà*—which was completed by the end of the 1970s—results from a historical process ignited by the French Revolution. Cavina argues that factors such as "individualismo borghese, industrializzazione, statalismo, trasformazione del mercato del lavoro e della costruzione del genere" contributed to terminate what up to then had been a dogmatic authority.[89] Also, Cavina highlighted that the promulgation of the *Codice civile unitario* in 1865 de facto divested the *pater familias* of his supreme power, that of disinheriting his offsprings: "Col venir meno del potere di diseredare si offuscava definitivamente la configurazione 'regale' del padre di famiglia, privo ormai della possibilità d'investitura del proprio successore. Il re della casa stava per essere definitivamente spodestato."[90] Hence, the Italian State was dismissing the *pater*'s private authority through laws such as the *Codice civile unitario*, while promoting a public paternal image of authority.

Such a contradiction seems to mirror Collodi's approach to the image of the father in his schoolbooks. Almost all of Collodi's fictional fathers—mainly upper-class figures—seem to lack authority and never seem to be role models to their children. Giannettino's father is the most transparent example, as he is the only male character in all Collodi's schoolbooks whose name is unknown. His anonymity creates a narrative uniqueness that Collodi matches with one of the social problems highly criticised in Collodi's journalistic contributions: the scarce sense of responsibility for public duties. Collodi presents to Italian children a depleted paternal figure, whose weak authority is sometimes ridiculed.

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[88] Boero, De Luca, and Editori, *La letteratura per l'infanzia*, 22.
[89] Marco Cavina, *Il padre spodestato: l'autorità paterna dall'antichità a oggi* (Roma; Bari: Laterza, 2007).
[90] Ibid., 244.

Minuzzolo's father Quintiliano and Giannettino's uncle Ferrante seem to be the only positive paternal models in such a negative context. Their authority is based on concrete education and not on natural law; Collodi hence shows himself critical of the paternal figure's mainstreamed interpretation. Similar to what happened with the mother, it offers positive examples showing an appreciation of the paternal role *per se'*. Giannettino's father is the blend of the two images of father and State in one negative and anonymous character who embodies his contemporaneous society's greatest evils.

The *padre* in schoolbooks

In Collodi's schoolbooks, most paternal characters epitomise the problematic aspects of Italian society that Collodi depicted in many of his journalistic texts, such as insufficient attention to children's education, carelessness of the public community and financial parasitism. What stands out is Collodi's choice of Giannettino's father as the archetype of the politicians' absenteeism. In his journalistic works, Collodi often harshly criticised such moral failure as one of the worst perils of organised modern society, as will be examined in Chapter 3.[91] Giannettino's father is represented as a wrong educational model. His absenteeism from parliamentary duties highlights his failing as a citizen and as a role model to his son. The education of Giannettino is not under the direction of his father—as happens, for example, with Minuzzolo's father Quintiliano—but in the hands of uncle Ferrante and Dottor Boccadoro, who are not part of the primary family nucleus. Ferrante is the uncle—but his being a sailor allows him to visit Giannettino only sporadically—while Boccadoro is Giannettino's father's old friend who becomes the child's mentor.

Following the comparison with De Amicis's *Cuore,* De Amicis used *padre* 425 times and *babbo* 18 times. Conversely, in all Collodi's schoolbooks, *padre* is used 80 times, and *babbo* 92 times. The prevalence of the word *babbo* needs to be linked to Collodi's Tuscan background; however, the clear supremacy of the word *padre* in *Cuore* is evidence of how De Amicis aimed at creating a tangible sacred aura around the paternal characters, while Collodi completely dismissed such an option. Moreover, in *Cuore,* Enrico's father and mother are

[91] See, for example, "L'onorevole Cenè Tanti" (in *Occhi e nasi*), "Funerali e danze", (In *Pagine sparse*) "Il trovarobe ministeriale", "Una seduta notturna" (in *Note gaie*).

active characters. On the other hand, Collodi's books have no fictional mother or father as a main character.

Collodi seems to describe a society based on a paradox, which recalls Cavina's argument; while it promotes the father as its quintessential image, the writer seems to invite the reader to reflect on how distant the actual society is from the propagandised one. The critique of the paternal role's propagandised interpretation seems here to reoccur, along the same lines as what happened with the mothers. Lower-class fathers convey positive values to their children based on productiveness and honesty, although their lack of education is the cause of their submission to unmodifiable social immobility. In terms of bourgeois and aristocratic fathers, Giannettino's and Giocondo's fathers are portrayed as negative examples, and only the bourgeois father of Giannettino's friend Minuzzolo Quintiliano is described as a wholly positive character.

Giannettino's father: the story of an absentee

Giannettino's father went to university with Giannettino's mentor, Dottor Boccadoro, and has friends in other parts of Italy, such as Sardinia and Piedmont, most likely due to his job as a parliamentary deputy. In the whole collection, there is no clear information regarding the father's occupation. He is described as an upper-class man, most likely a bourgeois, through the fictional voice of Giannettino, and it is said that his father owns a marble portrait of himself. Although it is not explicitly stated, it might be supposed that he holds a ministry or is at least a very highly-rated person, as marble busts denoted a high social class.

With regard to his relationship with his son, Collodi only states "il suo babbo gli voleva un ben dell'anima".[92] Despite such proclaimed affection, Giannettino's father puts his son's education in the hands of a friend, Dottor Boccadoro. The father interacts with his son only twice in the whole collection, both times in the first volume, *Giannettino*. In the first instance, as already mentioned, he questions Giannettino about his watch. Later in the story, Giannettino is leaving with Dottor Boccadoro for the *viaggio* through Italy; for this reason, Giannettino's father commands his son to obey his mentor. In these episodes, the significance of the paternal

[92] Collodi, *Giannettino*, 9.

character is irrelevant: however, his authority is never ridiculed, as happened in Collodi's journalistic contributions.

Collodi deprived this character of any physical description, and even a name. Such a strategy brings to the fore what is actually said about him – his failure to attend parliamentary sessions. Collodi decides to use Dottor Boccadoro to reprove Giannettino's father in front of the child:

> Io vedo il babbo che ogni volta che c'è da fare il deputato, piglia le sue brave carabattole e va sul monte Amiata, com'egli dice, a cercar radiche medicinali.
>
> -Tuo padre, che in tutto il resto vale oro quanto pesa, in questo caso non è punto lodevole: perché oltre a dare il cattivo esempio al figliuolo, non solo danneggia i suoi propri interessi, ma pregiudica in certo modo anche quelli di tutto il paese.[93]

Collodi's condemnation is therefore absolute; the unappealing parental profiles he presents in all his writings speaks of a not-so-veiled critique against the *Staatsträger* and their contradictions. By exposing two key paradigms of the new State's propaganda—at least in regard to the private sphere—as consistently unconstructive characters, Collodi reveals how the new society is based on poetic ideals that are not reflected in the reality. He goes as far as showing to his young readers that the protagonist of his schoolbooks—hence the model to follow—receives no attention from parents who do not embody any positive attribute, neither in the privacy of the family nor in society. Ultimately, the *Staatsträger*'s paradoxes are unveiled and ready to be recognised by Collodi's 'selected community'.

Two non-biological paternal figures: Ferrante and Boccadoro

In *Giannettino*, Collodi fills the educational and parental gap left by Giannettino's father with Doctor Boccadoro and Giannettino's uncle Ferrante. These two characters epitomise the distinction between private and public authority; while Ferrante belongs to the family, being the brother of Giannettino's mother, Boccadoro is not related to the child, though he acts as a counterpart of the father and the teacher. Moreover, whereas Ferrante embodies the satisfaction of the self, and lectures his nephew on topics related to personal achievements—not without a hint to the 'self-made man' principle—Boccadoro personifies the impositions of middle-class

[93] Ibid., 123-124.

society with its vetoes and rigid etiquette. At the same time, he represents the ambiguity and hypocrisy of the ruling class, as some of his conduct contradicts the values he often imposes on Giannettino.

As Collodi was known for his witty use of irony, I examine these two strategic characters by adopting the lens of irony to get a new viewpoint on Collodi's overall position on education. These two characters represent the dichotomy between the general public and the 'selected community' that Wayne Booth outlined in his work on irony.[94] Boccadoro—meaning "mouth of gold"—personifies superficial understanding; that is, the uncontested acceptance of the mainstream societal values of a middle-class behavioural code. On the other hand, uncle Ferrante—whose name recalls the word *ferro*, iron—symbolises Booth's 'selected community', through which the author conveys his real hidden message.

As discussed in the Introduction, Collodi had probably read English positivist books such as Samuel Smiles's *Self-Help*, a manifesto of mid-Victorian liberalism. Such an influence might help us identify in Ferrante the symbol of the positivist unacceptance of unchallenged truths. Ferrante's approach shares the positivist refusal of any given truth with the way Booth outlines the reconstruction of ironical meaning, and recalls Sue Walsh when she describes irony as "the condition of language that refuses the petrification of meaning".[95] Ferrante's lectures are focused on a deep understanding and the individual's experience, which contributes to his ironic and positivist look. Unlike Ferrante, the character of Boccadoro seems instead to focus on the superficial, and his dogmatic approach distances him from Positivism.

The selected community

As previously mentioned, irony is a distinctive feature of Collodi's writings. However, irony itself is one of the most elusive concepts to define in literary studies. Wayne Booth openly addresses this problem when he ironically thanks eleven contributors for their 748 interpretations of irony in the introduction to *The Rhetoric of Irony*. The attempt to analyse

[94] Booth, *A Rhetoric of Irony*.
[95] Sue Walsh, "'Irony?-But Children Don't Get It, Do They?': The Idea of Appropriate Language in Narratives for Children," *Children's Literature Association Quarterly* 28, no. 1 (2003), 107.

how scholars such as Booth and Walsh have approached the notion of irony leads to keywords such as community, dynamism and authority.

Booth's fundamental assumption is that irony creates intimacy between the actors of communication. He hence outlines a 'selected community' made up of those who share a common understanding by capturing the irony.[96] Booth believes the implied author to create a path for the selected audience to follow. This process allows the two actors to depart from the first shaky platform of superficial and ambiguous meaning "towards an obscured point that is intended as wiser, wittier, more compassionate, subtler, truer, more moral, or at least less vulnerable to further irony"; that is, the dynamic aspect of irony.[97] Sue Walsh accepts such dynamism and claims that the semantic process could not be initiated if the 'selected community' did not possess the proper tools to distinguish irony from a mere statement, and that is how irony is linked to authority.[98] Walsh sees in authority the medium that guides the audience through the process of reconstruction and states "exactly what the point is".[99] She argues that authority allows the reader to "privilege a particular reading, the reading of *the meant*".[100] Hence, the author's system of beliefs seems to be linked to an established idea of authority, which will guide the 'selected community' towards the intended meaning. Being irony that established idea of authority, we might expect Collodi to use nicknames as an ironic way to 'wink' at the 'selected community' and deliver his message correctly.

Boccadoro, the 'mouth-of-gold'

Collodi ironically constructs Dottor Boccadoro, through whom he criticises the bourgeois dogmatic and fixed approach to education. Boccadoro, as a pledge of friendship, offers to take charge of the child's education and become his mentor. Collodi describes Boccadoro as

[96] Additionally, according to Booth, this type of community is formed as the result of a dynamic process of reconstruction which involves four steps that allow the audience to understand the ironist. Firstly, the audience needs to reject the surface-level meaning, and then move on to looking for alternative interpretations. Thirdly, the audience needs to determine the author's beliefs, and to finally choose a new underlying meaning. Booth, *A rhetoric of irony*, 10-12.
[97] Ibid., 36.
[98] Ellen Winner, *The Point of Words: Children's Understanding of Metaphor and Irony* (Cambridge (Massachusetts); London: Harvard University Press, 1997).
[99] Sue Walsh, "Gender and Irony: Children's Literature and Its Criticism," *Asian Women* 32, no. 2 (2016), 97.
[100] Ibid., 98.

extremely thin and sincere, in opposition to Ferrante's solidity: "un bel vecchietto asciutto e nervoso, lindo negli abiti e nella persona, il quale era conosciutissimo per la sua bella virtù di parlar chiaro e di dire a tutti la verità, anche a costo di passare qualche volta per un po' troppo lesto di lingua."[101] Boccadoro aims to clean away the bad immature habits from Giannettino through a significant number of prohibitions imposed like a sort of oracle. For the implied author, this is the mandatory path towards the achievement of social requirements for bourgeois society. Boccadoro promotes a code of behaviour as based on a—vague—sense of hierarchy: "Quando ti trovi in compagnia con gente da più di te cerca di parlar poco: di non interrompere i discorsi degli altri, e di non metter bocca nelle cose, delle quali non t'intendi."[102]

According to Booth's reconstruction process, Boccadoro epitomises the unquestioned and superficial meaning. He constantly lectures Giannettino and pontificates on unchallenged truths. His educational method is based on a long list of vetoes grouped in the section titled "Non mangiarti le unghie: non grattarti il capo".[103] As a sample of his teaching method, the title is only a part of the long list of injunctions. The upright Boccadoro, however, does not always abide by his own moral values. This fact is demonstrated, for instance, in the episode where Giannettino is arrested for stealing in a restaurant. Boccadoro and Giannettino's mother appear on the scene when the police are taking the child into custody. Boccadoro intervenes by misusing his authoritative position, intimidating the police by informing them of the family's high-ranking social standing. Giannettino's mother takes her son and pulls him into the carriage, which quickly departs. Collodi ironically highlights the gap between Boccadoro's professed maxims and their execution and depicts him and Giannettino as above the law: "La signora Sofia strappò il ragazzo dalle mani del carabiniere e lo portò quasi di peso in carrozza. Il carabiniere voleva protestare; ma il dottor Boccadoro, affacciatosi allo sportello gli dette il suo nome: e la carrozza, voltando indietro, ripartì a rotta di collo."[104]

[101] Collodi, *Giannettino*, 4.
[102] Ibid., 13.
[103] Ibid., 10.
[104] Ibid., 189.

Fig. 4 Enrico Mazzanti, *Giannettino arrestato*, 1877.

Collodi's decision to give Giannettino's mentor the nickname of Boccadoro can also be examined as an irony-based decision. If we assume that the name Boccadoro honestly refers to 'someone whose words are always true and fair', such a choice would be an anomaly in Collodi's nicknames. Collodi used nicknames in many of his works, often accompanied by the real name, enhancing a character's disadvantage or negative feature. For instance, in *Pinocchio*, with Mastro Ciliegia—whose real name is Antonio—he highlights his red nose (due to alcohol), while Polendina—Geppetto's nickname—underscores the vanity of wearing a wig

(irony again; he is so poor that he paints the fireplace on the wall but manages to wear a wig). In *Giannettino*'s chapter *I soprannomi*, Giannettino cruelly uses nicknames to enhance his classmates' weaknesses. For instance, he calls Gobbino a student with a hunchback, Zoppo Vulcano a child who limps and Maestro Miseria a child who wears skimpy clothes because of his poverty. Ultimately, Giannettino calls Ricotta a child who suffers from a disease that makes him extremely weak and pale.[105]

Keeping in mind Ellen Winner's words, "in a text that is ironic throughout, the clues must be […] in the conflict between what is said and what we know about the speaker's beliefs", we might be tempted to suppose that Collodi ironically defines Boccadoro as the so-called 'mouth of gold'.[106] Boccadoro is the orthodox standard-bearer of conformist education. His golden lectures are polished, shiny, and civilised; nevertheless, as previously seen, he prevents Giannettino from being sentenced by the national law, putting personal advantage before the community's rules. Calling such a character *Boccadoro* hence seems an ironic choice, through which Collodi underscores the paradox of society—that of affirming its respectability and values but not putting in practice the principles promoted. As a popular proverb says—and most likely Collodi knew—"non è tutto oro quello che luccica."[107]

Ferrante, or the gratification of the self

If one adult male character had to be selected as the most positively connotated in Collodi's schoolbooks, that would be Giannettino's uncle Ferrante. Ferrante is the predominant familial character in Collodi's schoolbooks and one of the few who does not seem to ever have negative connotations. Collodi describes all of Ferrante's actions with positively connotated verbs; there is never a moment in which Ferrante—contrarily to Doctor Boccadoro—yells or loses his patience. Even when he raises his voice, Collodi uses descriptors that link Ferrante's image to a positive semantic field.

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[105] Ibid., 45-46.
[106] Winner, *The point of words*, 25.
[107] With regard to Collodi's knowledge of proverbs, see "Gli ultimi fiorentini", in *Occhi e nasi*: "Basterebbe a provarlo quell'antichissimo proverbio, giunto fino a noi, cha cantava così "il viaggio dei fiorentini arriva fino alla Madonna della Tosse" -vale a dire, venticinque o trenta metri distante dalla città." in *Opere*, 313.

The educational model embodied by Ferrante seems to disagree with the dominant models of the time. Although his system of beliefs conforms to some extent to the bourgeois/Samuel Smiles-inspired positivist pragmatism—based on a solid faith in self-determination and willing obedience to the community laws—he seems to distance himself from Positivism by accepting the impossibility of men having absolute control over their lives, admitting the impact of *fortuna*. Also, he seems to promote a life made of diverse experiences worldwide, which collides with the dominant national propaganda based on unconditional love for the *patria*. Overall, Ferrante is the only character who encourages Giannettino to look for an individual realisation, disregarding what the private or public authorities—family or State—wanted for the child.

Giannettino perceives Ferrante as a role-model authority to imitate. The uncle is an experienced and famous sailor who travels the world and speaks many languages and is described as a vigorous man, with a burst of loud laughter and vast shoulders. Giannettino immensely admires and respects his uncle; throughout the whole *Giannettino* series, the young child always praises Ferrante in public, and Collodi's description seems to mirror Giannettino's esteem for his uncle:

> Immaginatevi un bell'uomo sulla cinquantina, alto come un cipresso, con due spalle larghe quanto un pianerottolo di scale e uno stomaco che pareva un armadio aperto. Quando il Capitano rideva (e rideva spesso), le sue risate facevano un tal fracasso assordante, che somigliavano a quelle saette che si sentono sul palcoscenico nei balli e nelle opere in musica, allo scoppio del temporale.[108]

Ferrante's first appearance in the text is denotative of his opposition to Boccadoro. Previously in the story, Boccadoro had rewarded the child with a collection of marionettes, which he rapidly began to confiscate one by one because of Giannettino's inappropriate behaviour. Giannettino has to deal with a reduced number of marionettes, which puts his first marionette performance in front of family friends at risk of being cancelled. The child decides to transform the tyrant marionette into the *primadonna* Rosaura, but he does not modify the marionette's voice mechanism, which was pre-set as a deep, dark sound. During the show's emotive climax, the female marionette emits a deep, tyrant-like shout, which ignites the audience's hilarity. The noisiest laughter is Ferrante's, who then appears in the scene for the first time. Giannettino

[108] Collodi, *Giannettino*, 27.

closes the curtains, interrupts the show, and reveals to Ferrante that his fiasco was caused by the sight of a white horse in the morning. This confession allows Ferrante to lecture the child against prejudices and superstitions such as salt dropped on the table, the number thirteen and the devil.

Fig. 5 *Giannettino*, 1877.

Ferrante's speech comes straight after Boccadoro's punishments. Such a strategy is very productive in showing the clear opposition that Collodi attributes to the two characters/educators; while Boccadoro uses prohibitions and punishments, Ferrante challenges stereotypes and superstitions. Boccadoro functions as the *pars destruens*, while the *pars construens*, Ferrante, encourages Giannettino to gain knowledge for self-determination in society and learn from direct experiences.

Ferrante is the only character who engages with Giannettino in a discussion about his future. He encourages him to learn other languages and the art of industry and trade and does not undermine career outcomes other than the ones that the child's family have already planned for him. Unlike Boccadoro, Ferrante embodies a positive—and positivist—message based on self-determination and pragmatism. However, Collodi decided not to construct a character who is a mere reciter of positivist mottos. Ferrante seems to have a more relaxed approach to life and admits that individual motivation cannot be the only factor, as luck and fortuity can also impact one's choices. As a consequence, Collodi—through Ferrante—seems to deliver a message of self-satisfaction that differs from those focused on social or familial impositions:

> […] convengo anch'io che tutte le arti e tutte le professioni possono essere eccellenti, massime se esercitate con amore e con coscienza, e anco con un tantino di fortuna: perché nelle cose di questo mondo un po' di fortuna non guasta mai! Per conseguenza fa' pure, se cosi ti piace, o l'impiegato, o l'avvocato, il medico, o il pittore.[109]

Ferrante, for example, disagrees with Giannettino's mother, who wants her son to work in the public administration. In this episode, Ferrante challenges the bourgeois dogma of blindly following parents' wishes. Moreover, he warns Giannettino of the loss of personal freedom if he would pursue a life as a public servant. In this perspective, Collodi uses his most positive character to critique the opportunity of working for the Italian State.

> Tutte a un modo queste benedette mamme- disse il Capitano ridendo, e guardando la sorella.—Basta che abbiano un figliuolo, non sono contente fino a tanto che non lo vedono appollaiato in qualche Uffizio o Azienda dello Stato. Non ti dirò che la strada degl'impieghi non possa condurre un galantuomo a guadagnarsi onestamente un pezzo di pane. Ma non credere, amico mio, che questa strada sia seminata di rose e di viole a ciocche! Il giorno che sarai impiegato, comincerai subito dal perdere i due più grandi beni della vita, cioè l'indipendenza e la libertà, e tutti i giorni avrai un orario fisso, come i treni delle strade ferrate.[110]

Such a promotion of an independent life seems to be linked with Collodi's personal experiences and beliefs as well as a mindset that was common in those years, dominated by the triumph of the individual that was clearly expressed in the definition of 'self-made-man'. Collodi's nephew witnessed an argument between Carlo and his brother Paolo which is clear proof of

[109] Ibid., 35.
[110] Ibid., 35.

that. In this episode, Paolo was late for breakfast because of his work at the china manufactory owned by the aristocratic family of Ginori. In the excerpt, Collodi emphasises Paolo's skills, and how his brother should acknowledge how Ginori's profits rely on his hard work:

> "Caro mio, dici bene tu, ma loro sono i miei padroni e mi tocca a fare il loro comodo." Carlo scattò: "Padroni un corno! Vuoi farti loro servitore umilissimo? E dov'è la tua dignità di uomo?" "Ma, Carlo, pensa a cosa hanno fatto i Ginori per noi." Lui battè stizzito il pugno sulla tavola, poi contenendosi: "Per noi?! Di me volevano fare un prete. Bel servizio, perdinci! […]" "Ne hanno il diritto […] sono dei nobili, e…" "E tu sei plebeo, non è vero? Tu, che sai fare tutto quello che loro non sanno, tu che con la tua intelligenza e il tuo lavoro dai loro i mezzi di fare […] Che se ne vadano al diavolo i tuoi padroni e tutta la nobiltà!" [111]

In Collodi's schoolbooks, Ferrante seems to embody the ironical approach of refusing any given and accepted truth. His lectures are always on a functional and pragmatic level, even when he accepts life's unpredictability; his physical strength and gigantic appearance also contribute to a solidity and a stability connected neither with the State nor with the family. Ferrante found his happiness far from his family and his country, and he is the character that Collodi selects to be Giannettino's—and presumably his readers'—favourite.

Overall, Collodi represented a dysfunctional family scenario that does not reflect the family's authoritarian portrayal as a foundation for the new Italian society. Collodi's families are corrupted, superficial, and uninterested in the life of the Italian community. The presence of lively characters such as Ferrante and—as I will examine next—Quintiliano, however, proves that Collodi did not univocally criticise the bourgeoisie or other social classes. Collodi seems to offer, as his ideal paternal profile, a determined man who rejects ignorance and praises pragmatism but still gives great importance to culture and knowledge. With regard to the latter, Quintiliano will appear to be substantially distant from Giannettino's father.

Quintiliano: the positive paternal model

Quintiliano is the father of Giannettino's friend Minuzzolo. He is the only upper-class father to whom Collodi gives a name. Although the book *Minuzzolo* was not primarily conceived for

[111] Lorenzini, *Collodi e Pinocchio*, 52-53.

the school context, the paternal authority of Quintiliano stands out as the most positive parental example. Quintiliano is described as inflexible but fair, a positive role model for his four children: "un brav'uomo, che stando in commercio aveva fatto onestamente fior di quattrini."[112] He is an ideal paradigm of the enlightened bourgeois destined to be part of the upper class that replaced the nobility as, at the beginning of the story, he buys a villa from a bankrupted aristocratic family. Quintiliano is not a man driven only by his wealth or political power; instead, he seems to have a deep sense of tradition and culture. He is a classicist who admires Homer, Virgil, Catullus, and such modern classical poets as Ariosto, Mascheroni and Metastasio. Quintiliano seems to have a psychological sensibility that adds to his knowledge and erudition. For example, quizzing his children on history, he notices early that Adolfo, the laziest of his sons, could not answer his question. Hence, the father sends his children to bed and postpones the examination, avoiding Adolfo's humiliation in front of his brothers.

Unlike the fathers previously investigated, Quintiliano spends much time with his children and ensures that they receive an education based on respect, honesty, and culture. For example, he organises a weekly opening of his villa for the village farmworkers. During this event, his children and friends—all sons of farmers or servants—are taught Roman history through the explanation of the frescos on the villa's walls. This initiative allows farmworkers to finally understand those paintings they had been seeing for decades without comprehending them. Furthermore, Quintiliano publicly praises his servants' son Sandrino for a clear historical exposition. His compliment was pleasantly received by Sandrino's mother, who weeps as her son is praised in public by the master: "[...] la mamma di Sandrino, che era lì nella sala, sentendosi lodare in pubblico il figliuolo, e lodare da un uomo tanto stimato come il padrone, ebbe una specie di freddolino giù per le spalle, e presa una cocca del fazzoletto che portava in capo, si asciugò tutti e due gli occhi."[113]

In line with most of the names chosen in his schoolbooks, the name Quintiliano does not seem unintentional in light of the character's positive perception.[114] Quintilian was a Roman educator of the first century who wrote the *Institutio oratoria*, a twelve-volume textbook on

[112] Collodi, *Minuzzolo*, 9.
[113] Ibid., 54.
[114] In relation to how Collodi accurately chose every name for his fictional characters, see Ermanno Paccagnini, "Bazzicando tra le fonti di Carlo Collodi," *Rivista di letteratura italiana* XXXVI, no. 2 (2018).

oratory and pedagogy. In this treatise, he aimed to re-institute the honest oratory of Cicero's times. He criticised the dishonest and corrupted oratory of his time.[115] In the character of Quintiliano, Collodi combines his ideal of the paternal role, who appreciates the education of future generations and a society in which different social classes can peacefully live together. He embodies Collodi's concept of the perfect father by balancing pragmatism, a business mind, a sense of family and, most importantly, a sincere love for culture and knowledge.

Other fathers

Collodi chose Giocondo's father in *La lanterna magica di Giannettino* to criticise the aristocratic class's arrogance and parasitism. The education of Giocondo by his parents seems to be the *summa* of what Collodi believed to be toxic for the new Italian society: façade culture, parasitism, arrogance, disinterest for the national community. Giocondo admits that his family worships the noble Cairoli family, "la famiglia più gloriosa che abbia avuto l'Italia nel Risorgimento", proving again—as I will examine in Chapter 3—Collodi's low appreciation for pompous propaganda.[116] Also, Giocondo believes that his father's wealth exonerates him from social duties, as he states at the beginning of the book: "Che crede che abbia bisogno della grammatica e della geografia per essere un signore? La si figuri che il mi' babbo ha un bel palazzo con tanti poderi, e una stalla con due majalini, che ci fanno i salami e il prosciutto per tutto l'anno."[117]

Giocondo's father is described as a noble man who does not want to contribute to the national community—although he uses free public schooling to educate his child. In this case, the father is a harmful member of the society, who also inculcates in his child values that conflict with the ones of the national community. Giocondo admits that this disrespect for

[115] "L'esperienza di Quintiliano fu notevole anche nel foro, non solo nel chiuso delle aule, e anche sugli aspetti pratici della professione di avvocato riceviamo da lui consigli assennati, di moralismo temperato da un sano realismo, come nel caso del problema della scelta delle cause da assumere e del dibattuto problema del compenso per le attività giudiziarie." Giorgio Piras, and Angelo Luceri. "L'Oratoria e La Retorica (1. Cicerone Tra Pratica Oratoria e Riflessione Teorica; 2. Gli Sviluppi Della Retorica e Le Declamazioni; 3. Eloquenza e Educazione in Quintiliano; 4. Il Dialogus De Oratoribus)." *Lo spazio letterario di Roma antica*, Vol. VII. I testi: 2, ed. Guglielmo Cavallo, Paolo Fedeli, and Andrea Giardina. La prosa, Roma 2012, 211-323.
[116] Collodi, *La lanterna magica di Giannettino*, 182.
[117] Ibid., 4.

working people and the new Italian society stems from his father: "l'arte di fare il signore oggi non è più permessa…una delle solite prepotenze del Ministero, come dice il mio babbo quando legge i giornali: ma essendo io nato di buona famiglia, come son nato, non mi rassegnerò mai e poi mai a fare il sarto o il calzolaio, o un altro mestiero purchessia, […] perché me ne vergognerei."[118]

The respected authority attributed to the father figures in Collodi's schoolbooks hides many problematic aspects that, in Collodi's eyes, contributed to the formation of a dysfunctional society. Some higher-class father characters convey socially toxic messages such as carelessness for the public community and financial parasitism. Collodi's choice of Giannettino's father as an irresponsible parliamentary deputy denounces the bourgeoisie's defective familial and social educational approach. On the other hand, lower-class fathers represent a social class whose only concern is hard work, with no time for their children's education and no hope of social mobility.

The character of a father who at least interacts with his children appears only in *I Nostri bambini*.[119] In this short story, a wealthy middle-class father wants to reprimand his vivacious son Beppino, who completely disrespects him.[120] Beppino behaves like an undisciplined parliamentary deputy. He uses typical political expressions such as "All'ordine!" and imitates the Parliament's president when he calls the chamber to order by ringing the servant bell. Beppino scorns his father by stealing his nightcap; ultimately, the father's humiliation reaches its climax in a scene reminiscent of the slapstick style of the *commedia dell'arte*.[121] The mother, the sisters-in-law, the servant and even the dog attend the humiliation of the father: "i quali,

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[118] Ibid., 82.

[119] Combination of "Ragazzi e giornali" (published in *Almanacco di Fanfulla pel 1875*) and "La politica nelle scuole" (*Fanfulla*, 21st of October 1870 and *La Vedetta-Gazzetta del popolo* 29th of January 1877) in Collodi, *Occhi e nasi*, 295.

[120] Collodi used the expression *fare la paternale* to express the lecture. The *paternale* is the strongly-moral lecture traditionally made by the pater (father).

[121] "Ma in quel mentre che il padre fa per alzarsi, Beppino gli leva la papalina di capo, e mettendosela in testa per sé, dice con voce nasale:—«Signori, il Presidente si cuopre e la discussione è sospesa»[...] Il canino, che non può ridere come gli altri, abbaia, e per dare una prova della vivissima parte che prende alle gioie della famiglia, si sfoga a mordere le pantofole ricamate del suo caro padrone." Collodi, *Opere*, 299.

appena udito il racconto dell'insolentissima scena, sono presi tutti da tale indignazione, che si mettono a ridere come tanti matti."[122]

In the light of the Italian State's propagandistic aim to be perceived as the *padre* of its citizens, this short story can be interpreted as an allegory of the Italian nation, in which the deputies—the children—completely ignore the rules imparted by the father—the State—whose authority is insignificant. In either case—the merely textual or the allegoric interpretation—Collodi undermines the paternal figure's authority and offers another dysfunctional perspective on the Italian family, intended either as a single nucleus or as a symbol of the whole national community. Collodi's fictional world is undoubtedly not celebrating any patriarchal figure; Collodi's families seem to be fragmented and uneducated communities that are not organised by any familial structure.

Conclusion

As we have seen, Collodi's schoolbooks offer a dissonant portrayal of the familial context, which puts in question the critical appraisal of his schoolbooks as reliable supporters of the *Staatsträger*. Collodi draws the young readers' attention to the values that their society propagandised as the backbone of the new nation, but fails to embody them in the figures of authority presented. Although it might be argued that Collodi does not deny the intrinsic value of the familial institution, the fictional families in his schoolbooks are—for the majority—dysfunctional communities.

At this point of the analysis, we might begin to theorise that Collodi cleverly presented to the new generation an Italian society that urgently needed to be rebuild from its foundations. While the majority of other authors tended to convey an idealised version of social and political realities such as family and State, Collodi managed to create a narrative setting that was far from idealised or *heroic*. The dissonance I aim to outline resides in the very denunciation that Collodi delivered to the new generation.

[122] Ibid., 299.

Chapter 3

Public Authority

> Fratelli! – ripigliò il Presidente – Ricordiamoci che la nostra tribù […] non ha che due soli desideri: non lavorare e mangiare abbastanza bene. Questi due desideri, fra gli uomini, si chiamano principii politici, e non ho mai capito perché.[1]

In his examination of nations and nationalisms, Hobsbawm states that "Nations do not make states and nationalisms but the other way round."[2] In other words, the scholar stresses the importance of the public authority within the process of building a national identity. He makes the concept even clearer further on: "For governments the central item in the equation state=nation=people was plainly the state."[3] In this perspective, the attempt to examine if and how Collodi supported the *Staatsträger* and its nation-building strategy needs to address how the Tuscan writer describes the Italian State and its propaganda in his schoolbooks. It is problematic to assert that Collodi's schoolbooks promoted the Italian State as the supreme authority to be obeyed, respected and loved unconditionally. Instead, it seems that Collodi deprecated the State's endeavour to build its authority on 'religious'-inspired imageries.

This chapter completes the examination of how Collodi's schoolbooks relate to the concept of authority by examining how public authority—that is the Italian State—and its political and educational aspects are represented in his schoolbooks. The cultural diatribe between the Italian State and the Holy See—the *Questione Romana*—that characterised those years, will constitute an important aspect of the investigation. Within that conflict, I will underscore what emerges from Collodi's schoolbooks about the Italian State's strategy against the Catholic Church in the struggle for cultural supremacy.

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[1] Collodi, "Una seduta notturna", in Collodi, *Note gaie* (Florence: R. Bemporad e figlio, 1893), 136.
[2] Hobsbawm, *Nations and Nationalism since 1780*, 10.
[3] Ibid., 23.

Collodi's critical approach towards politics and institutions in his schoolbooks was necessarily less explicit and caustic than what emerges from his journalistic texts, given that these school texts were part of government approved educational material and the young audience he was addressing had different needs from his journalistic audience. Nonetheless, it is already innovative that schoolbooks contained critical elements—either characters or fictional sections—related to politics. As noted in Chapter 1, it was customary to write schoolbooks that were politically 'neutral'. Such an indetermination could ease their distribution for decades—even across different governments—without appearing outdated.

Nonetheless, in his schoolbooks, Collodi offered elements of critique along the same line as his more independent journalistic activity. He addressed topics such as the scant morality of Italian politics, the problems related to the primary school teacher figure, and the critique of the State's attempt to establish a new secular religion in which the State was the new divinity to be worshipped. The pedagogical meaning of such an approach lies in presenting to the new generations a non-idealised description of the State, in what seems to be an ultra-positivist approach. Collodi attempted to educate his young readers on their civic responsibilities and offered a pedagogical approach that refuses any sort of blind acceptance, either religious or secular.

Collodi's approach to the political and educational model offered by the *Staatsträger*-inspired Italian State in his schoolbooks can be outlined by following three main directories. First of all, Collodi pointed at the political practice of *Trasformismo* as the original sin of the dysfunctional society he criticised. He believed that the diffusion of *Trasformismo* as an everyday political praxis permitted the spread of moral characteristics such as ideological incoherence, lack of commitment, and inadequate competence. Secondly, Collodi adopted an unenthusiastic approach when dealing with the State's heroic propaganda in its cultural battle with the Catholic Church. The schoolbooks show that the State's attempt to use religious semantics to promote its propaganda had the countereffect of weakening the State's reliability. Finally, Collodi's description of primary school teachers in his schoolbooks can be read as a further criticism of the Italian State and its aspirational authority. Collodi offered images of

maestri which were far from embodying the propagandised *apostoli della scuola* who had the responsibility of educating the new generations to a new sense of nation.[4]

The key aspect of Collodi's criticism seems to be linked with Aristide Gabelli and his positivist approach against the cultural risks of blind faiths of any kind, as they obstructed the path to a critical and empirical approach to life. Moreover, Collodi emphasised in his schoolbooks that the reality did not support such devotion; the texts show a non-idealised society which was characterised by severe problems such as a mediocre school system and the pervasiveness of ideological failure represented by *Trasformismo*.

Trasformismo and the political perception of public authority

The reason for investigating how Collodi's schoolbooks relate to *Trasformismo* lies in the recent link that scholars such as Alberto Banti, Manlio Graziano, and Raffaele Romanelli have outlined between *Trasformismo* and the Italian bourgeoisie's *Weltanschauung*. The examined texts show that Collodi often criticised *Trasformismo* throughout his career. He maintained a censorious slant in his journalistic texts as well as other texts such as the theatre piece *Gli estremi si toccano*—which eventually became *La coscienza e l'impiego*—"una satira politica sui 'gattopardi' di sempre" as Daniela Marcheschi puts it.[5] Coherently, in his schoolbooks, Collodi seems to direct moral advice against dangerous characteristics which he linked with the practice of *Trasformismo* in his journalistic texts, such as ideological weakness, compromise of public interests in the name of personal benefit, and a controversial idea of plurality. While critiques from a journalist or a theatre author were common in those years, a schoolbook that contained elements of condemnation of the Italian ruling class was a rare occurrence.

[4] Necrology to the *maestro* Domenico Manzi, in *L'unione dei maestri elementari d'Italia*, X, 15 May 1879, 154-155.

[5] Ceccuti, Cappelletti, and Marcheschi, *Carlo Lorenzini protagonista dell'Unita d'Italia*, 31. The text is the story of a former employee of the Grand ducal government who wants his daughter to marry a liberal, in order to keep his role within society despite the Italian unification and the end of the Grand ducal government. See also Gianni Eugenio Viola and Franca Carlo Rovigatti, *Lorenzini oltre l'ombra di Collodi* (Rome: Istituto della Enciclopedia italiana, 1990), 78; Maini and Scapecchi, *Collodi giornalista e scrittore*, 21.

Trasformismo had a considerable impact on the Italian collective imagination and is still nowadays used by politicians and journalists to describe a situation in which politicians are accused of denying their ideals for personal gain.[6] Ernesto Galli Della Loggia believes *Trasformismo* to have contributed to the Italian national identity as much as figures like Garibaldi, Mussolini, or the *Mamma*—as examined in chapter 2.[7] Luigi Musella in his *Il Trasformismo* claims that the praxis of *Trasformismo* is still a staple of the Italian political system and has changed over decades. However, its hostile reception has been consistent; *trasformista* still defines today the person who changes his parliamentary group if that means a personal advantage, either political or purely economic.[8]

Initially conceived as "una legge generale, perché ciò che non è suscettivo di trasformazione, è morto" by its putative initiator Agostino Depretis, the political practice of *Trasformismo* refers to a strategic way to maintain a parliamentary majority around a single person or a *clientela*, which often circumvented the traditional parliamentary dialectic.[9] Depretis believed the strategy of *Trasformismo* to be necessary due to the inadequacy of a strict bi-partisan parliamentary structure.[10] Through *Trasformismo*, Depretis contributed to the establishment of what Romanelli called "partito unico della borghesia". [11] Anna Cento Bull

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[6] In the most recent Italian governmental crisis, many politicians used the word *Trasformismo* to describe those who, despite sitting in the opposition, decided to second the Conte government. See "Governo, centrodestra: "Da Conte cinica operazione Trasformismo, noi al lavoro per alternativa"," 2020, https://www.rainews.it/dl/rainews/articoli/Governo-Centrodestra-Da-Conte-cinica-operazione-di-Trasformismo-noi-al-lavoro-per-alternativa-0c84036b-7fee-4795-8581-3d3b5428915b.html. (Consulted on 10/04/2021).

[7] Luigi Musella, *Il Trasformismo* (Bologna: Il mulino, 2003). The book is part of the series "L'identità italiana", edited by Della Loggia. In that series, Della Loggia aims at describing the Italian identity through staples, war battles, monuments, laws, and personalities such as national celebrations, the battle of Piave, the Altare della Patria, the statuto Albertino, and Giuseppe Verdi.

[8] Musella, "Una nazione fondata sul Trasformismo," (2016). https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/una-nazione-fondata-sul-Trasformismo_%28Il-Libro-dell%27Anno%29/. (Consulted on 12/05/2020).

[9] Depretis was the first leader of the Italian left—*la Sinistra storica*—to become prime minister, and the fourth-longest serving prime minister in Italian history (after Mussolini, Giolitti and Berlusconi). Federico Chabod claimed that *Trasformismo*—in terms of a non-orthodox loyalty to the party—has always been part of Italian politics even before Depretis, as the 1852 *connubio* tried by the center Cavour with the center-left Rattazzi, or the more recent (1879) efforts of Quintino Sella "to create a cabinet with Nicotera and the moderate Left" seem to show. Federico Chabod and William McCuaig, *Italian Foreign Policy: The Statecraft of the Founders* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996), 319.

[10] Depretis's speech is in *La politica italiana dal 1848 al 1897. 2. 2*, (Rome: Tipografia della Camera dei Deputati Ripamonti e Colombo, 1899), 250-280.

[11] Romanelli, *L'Italia liberale*, 212.

emphasises the political power of the 'partito unico', as it achieved "a majority in Parliament on the basis of private agreements with individual deputies or groups of deputies."[12]

A critical approach to *Trasformismo* has divided the scholarly discourse since the end of the eighteenth century. For example, scholars such as Guido Baglioni, Federico Chabod, and Benedetto Croce, highlighted the pragmatic necessity of *Trasformismo* in the final decades of the nineteenth century, emphasising the vital need for a consolidated government majority. Manlio Graziano has recently interpreted *Trasformismo* as "the only method used throughout Italian history to try to "master" the political, economic, and social contradictions of the country".[13] On the other side, scholars such as Silvana Patriarca and Pasquale Villari have criticised the immorality and corrupt mentality that *Trasformismo* facilitated; moreover, they indicated *Trasformismo* as an obstacle to Italian modernisation, due to its conservative structure. At the end of nineteenth century, Collodi seconded the vast party of those who opposed *Trasformismo*. Napoleone Colajanni—one of the most vigorous opponents—presented a critical view of this political practice by identifying "il regime nefasto del *Trasformismo*" as the cause for the enervation of the Italian character, "scompagnando la politica dall'onestà.".[14]

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[12] Anna Cento Bull, "Social and political cultures from 1860 to the present", in Zygmunt G. Barański, *Companion to Modern Italian Culture* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 41.

[13] Mario Graziano, *Failure of italian nationhood: The geopolitics of a troubled identity.* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), 92. Benedetto Croce's authoritative opinion set in train the belief in the necessity for pragmatism, as he claimed *Trasformismo* to be an essential step for Italian politics in order to actualise ideas and programmes, confident of the importance of diplomacy. Franco Cambi defined Croce as the aftermath "ideologo principe della borghesia e della sua ascesa egemonica." According to Cambi, Croce's legitimation of *Trasformismo* (the political expression of bourgeois liberalism, in Cambi's eyes) explained the ideological achievement of the bourgeoisie. Chabod believed political stability to be necessary against the upcoming mass movements and radicalisms. In a similar way, Baglioni acknowledged *Trasformismo* as a necessary strategy that allowed the ruling class to secure its power without any major institutional change. See Franco Cambi, *La pedagogia borghese nell'Italia moderna*; Chabod and McCuaig, *Italian Foreign Policy*; Baglioni, *L'ideologia della borghesia industriale nell'Italia liberale*.

[14] Napoleone Colajanni, *Corruzione Politica* (Catania: Tropea, 1888), 49, 66. The opponents of *Trasformismo* tend to emphasise the moral betrayal of the *Risorgimento*, and relate *Trasformismo* to the ethical impoverishment of the Italian community. The prevalent line was to examine *Trasformismo* as the foundation of the Italian *malaffare*. Pasquale Villari believed *Trasformismo* to be the cause of financial disasters such as the Banca Romana crisis, a scandal that for the first time in the history of Italy which saw the highest offices in the State accused of plotting against the same State they represented. This critical interpretation of *Trasformismo* survived into the twentieth century, as Silvana Patriarca still defined *Trasformismo* as "muddy waters" more than one-hundred years later. See

More recently, a new critical approach to *Trasformismo* began to consider it no longer as the cause of an idiosyncratic Italian political style but rather as the consequence of a fragmented identity. *Trasformismo* results in being the epitome of a bourgeois *Weltanschauung*, which, according to Franco Cambi, stemmed from pre-existing ideologies such as *regionalism* and *clientelism*. Cambi—to whom ideology is the "pensiero organico della classe al potere"—defined *Trasformismo* as the manifestation of bourgeois ideology.[15] He believed that practices such as *Trasformismo* helped the Italian bourgeoisie to camouflage its system of values with a "ricostruzione metafisica dell'ideologia."[16] Cambi theorised *Trasformismo* as *the* strategy through which the Italian middle class expanded its political and cultural hegemony to the rest of Italy: "Così la classe borghese si espone da un lato all'autoritarismo reazionario e alla pressione delle forze antagonistiche dall'altro, oscillando tra propaganda ideologica del proprio trionfo e riassorbimento o cattura delle opposizioni attraverso la strategia del piccolo riformismo e del Trasformismo."[17]

Manlio Graziano further strengthened the interconnection between *Trasformismo* and the bourgeoisie and linked *Trasformismo* to a 'failed national identity'. Graziano identified the failure of Italian national identity as the failure of the Italian bourgeoisie, whose weakness and fragmentation precluded the State from exercising a steady and consistent guidance. He claimed that "the primary weakness of the unitary state, the fragility of its institutions, and its chronic lack of legitimacy" corresponded to the weaknesses of the Italian bourgeoisie.[18] He believed the main issues to be "its late emergence, its fragmentation, and consequently, its difficulty in finding a balance of power within the state."[19] Such an intertwinement between bourgeoisie and *Trasformismo* blurs the boundary between the State and the middle class. It supports Silvio Lanaro's view of *Trasformismo* as the "estrema sublimazione di rapporti clientelari".[20] An examination of the connection between the practice of *Trasformismo* and the Italian bourgeoisie—or *Staatsträger*—is crucial in elucidating references in Collodi's texts and

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Pasquale Villari *Storia, politica e istruzione / saggi critici*, Collezione storica, (Milan: U. Hoepli, 1914); Patriarca, *Italian Vices*, 80.

[15] Cambi, *La pedagogia borghese nell'Italia moderna*, 42.

[16] Ibid., 43.

[17] Ibid., 40.

[18] Graziano, *Failure of Italian Nationhood*, 97.

[19] Ibid., 97.

[20] Silvio Lanaro, *L'Italia nuova identità e sviluppo 1861-1988* (Turin: Einaudi, 1988), 110.

in questioning the critically established interpretation of Collodi's schoolbooks as homogenous promoters of *Staatsträger* prose.[21]

Collodi's fictional politicians

The protagonist's father in *Giannettino* and the child Ciccillo are the most manifest epitomes of the *Staatsträger* that Collodi employs to critically address the contemporaneous interpretation of politics in his schoolbooks. Nonetheless, he frequently uses the apathetic politician figure in his journalistic texts, the most explicit being the short story *L'onorevole Cenè Tanti*, published in *Fanfulla* on 22 December 1882. In this text, Collodi describes *Trasformismo* as a syndrome that hits the protagonist and transforms him into an Italian politician who does not have a clear opinion. Cenè Tanti, as his name suggests, is a mutable human being. As he is the fictional epitome of any Italian citizen, his physical traits are not determined: "Figuratevi un uomo che può avere tutte le età […] oggi è alto, domani è magro […] oggi ha i capelli o neri, o biondi, o castagni: domani può averli benissimo o bianchi o brizzolati, o dipinti con tutti i colori della più brillante tavolozza veneziana." Just like the unnamed father of Giannettino, the choice to describe Cenè as an undetermined character seems to highlight the lack of convictions typical of *Trasformismo*. Collodi warned his readers that the vice of *Trasformismo* was so widespread that everyone could potentially be Giannettino's father or a Cenè.

[21] *Trasformismo* appears to be a conservative methodology enacted by the *Sinistra Storica* that de facto slowed down a progressive development of Italian politics, by undermining a debate between different ideologies. The annulment of political ideologies in order to safeguard parliamentary majority eventually contributed to the Italian incapability to perceive the public interest as more important than the private, or local one. Raymond Grey claimed that the "quasi-institutional character" of *Trasformismo* impeded the formation of truly national parties, precluding "specific local problems from being connected to national, more general problems". Graziano also pointed at *Trasformismo* as the cause of a "renunciation of the nationalization of the masses", in terms of a lack of moral cohesion, "for transformism implies the loss of all legitimation not founded on negotiation, and a 'legitimation; subject to constant challenge can hardly provide a stable marker of identity." The administrational clash between what Jean Menaud called a "Southernization of public life"—a policy based on compensation typical of the southern bourgeoisie which, according to Graziano, invested the lower levels of bureaucracy—and the Piedmontese management, that was still in control of the decision-making, was the epitome of regionalism. Hence, regionalism implemented *Trasformismo* as a factual status quo, an objective acknowledgement more than a necessary choice. Graziano, *Failure of italian nationhood*, 117.

Cenè is an inept person who ends up being elected as a Member of Parliament, and—similarly to Giannettino's father—attends parliamentary sessions no more than twice a year. His indolence is the main symptom of *Trasformismo,* as Collodi makes his criticism of such behaviour very clear: "Se lo domandate a me, 'il Deputato che non va alla camera' m'è parso sempre il vero tipo del Deputato indigeno, nostrale, prettamente italiano."[22] Collodi reiterates his critique of absenteeism in the article "Una formula nuova", published on *Fanfulla* on 6 January 1882. Collodi cynically acknowledges the community's discontent with the type of deputies that "si fanno eleggere rappresentanti della nazione unicamente per avere un pretesto a non andar mai alla Camera […] quegli assenti incorreggibili, che ci fanno l'onore di rappresentare spiritualmente la nostra ingenuità politica all'estero e la nostra infanzia legislativa all'interno."[23]

Collodi scathingly writes that Cenè's popularity rises when his fellow citizens find out that he has squandered the family inheritance, thus, according to the electors of his district, making him the perfect politician. Cenè then turns into a *trasformista*: "ma la mattina dopo, fosse effetto d'indigestione o altro, fatto sta che si svegliò trasformista". He releases a confusing political statement in which he combines opposite opinions as a collateral effect:

> Ho succhiato col latte la monarchia costituzionale: ma il colpo di Stato non mi spaventa e guardo la Repubblica con l'occhio sereno del filosofo, che non soffre di pregiudizi né di convinzioni ostinate. Nemico delle piccole chiesuole, ammiro i grandi uomini politici d'ogni partito. Il Depretis non lo capisco, ma lo venero: l'ignoto mi ha sempre destato un senso di profondo rispetto. Elettori! Scegliendo me a vostro deputato, farete il bene del paese e provvederete ai vitali interessi del collegio.[24]

Collodi warns his readers that everyone is corruptible. His choices to not name Giannettino's father and to describe Cenè as an undetermined character seem to highlight the lack of convictions typical of *Trasformismo*. In educating the new generation of Italians, a responsible commitment to the State is represented as fundamental, and Collodi's veiled message of the

[22] Ibid., 358.
[23] Collodi, "Una formula nuova", *Fanfulla,* 6 January 1882.
[24] Collodi, *Opere,* 357. The same *topos* of the overnight political 'syndrome' is in "La politica delle cameriere", in *Note gaie*: "Il fatto sta che […] una sera andò a letto che stava bene come me e come te, e la mattina dopo si svegliò progressista.". Collodi, "La politica delle cameriere", *Note gaie,* 176.

dangers of *Trasformismo* constitutes a dissenting position towards government practices, especially in a period in which Italy was consolidating as a nation.

The character of the child Ciccillo in *Il viaggio per l'Italia di Giannettino* is the ultimate example of how Collodi wanted his readers to reflect on how endemic the lack of political commitment was. Ciccillo repeats the behaviour of the previous generations. Collodi's description of political immorality and scant sense of citizenry appears as a disease embedded in the Italian citizen from childhood, and likely to affect the decades to come. The child epitomises Collodi's criticism of *clientelismo*, and brings to the fore the problematic approach to meritocracy, a critical stance that will be examined further in this chapter. Moreover, the text highlights how Collodi invited the reader to reflect on the hiatus between the people and the ruling class.

Giannettino meets Ciccillo—a 12-year-old Neapolitan child—in Palermo. The child is introduced as overconfident:

- Sei solo, o hai degli altri fratelli?
- Ho altri tre fratelli: ma quelli sono tutti ragazzetti piccoli, da mandarsi a scuola.
- E tu quant' anni porti sulle spalle? - gli dissi ridendo.
- Ne dimostro meno: ma coll'ultimo di questo mese, finisco pur troppo dodici anni![25]

Ciccillo believes his future as a politician to be an imposition as well as a natural progression warranted by his family status, and not his chosen vocation. His words show an acquiescent approach to a role he does not even want to play: "Eh, caro mio, il tempo passa presto! Fra sette anni sarò di leva anch'io: a venticinque anni anderò probabilmente deputato alla Camera, e a quarant'anni dovrò rassegnarmi a fare il senatore. Pazienza!"[26] The text shows that Ciccillo seems to completely ignore the high sense of responsibility that Boccadoro stresses in

[25] Collodi, *Il viaggio per l'Italia di Giannettino-Sud*, 229. Collodi described Ciccillo as a child who considers himself an adult; even in this case, Collodi reused the *topos* of the child who wants to be perceived as an adult in other texts. For example, the protagonist of the short story "L'omino anticipato" and the episode when the child Minuzzolo ridicules himself after wearing adult's clothes in *Minuzzolo* are other representation of the same fictional figure. Collodi, "L'omino anticipato", in *Opere*, 529-550; Collodi, *Minuzzolo*, V.
[26] Ibid., 229.

Giannettino—which will be examined later in the chapter—when he describes the honourable responsibility of serving one's country as Deputy.

Collodi underscores Ciccillo's detachment from the community he will represent one day by describing his private education. The Neapolitan child is educated at home by a *maestro* whose qualifications are unclear. His teacher appears to have a reputation for skill at billiards—which make him worthy of his government-bestowed knighthood—but his educational competencies and qualifications are tellingly omitted in the description. Through this fictional strategy, Collodi raises the problem of meritocracy and scarce competence of the *Staatsträger*:

> - E a che scuola vai? Al Ginnasio o al Liceo?
>
> - Non vado né qua né là, perché lo zio mi tiene in casa un bravo maestro, che m'insegna un po' di tutto.
>
> - È bravo dimolto questo maestro?
>
> - Bravissimo: e gioca al biliardo in un modo da sbalordire. Figurarsi che l'hanno fatto perfino cavaliere![27]

Once again, the text reveals the distance between the ruling élite and the rest of the community.[28] Two potential future leaders like Giannettino and Ciccillo, who will represent the Italian State's authority—the son of a Deputy and a future Senator—are raised outside the public community and appear to be far from ideal models of community-centred and well-educated adults-to-be. In this case, the text seems to emphasise that the potential future rulers of the nation received a private education. Although Giannettino—unlike Ciccillo—does go to school, the education that Collodi shows is the one imparted by Doctor Boccadoro and uncle Ferrante, and not much is said about his school education or his *maestro*.

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[27] Ibid., 230.

[28] In other journalistic texts, Collodi blamed the *Staatsträger* for having voluntarily created a byzantine language that the uneducated masses could not understand. In *L'ignoto*, published in *Note gaie*, Collodi pointed at words that are used in the parliamentary documents with the clear intent of blurring meaning. This semantic transformation, according to Collodi, is the representation of the inequity and falseness of politics. In specific relation to the Ministry of Finance, Collodi wrote: "Tutti verbi vellutati, tutte parole foderate di raso, tutte frasi candide e leggiere come l'ovatta." Collodi analysed how Ministry of Finance chose the verb *rimaneggiare* to communicate a tax increase. Collodi claimed that the ministry decided to use the sentence "tutta zucchero e miele: rimaneggiare le imposte" because the verbs "rincarare" and "aggravare" were too easy to be understood in their actual meaning. Collodi, "L'ignoto", *Note gaie*, 73-78.

In the emblematic fictional character of Ciccillo, Collodi condenses much of his criticism of the functioning of the Italian political system. Ciccillo's arrogance, his sense of entitlement, his lack of vocation and his poor sense of community make him a negative narrative symbol in Collodi's critique of politics. Collodi offered his readers a non-idealised portrayal of the Italian State and seemed to warn his 'selected community' of the injustices they will find along their way. The interpretation of such a choice might lie on a positivist-inspired decision to inform future generations of the contingent ethical problems that—according to Collodi—needed prompt attention. We might theorise that excerpts like that of Ciccillo aimed to create a pragmatic society prepared to prevent and avoid the risk of being represented by people such as Ciccillo or Giannettino's father. Nonetheless, fragments such as the episode of Ciccillo, or the description of the parliamentary crisis, highlight Collodi's use of irony and humour as a pedagogical narrative strategy. Collodi seems to educate the children to an ironic and humoristic approach to life, detaching from that austerity that has been often connected to the *Staatsträger*'s *Weltanschauung*.

The situations examined above illustrate a decisive condemnation of political ethics and a consequent flawed portrayal of the State's authority, which was highly uncommon in contemporaneous school texts. The flawed Italian State that emerges from Collodi's schoolbooks does not second the necessity of an authoritative State for healthy nation-building, as postulated by Hobsbawm. Collodi vividly and forcefully utters the negative impact of *Trasformismo* on politics in his journalistic texts and schoolbooks. In these texts, he stresses how *Trasformismo* institutionalised the tendency towards ideological pliability at the expense of moral strength. The educational message implied in these tales leads young Italians to reflect on a situation in which the mission of serving the national community, which should be held in high regard and inspiration, is downgraded to the status of a mere fastidious procedure. Moreover, Collodi seems to alert future Italians that the nation's future leaders are not necessarily educated according to a communal spirit and a national commitment. The corresponding absence of constructive politicians in Collodi's schoolbooks contributes to isolate these pessimistic exempla narratively and to disaffirm the interpretation of Collodi as an orthodox supporter of the new *Staatsträger*.

The State in Collodi's schoolbooks

With the regard to the State as an institution, Collodi's texts describe the *Staatsträger* as a 'parallel' society only tenuously connected to the rest of the national community, and his belief that the government's lack of meritocracy contributed to the perpetration of such a biased system. Overall, Collodi's description of the Italian State in his schoolbooks reiterates, albeit in softer terms, the critical stances supported in his journalistic texts. According to Collodi, the Italian State and the citizenry are affected by a widespread lack of interest in the public good and a tendency to chase personal benefits instead.

However, Collodi brings to the attention of the young reader the fact that the Italian people were also responsible. The texts show that Collodi points at the people's insufficient knowledge of politics and their underestimation of their vote as two factors that allowed the flawed *Staatsträger* to prosper and remain in charge. In his schoolbooks, Collodi makes it clear that his criticism addresses the way politics was conducted, and not the institutions' high prestige, which he never questioned. For example, Boccadoro underlines the importance of the office of a deputy; with this intervention, the contrast between the civic function of a well-run Parliament and the flaws Collodi stresses becomes even more straightforward: "Quando avrai da scrivere a qualche deputato, basterà che tu metta sulla sopraccarta: All'onorevole Tal di Tale deputato al Parlamento: e lì. Anche se avesse altri titoli, puoi lasciarli nella penna; poiché quel titolo di deputato al Parlamento, è il titolo più onorifico di quanti tu ne possa immaginare."[29]

Collodi was part of a journalistic community who voiced a strong critical stance against a little committed and ill-prepared political class. Many satirical magazines—such as *La rana*—ridiculed politics and politicians in those years through illustrations or short stories.[30] However, his consistent criticism across different eras—the *Destra*'s and the *Sinistra Storica*'s—contributed to the establishment of his reputation as a mordacious journalist and disengaged him from any suspect of partiality. The main target of his criticism was the "inconsuntile" father of *Trasformismo* Agostino Depretis.[31] In the article *Funerali e danze*—

[29] Collodi, *Giannettino*, 20. Ed., 123.
[30] Laura Ferrarini, "«La Rana»: Caricatura e cultura popolare nell'Italia di Depretis," *Contemporanea* 3, no. 3 (2000).
[31] "Una favola e un plebiscito", *Fanfulla*, 14 November 1883.

published in *Fanfulla* on 18 and 19 June 1873—Collodi imagined a parliamentary crisis as a surreal scene in which Italian politicians were dead men who kept resuscitating. In this article, Collodi described Depretis "un frate del Ben-Morire. Questo ministro d'Iddio, veduto di dietro, somigliava all'onorevole Depretis, vestito da frate: veduto davanti, pareva un frate travestito da Depretis".[32] The text reiterates the indistinctness caused by *Trasformismo,* which reoccurs, for example, with fictional characters such as Giannettino's father and Cenè Tanti.[33]

The risk of homogenisation brought by *Trasformismo*—meaning that politicians' ideological positions are undistinguishable—is even clearer in the article *Ritagli e Scampoli*. Collodi described the Parliament as a ballroom in which everyone is the same person, and every invitation to dance results in a specific request to include other politicians:

> Ecco là l'on. De Pretis che, muovendosi leggermente sulla punta del piede sinistro, invita al ballo l'on. De Fratis: ma l'on. De Fratis si scusa con un grazioso sorriso, dicendo che non può accettare, se non entra nella quadriglia l'on. De Abbatis. Dal canto suo, l'on. De Abbatis dichiara che accetterebbe volentieri l'invito, a patto che l'on. De Pretis cedesse il posto all'on. De Prioris.[34]

Every character is transformed into the same kind of politician, reiterating an "avanti-indietro" movement. Collodi ironically stresses how the dance represented "la maravigliosa lucidità dei nostri criteri governativi e la profonda coscienza con la quale sappiamo provvedere al decoro e ai grandi interessi del paese".

Collodi begins his explanations of politics in his schoolbooks with the description of the governmental crisis, which he portrays as a standard procedure. The description of *crisi ministeriale* as a standard praxis in a primary school text is unusual, and underscores how the Italian State was far from being a healthy authoritative institution worth of loyalty and respect. In *Giannettino,* the young protagonist receives clarifications about the Parliamentary vote of no confidence, and the loss of majority within the Parliament leads to the so-called *crisi*

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[32] "Funerali e danze", in Collodi, *Opere*, 793.
[33] See also "Se io fossi deputato", Collodi, *Note gaie*, 181; "Il deputato assente", Ibid., 49; "Una formula nuova", *Fanfulla*, 6 gen 1882.
[34] Collodi, "Ritagli e scampoli" in *Note gaie*, 125. From a lexical point of view, Collodi plays on the word prete, hidden within the word Depretis. All the other names used (DeAbbatis, DeFratis etc.) refer to other religious figures (abbot, friar, canon, prior). In this way, Collodi describes a scenario in which every deputy is a different version of Depretis. See also the article "È arrivato", in *Fanfulla*, 7 February 1884.

ministeriale. Moreover, its normalisation conveys an image of a weak and unstable State, for which the lack of majority is a standard occurrence:

> Nelle malattie si chiama crisi lo sforzo supremo che la natura fa e da cui è prodotto quasi sempre un sensibilissimo cambiamento in bene, o in male. Così, per una certa analogia o somiglianza, che tu voglia dire, si chiama crisi ministeriale quel periodo di tempo più o meno lungo, in cui il ministero, sentendosi vicino a cascare e battere la capata, cerca tutti i ripieghi per allontanare il pericolo e per riguadagnarsi la fiducia perduta.[35]

The interpretation of politics as a sick entity in this text, reoccurs in articles such as *L'onorevole Cenè Tanti*. The description of the Minister that tries to avoid the *capata* (bash) of the parliamentary crisis and adopts every possible strategy to keep the situation in his favour seems to be a reference to *Trasformismo* and the bypassing of the progressive debate. The danger of losing the position of power—the *capata*—overweighs the benefits of improving the quality of community service.

Nonetheless, in other parts of the text Collodi used Giannettino's ignorance to reinforce the importance of politics and underscore how children from their early years need to be educated in how politics—real and not idealised—functions. Giannettino admits that, when he listens to other people's political discussions, he feels like "quei cani di terracotta, che stanno sui cancelli dei giardini, e che si guardano fra loro senza mai potere aprir bocca".[36] An even more explicit admission reinforces the child's sense of inadequacy, that might also be seen as Collodi's narrative strategy to introduce a chapter titled *Il mio Paese*, in which he condenses a description of the Italian State, its structure and its primary logistics such as the educational system, the army, the post or the railway:[37]

> Perché, vede, mi fa vergogna a dirlo, eppure il mio paese io non lo conosco punto; ossia, so che l'Italia ha circa ventinove milioni d'abitanti, so che la capitale è Roma, so quali sono le sue principali città e i suoi fiumi principali: ma se poi la mi domanda tante e tante

[35] Collodi, *Giannettino*, 20. Ed., 123.
[36] Ibid., 116.
[37] Until 1880—when the *Sinistra Storica* was in charge and aimed at a strong centralisation—Collodi limited the explanation of the Italian State to the chapter titled *In Vagone*. In that chapter, the young bourgeois Giannettino receives a passionate explanation of institutions and governmental procedures—for the first and last time in the whole book—from his mentor Doctor Boccadoro. Collodi, *Giannettino*, 112.

> altre cose riguardo al mio paese, io non ne so nulla, proprio nulla, e gli è quasi lo stesso che la mi domandasse della China o del Giappone.[38]

Through the child's words, Collodi seems to stress the importance of a functional political establishment. He describes an Italian community in which people are passionate about politics, hence highlighting Giannettino's need to be a well-informed citizen: "Tanto più che in oggi è più facile scansarsi dalle ruote di un omnibus o di una carrozza che da una conversazione politica. Che si canzona! a tavola si parla di politica; nel palco al teatro, di politica; al caffè, di politica; da per tutto di politica."[39] Giannettino's absolute ignorance about the Italian State needs to be linked to his being a Parliament member's son. Through this fictional structure, Collodi strikingly conveys the dangers of political ignorance and underscores the risks inherent in not being able to make such people as Giannettino's father and Ciccillo accountable for their *malaffari*.

Collodi seems to emphasise how such disaffection and ignorance can eventually trigger a vicious circle and poison the fundamental right of voting, which Collodi identifies as a strong tool undervalued by the Italian community. He reiterates in his schoolbooks and his journalistic texts that Italian voters were not completely aware of the determining importance of their vote, and urges his readers to pay attention to that. In *Giannettino*, Boccadoro states that clearly:

> Mettitelo dunque bene in mente: quando per ragione d'età sarai elettore politico, se per pigrizia o per altro motivo sconclusionato non andrai alla votazione, non solo rinunzierai vergognosamente all'esercizio di un gran diritto, ma farai una cosa indelicata e biasimevole di fronte al paese intero.[40]

The same topic is addressed in Collodi's journalistic work, this time without a fictional character as 'spokesman'. He was aware that the voters were the first to be responsible for such malpractice, as he claims in *Una formula nuova*, published in *Fanfulla* on 6 January 1882—just after the first editions of *Giannettino*—when he accuses Italian voters of not honouring their right to vote. According to Collodi, citizens were too superficial in voting for candidates who did not have the necessary skills for such an important position. Collodi underscored how

[38] Collodi, *Il viaggio per l'Italia di Giannettino-Nord*, 155. This specific criticism will be re-stated in the introduction of *Il viaggio per l'Italia di Giannettino*. Giuseppe Rigutini, "Al lettore" in Ibid., III.
[39] Ibid., 116.
[40] Collodi, *Giannettino*, 120.

voters did not investigate the candidate's professional suitability and moral integrity, but relied on merely word-of-mouth reassurance of the candidate's honesty.[41] The article's final part has an unusual solemnity and appears to be a clear statement of Collodi's political wishes. This interpretation is supported by the use of the first person, which was not very common in Collodi's articles:

> Eppure, lo confesso liberamente, mi piacerebbe che, da oggi in là, gli elettori italiani non si contentassero più di scegliere dei deputati onesti. Vorrei qualche cosa di nuovo: vorrei, per esempio, che prima d'ogni altra cosa, scegliessero uomini che, a Camera aperta, andassero alla Camera, e sentissero il dovere di rimanervi: uomini che discutessero le leggi senza spirito di parte, ma con coscienza, e le votassero con coscienza: uomini, infine, che riputassero solenne egoismo quello di sacrificare agl'interessi propri o del proprio partito gl'interessi generali del paese e il decoro e la sicurezza della nazione.[42]

This paragraph condenses the main topics emerging from Collodi's schoolbooks. Moral integrity, political coherence, concrete professional training, and consideration first and foremost for the public interest are indispensable for a healthy society, and Collodi underscored how that was an essential lesson to be imparted to future generations of Italians. Moreover, Collodi believed the whole society—voters and those elected—needed to cooperate to create a virtuous society.

The very absence of constructive politicians in Collodi's schoolbooks functions as a potent criticism, particularly in a period in which educational material abounded with heroic national figures. Although fragments such as the episode of Ciccillo, or the description of the parliamentary crisis are infrequent in Collodi's schoolbooks, they are effective and memorable because of Collodi's clever use of irony and humour as a pedagogical narrative strategy. Collodi seems to educate the children to read carefully and read between the lines, to capture an ironic and humoristic approach to life. In doing so he distances himself—and with him his readers—from that constructed austerity that has been often connected to the *Staatsträger Weltanschauung*.

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[41] "L'elettore politico italiano […] è una persona molto riservata e molto garbata, la quale si presta volentieri a votare per il primo candidato che gli vien suggerito, a patto che il candidato sia almeno un uomo onesto!"

[42] Collodi, "Una formula nuova", *Fanfulla*, 6 January 1882.

Educational authorities: State and Catholic Church

With regard to how Collodi presents the State's educational strategy in his schoolbooks, I consider two focal aspects of the Italian primary education scenario: the perspective that emerges from the texts pertaining to the conflict between the Italian State and the Catholic Church, for which primary education was one of the main battlefields; and the figure of the *maestro*, who represented the frontline of the educational policies enforced by the governments.

The development of primary school policies in post-unification Italy was troubled by severe problems such as high illiteracy, insufficient financial resources allocated to education, and regional-based inequality.[43] Additionally, according to Ester De Fort, the predominant use of *Decreti Legge*—a governmental strategy that permitted a faster and more direct method of legislation which bypassed the parliamentary debate—created inconsistencies because the lack of proper parliamentary dialectic facilitated unfair practices such as *clientelismo*.[44] Overall, the political strategies applied did not contribute to a coordinated education plan, particularly if we take into consideration the endemic political instability of the Italian governments at the time.

The most propagandised and pressing educational goal of reducing illiteracy involved more than 80% of the population in some regions. This was only partially achieved by the end of the century. Whereas, in 1861, 74.7% of the population was illiterate, the number had dropped to 48.9% by 1901. Nevertheless, a regional-based analysis shows that, although national illiteracy was reduced, the educational gap between North and South expanded.[45] Also, broader analyses show that Italy still had one of the highest illiteracy rates in Europe at the beginning of the twentieth century, while other European powers were on their way to full literacy.[46] In addition to the goal of a less poorly educated community, the Italian State also

[43] Ester De Fort analysed the issue of inappropriate resources allocated to Public Education, claiming that they were almost three times lesser than the average of the other European countries. De Fort, *La scuola elementare dall'unità alla caduta del fascismo*, 187.
[44] Ibid., 10.
[45] Data on illiteracy from Giuseppe Inzerillo, *Storia della politica scolastica in Italia: da Casati a Gentile* (Rome: Editori riuniti, 1974), 54, 95, 289. The difference between North and South peaked to 30% in 1901, after being of 10% in 1861.
[46] Data from Giuseppe Talamo, "Scuola e nazione in Italia nei primi decenni post-unitari", in *Scuola e nazione in Italia e in Francia nell'Ottocento: modelli, pratiche, eredità: nuovi percorsi di ricerca*

wanted to instil in its citizens a well-rooted sense of devotion to the fatherland and the king. Many propagandistic statements of the time emphasised the State's goal for primary education to produce an honest, hard-working, and educated citizenry, loyal to the *patria* and its monarch.[47]

Such an ambitious educational program was further troubled by the Holy See's consolidated and integral presence within the Italian community. All these issues complicated the educational challenge that the secular State initiated against the well-established Catholic Church's monopoly on education, and affected how the Italian community perceived the State's authority. While Catholic teaching was deeply rooted all over Italy, the Italian State needed to overcome the weak sense of unity amongst its people, enhanced by the vast divergences between the local communities.[48] Moreover, after unification, the State had the enormous task of creating a functional system of facilities and infrastructure. The State proudly took on board the goal of producing a secular, educated and loyal Italian community, but the distance between the government and local institutions made the aforementioned drawbacks insurmountable.

Collodi confronted the Italian State's ideological battle to secularise religious semantics and questioned its attempt to create a new secular religion as a strategic mistake. His approach to the State's strategy of adopting a religious semantic—aiming to promote the legitimacy of Italian independence—is the critical feature on which I will focus, as it reveals Collodi's dissonance with the *Staatsträger* cultural policy.

The State's approach

Scholars such as Massimo Baioni, Alberto Banti, Ernesto Galli Della Loggia and Bruno Tobia examined the Italian State's response in the fight for ideological supremacy. According to those

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comparata, ed. Pier Luigi Ballini and Gilles Pécout (Venice: Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti, 2007), 38.

[47] De Fort, *La scuola elementare dall'unità alla caduta del fascismo*, 139.

[48] Even authoritative positivist exponents, such as Aristide Gabelli, stressed the risks of a blunt extirpation of Catholic education. According to Gabelli, it could have created bewilderment amongst the people, hence playing against the secular reform. See Guido Verucci, *L'Italia laica prima e dopo l'Unitá 1848-1876* (Roma: Laterza, 1996), from 148; De Fort, *La scuola elementare dall'unità alla caduta del fascismo*, 11.

studies, the Italian State implemented strategies aimed at the secularisation of the semantics traditionally used by Catholic rituals, on which Banti based his theory of "identità riciclate", that I will examine in Chapter 5.[49] For example, figures like Giuseppe Garibaldi and King Vittorio Emanuele II were propagandised as divinities.[50] Such a strategy found its architectural correspondence in the many museums of the *Risorgimento* that saw the light in those years, and which Baioni defined as "templi laici del Risorgimento e teatri di scontro politico."[51]

In terms of ideological battle in the literary context, Banti noticed that systematic use of Catholic *topoi* for secular purposes characterised the years that followed unification.[52] He claims that the Italian State promoted a new "religione laica" based on the State's propaganda as the new community to which citizens had to be faithful and loyal.[53] Banti's analysis pivots around the two key concepts of "calco morfologico" and "trasposizione semantica".[54] He underscores how the literature of the *Risorgimento* recycled *topoi* and semantic structures that traditionally belonged to a Catholic syntax—for example, Christology—and adapted them to the specific Italian secular context. In some of Mazzini's and Gioberti's texts, for example,

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[49] Massimo Baioni, *La "religione della patria": musei e istituti del culto risorgimentale, (1884-1918)* (Quinto di Treviso: Pagus, 1994); Bruno Tobia, *Una patria per gli italiani: spazi, itinerari, monumenti nell'Italia unita (1870-1900)* (Rome: Laterza, 1998); Tobia, *L'altare della patria*; Banti, *La nazione del Risorgimento*; Ernesto Galli Della Loggia, *L'identità italiana* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 2005).

[50] Mario Isnenghi, *Garibaldi fu ferito: storia e mito di un rivoluzionario disciplinato* (Rome: Donzelli, 2007); Francesco Pappalardo, *Il mito di Garibaldi: vita, morte e miracoli dell'uomo che conquistò l'Italia* (Casale Monferrato: Piemme, 2002); Romano Ugolini, *Garibaldi: genesi di un mito* (Rome: Edizioni dell'Ateneo, 1982).

[51] Baioni, *La "religione della patria"*, 39.

[52] Banti, *La nazione del Risorgimento*, 109-150. Furthermore, Enzo Catarsi claimed that secular liberals, in charge in post-unification Italy, endorsed the teaching of sacred history and catechism. According to Catarsi, mainstream ideology in the first years of unification was not concerned about religious content per se. The conservative method, Catarsi wrote, had the dual effect of creating loyal citizens, and smoothing relationships with the Holy See. Enzo Catarsi, *Storia dei programmi della scuola elementare, 1860-1985* (Scandicci: La Nuova Italia, 1990), 11.

[53] "Non c'è alcun dubbio, ed è cosa già molto nota, che molti materiali letterari o ideologici prodotti all'interno del movimento risorgimentale contengono una notevole quantità di espliciti rinvii all'importanza della religione cattolica nella vita della nazione." Banti, *La nazione del Risorgimento*, 120. Luciano Pazzaglia agreed with Banti: "Taluni studiosi hanno osservato come numerosi testi di storia per le elementari redatti nel corso degli anni Ottanta presentassero una significativa novità anche sul piano di moduli narrativi e linguistici, con il ricorso per la presentazione dell'epopea risorgimentale, a una terminologia di carattere religioso. La cosa non deve destare meraviglia." Luciano Pazzaglia, "I libri di testo: il caso del Giannetto di Parravicini" in *Scuola e nazione in Italia e in Francia nell'Ottocento*, 151.

[54] Banti, *La nazione del Risorgimento*, 120.

Banti detects parts in which God specifically intervenes in Italian history, endorsing the sacred and dogmatic desire for independence.[55]

Despite the winning outcome of the *Risorgimento*, Banti sees such a transposition as a mixed blessing. According to Banti, the regular use of "echi conosciuti, immagini note, valori già apprezzati, ai quali già si era stati socializzati in mille forme" contributed to the creation of a weak concept of the Italian nation.[56] The historian highlights how the "gravissima debolezza" of the idea of the nation progressively transpired in the following years.[57] The initial enthusiasm and familiarity with specific languages and archetypes became a confusing vocabulary that undermined the promoted sense of a healthy, secular Italian national community. For example, the Catholic and ultra-Catholic patriots, who supported Italian independence, felt the contrast in their allegiances through these semantic overlapping.[58]

Such an ambiguity was openly expressed in official documents as well as in books of the time. The first article of the Italian State constitution, the *Statuto Albertino*, is an open proof of the paradoxical situation of a State that proclaimed its secularity while at the same time promoting the Catholic religion in the first article of its statute: "La Religione Cattolica, Apostolica e Romana è la sola Religione dello Stato. Gli altri culti ora esistenti sono tollerati conformemente alle leggi."[59] Also, De Amicis's *Il romanzo di un maestro* offers a clear example of how such haziness reflects the literature of the time. In describing the mellifluous mayor of the village of Piazzena, De Amicis highlighted the previously examined matters: "E

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[55] "La rivoluzione italiana—Simonetta Soldani wrote—è piena di preti e frati pronti a celebrare messe e funzioni sacre a scopo "patriottico" e civile; a benedire guardie civiche e tricolori, volontari e reduci; a predicare la santità della cacciata degli austriaci dall'Italia "nazione redentrice"; a esaltare quell'entità collettiva tanto cara alla cultura e alla mentalità romantica e tanto intrinseca alla 'rinascita cattolica' della Restaurazione che è il 'popolo' voce di Dio". Simonetta Soldani, "Donne e nazione nella rivoluzione italiana del 1848," *Passato e presente*, no. 46 (1999), 81.

[56] Banti, *La nazione del Risorgimento*, 150. See also the speech that Depretis took in Parliament on 3 June 1882, when commemorating Giuseppe Garibaldi's death. Expressions such as "religione della patria", "culto dello Stato", "[...]patriottismo che più che dovere è religione" are frequently used. See Camera dei Deputati, *legisl. XIV—Ia sessione—discussioni—tornata del 3 giugno 1882*, (1882).

[57] Banti, *La nazione del Risorgimento*, 120.

[58] This opposition, according to Banti, "[...] generò una profonda frattura nell'opinione pubblica cattolica, tra coloro che ritennero di dover continuare ad ascoltare il pontefice nella sua veste di autorità rituale e temporale, e coloro che invece ritennero di dover riservare fedeltà solo alle indicazioni di carattere spirituale, restando fedeli agli ideali nazionali maturati negli anni precedenti. Non c'è dubbio che in quel momento, la presa del discorso nazionale veniva messa a dura prova." Ibid., 138. See also Pazzaglia, "I libri di testo: il caso del Giannetto di Parravicini", 151.

[59] Statuto, *Quirinale.it*.

voltandosi al maestro […] La scuola dev'essere come una chiesa. Ed è, infatti, una chiesa.—E ripeté una sua frase prediletta:—La chiesa civile[…]"[60]

Although the conflict between the State and the Catholic Church was not merely linguistic, the focus in examination of Collodi's works will be on how he interpreted the cultural and ideological battle between the two institutions. Collodi was against the institutional influence of the Catholic Church and promoted a secular community. However, his texts do not support the strategy of challenging Catholic practices on the traditionally religious semantic field. In this perspective, Collodi's texts reveal aspects of dissonance with government cultural policies.

La Civiltà Cattolica as an example of the Catholic strategy

The struggle for ideological supremacy between the Italian State and the Catholic Church flared up after the *Sinistra* gained power in 1877. The Catholic Church's antagonism to society's secularisation was resolute during Pius IX's pontificate (1846-1878). The most echoed Catholic admonishment of those years was the *Syllabus of Errors*, which listed modern society's faults. The challenge continued with Pius's successor Leo XIII (1878-1903), who strongly advocated the predominance of the Holy See in social institutions such as the family.[61]

La Civiltà Cattolica—a fortnightly periodical founded in 1850 by theologian Carlo Maria Curci and published by the Jesuits in Rome—was one of the principal organs of propaganda that the Catholic Church used to perpetuate its campaign against the secular State.[62] *La Civiltà Cattolica* offered a radical Catholic interpretation of society and its cultural products. According to Edward Elton Young Hales, it was an essential tool in the Holy See's hands with which to spread Catholicism through the cultural élite and resist the "siege" that had trapped the Catholic Church since the *Risorgimento*.[63]

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[60] Edmondo De Amicis, *Il romanzo d'un maestro.* (Milan: Treves, 1900), 87-88.
[61] The Holy See vindicated its supremacy on the semantic that the Italian State was trying to use to promote its authority through an extensive use of Encyclicals such as *Quanta Cura*, *Non Expedit* and the *Syllabus*.
[62] "La civiltà Cattolica" was the only press directly revised and approved by the Secretariat of State of the Holy See before being published.
[63] Edward Elton Young Hales, *Pio nono* (Garden City: Doubleday, 1962), 288.

La Civiltà Cattolica harshly criticised secular books and cultural products such as *Cordelia*, the magazine for young girls founded by Angelo de Gubernatis in 1881, where also Collodi published some short stories. In 1882, *La civiltà Cattolica* attacked *Cordelia* for encouraging a political conscience amongst young Italian women and for promoting Rome's annexation to the Italian State under an anti-Catholic perspective. In emphasising *Cordelia*'s connection with secular propaganda, the Catholic-inspired journal claimed to have the support of many families, "non avendo col Governo altro legame fuorché quello di tasse enormi che loro estorce".[64]

The attack against the Italian State escalated to an almost violent tone when writing on education. In 1881, *La Civiltà Cattolica* published a review of Carlotta Illuminati's schoolbook *Doveri e diritti del cittadino: lezioni ad uso delle scuole elementari italiane*. In this review, they accused schoolbook writers such as Illuminati of being "uno sciame di dottorelli" who contributed to the "mania" of publishing those "manualetti di etica civile" that benefited the writers' wallets more than the community's interests.[65] *La Civiltà Cattolica* did not spare direct attacks on the Italian government, allegedly guilty of promoting an education that led to a society with a high criminality rate. The review of Illuminati's book concludes with a sinister threat: "[…] la signora Carlotta Illuminati, maestra normale e superiora, si persuada che promovendo la diffusione di un'etica di questa sorta […] fa un male grandissimo, di cui, più che della sua femminilmente vana presunzione di scienza, avrà da rendere terribil conto a Dio, il giorno della sua morte."[66]

The institutional struggle in Collodi's schoolbooks

An analysis of his schoolbooks shows that Collodi took up some of the topics already examined in his journalistic texts: the necessity of separating religious and secular semantics, the importance of overcoming superstitions and beliefs, and the aim of endorsing a society that is

[64] *La civiltà Cattolica* Serie XI, Vol. X, Quaderno 764, 1882, 202.
[65] The attack went beyond the mere matter of contents, and culminated in misogyny: "Il pubblicare manualetti di quest'etica civile [...] è ora una mania, la quale, per colmo di disgrazia, si è appiccata anche al cervello di parecchie femmine: e così fra le molte bizzarrie dei nuovi tempi, abbiamo questa, di donne che tutto da serio mutan la cuffia col berretto dottorale e s'impancano tra i maestri di color che sanno, o si presume che debbano sapere." *La civiltà Cattolica*, Serie XII, Vol.III, Quaderno 798, 1883, 721.
[66] Ibid., 727.

above religious doctrines. In these terms, what emerges from his texts is far from unconditional support for the secular side. Rather, these texts offer constructive criticism of the secular institutions, encouraging them not to perpetuate their ideological battle on dangerous terrain such as the 'religione della patria', which is the translation of Catholic-inspired semantics to the glorification of the secular State.[67]

In his criticism of beliefs and superstitions, Collodi's position seems to be in line with the contemporaneous positivist approach, a strong belief in empiricism and materialism prevalent at the time.[68] Nonetheless, Collodi did not promote the secular approach—that the Italian *Staatsträger* aimed to symbolise—as the 'new religion'. Collodi seems to endorse a pragmatic position in which the danger of blind acceptance is always deleterious to a healthy education. He offered balanced support to science and numbers, which recalls Aristide Gabelli's analysis regarding absolute faith in science. According to Gabelli, such a blind approach would have mitigated the core value of inquiry and created another religion as dangerous as the others.[69]

The episode in *Il viaggio per l'Italia di Giannettino* in which the child visits the famous *Risorgimento* battle sites of Curtatone e Montanara with Dottor Boccadoro substantiates Collodi's choice of not propagandising the new civic religion, avoiding any obvious allusion to Catholic semantics. In 1848, during the First Independence war, the Austrian army defeated the 'Italian' army in Curtatone, a small village near Mantova. The newborn Italian State often propagandised the battle as a symbol of heroism and patriotism. In the episode, Giannettino asks Boccadoro to take him to Curtatone, after reading in other schoolbooks that "i campi di Montanara e Curtatone, bagnati col sangue di tanti valorosi toscani, si trovano a poca distanza da Mantova."[70]

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[67] See Bacigalupi and Fossati, *Da plebe a popolo,* 100-101. "Nella nuova religione della patria l'efficacia dei messaggi è garantita da un contesto che offre sensazioni forti e specula sul tono trepido, commosso e lacrimoso."
[68] Aristide Gabelli, "Il metodo di insegnamento nelle scuole elementari," in *Positivismo pedagogico italiano,* 659.
[69] Gabelli, "Del principio di autorità presso le nazioni cattoliche", 602.
[70] Collodi, *Il viaggio per l'Italia di Giannettino-Nord,* 244.

Collodi construes a situation in which Giannettino refers to a heroic epopee—"bagnati col sangue di tanti valorosi toscani"—that belongs to other books.[71] With this clever strategy, Collodi, disconnects his book from any sign of heroic propaganda. Also, when Giannettino recounts to his friends the story of his visit to the battlefield, the text presents a narrative suspense, which seems the prelude to a heroic description:

- Come potete immaginarvelo, appena arrivai lì...
- Che cosa facesti?

Collodi distances Giannettino and himself from pompous heroism and avoids religious words. Unexpectedly, the child delivers a message of interiority and conveys the necessity to learn the lessons from history:

- Che cosa dovevo fare? Rimasi una diecina di minuti a contemplare in silenzio quell'immensa pianura…quei campi bruciati dal sole… e quelle fosse coperte d' erba....
- E poi?
- E poi.... mi asciugai gli occhi e me ne venni via.[72]

Such a brisk description—defined by Italiano Marchetti a "pennellata da grande artista"—underscores solemnity and patriotic emotion, although without any propagandistic tones.[73] While the other children expected a spectacular speech, they received a lecture on intimacy and a pragmatic approach to history.[74]

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[71] Collodi, through Giannettino, acknowledged the sacrifice of Tuscan, and not Italian, soldiers. It should be stressed that Collodi personally participated in the battle of Curtatone and an emotional identification might have played a role. However, Collodi was right in clarifying that mainly Tuscan soldiers died, as the majority of effectives of the coalition were in reality from the Granducato di Toscana. See Piero Pieri, *Storia militare del Risorgimento* (Turin: Einaudi, 1962), 458. Letters from the battlefield from Collodi to his friend Giuseppe Aiazzi are kept in the Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze, N.A. 754, III, 36.

[72] Collodi, *Il viaggio per l'Italia di Giannettino-Nord*, 244.

[73] Marchetti, *Carlo Collodi*, 63.

[74] In 1881, Francesco Veniali, "one of the main and fiercest advocates of positivistic pedagogy" to Anna Ascenzi's eyes, highlighted the importance of promoting the epic of *Risorgimento* in schools to promote the national sentiment: "Storia sì; ma storia dell'oggi, di ieri, […] della Patria, e quando dico Storia patria, non intendo la storia delle guerricciuole del Medio-evo, ma storia recente del nostro Risorgimento, storia delle nostre lotte per fare la Patria libera ed una, storia dei nostri martiri, storia degli immensi sagrifizi fatti da mille e mille patrioti." Francesco Veniali, *Questioni pedagogiche* (Turin: Camilla e Bertolero, 1881), 184.

In presenting the rivalry between the State and the Holy See, Collodi's schoolbooks appear to diverge from the mainstream approach epitomised by *Cuore*, which promoted semantical opacity and used religious-inspired words to define the *Patria*.[75] Vittorio Spinazzola argues that *Cuore* fostered "la fede nell'umanità civilmente consorziata, secondo gli ordinamenti della borghesia moderna".[76] Mariella Colin acknowledges that a secular stance in *Cuore* is predominant, but there is still room for religiousness; however, Colin does not delve into the laicisation of religious semantics: "cancellava Natale e Pasqua dal calendario, tuttavia lasciava sussistere un certo teismo, affidandolo alla sensibilità religiosa della madre di Enrico."[77] In *Cuore*, for example, death sacrifice is evidence of how Catholic semantics have been radically translated into a civil dimension. De Amicis described Garibaldi with a sacred tone, particularly in relation to the ability to sustain physical pain for his ideals: "Sui campi di battaglia era un fulmine, negli affetti un fanciullo, nei dolori un santo."[78] According to Antonio Faeti, *Cuore* promoted sacrifice to the extent that the whole novel could be defined a "trionfo della morte espresso in termini ottocenteschi".[79]

Moreover, Collodi firmly separates religious and secular glossary in other parts of *Giannettino*. In an episode at the beginning of the book, the child Minuzzolo explains the separation between the two spheres and their vocabularies. Collodi also chose a meaningful title for that episode, *Un bello sproposito*, in which Giannettino accepts the challenge of describing the creation of the world. However, Minuzzolo reprimanded Giannettino's first sentence, as it contained the verb *fare*. Minuzzolo lectures his friends on the different vocabulary that needed to be used when referring either to humankind or God:

> Giannettino […] cominciò così: - La Creazione del mondo. Iddio fece il cielo e la terra...- Ecco subito uno sproposito… - gridò Minuzzolo scattando ritto in piedi […] Dovevi dire: Iddio creò il cielo e la terra. - E fare e creare non è forse la stessa cosa? - Nossignore, che

[75] In *Cuore*, the word "sacro" (and its derived "sacrificio") is used 22 times, and the word "santo" 24 times, mostly to define events related to the Italian unification. For example, when describing the count of Cavour, De Amicis defined him "[…] lui che diede in quegli anni il più potente impulso alla santa impresa dell'unificazione della patria" Edmondo De Amicis, *Cuore* (Roma Newton e Compton Editori, 1994), 187.
[76] Vittorio Spinazzola, *Pinocchio & C* (Milan: Il Saggiatore, 1997), 99.
[77] Colin, "Un Cuore azzurro, un Cuore rosa", 495.
[78] Edmondo De Amicis, Umberto Eco, and Luciano Tamburini, *Cuore: libro per i ragazzi* (Turin: Einaudi, 2010), 281.
[79] Faeti, *Guardare le figure*, 125.

> non è la stessa cosa […] Il cappellaio […] fa i cappelli […]: il pasticcinaio […] colla farina, coll' uova e collo zucchero fa i pasticcini: insomma, tutti abbiamo bisogno di una materia o di un'altra per poter fare qualcosa.[80]

Collodi shed light upon the separation between humankind and God in the chapter dedicated to man, whom he defined "il primo di tutti gli esseri animati."[81] According to Collodi—through Boccadoro's words—man's body is a "stupendo meccanismo di organi legati insieme e che lavorano fra loro con mirabile armonia."[82] Such a positivist-inspired definition is substantially far from how Parravicini described humankind in *Giannetto*, "la più bell'opera che Dio abbia creata sulla Terra."[83]

In his journalistic texts, Collodi's criticism of secular propaganda's tendency to adopt traditional Catholic semantics becomes clearer.[84] In *La religione spontanea*, published in *Note gaie*, he addresses the topic directly: "Lo Statuto, è vero, parlava nel suo primo articolo di religione cattolica; ma lo faceva, non già perché credesse sul serio in una religione dello Stato, ma unicamente per far dispetto a chi non ci crede. Dei vecchi dispettosi in questo mondo ne ho conosciuti dimolti, ma come lo Statuto!"[85] Collodi thought that the first article of the *Statuto* was valid only on paper, and not the real expression of the Italian State. In the article *La protesta d'un abatino di Duomo*, published in *Fanfulla* on 8 July 1871, Collodi advocates for the right of clergy to get married legally. In this article, he ironically comments on the first article of the Italian Constitution: "il primo articolo dello Statuto, in questo paese curioso, mi fa precisamente l'effetto di quei cartellini dove è scritto - qui non si fuma - e che si veggono in

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[80] Collodi, *Giannettino*, 20 Ed., 23-24. The primary school teacher also defines the school as "una specie di luogo sacro", Ibid., 97.
[81] Ibid., 106.
[82] Ibid., 106.
[83] Luigi Antonio Parravicini, *Giannetto*, 9. Moreover, the section dedicated to the religions is wider, and tends to highlight the superiority of the Catholic religion over the others ("Tutti i popoli, anche i più selvaggi, hanno un'idea di Dio. Peraltro molti s'ingannano o adorando gl'idoli, o credendo cose affatto assurde, e non professano la nostra santa fede cristiana vera e cattolica." Collodi, *Giannettino*, 142). In *Giannettino*, although the table of contents retraces Giannetto's in the notional parts, the space dedicated to religions is considerably reduced. Boccadoro quickly closes the section dedicated to mankind with a quick "ma non ci dilunghiamo troppo." Ibid., 106).
[84] Collodi stressed the importance of a separated vocabulary, as this 1875 article excerpt shows: "Gino Capponi è l'Alessandro Manzoni dei fiorentini: tutti gli rendono onore, tutti hanno per lui una specie di culto; e, non potendolo chiamare né santo né beato, come farebbero in Vaticano, si contentano di chiamarlo venerabile, e l'epiteto torna a capello."
[85] Collodi, "La religione spontanea", in Collodi, *Note gaie*, 80.

certi caffè alla buona, dove, manco a farlo apposta, tutti gli avventori fumano."[86] Collodi was aware of the hiatus between intentions and reality concerning the diatribe between the State and the Catholic Church. Although the Italian State aimed to secularise the nation, Italy was still a profoundly religious community, as Collodi ironically states: "Del resto, che l'Italia fosse un paese ateo e senz'ombra di religione, basta a provarlo un fatto lampante e chiaro come l'ambra."[87]

At the end of the short text—in which he outlines his view of the attempt of the *Staatsträger* to institute a new secular religion—Collodi uses sarcasm to identify the critical factor for the new religion to succeed in the idea of submission. In this way, Collodi ironically seems to accuse the State of aiming at a docile community instead of a healthy and honest bond between State and citizens. It is in these lines that his approach to the ideological diatribe seems to be clarified:

> Quali punti di contatto e di somiglianza la religione spontanea avrà colla religione di Cristo? Non lo so. La religione cristiana c'insegna, fra le altre cose, a sopportare in pace le persone moleste. La nuova religione spontanea, se vuol davvero attecchire, deve insegnarci qualche cosa di più. Essa deve insegnarci a sopportare con rassegnazione le tasse e gli esattori. E se ci riesce, è brava; e il suo trionfo è assicurato![88]

What emerges from these lines is a critique of any kind of passive acceptance, that according to Collodi, any religion—even a secular one—will end up instilling in its devotees, creating communities of people who still believe in miracles, as he claimed happened in Naples.[89] Collodi seems to condemn the submissive approach; instead, he actively encourages citizens to participate in the community's social and political life and refuse superimposed truths.

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[86] Collodi, "La protesta di un abatino di Duomo", in *Fanfulla*, 8 July 1871.
[87] Collodi, "La religione spontanea", in *Note gaie*, 80.
[88] Ibid., 82.
[89] See "Cose sacre", in *Fanfulla* 18 May 1873. "Ma vivaddio, se non abbiamo una religione, possiamo per altro dire a fronte alta che crediamo nei miracoli…e questo basta. Sola fides sufficit. Andiamo a Napoli. Napoli è la terra classica dei miracoli. Il sangue di San Gennaro sono mille anni che bolle–e i regolamenti di polizia municipale gli permettono impunemente di bollire. Io, invece, conosco qualche povero diavolo, che spesso spesso sdrucciola in prigione, perché ha la disgrazia di avere il sangue un po' troppo caldo!... Siamo alle solite; due pesi e due misure."

Superstitions and beliefs

In his schoolbooks, Collodi condemns prejudice and superstition and promotes a secular society that avoids the blind and dogmatic acceptance of super-imposed values and notions. As we have seen, Giannettino is described as a gullible child who "[…] pigliava per moneta contante tutte le superstizioni e tutte le donnicciolate, che sentiva raccontare."[90]

Collodi seems to be in line with an anti-Catholic approach, in which superstitions and false beliefs were considered expressions of a 'religious' bigotry. For the particular lecture on how prejudices and superstitions were detrimental to modern society's development, Collodi used the positivist-inspired character of uncle Ferrante. Ferrante hence begins a passionate campaign against the main superstitions and prejudices such as Fridays, the number thirteen, vampires, cabala, waking up a sleepwalker, and the devil. Ferrante's conclusion focuses on the necessity of education, which would allow people to rely on critical thinking rather than unreasonable beliefs and superstitions: "[…] ragazzi, quando non vi sapete spiegare qualche gioco di prestigio, o qualche esperimento di magnetismo e di chiaroveggenza, invece di andare fantasticando col diavolino in corpo, colle stregonerie e altre bambocciate, pigliatevela sempre colla vostra ignoranza e colla vostra poca scaltrezza."[91]

In *Il viaggio per l'Italia di Giannettino*, Collodi transversally condemns any kind of blind acceptance: while he acknowledges that the majority of middle-class people believed superstitions to be related to the ignorance of the uneducated, he stresses that superstition was a widespread habit of his society, regardless of social status:

> D'altra parte, che cosa c'è da lamentarsi se tanta povera gente nata e cresciuta nell' ignoranza, presta fede alle diavolerie e ai sortilegi degli stregoni, quando vediamo, da un capo all'altro d'Italia, centinaia e migliaia di persone colte, istruite e spregiudicate, le quali, per amore del giòco del Lotto, credono nel libro de' sogni, come un buon cattolico crederebbe nella parola del Vangelo.[92]

Collodi offered practical examples of a secular society that followed religious principles such as charity and provided secular welfare structures and support. In *Il viaggio* he describes in

[90] Collodi, *Giannettino*, 36.
[91] Ibid., 40.
[92] Collodi, *Il viaggio per l'Italia di Giannettino-Sud*, 173.

detail, for instance, the Ospizi Marini, a retreat for indigent children affected by tuberculosis in Rimini.[93] Ospizi Marini—"una delle più belle opere di carità de' nostri tempi"—was founded with the help of institutional funding by Florentine Collodi's friend, physician Giuseppe Barellai.[94] Collodi often highlighted charitable associations throughout Italy, particularly in the three volumes of the *viaggio*. In all these instances, Collodi mentioned secular institutions in Milan, Lecce, Naples, Florence.[95] He praised similar initiatives in *La lanterna magica di Giannettino*, where he acclaimed factories such as the wool factory in Schio, near Venice. In the so-called *lanificio*, employers provided primary education and free assistance for the workers and their children and cheap accommodations near the factory.[96]

Fig. 6 Il viaggio per l'Italia di Giannettino. *Lanificio di Schio*, 1880.

[93] Collodi, *Il viaggio per l'Italia di Giannettino-Centro*, 310-11.
[94] Ibid., 310.
[95] See Milan in Collodi, *Il viaggio per l'Italia di Giannettino-Nord*, 211, Florence in Ibid., 25-26, Lecce in Collodi, *Il viaggio per l'Italia di Giannettino-Sud*, 141, Toledo in Ibid., 56.
[96] Collodi, *La lanterna magica di Giannettino*, 120-121. Something similar happens for the Ginori ceramic manifacture in Doccia, directed by Collodi's brother Paolo.

While secular charity was widely promoted in his school texts, Collodi does not allocate similarly extensive detail to monuments celebrating the *Risorgimento,* which burgeoned in Italy during those years. Such a position, once again, matches the direct criticism Collodi stresses in his journalistic works; it seems he believed that the institution of the new secular religion would have been detrimental for Italian society, as it was based—like every religion—on a dogmatic acceptance. The government's attempt to recycle Catholic semantics emerges, for example, in the article *Una proposta di legge,* published on *Fanfulla* on 16 December 1873.[97] In this text, Collodi criticises the Italian State's secular liturgy that promoted diffusion throughout the peninsula of commemorative functions and marble monuments in memory of the main protagonists of the *Risorgimento*. According to Collodi, such "apoteosi di marmo" was aesthetically disputable ("un ingegnoso trovato per convertire gli uomini in tanti lenzuoli") and needed to be regulated ("l'apoteosi mi mette ribrezzo, come l'elefantiasi e l'idropisia!").[98] Collodi expresses his concern for the socio-political consequence of such a cultural policy; he claims that an excessive commemoration of the past would create a society detached from the concrete contingencies: "In un paese come il nostro, dove i morti per il solito valgono qualche cosa più dei vivi, la questione dei monumenti diventa una questione seria, e bisogna pensarci sul serio!"[99]

Collodi's approach to the struggle between the Italian State and the Holy See in his schoolbooks—although clearly in favour of a secular approach—is neither in open support of the Italian State's policy nor harshly negative to the Catholic Church. Conversely, Collodi echoes in the schoolbooks what he highlights in his journalistic works: condemnation of secular religion, separation of semantics, and criticism of any blind acceptance. An in-depth analysis of his schoolbooks shows that Collodi locates his criticisms in minor parts of his books. In all the primary sections, perhaps driven by editorial strategies, the tone and the vocabulary used seem to be in line with the tendencies of the time. However, Collodi uses particular narrative strategies to disengage from a direct endorsement of certain State policies, using a character's

[97] Many of the articles referred to in this chapter are from the magazine *Fanfulla*. According to Daniela Marcheschi, *Fanfulla* was a very innovative magazine for the time, as it approached political and cultural events with a sharp and clear spirit. Collodi and Marcheschi, *Opere*, 1102.
[98] Collodi, "Una proposta di legge", *Fanfulla,* 16 December 1873.
[99] Ibid.

confession to repeat parts of other books or avoiding the promotion of epopees of *Risorgimento* battles.

While he appears to be sceptical towards how the State conducted the ideological battle for secularisation, Collodi seems to be aware that the government promoted the acceptance of a new religion that was not going to disengage the new Italian citizens from an acritical approach to superimposed dogmas. He warned against the evils of creating an acritical and submissive society by turning secularization into a modern-day religion. Such a political strategy, as Banti argued, would facilitate the fragility of a dysfunctional sense of community, hence creating a 'failed' identity.

The *Maestro* as the epitome of the paradox

The *maestro/a*—the primary school teacher—was the symbol of the contradictory educational strategy perpetrated by the Italian *Staatsträger*. The Italian State identified a powerful secular primary education tool in the *maestro*, who was charged with creating a strong consensus and a loyal community. As Villari and Gabelli stress: "Benché i fattori della scuola sieno molteplici, ce n'è uno la cui efficacia soprasta a quella degli altri. Questo fattore predominante, tutti lo sanno, è il maestro."[100] In such a scenario, teachers—the 'apostoli della scuola' were the State's first representatives for the Italian citizens' educational path.[101] Minister Guido Baccelli defined the *maestro/a* as a secular soldier who was fighting the war against ignorance: "un esercito sacro che impegna le prime battaglie contro l'ignoranza e la superstizione".[102]

[100] Pasquale Villari and Aristide Gabelli, *Sul riordinamento dell' istruzione elementare. Relazione della Commissione nominata con decreto del 28 marzo 1887 dal ministerio della pubblica istruzione* (Padova: Drucker & Senigaglia, 1888), 57.

[101] *Il risveglio educativo* was a fortnightly magazine for teachers, published at the end of the century. It often used this expression to define primary school teachers. The very choice of the word 'apostle' stresses the missionary aim of the *maestri*. For example, see issue 19, 26 December 1894.

[102] Camera dei deputati, *Legisl. xiv—Ia sessione—discussioni—tornata del 3 giugno 1882*. Michele Coppino and Guido Baccelli have been the main protagonists of the educational policies, holding the position at the head of the Ministry of Education almost exclusively during this research's timeframe. They both always promoted public education as pivotal to the newborn Italian State, although with very different approaches: Baccelli's patriotic and almost militarised stance was in fact counterbalanced by Coppino's moderatism. The expectations were high, to the degree that the *maestro/a* was the first and main contributor to a cultural revolution that aimed to forge an absolute sense of duty in the minds and hearts of all Italian citizens: "dell'adempimento scrupoloso del dovere il maestro/a deve esso primo dare l'esempio, mostrando come il dovere stesso sia qualcosa di superiore allo stesso principio d'autorità." See De Fort, *La scuola elementare dall'unità alla caduta del fascismo*, 151.

Baccelli's words reinforce the aforementioned semantic confusion that the Italian State created by usurping the Catholic Church's established authority in those years. As previously shown by the word *apostoli*, the definition of the *sacred army* aimed to paint the State as a supernatural entity. However, the inability to provide the protagonist of such battle—the *maestro*—with the proper professional training, facilities, and resources revealed the Italian State's inefficiency and unreliability. As a result, the State's authority ended up being weakened rather than strengthened.[103]

While the State invested the *maestro/a* in promoting newborn Italy's glory, the primary school teachers' actual conditions and social reputation were appalling, as scholars such as Anna Ascenzi, Dina Bertoni Jovine and Roberto Sani showed.[104] Alberto Barausse highlights that in the last three decades of the nineteenth century, primary school teachers' associations started to be founded across Italy, aiming at a better training system for the profession.[105] However, according to Barausse, the prolonged fragmentation of the teachers' associations caused symptoms similar to *clientelismo*, in which "more powerful associations, like the one in Rome" inhibited broader evaluations and did not solve the *maestri*'s fundamental problems.[106]

Financially, primary school teachers' salaries were lower than the school janitors'.[107] Also, their being under the control of a single municipality made them prone to exploitation,

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[103] The Italian State was also aware of the *maestri*'s scarce preparation. In 1896, Francesco Torraca—the director of primary school teaching—delivered a report on the primary school situation, also known as *Relazione Torraca*. According to that report—completed by the work of circa two hundred inspectors, only 37.4% of the *maestri* were considered "valenti". The remaining were considered "mediocri" ("di limitata cultura e poca pratica nell'uso dei buoni metodi", 47.9%) or "meno che mediocri" (14.7%). "Relazione a S.E. il Ministro dell'Istruzione Pubblica sull'istruzione elementare nell'anno scolastico 1895-1896" in *Bollettino ufficiale del Ministero dell'Istruzione Pubblica*, XXIV, 1897, 2, suppl. al n. 47, 23-25.

[104] Dina Bertoni Jovine, La scuola italiana dal 1870 ai giorni nostri (Milan: Editori riuniti, 1958); Anna Ascenzi, Drammi privati e pubbliche virtù: la maestra italiana dell'Ottocento tra narrazione letteraria e cronaca giornalistica (Eum, 2012). See also Maria Cristina Morandini, Scuola e nazione: maestri e istruzione popolare nella costruzione dello Stato unitario (1848-1861) (Milan: Vita e pensiero, 2003); Giorgio Chiosso, "Dal mestiere alla professione magistrale. Note sul lavoro dei maestri elementari nel secondo Ottocento", *History of Education and Children's Literature*, vol. 2, n. 1, 2007, 85-115.

[105] Barausse, *Il libro per la scuola dall'Unità al fascismo*.

[106] Ibid., 754.

[107] De Fort, *La scuola elementare dall'unità alla caduta del fascismo*, 121. In a parliamentary debate in 1883, deputy Pietro Rosano said "In Italia vi sono maestri elementari i quali percepiscono uno stipendio minimo di 550 lire e maestre elementari, che hanno lire 330 all'anno! Ora io domando: V'è alcuno fra

especially in the country's remotest rural areas.[108] There are many testimonies regarding the challenging conditions of primary school teachers: the most popular was the story of Italia Donati, a rural *maestra* who committed suicide because of the abuses she was forced to endure.[109] The quintessence of *maestri*'s paradoxical situation in the Italian society of the time was their denied right to vote. Until 1882 male *maestri* could not vote—women *maestre* were already denied the vote because of their gender. The fact that the 'apostoli della scuola' could not participate in building the very society they were supposed to educate is the quintessential paradox that explains their controversial position.[110]

Teachers were scarcely professionally trained, as due to the initial high demand after the unification, their training could not be satisfactory. Moreover, their appalling living conditions ultimately led politics to consider them as potential enemies.[111] Within a short time, the 'apostoli della scuola' became a social liability. According to the State authorities, teachers could have triggered a social revolution and defamed the State they represented because of the disastrous isolation in which they were left.[112] During a parliamentary debate on 2 March 1883, left-wing deputy and notable lawyer Pietro Rosano intervened in a discussion on education. After denouncing the critical conditions of *maestri*, Rosano expressed his concern with regard to the consequences of teachers' deplorable conditions:

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noi, il quale abbia un cameriere, cui dia meno di 50 lire al mese, o una cameriera cui dia meno di lire 30 al mese? E come pretendete di tener elevato lo Spirito di questi maestri, come pretendete che siano all'altezza della loro missione, se li compensate così meschinamente?" Camera dei deputati, *Atti Parlamentari*, Discussioni, leg.XV, Sess. Unica 1882-1886, 2 marzo 1883.

[108] Until 1910, *maestri* were under the jurisdiction of the single municipalities they worked for. Giuseppe Ricuperati claimed that the relegation of the Ministry of Public Education under the Internal Affairs—the Ministry that was most affected by the political changes, due to its mission—caused constant interference by other figures, such as prefetti and sottoprefetti, whose legislative approach contributed to further slowing the policies' implementation. According to Ricuperati, this mandatory involvement joined the already present local institutions like mandamento-circondario-soprintendenza and Consiglio Provinciale. In other words, every single decision needed to pass through an extensive number of public officers, and the constant political changes—twenty-seven governments in the first twenty-nine years—did not facilitate a rapid implementation. Giuseppe Ricuperati, *Storia della scuola in Italia: dall'Unità a oggi* (Brescia: La Scuola, 2015), 29.

[109] Matilde Serao wrote an article on Italia Donati, "Come muoiono le maestre", published on 25 June 1886 *Corriere di Roma*. *Maestri* will be under the direct control of the State only in 1911, with the Daneo-Credaro Law.

[110] Anna Ascenzi and Roberto Sani, *Tra disciplinamento sociale ed educazione alla cittadinanza: l'insegnamento dei diritti e doveri nelle scuole dell'Italia unita (1861-1900)* (EUM, 2016), 43.

[111] De Fort, *La scuola elementare dall'unità alla caduta del fascismo*, 122.

[112] Ibid., 121.

> Quando il maestro è mal retribuito […] voi avrete che il maestro dell'ingiustizia dello Stato, e dell'avversità della sua fortuna, sarà spinto a vendicarsi contro lo Stato stesso, che ritiene cagione precipua della sua infelice condizione; ed allora invece di inculcare nell'animo dei suoi discepoli i sentimenti di vero patriottismo, i sentimenti della virtù, della rassegnazione, […] invece di parlare a questa gente dei loro doveri, il maestro parlerà loro soltanto dei loro diritti, e invece di avere dalla scuola una fabbrica di cittadini, voi avrete disgraziatamente una fabbrica di demagoghi; di demagoghi, che voi vi troverete contro, il giorno in cui vi occorrerà di invitare il paese ad eleggere i suoi rappresentanti.[113]

Many writers of the time of Collodi described Italian school teachers' harsh conditions, In *Romanzo d'un maestro* (1890), the same de Amicis—who joined the Socialist Party in the same year of the book's publication—denounced the poor economic, professional, and social conditions of primary school teachers through the story of Emilio Ratti, the novel's main character.[114] Emilio is a rural primary school teacher who experiences a hard life as a *maestro*.[115] He struggles to convince the local families to send their children to school, as they prefer to have them working in the fields. Moreover, his colleague—and lover—is discriminated against and unfairly fired by the local mayor.[116] Through Emilio's vicissitudes, de Amicis denounced the paradox embodied by the figure of the *maestro*:

> E fu invece molto stupito al riconoscere che quel nome di maestro sonava agli orecchi dei più assai diverso da quello che aveva immaginato, che alla sua professione pareva legata l'idea di non so che di meschino e di trito, e quasi un'ombra di ridicolo, come a quella dei cantastorie e dei poeti improvvisatori delle fiere. […] Perdio, un maestro era così poca cosa? […] Egli trovava una contraddizione assurda fra quel gran dire e scrivere che si faceva da tutti, della nobiltà della professione d'educatore, dell'importanza capitale

[113] Camera dei Deputati, *Atti Parlamentari*, Discussioni, leg.XV, Sess. Unica 1882-1886, 2 marzo 1883.
[114] *Il romanzo di un maestro* was ready in 1886, together with *Cuore*. However, publisher Emilio Treves decided to publish *Cuore* first, as he thought it would have been more successful in terms of sales. *Il romanzo di un maestro* was the published in 1890, the same year of de Amicis's subscription to the socialist party. Even in *Cuore* the *maestro* has a pivotal role; however, in *Il romanzo di un maestro* de Amicis stressed the social situation even more, dismissing the sentimentality that was *Cuore*'s main characteristic. Moreover, *Cuore* was designed for a children's audience, therefore less suitable for social and political nuances.
[115] De Amicis acknowledged Emilio's scarce preparation, blaming the Scuola Normale of providing a confused formation that Emilio is unable to put in practice: "Quanto poco gli rimaneva di immediatamente utile di tutto quell'ammasso confuso di roba che aveva ingoiato alla Scuola normale!" De Amicis, *Il romanzo d'un maestro,* 28.
[116] "E parlava come operava, compassato, con una certa sua proprietà e pedanteria burocratica e con l'accento di chi detta, facendo risaltare specialmente alcune sue parole preferite, fuor dell'uso comune, come monete rare, di cui volesse far sentire il pregio dal suono. Nei gesti aveva quel non so che di raccolto e di untuoso, che s'attacca a chi bazzica i preti." Ibid., 88.

> dell'istruzione primaria, dei diritti disconosciuti e delle sante benemerenze dei maestri verso la società, e la maniera con cui questa società li trattava, a quattr'occhi. Come mai? diceva tra sé. Ci affidano i loro figliuoli, ci dicono:—ingentilite i cuori—preparate una generazione migliore—rifate il mondo.... e poi:—fate un po' di posto anche al maestro;—maestra, mi vada a prendere il ventaglio. Qui c'è un'ingiustizia e un'ipocrisia.[117]

The text highlights De Amicis's political approach, which seems coherent with his socialist turn. According to De Amicis, the biggest paradox was the hiatus between the propagandised promotion of the *maestro* as a strategic cultural asset for building a new national community and the social humiliations he was forced to endure on a daily basis.

Matilde Serao further stressed the critical conditions of female primary school teachers in *Scuola Normale femminile* (1885), a *novella* in which she described the vicissitudes of a female class of apprentice primary school teachers in Naples. At the end of the novella, Serao listed all the protagonists and outlined their life outcomes. In the majority of cases, being a *maestra* was particularly harmful. Some teachers died alone in their poor houses, others committed suicide and most of them left the teaching profession. Only one succeeded in the career after being derided during training because of her physical appearance. Serao decided to give a migrated rural *maestra*, Carmela Fiorillo, the cruellest destiny of all:

> Carmela Fiorillo non ha fatto il concorso, è stata per un anno maestra rurale a Gragnano, ma essendosi innamorato di lei il figliuolo di un ricco fabbricante di paste, ha dovuto partire dal paese e recarsi a far la maestra in un villaggio dell'Alta Savoia, con la retribuzione di quattrocento lire annue. Non essendovi casa nel villaggio dove era la scuola, ella abitava al villaggio vicino, e doveva far quattro miglia ogni mattina e ogni sera, per andare e venire. Nell'ultimo inverno, un giorno verso le tre, ritornandosene a casa, è stata sorpresa da una tempesta di neve: e sia il freddo, sia la stanchezza, sia il difetto di cibo, perché non aveva mangiato dal giorno prima, ella è caduta sulla via e si è lasciata morire, per debolezza, per assideramento: gli alpigiani l'hanno raccolta due giorni dopo.[118]

Overall, the figure of the teacher embodied the contradiction between the crucial mission assigned to education and the educational apparatus's concrete complexities in post-unification Italy. The Italian State aimed for educational supremacy over the Holy See, and in this context,

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[117] Ibid., 61.
[118] Matilde Serao *Il romanzo della fanciulla* (Florence: R. Bemporad e figlio, 1921), 238-242.

primary school education was a critical asset to control. Being perceived as a reliable authority would have—in the State's plans—consolidated the image of the newborn Italian State and weakened the Holy See's political influence in society. When the Pope prohibited religious people from participating in any kind of politics—with the 1868 *Non expedit* decree—the Italian State saw its chance to gain reliability in the community's eyes.

However, the propagandised intentions clashed with a substantial number of complications such as scarce finance, poor infrastructure, excessive bureaucracy, and inadequate teacher training. Within a few decades, the *maestro/a*, once the apostle of the secular ideological campaign, rapidly became a dangerous entity, someone who was feared of revolting against the same institution he/she represented. The analysis of Collodi's stance regarding this diatribe in his journalistic texts and schoolbooks reveals yet another aspect of his dissonant position.

Educational authority in Collodi's schoolbooks

Collodi's schoolbooks offer only one distinctive character playing the teacher's role: the protagonist Giannettino in *La lanterna magica di Giannettino*. In the other books, although the *maestro* figure is implicitly present, there is no narratively meaningful character playing the *maestro* role. However, the social significance of the role played by Giannettino in *La lanterna magica* is essential for examining the portrayal Collodi gave of a primary school teacher. The absence of a meaningful fictional *maestro* figure from his schoolbooks adds to the author's distancing himself from those propagandised figures the State promoted as the new nation's backbone. This fictional outline, which does not seem coincidental, is a clear sign that also distances these texts from other contemporaneous books, in which the figures of *madre*, *padre*, and *maestro* are concrete conveyors of concepts such as *patria* and *famiglia*.

In *La lanterna magica di Giannettino,* the young protagonist visits his uncle Giampaolo who works as *maestro/a* of a rural school in Florence's outskirts.[119] Giannettino ends up

[119] In *Giannettino*, the character of Boccadoro is instead the epitome of the private mentor, often adopted by middle-class and aristocratic families bypassing the public system, similar to what happened to the character of Ciccillo in *Il viaggio per l'Italia di Giannettino-Sud*. However, unlike the Neapolitan child, Giannettino attends a public school on a daily base, and receives Boccadoro's lectures outside of

replacing his uncle and takes the opportunity to lecture the students about the role of the *maestro/a*, framed in a specific chapter titled "*Rispettate i Maestri!*".[120] In the episode, which contributes to stress the problematic authority of the teachers, Giannettino exceptionally correlates the title of a *maestro/a* with the respect owed to a father or an older adult:

> Agli occhi miei tutti gli scolari che fischiano il loro maestro mi danno un brutto spettacolo, come quello d'un branco di figlioli che fischiassero il loro babbo, o d'una nidiata di bambinetti che fischiassero un rispettabile vecchio d'ottant'anni. L'età e il titolo di maestro, tenetelo a mente, meritano sempre moltissimi riguardi.[121]

Through his commitment and hard work, Giannettino helps bring the class to a satisfactory level and pass the governmental inspection.[122] Giannettino inherits a situation in which the *maestro/a*, his uncle Giampaolo, was disrespected and unable to guide his students. The social humiliation that De Amicis stressed in *Romanzo di un maestro* is here on another level, as the students—and not the aristocrats—deride Giampaolo:[123]

> - Come vuoi tu che vada, Giannettino mio? Male! Malissimo!...
> - Ti hanno forse, al solito, rubato i fichi nell' orto? – domandò ridendo il nipote.
> - Altro che fichi! Devi sapere che con questi benedetti monelli mi sono mangiato un'ala di polmone .... E poi che cosa ho concluso? Il gran nulla! [124]

Giannettino's example stands out in the genre of literature for children of post-unification Italy. In other books for children and texts for an adult audience, the *maestro/a* appeared to be a lower-class person struggling with poverty and loneliness. The fictional character of Giannettino is instead a young bourgeois who efficiently balances severity and kindness, with no mention of financial struggle.[125] Nonetheless, he ends up being a rural primary school

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schooltime: "beninteso, un giorno che era vacanza alla Scuola, Giannettino andò fuori col dottor Boccadoro." Collodi, *Giannettino*, 59.

[120] Collodi, *La lanterna magica di Giannettino*, 125-128.

[121] Ibid., 127.

[122] Giampaolo practically disappears from the story, and, despite the agreement between him and Giannettino (who was supposed to come and help him), does not come back to school.

[123] See by contrast "Il maestro di mio padre", in De Amicis, *Cuore*.

[124] Ibid., 2.

[125] He has a hard handshake, showing military modes ("Alzatevi e venite a darmi la mano, in segno di promessa solenne e di patto giurato." Ibid., 6). However, he is described as behaving with "la sua solita buona maniera", Ibid., 6. Giannettino behaves in the same way with every child, regardless the social class they belong to. He is particularly strict with the only wealthy child Giocondo, see Ibid., 14.

teacher, one of the most unrewarded jobs in post-unification Italy.[126] Moreover, Giannettino does not seem to have any professional teaching diploma. Nonetheless, he replaces the *maestro/a* and acts as if he is in charge of the whole school.[127]

A possible reading of this narrative situation could be as a veiled criticism of the middle class, who acted and behaved as the proprietor of public goods and services. Giannettino—although guided by good intentions—is a private underage citizen who performs a public role without any official permission. The same episode might also be interpreted as an implicit request for a renewal of teaching staff and a more attentive and respectful approach to education; according to Collodi, cooperation between citizens was essential for a healthy community. It might be argued that Giannettino represents a new way of teaching, a new pedagogical model with a better grip on the younger generation, compared to an older man like Giampaolo. Regardless of the interpretation, Collodi overtly underscored the State's weakness, as a public employee leaves his position to an unqualified young man without any official procedure.

The interpretation according to which Collodi praises a *rejuvenation* in the education system takes into account Collodi's ability to 'lower' the perspective and narrative style to that of the perspective of children. Children are included in a fictional world that is closer to their dimension, and in their imaginary world replace the old generation through their fictional friend Giannettino. In this perspective, the introduction of the magic lantern—a primordial projector that he used to project images of famous characters used by Giannettino to teach his students about moral qualities—symbolises such innovation.[128] Giannettino immediately earns the children's respect with a decisive and direct approach, despite his being still "quasi quasi direi un bel giovinotto, se gli fosse spuntato il segno dei primi baffi."[129]

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[126] See Luca Montecchi, *I contadini a scuola: la scuola rurale in Italia dall'unità alla caduta del fascismo* (Macerata: EUM, 2015).
[127] Giannettino keeps the school open almost until 1 a.m, forcing the school janitor (and all the children) to be awake. Collodi, *La lanterna magica di Giannettino,* 132.
[128] John Welle, "The Magic Lantern, the Illustrated book, and the Beginnings of the Culture Industry: Intermediality in Carlo Collodi's *La lanterna magica di Giannettino*" in *The print media in fin-de-siècle Italy: publishers, writers, and readers,* ed. Ann Caesar, Gabriella Romani, and Jennifer Burns, (London: Legenda, 2011), 177-191.
[129] Collodi, *La lanterna magica di Giannettino,* 1.

La lanterna magica, as noted by scholars such as Daniela Marcheschi, shows a more institutional approach than Collodi's other schoolbooks. Giannettino's methods and speeches seem to be distant from other texts' lively atmosphere and can be better understood if related to Italian society at the end of the century, when a more aggressive approach characterised politics. For example, the episode in which Giannettino promotes strong and healthy physical training to support clarity of mind is a clear example of this new political and societal language and in line with the new governmental directions imparted by Minister Guido Baccelli:

> Moto, moto ci vuole, amici miei [...] Volete sapere come mi diceva il dottor Boccadoro? -Mi fa piacere, caro Giannettino, quando ti vedo studiare attentamente sui libri di scuola, perché lo studio, non solo diletta, ma fortifica anche lo spirito; [...] gli esercizi ginnastici fortificano il corpo, allargano il torace [...] e contribuiscono grandemente alla buona salute.-[130]

Nevertheless, the socio-political relevance of a wealthy young man who takes over the job of a rural school teacher has not been considered by scholars such as Marcheschi, who focused on the limited artistic appeal as the text's predominant feature. In this case, it is not the creative richness that needs to be emphasised. Instead, the social and political messages behind the fictional architecture assume a unique relevance, particularly within the genre of school literature in Italy at the end of the nineteenth century.

In his journalistic texts, Collodi approached the topic of education more critically than in his school texts. He identified students' and teachers' starvation and cultural poverty as the leading causes of the dysfunctional Italian educational system. He pointed to educational procedures such as end-of-year exams as critical in implementing a corrupt and incompetent

[130] Ibid., 143. As previously mentioned in this chapter, Minister of Education Baccelli often promoted a more military approach to education. Domenico Elia argued that it was common to have gymnastic teachers coming from the army, proving "the deep bond between educational sphere and military sphere with regard to gymnastics teaching." Domenico Elia, "A case-study: gyms and gymnastics teachers in Apulia and Basilicata (1861-1893)", *History of education and children's literature* IX (2014), 20. Baccelli's military approach is also proved by the predominance of military representatives in the commission over the schoolbooks, which he instituted in 1894. See also Elena Tabacchi, "«Secondo i naturali confini della libertà degli insegnanti». Forme di censura e controllo nell'esperienza della seconda Commissione centrale per l'esame dei libri di testo (1894-1901)", *History of education and children's literature* VIII (2013), 246. That commission initially excluded Cuore from the list, because it lacked science and history lessons; moreover, it also suspended Collodi's *Giannettino* and *Minuzzolo*. Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione, Consiglio Superiore della Pubblica Istruzione, *Relazione n. 1088-1089* (Rome, gennaio 1899), Atti 1848-1903, b.486, f.502.

society. He advocated for more involvement by children's parents in school life, showing an approach based on the importance of teaching by example. Such a contribution reinforces the idea that Collodi was critical of the contemporaneous interpretation of the father or teacher and the State institutions—but respected the institutional figure.

Collodi's position is expressively stated in the article *Pane e libri*, published in *Note gaie*. *Pane e libri* is an open letter addressed to the Minister of Education Michele Coppino, who in 1877 had made primary school mandatory up to nine years of age.[131] Collodi criticised the idealism implicit in Enlightenment aspirations and Positivism in its professed objectivity. He underscored the contingency of starvation as the most urgent issue. Hence, he claimed that the government was too focused on the ideological goal of educating people and disregarded primary problems such as people's malnourishment:

> avete sragionato così: "Per rigenerare i popoli […] bisogna illuminare le masse!" Illuminiamo dunque le masse! […] Il bello è che vi spacciate tutti per positivisti. Positivisti voi? Se foste tali davvero, dovreste almeno sapere che la natura- positivista per eccellenza- c'insegna che il bambino, appena nato, si nutre: poi sente, poi ragiona. […] Date retta a me, che sono ignorante: meno chiacchiere e più pane![132]

With regard to teachers, Collodi, similar to the criticism in his school texts, stresses how teachers' low standards of professionalism and short engagements contributed to a failing educational system while not underestimating the harsh conditions they had to suffer.[133] According to Collodi, primary school teachers were the epitome of '*poco*'. In the following lines—taken from an article published in 1882—Collodi abandons the irony and harshly reported his opinion of primary school teachers: it comes to the fore how Collodi highlights the intellectual, financial, and social poverty of the figure that the propaganda promoted as the standard-bearer of the new Italian State:

> Quando s'è detto maestro elementare, s'è detto tutto. In queste due modestissime parole c'è il nome, il cognome e il ritratto fotografato e mal colorito di un povero diavolo pur

[131] Coppino was often criticised by Collodi. "Guardi che litania prolissa! Obbligatorio il far da giurati, obbligatorio il servizio militare, obbligatorio il pagamento delle tasse, obbligatorio il far da membro (frase indecorosa e quasi avvilitiva) nelle commissioni di sindacato, e per giunta, obbligatoria anche l'istruzione elementare." Collodi, "Come studiavano i fiorentini", in *Opere*, 315. The article seemed to be published on *La Vedetta* in 1877.
[132] Collodi, "Pane e libri," in *Note gaie*, 188.
[133] "Dopo il teatro" in *Opere*, 617; "Un nome prosaico", Ibid., 6.

> che sia, che insegna quel poco che sa (quando lo sa) e lo insegna per poco; che mangia poco, che spera poco, che chiede poco e non ottiene mai nulla...Osservandolo attentamente e colle lenti d'ingrandimento del ministro dell'istruzione pubblica, si capisce che il maestro è un animale sui generis, un essere anfibio, l'anello di congiunzione fra l'istruzione obbligatoria e l'ignoranza nazionale. E dire che tanti e tanti maestri elementari, se il mondo non fosse imbastito alla rovescia, potrebbero dar lezione a tempo avanzato a qualche ispettore o a qualche provveditore agli studi![134]

Collodi goes beyond the mere statement of financial or structural hindrances and offers concrete examples of what he thought beneficial for his dysfunctional society. In *Il turco in Firenze*, Collodi presents a parody of Coppino, presented as "Sua Eccelenza Abdul-Coppin-Aziz, Ministro turco della pubblica istruzione turca a Costantinopoli".[135] The repetition of the adjective turco/turca in the same sentence, and the choice of describing Coppino as a minister from such a far country as Turkey, further indicated the extent to which Collodi interpreted the distance between the Italian reality and its institutions. Collodi ironically portrayed a scene in which the Minister meets a high-school teacher and a greengrocer, and receives two essays whose titles refer to the topics of starvation and the teachers' miserable salaries: "Un professore liceale […] domandò a Sua Eccellenza il permesso di dedicargli una Memoria intorno al problema se sia più nutritivo il pane dell'istruzione, o quello del fornaio; e l'ortolano dell'albergo osò presentargli un Saggio di botanica, sull'innesto delle carote ministeriali nello stipendio dei maestri elementari."[136]

These texts reveal a vision based on the necessity of educating people to honesty and civic responsibility as from the first years of school. Collodi claims that education started from the procedural model. This approach was in line with the positivist methodology of the *exemplum*, as De Fort extensively analysed.[137] Collodi believes his society to have been misled

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[134] "Bubbole letterarie", *Fanfulla*, 8 April 1882. Collodi ironically approached also the topic of illiteracy; in the same letter, he claimed respect for the seventeen million illiterates, and outlined the risks of literacy. Without literacy, Collodi argued, Francesca would have not betrayed her husband Lanciotto with Paolo, referencing another of the Inferno's famous canto. Collodi inadvertently predicted what Italian politicians such as Pietro Rosano would have eventually pointed out, questioning if widespread literacy would have actually created a better society. However, differently from Rosano, Collodi refers to a "mondo imbastito alla rovescia" highlighting his ironical approach. See also D'Angeli, "L'ideologia 'moderata' di Carlo Lorenzini, detto Collodi", 25.
[135] Collodi, "Il turno in Firenze", in *Note gaie*, 243.
[136] Ibid., 243.
[137] De Fort, *La scuola elementare dall'unità alla caduta del fascismo*, 151.

since the early days, as he supposes that the educational system was based on unfair procedures of which the end-of-year exams constituted a prime example.

In *Giù gli esami!*, an unpublished text grouped by Giuseppe Rigutini in the posthumous *Note gaie*, Collodi argues that end-of-year exams did not objectively recompense praiseworthy students. Collodi highlights how such a procedure did not consider the consistency and the work a student might have done during the year. He stresses how it facilitated the sliest and laziest who only studied for the exam. That policy of examining would eventually create a society based on incompetence and dishonesty rather than a community that consistently worked at its best on a daily basis. According to Collodi, such a methodology would also contribute to the creation of unqualified schoolteachers. Collodi believes that it was mostly the "scolaro disinvolto e audace" who benefitted from end-of-year exams and that, in the long run, that inconsistent student, "sebbene ignorantissimo, esce fuori vittorioso con tanto di laurea e di patente; e così la terra si popola sempre più […] di maestri di scuole primarie e secondarie, che confondono in buona fede le lenti ustorie di Archimede con quelle della zuppa biblica di Giacobbe."[138]

Collodi's text reveals that the unjust procedure of the final exams contributed to the distorted mechanism of an unfair society which rewarded craftiness over honesty and consistent work: "A far l'italiano è facile; il difficile sta nel fare il buon italiano. Se, per un'ipotesi strana, il buon italiano fosse un impiego, io conosco parecchi che darebbero domani le loro dimissioni per motivi di salute."[139]

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[138] Collodi, "Giù gli esami!", in *Note gaie*, 226.

[139] Ibid., 231-2. Collodi believed that parents should also contribute to the proper functioning of the educational apparatus. For example, he proposed the institution of parents' school boards, aiming at parents' more active participation in their children's school activity through the whole year, following the principle of the "investigazione del merito sul lavoro quotidiano". Ibid., 234. See also the footnote Collodi wrote, expressly naming the school board in English, "perché non vorremmo far la prova di questi comitati, istituiti ad immagine degli school boards inglesi?". Collodi acknowledged that Coppino had already proposed the same law in 1879, but Collodi accused the government of unfairness: "Questo comitato l'aveva proposto anche il ministro Coppino […] ma quel progetto di legge non ebbe tempo di fiorire perché' il giusto cade sette volte il giorno, e i nostri ministri, che sono buoni sì, ma giusti no, cadono in media quattordici volte l'anno." Ibid., 235. In another article, published on *Fanfulla* on 25 September 1875, Collodi reinforced his praise for school in which families and school staff work together: "Dopo visitato l'Istituto Pavan [per fanciulle], dissi subito fra me e me: ecco l'istituto educativo come lo intendo io! un istituto dove la scuola si fa in famiglia: e dove la famiglia è grandissima parte della scuola."

Conclusion

Overall, the approach analysed in his schoolbooks does not endorse a close connection with what has been related to *Staatsträger* stances, which Collodi seems rather to criticise on various occasions.

An in-depth examination of Collodi's schoolbooks, in the context of the two foremost authorities of the time—the Italian State and the Holy See—does not offer neat support for the first against the second. Collodi also managed to express in his schoolbooks some of the criticisms conveyed in his journalistic works. Throughout his school texts, he expressed condemnation for various aspects of Italian society . He delivered explicit accusations to the secular institutions: corruption, lack of commitment, irrevocable distance from the natural and problematic contingencies. Moreover, he offered a portrayal of public education which is significantly distant from the panegyrical image given by Edmondo de Amicis's *Cuore*. Collodi's school, in his schoolbooks, is an institution with no moral reliability, with unprepared teachers, and with an indifferent contribution to the social life of the community, in particular in the bigger cities.

Collodi's attitude to the Catholic Church is less direct than his negative opinion of the State. Collodi tended to ignore the Holy See as an institution, as he did not create any narrative character related to the Church. What Collodi condemned was blind acceptance, which he believed detrimental to a modern society. This behavioural predisposition, according to Collodi, was generally widespread in the entire Italian society, and it seems to be connected to the habit of beliefs and superstitions, which he often related to religion along the same lines as illustrious philosophers of the time such as Aristide Gabelli.

Collodi's relation to the State's authority and the context of primary education in his journalistic texts is hence complex. On one side, Collodi stressed how *Trasformismo* was the primordial failing that legitimated a system based on ideological inconsistency, lack of meritocracy, and a tendency toward personal or clientele interests over community benefits, distancing the institutions from the community. On the other side, Collodi proposed an alternative; he offered a fairer assessment method which evaluated the students' development across the whole year. Also, he advocated for more active participation of the community,

underscoring the importance of primary education as the basis of a healthy society grounded on meritocracy.

Finally, the unenthusiastic portrayals of the *maestro* in his schoolbooks contributes to confirm how Collodi offers to the new generations of Italians a non-idealised portrayal of the State. Collodi undermines the image of solidity and idolisation that was at the base of the propaganda of the time. Taking into account the outcome of the previous analysis on key-figures of private authority, what emerges from the texts in regard to the comprehensive construct of authority is an un-sympathetic description of his contemporaneous society, which he ironically and cleverly exposes to the eyes of the new generations.

Chapter 4

Dialects and identity in *Giannettino*

> E non hanno ancora capito che il vernacolo fiorentino è come la musica di Rossini: tutti la cantano, ma pochissimi la sanno cantare.[1]

In the secondary literature on the construction of nationhood and national communities from the last thirty years, the connection between language and national identity is regarded as the touchstone of such processes. Scholars such as Benedict Anderson, Eric Hobsbawm, Ernst Gellner, and Hugh Seton-Watson examined how nation and nationhood are significantly intertwined with language.[2] Although the critical debate relating to the intersections between language and nationhood goes beyond the above-mentioned scholars, they provide a solid theoretical framework.

In examining how nationhood and language were in interplay in end-of-the-nineteenth-century Italian society, the Italian governments' substantial effort to institute a united, homogeneous, and unilingual community after unification stands out, and together with it the importance at the time of language within a discourse of national character. Equally important, particularly as regards Italy, appears the impact of regional identities on national communities. For example, to demonstrate the significance of Italian dialects to Italian national identity, some historians such as Gene Bruckner, John Foot, Ilaria Porciani, and Silvana Patriarca analyse the importance of local and regional identities in Italian nation-building since the Middle Ages.[3]

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[1] Collodi, "La colonna di mercato", in *Note gaie*, 141.

[2] Anderson, *Imagined Communities*; Eric John Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997); Ernst Gellner, *Nations and nationalism* (Chicago: Blackwood, 1983); Seton-Watson, *Nations and states.*

[3] Porciani, "Identità locale-identità nazionale"; John Foot, *Modern Italy* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003). Patriarca, *Italian vices*; Steen Bo Frandsen and Adelaide Zocchi, "Le città italiane fra tradizione municipalistica e gerarchia nazionale durante il Risorgimento," *Meridiana*, no. 33 (1998).

In recent years, scholars such as Massimo Prada and Massimo Fanfani—who stress Collodi's linguistic antinormativity—have reinvigorated scholarly interest in Collodi's innovative grammar instruction in his schoolbooks.[4] Expanding on Prada and Fanfani's recognition of Collodi's non-normative grammar instruction, this chapter also sheds light on the political and social meanings of Collodi's distinctive approach in his schoolbooks against context of the controversy known as the *Questione della lingua* surrounding the Italian language and its promotion after unification.[5]

This chapter focuses on how Collodi's schoolbooks respond to post-unification governments' promotion of the Italian language to a heterogeneous population accustomed to communicating using various dialects. It examines Collodi's approach to language in his schoolbooks and how they contributed to a discourse of Italian national character, as well as Collodi's implied stance with regard to local dialects within that discourse. I argue that Collodi represents the local dialects as an important part of the cultural heritage of local communities that ought to be preserved and respected. Thus, the chapter examines the way Collodi emphasised local dialects in his schoolbooks and assesses the author's relevant political and social positioning of this emphasis in relation to the State's pursuit of cultural homogenisation. In doing so, the chapter offers a novel, politicised interpretation of Collodi's cultivation of dialects through his schoolbooks—in opposition to common perceptions of his use of dialects as a mere folkloristic backdrop—hereby addressing an aspect of Collodi's *oeuvre* that attracts little scholarly attention and requires further analysis.

Gene Brucker, "From Campanilismo to Nationhood: forging an Italian identity," in *Living on the Edge in Leonardo's Florence*, Selected Essays (University of California Press, 2005).

[4] Prada, "Giannettino tra sillabario e grammatica: un'analisi linguistica della tradizione dei manuali collodiani"; Massimo Fanfani, "Tra "Minuzzoli" e "Giannettini". L'italiano nei libri per le scuole." (Formare gli italiani: testimonianze dai fondi della Biblioteca Umanistica sull'Italia dell'unificazione, Florence, 2012).

[5] I have expanded this aspect elsewhere, and examined comparatively how dialects are represented in the literature of Collodi in contrast to that of Andrea Camilleri. The analysis brings to the fore how dialects in post-unification Italy are a controversial node of various discussions related to Italian language and unification, with particular regard to concurrent cultural homogenisation perpetrated by the *Staatsträger*. Andrea Pagani, "Dialects and National Identity in Camilleri's *Il birraio di Preston* and Collodi's *Il viaggio per l'Italia di Giannettino*", *Spunti e ricerche* 35 (2021).

Language and national identity

My analysis is hence closely linked with the aforementioned historical context of the *Questione della lingua*. Nonetheless, the contributions of scholars such as Anderson and Hobsbawm also situate my investigation of Collodi's approach to Italian language in his schoolbooks theoretically. Anderson, for example, proposes that mastery of language is a prerequisite for the creation of his 'imagined communities', as he writes of the historical decay of "the idea that a particular script-language offered privileged access to ontological truth".[6] In a materialistic and proto-positivist approach, Anderson states, "the old sacred languages - Latin, Greek, and Hebrew - were forced to mingle on equal ontological footing with a motley plebeian crowd of vernacular rivals"—that is, dialects—thus facilitating the imagination of the new "imagined" communities we know now as nations.[7] In other words, "sacred" languages transitioned from being religious expressions of the divine to secular "languages-of-state".[8]

Like Anderson, Hobsbawm also stresses how language lost its elitist vertical status of being the link between men and divinity and became a horizontal bond between people. Languages' loss of status, Hobsbawm argues, allowed language to become an entity that connects groups of people, implying that literacy is crucial to the foundation of national communities. According to Hobsbawm, the knowledge of a language in modern societies is a *horizontal* prerequisite that allows people to be part of a national community: "Language became less of a continuity between an outside power and the human speaker than an internal field created and accomplished by language users among themselves."[9]

It was this descent from the divinities to the people that permitted the cultural revolution that Anderson considers in both its lexicographic and philological dimensions.[10] People began to study languages, and the study itself is a symbol of their cultural battle.[11] Moreover, almost the "entire extant corpus of the Greek classics" became "increasingly accessible" to

[6] Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 6.
[7] Ibid., 70.
[8] Ibid., 78.
[9] Eric John Hobsbawm, *The age of revolution: 1789-1848* (New York, NY: New American Library, 1964), 337.
[10] Ibid., 72, 77.
[11] Seton-Watson, *Nations and states*, 11.

intellectuals since the end of the eighteenth-century; the consequent philhellenism, according to Anderson, contributed to facilitating this revolution.[12]

In the context of such cultural enthusiasm with regard to the impact of the language within society, the new language-of-state obtained a more comprehensive power and status. It was the language that defined a new era of national States, as pointed out by Nairn: "The new middle-class intelligentsia of nationalism had to invite the masses into history; and the invitation-card had to be written in a language they understood."[13] Furthermore, in some cases, including in Britain and France, Anderson believed the language-of-state to have overlapped with the language of population, dampening extreme political consequences.[14]

John Hastings theorises that a sense of nationhood receives its fundamental consolidation once the language consistently and thoroughly advances to written status—especially within political and cultural authorities. As he explains, once the vernacular "moves from an oral to written usage to the extent that it is being regularly employed for the production of a literature, and particularly for the translation of the Bible, […] the Rubicon on the road to nationhood appears to have been crossed."[15] Hastings highlights the importance of the transition from oral to written in terms of language stability.[16] Disagreeing with Anderson, he placed the written dimension above the oral.[17]

One might think that such a process would have no end; every time a new vernacular idiom earns the status of language, it automatically becomes the expression of the *Staatsträger*, in particular in its written form. As such, the people's spoken languages are in constant need of written status acknowledgement in order to subvert the *status quo*. It could be assumed, for

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[12] Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 72.
[13] Tom Nairn, *The Break-up of Britain crisis and neo-nationalism* (London: NLB, 1977), 340. See also Montserrat Guibernau, *The identity of Nations* (Oxford: Wiley, 2013), 19; and Gabriella Elgenius, *Symbols of Nations and Nationalism: Celebrating Nationhood* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011).
[14] Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 78.
[15] Adrian Hastings, *The Construction of Nationhood: Ethnicity, Religion, and Nationalism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 12.
[16] "The more the vernacular is written, the more stable it becomes". Ibid., 21.
[17] "Again the extent to which an oral literature too can be the medium for people's self-imagining is not something, unfortunately, Anderson seems to have considered. Yet the faithful handing on of an extensive oral literature by many peoples is something which of late anthropologists have taken very seriously." Ibid., 23.

the Italian case, that the 'official' Italian language needed to assert its authority over the various dialects spoken throughout Italy; it is in these terms, then, that the analysis of Collodi's promotion of local spoken languages acquires significance. His approach to the vernacular dialects, and his attention to the spoken language over the written form, seems to diverge from the Italian governmental directives of pursuing the imposition of communication through a unique Italian language.[18] Collodi's consideration of local dialects seems to echo Renan's *What is a Nation?* particularly when he states:

> This exclusive concern with language, like an excessive preoccupation with race, has its dangers and its drawbacks. Such exaggerations enclose one within a specific culture, considered as national; one limits oneself, one hems oneself in. One leaves the heady air that one breathes in the vast field of humanity in order to enclose oneself in a conventicle with one's compatriots.[19]

Despite a commonplace emphasis on the close relationship between language and the nation-State, certain scholars' insightful, generalised theorisations may stifle discourse on regional specificity and 'small' histories. On the one hand, Anderson, Hobsbawm, Gellner, and Marnix Beyen and Maarten Van Ginderachter—who defined language as the first "marker of identity" for nations—have shown how language knowledge is closely linked to nationhood.[20] On the other hand, scholars such as Fernando Molina have examined how the impact of language on societies and their characters differ case by case.[21] With specific regard to Italy, the relation between the Italian nation—intended as a "spiritual principle" in Renan's words—and the Italian language appeared to have been extremely complicated from the beginning.[22] Although a formal literary Italian language already existed, accessible exclusively to educated people,

[18] "Cavour, and other Italian nationalists, merely insisted that there should be only one official language and medium of instruction, namely Italian, and the others should sink or swim as best they could." Eric John Hobsbawm, *The Age of capital: 1848-1875* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1975), 109.
[19] Ernest Renan. "What is a Nation?" In *Nation and narration*, ed. Homi K. Bhabha (London; New York: Routledge, 1991), 17.
[20] Maarten Van Ginderachter and Marnix Beyen, *Nationhood from below: Europe in the long nineteenth century* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), 13.
[21] See for example Fernando Molina and Miguel Cabo Villaverde, "An Inconvenient Nation: Nation-Building and National Identity in Modern Spain. The Historiographical Debate" in *Nationhood from below*, 47.
[22] "in no country is ethnography more embarrassed than Italy". Renan, "What is a Nation?", 19.

who were the vast minority, many other idioms, including dialects and Testa's notion of "italiano nascosto"—were well embedded in the local communities.[23]

In an attempt to apply the aforementioned theoretical framework to the Italian situation, Anderson's notion of 'sacred' language could be identified with Latin, and official documents and schoolbooks were already written in a formal Italian well before unification. However, the Italian language was exclusively spoken and written by another élite class—secular rather than religious—and the overlap between language-of-State and that of the people did not occur. That explains why the imposition of a 'language of the State'—but not of the nation—on a multitude of individual regional communities where illiteracy was a vast reality was a huge task at the end of the nineteenth century and made the language/national character link problematic. It could be said that the mission was made more difficult by the echoes of *Risorgimento,* which consolidated a sense of self-determination that clashed with the imposition of new cultural identities from above. Nonetheless, two founding fathers of united Italy—Cavour and Vittorio Emanuele II—did speak Savoyard dialect for most domestic purposes, as Hobsbawm argued.[24] For these reasons, the choice of 'which' Italian language to teach could not be anything but problematic in post-unification Italy.

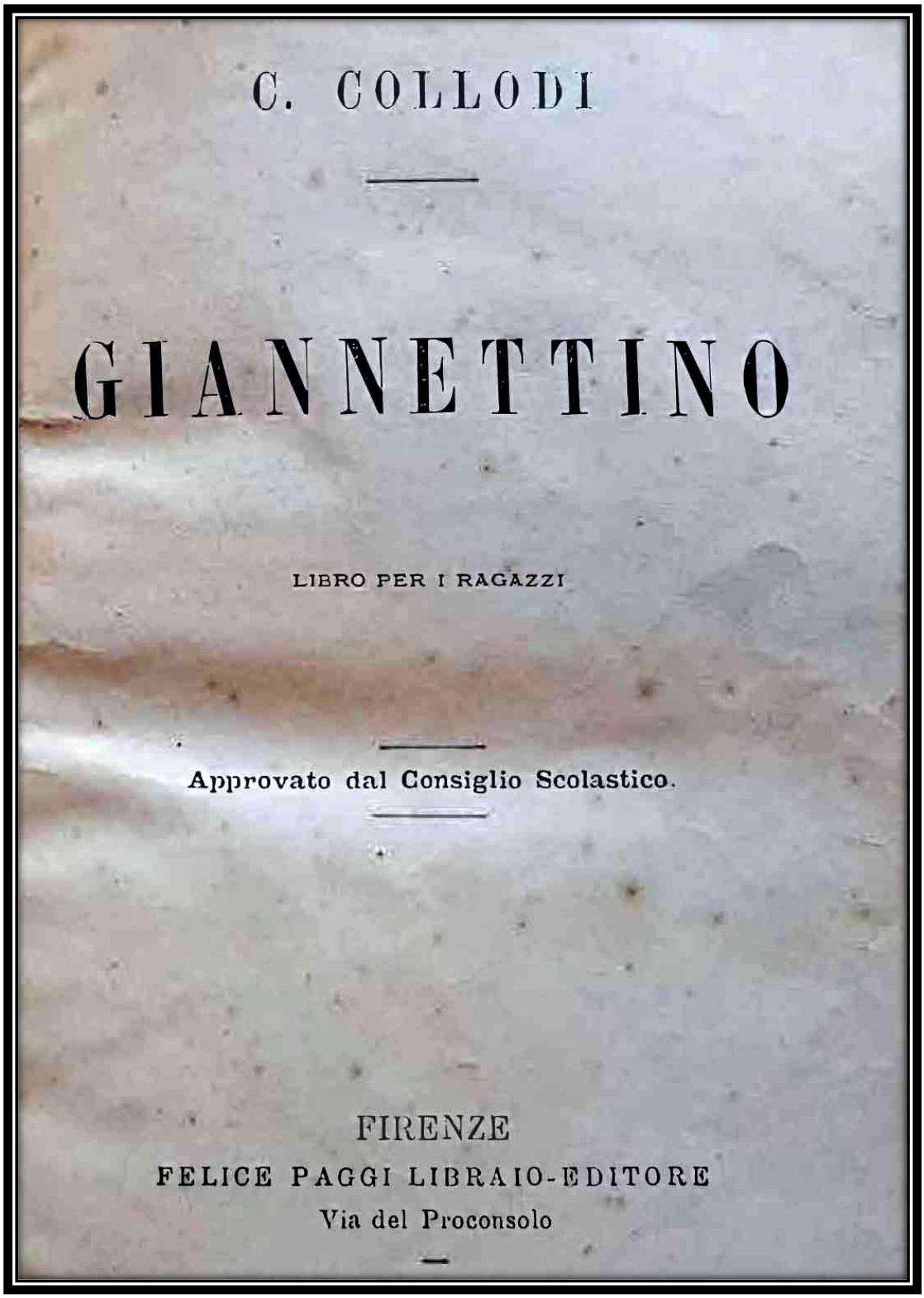
The critical debate around the Italian language at the time of Collodi is still quite lively, underscoring the complex relations between language and the Italian nation at the time. The eminent linguist Tullio De Mauro conceived the canonical theory, according to which literate Italian had been a prerogative of educated people since the Middle Ages: "Fuori di Roma e fuori della Toscana, al sistema linguistico italiano si faceva ricorso solo negli scritti e solo nelle occasioni più solenni […] Per secoli, la lingua italiana […] ha vissuto soltanto o quasi come lingua di dotti".[25] However, De Mauro's theory excludes all the Italian people who did not have access to literary Italian from any identity-related discourse. Moreover, such a theory did not consider people like scientists and merchants, who frequently moved around the regions and still managed to communicate with the locals. Enrico Testa, for example, wonders how uneducated people could have understood the teaching of famous preachers, such as Savonarola's sermons, if De Mauro's theory is substantiated by Italians' lived experiences.

[23] Enrico Testa, *L'italiano nascosto: una storia linguistica e culturale* (Turin: Einaudi, 2014).
[24] Hobsbawm, *The Age of capital*, 109.
[25] Tullio De Mauro, *Storia linguistica dell'Italia unita* (Bari: Laterza, 1963), 27.

Testa argues that, since the sixteenth-century, people from different areas and backgrounds used another Italian language which he calls "italiano nascosto". This simplified version of Italian was, according to Testa, "un italiano comune, per quanto rozzo, povero e variegato, a destinazione scritta e presumibilmente anche parlata."[26] This indicates that there may not have been a sharp division between the Italian language and the dialects; instead, linking those linguistic sets, there existed a simpler and more circulated intermediary version of the Italian language. This simplified Italian language was spoken and written by people from various social classes, with the support of authorities such as the Catholic Church. Testa goes further and investigates how the Holy See published books of predications and orations using that "rozzo" Italian to reach a vast number of people.

Moreover, the aforementioned critical analysis underscores how the paths to language and nationhood often intersect throughout history. Such examples of historical contextualisation as that of Testa support this chapter's argument that Collodi's valorisation of dialects in his schoolbooks is culturally and politically relevant: that is, culturally, because the schoolbooks portray a multicultural Italian community, which was not what the *Staatsträger* pursued; and, politically, because the schoolbooks' portrayal of a diverse national community had the potential to undermine the political strength of the central State's message and its attempted homogenisation of the Italian people.

[26] Testa, *L'italiano nascosto,* 12. See also Rita Fresu, "Scritture dei semicolti.", in *Storia dell'italiano scritto,* ed. Giuseppe Antonelli, Matteo Motolese, Lorenzo Tomasin, (Rome: Carocci, 2014), 195-224.



C. COLLODI

GIANNETTINO

LIBRO PER I RAGAZZI

Approvato dal Consiglio Scolastico.

FIRENZE
FELICE PAGGI LIBRAIO-EDITORE
Via del Proconsolo

Fig. 7 Giannettino, *Frontespizio*, 1877.

The State and the Italian language

Evidently, the context in which Italian language was written and spoken at the time of Collodi does not lend itself to broad theoretical generalisations, but rather deepens our understanding of the relationship between language and State by drawing attention back to concrete, historical circumstances and sources. Furthering this thesis' overall aim of focusing on the Italian State's promotion of Italian language as the sole Italian language—specifically, through primary school educational policies and the official new *Vocabolario*—this chapter highlights the suppressive campaign perpetrated by the State against local dialects. It does so by examining how Collodi's schoolbooks subversively commend dialects to a broad readership, which is significant because the books obtained State approval as textbooks for an official education.

Collodi's activity took place in a context characterised by the problematic attempt of the Italian State to pursue a cultural homogenisation of a community that was historically divided into myriad micro-communities within which *campanilismo* played a strong part.[27] In addition, the same promoters of that uniformity were already tainted by internal and regional divisions, and those frictions eventually influenced the strategy for cultural hegemony, in which Collodi also played a role. The appellation "Secondo" to the first king of Italy, Vittorio Emanuele, for example, links the core of the debate at least to the very beginning of the Italian State. Also, statements such as that of the Piedmontese politician Cesare Balbo—"L'Italia è il Piemonte, e il resto è m…"—highlights the tensions of that regional-based rivalry.[28]

Collodi was a journalist renowned for his mordant perspective in his time and an active protagonist of the so-called *Questione della lingua*. He witnessed important events such as the political turmoil related to the relocation of the new capital from Turin to Florence.[29] Circa thirty thousand *piemontesi* moved to the new capital and were far from being warmly

[27] "In spite of their vision of a united Italy, their programs and strategies were frequently weakened by parochial interests, by campanilismo.". Brucker, "From Campanilismo to Nationhood", 54.
[28] Niccolò Tommaseo, Giuseppe Borri, and Ruggero Bonghi, *Colloqui col Manzoni* (Milan: Ceschina, 1954), 118.
[29] As many newspapers of the time such as *La Gazzetta del Popolo* reported, the divulgation of the supposed-to-be secret clause of Convenzione di Settembre of 1864 caused a series of social and political upheavals. In fact, the King Vittorio Emanuele II forced the Prime Minister Marco Minghetti to resign; moreover, the people of Turin protested vehemently, causing disorders that ended up in more than fifty deaths and more than a hundred injured people between 21 and 22 September 1864.

welcomed by the many writers and journalist at the time. Florentine people like him perceived this rearrangement as an 'invasion'.[30] As Claudio Marazzini argues, in those years, the word *piemontese* indicated not only a person from Turin but referred to all 'non-Florentine' people.[31]

Furthermore, the neologism *piemontesismo*—together with the related verb *piemontizzare*—was burgeoning in the everyday language and referred to the incapability of Piedmontese politics to untie its bond with the Savoy court and adopt a more national approach, rather than aiming to transform Italy into an extended Piedmont.[32] On 11 December 1860, in the article "Il verbo piemontizzare" published in issue 311 of *Il Lampione*, Collodi ironically created a school scene in which the maestro teaches that the verb *piemontizzare* "vuol dire ogni male", and needs to be only used in relation to the government. Further into the story, the students start to use *piemontizzare* to describe bullying behaviour: "Maestro, Gigino mi piemontizza!- Ti piemontizza? Come sarebbe a dire? Mi dà le pedate sotto la tavola! [...] - Guarda questi ragazzacci come imparano subito…"

In such a regional-influenced context, it does not surprise that the Milanese Alessandro Manzoni voted for the capital to be transferred from Turin and agreed to participate in a linguistic and political *de-piemontesizzazione* of the Italian State.[33] Once established as the capital, Florence became the epitome of the "letteratura divulgativa sulla lingua", and as Marazzini claims, the years of *Firenze Capitale* were very important in terms of the "sentimento linguistico che andava crescendo nell'Italia unita, per la nuova sensibilità alle esigenze del parlato, che proprio dall'esperienza Fiorentina e nazionale traevano lo spunto."[34]

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[30] Collodi, once supporter of the role of Piedmont in the process of Italian unification, was very critical of the Piedmontese invasion of Florence, in the years of *Firenze capitale*. This negative approach is particularly stressed in "Gli ultimi fiorentini", in Collodi, *Occhi e nasi*. Collodi imagines Florence as a wife who is left by the husband -the Italian State- who is going to Rome, leaving behind a huge debt. The edition I consulted is in Collodi, *Opere*, 346-349.

[31] Claudio Marazzini, "Firenze capitale: questioni linguistiche", in *Firenze e la lingua italiana fra nazione ed Europa*, ed. Nicoletta Maraschio, Paolo Belardinelli, and Marina Bongi (Florence, Firenze University Press, 2004), 98.

[32] The noun "Piemontesismo" was included in the vocabularies since 1860, and is still present. Marazzini, Ibid., 92.

[33] That is why, according to Giovanni Nencioni, Manzoni accepted Broglio's appointment immediately, while he refused the request of his brother in-law Giovan Battista Giorgini to edit a dictionary of Italian dialects in 1862 because he was too old to manage that big task. See Giovanni Nencioni, *La lingua di Manzoni: avviamento alle prose manzoniane* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 1993).

[34] Marazzini, "Firenze capitale: questioni linguistiche", 101.

In those years, many dictionaries and vocabularies were published, and Florence became the epicentre of the linguistic education of people from different social classes, such as writers such as De Amicis as well as the uneducated military.[35]

The appointment in 1866 of Alessandro Manzoni as director of a government commission aimed at defining one standard Italian language can be seen as further evidence of the fragmented substratum that characterised Italian society.[36] The commission instituted by Broglio needed to acknowledge the most crucial controversy; Broglio established one commission in Milan, over which the Milanese Manzoni presided, and one in Florence, directed by influential pedagogue Raffaello Lambruschini.[37] The publication of a Florentine-inspired dictionary without the presence of Florentine scholars, when Florence was the Capital of Italy, seemed controversial. Moreover, it is now known that the relationship between the two commissions was problematic, and the linguistic disagreement between Lambruschini and Manzoni became, according to Nencioni, a political issue.[38]

Collodi played an essential role within the *Vocabolario* project commissioned by Minister Broglio and conceived in the years of *Firenze Capitale*.[39] Collodi was responsible for creating a section where "parole insolite o sospette" (mainly French-inspired words) had to be replaced with the correspondent Florentine expressions.[40] French was still the official language

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[35] Ibid., 99-101.

[36] The letter from the ministry of education to Manzoni is dated 17 January 1868. It is kept in Biblioteca Braidense, Milan. Fondo Manzoniano, B XIX, 131/7.

[37] Before this appointment, Manzoni considered the Tuscan language the closest to the Italian literary language, which constituted the model for the spoken idiom. He relocated to Tuscany while revising *I promessi sposi* with the aim to "rinse his clothes in the Arno river", to Tuscanise and purify his language from his *milanese* idiom.

[38] Nencioni, *La lingua di Manzoni*, 210. Manzoni, according to Nencioni, committed the "finale olocausto" of his career with his report *Dell'unita' della lingua*. Nencioni argued that Manzoni performed a "gesto altamente politico" that added to a professional career entirely directed towards "verità e vivere civile"; in these terms, Nencioni defined Manzoni "il gemello di Dante"; see Ibid., 212. Furthermore, the publication of the Giorgini-Broglio vocabulary took place in 1868, while Florence was the capital city; according to linguistic historians such as Claudio Marazzini, the years of *Firenze Capitale* were crucial for the institution of the Manzoni commission, and developed amid the political significance of the linguistic debate. In fact, Marazzini claimed that before Florence became the new capital, there was no mention of its linguistics significance. Marazzini, "Firenze capitale", 102.

[39] As mentioned by Raicich, the *vocabolario* was ultimated in 1897, almost thirty years after the establishment of Manzoni's commission.

[40] Fernando Tempesti, "Chi era Collodi" in *Pinocchio*, (Milan: Feltrinelli, 1972), 42 and 47-48. Original documents of Collodi's nomination are kept in the "*Carte Collodiane*" collection at BNC in Florence.

spoken at the court of Savoy and was consistently used by Cavour and all the upper echelons of Piedmontese society.[41] The French influence was negatively connected with the Piedmontese élite, to the extent that the contemporaneous journalistic sarcasm often pointed at the *francesismi* as a "peste varia".[42]

Collodi had a very problematic role, which went beyond the mere linguistic aspect. The influence of French words in the Italian *uso* was also not only a linguistic expression of the *Piemontesismo*, but also one of the bones of contention between Manzoni and Lambruschini. While Manzoni promoted the establishment of a dictionary inspired by the *uso* that was currently happening in Florence, Lambruschini—a Florentine authority—argued that some impurities, such as the introduction of foreign words, were already taking place in Florence, and Manzoni risked institutionalising spurious lexicography.[43]

These contradictions were so diffused that they inevitably influenced the implementation of the national educational policies. The most evident aspect was that the Piedmontese élite imposed an *extension* of their domain rather than a *unification* of confederate communities. Regarding the educational strategy, the Casati law, "essenzialmente piemontese" in Giuseppe Inzerillo's words, was the same law that regulated the advanced Piedmontese educational system.[44] Raicich argues that the Piedmontese élite overtly attempted to expand its cultural imprint to the rest of the Italian community since the "prima ondata di libri di testo", through which the *sabaudi* perpetrated what Raicich calls "barbaro dominio della lingua" was from Piedmont.[45] The Casati law was kept as the principal regulation until 1877, demonstrating

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[41] Armando Balduino, "Cultura, lingua e identità nazionale," *Lettere Italiane* 63, no. 3 (2011), 390. See also Edmondo De Amicis, *Fra scuola e casa: bozzetti e racconti* (Milan: Fratelli Treves, 1924), 433, where he mentions the frequent use of private teachers in the Piedmontese upper class. According to De Amicis, the language of upper-class Torinese young men was like "un tessuto vernacolo intinto d'italiano e rabescato di barbarie e di pedanterie."

[42] Marino Raicich, "Lingua materna o lingua nazionale: un problema dell'insegnamento elementare dell'Ottocento," *Crusca nella tradizione letteraria e linguistica italiana: atti del congresso per il 4. centenario dell'Accademia della Crusca*, Firenze, 29 settembre-2 ottobre 1983, (Florence: Accademia della Crusca, 1985), 264.

[43] Raffaello Lambruschini, "Della unità della lingua, a proposito dell'ultimo scritto di A. Manzoni," *Nuova Antologia*, no. 12 (1869), 11.

[44] Inzerillo, *Storia della politica scolastica in Italia*, 13. Ester De Fort disagrees with Inzerillo, as she claimed that Casati was Lombard, and the prominent model implemented by his law was based on the Lombard education. See De Fort, *La scuola elementare dall'unità alla caduta del fascismo*, 62.

[45] Raicich, "Lingua materna o lingua nazionale", 255. The Casati law was approved in an unprecedentedly short timespan (four weeks) and without a parliamentary discussion. Notwithstanding,

the intentions of the government to persist in a political *extension* rather than implementing regulations that could suit different regional realities. It took almost twenty years, according to Raicich, to eradicate the *piemontesismo* from Italian schools and to transform the "atmosfera linguistica della scuola da subalpina a italiana".[46]

This situation perhaps explains why the problematic balance between plurality and homogeneity also influenced the *Questione della lingua*, which targeted a linguistic uniformity within the fragmented reality of the newly formed Italian State.[47] *Regionalismo* and *campanilismo* were already so embedded in Italian society that their impact on the ambitious goal of Italian linguistic unification was inevitable. Still in 1909—almost fifty years after the unification—the future first president of Accademia della Crusca Isidoro del Lungo labelled the expression *Questione della lingua* an "incresciosa frase che ci richiama d' un tratto [...] alle stole e malaugurate gelosie regionali degli anni dolorosi di nostra nazione…".[48] In other words, del Lungo emphasised the extent to which *regionalismo* and *localismo* greatly complicated the road to a homogeneous Italian society not only politically but also from a cultural and educational angle.

Dialects and educational policies

In such an unstable educational environment, the hostility of the governments towards dialects resulted in being one of the few consistent strategies employed in those years. Since the 1860 Casati school programs, the directives for the *maestro* about the approach to dialects were already evident: "Bisogna anzitutto avvezzarli (i bambini) ad esprimere a voce in modo conveniente e corretto i propri pensieri. Per questo gioverà che il maestro dialogando con loro,

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it remained valid for the following seventy years of the Italian educational scenario. Moreover, the outcomes of the 1865 special commission on education, which was created with the goal of presenting the real situation of schooling in all of Italy, presented a very critical situation; not only was illiteracy widespread, but on most of the peninsula school facilities needed to be built. Throughout the first decades which followed unification, successive governments implemented various commissions to report on the educational system.

[46] Ibid., 255.

[47] See Ida Baccini and Lorenzo Cantatore, *La mia vita* (Milan: Unicopli, 2004), 45-48 (when she talks about the Genovese house cleaner in a Tuscan family, who used the words "Aggi e Sciole" for '*Agli e cipolle*'-garlic and onion-).

[48] Isidoro Del Lungo, "Per la lingua d'Italia," *Nuova Antologia*, no. 228 (1909), 6.

non in dialetto, ma in lingua italiana, si faccia ripetere i fatti di storia sacra [...]".[49] Six years later, the instructions given to primary school teachers with regard to a repressive policy against dialects became even more explicit, especially after the alarming outcome of the 1865 Matteucci commission on primary school, which denounced the extreme backwardness of the primary school system.[50] The legislator underlined the importance of the Italian language and discouraged any dialectal communication at school: "Grave difetto, che facilmente regna nelle scuole elementari, e si vien via via seguitando anche nelle susseguenti, è la trascuranza della retta pronunzia. Tutte le provincie italiane, quale più, quale meno, hanno, causa il dialetto, suoni di vocali e di consonanti che si allontanano evidentemente dalla retta pronunzia italiana."[51]

The directives show that the *maestro* was to discourage the use of dialects from the first day of primary school and promote a communication based on the Italian language:

> Ma ciò che ha in queste classi una capitale importanza, è lo studio e l'apprendimento della lingua italiana. Ad esso vuol essere diretto ogni sforzo di un savio istitutore. Usi egli sempre della lingua patria insegnando, ed obblighi con frequenti colloqui i giovinetti a fare altrettanto, e corregga con amorevole pazienza le imperfezioni provenienti dal dialetto della provincia. E ciò è da fare fino dal primo giorno che i fanciulli entrano nella prima classe; e delle voci del dialetto vuolsi far uso solo a necessaria dichiarazione delle parole italiane non ancora note agli alunni."[52]

The 1868 report *Dell'unità della lingua e dei mezzi per diffonderla*—submitted by Alessandro Manzoni and his commission under the request of Minister Broglio—placed the official position of the Italian State on the path to a sole language. Such a strategy seems in line with the Romantic-inspired atmosphere of the time, for which the unification of the language was seen as a legitimation of the nation.[53] In that report, Manzoni—and therefore the Italian

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[49] Marco Civra, *I programmi della scuola elementare dall'unità d'Italia al 2000* (Turin: Marco Valerio, 2002), 161.
[50] Carlo Matteucci, *Sulle condizioni della pubblica istruzione nel regno d'Italia, relazione generale presentata al ministro dal Consiglio superiore di Torino* (Milan: Stamp. reale, 1865).
[51] Civra, *I programmi della scuola elementare dall'unità d'Italia al 2000*, 176.
[52] Ibid., 177.
[53] See Tony Crowley, *Language in History: Theories and Texts* (New York: Routledge, 1996), 125. A theorist of Romanticism such as Fichte wrote: "it is beyond doubt that, wherever a separate language is found, there a separate nation exists, which has the right to take charge of its independent affairs and to govern itself." Johann Gottlieb Fichte, *Addresses to the German nation* (1968).

government—clearly highlighted that the successful consolidation of a national language depended on the suppression of local dialects: "Una nazione dove siano in vigore vari idiomi, e la quale aspiri ad avere una lingua in comune, trova naturalmente in questa varietà un primo e potente ostacolo al suo intento".[54] Although Manzoni might have referred to Testa's *italiano nascosto* or the local dialects, what comes to the fore is that he elevated Florentine to the status of the new national language.[55] Also, he suggested educating all non-Tuscan school teachers in Tuscany, with special grants for the municipalities that would hire Tuscan teachers.[56] Manzoni advocated for the creation and wide distribution of an official *Vocabolario*. A text to which all Italians could refer was considered strategic for the unification of the Italian language and Italian people.

The same points were reiterated in successive school programs, such as the 1888 one, compiled by the two eminent positivist philosophers Aristide Gabelli and Pasquale Villari. However, Villari and Gabelli avoided any direct reference to the word *dialetto*, although the intention of homogenising was confirmed by the emphasis they put on "correggere, fino dalle prime letture e anzi fino dalla sillabazione, i difetti di pronuncia propri di ciascuna provincia".[57]

The goal of cultural homogenisation through the eradication of local linguistic identities, however, did not enjoy unconditional consent. Those who supported Manzoni's ideas of a sole language and praised a progressive eradication of dialects found a fierce opposition in those—led by Friuli glottologist Graziadio Isaia Ascoli—who instead considered multiculturality a resource, and dialects a cultural resource that needed to be safeguarded.

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[54] Alessandro Manzoni, *Dell'unità della lingua e dei mezzi per diffonderla. Relazione al sig. Ministro della pubblica istruzione*, Handwritten (Milan, 1868), 1.

[55] Manzoni disserted that there could not be a dialect without the opposite, a chosen language: it is very curious to observe that in the manuscript, available at the Biblioteca Braidense, he crossed out many times the words "idioma" and "lingua", showing objective difficulty in distinguishing their meaning, even for a literate of his calibre.

[56] Carlo Cattaneo commented on Manzoni's decision as a "sforzo di rannicchiare la lingua d'una nazione entro il dialetto d'una citta', anzi entro l'incompiuto e capriccioso suo glossario". See Carlo Cattaneo, *Scritti letterari. I-II* (Florence: La Monnier, 1948), from 200. Manzonian supporter Giacomo Gavotti went beyond Manzoni's suggestion. Gavotti claimed that thousands of Tuscans working-class women, although properly educated, should marry Northern and Southern workers. Conversely, he proposed Southern and Northern girls should marry Tuscan working-class men. In that way, Gavotti thought that "la lingua viva di Toscana di frammischierebbe ai baci delle generazioni venture." Marino Raicich and Graziadio Isaia Ascoli, *Scuola, cultura e politica da De Sanctis a Gentile* (Pisa: Nistri-Lischi, 1982), 89. Gavotti also suggested having a large number of copies available in every school.

[57] Ibid., 195.

Ascoli believed the *Questione della lingua* to be part of the *Questione sociale*, and needed to be handled accordingly. He advocated for a more multicultural approach, in which the dialects had to be valorised within a social and economic development that needed to promote a more productive integration of many different communities living in Italy into the envisioned national community.[58]

Overall, Ascoli's theorisation went unnoticed. The firm approach employed by the Italian government showed its limits in what Enzo Catarsi called "capacità omologatrice"; that is, its inability to define a common cultural background for all the local entities, and to make them feel included in the new nation.[59] Catarsi argued that unification through homogenisation was repressive and risked severely damaging or eliminating various forms of local culture. According to Stefano Gensini, those forms of culture he defines as "humus di abitudini, mentalità, concezioni del mondo, in definitiva di tradizioni" survived unification because the Italian State underestimated the complexity of the operation.[60]

In this perspective, Civra argues that the elimination of the actual word *dialetto* from the 1888 programs was a clear indication of the progressive softening of the governmental fight against dialects. The scholar shows that the ruling class acknowledged linguistic unification as achieved. However, still in the last years of the nineteenth century, most Italians could only understand their own dialect.[61] And it cannot be determined whether the deletion of the word *dialetto* proves Civra's theorisation or instead highlights a reduced effort to educate the masses, which predominantly spoke the local idioms. On the contrary, the hostility of the *Staatsträger* against regional dialects was constant and inflexible; nowhere in legislation is there any

[58] See Ibid., 23. See also Boero and De Luca, *La letteratura per l'infanzia*, 20-21.
[59] Catarsi, *Storia dei programmi della scuola elementare, 1860-1985*, 22.
[60] "Era illusorio ritenere di spezzare con un'operazione di vertice." Stefano Gensini, "Lingua, dialetto, modelli di educazione linguistica nella scuola dell'Ottocento" in *La scuola primaria dall'unità d'Italia alla riforma Gentile: mostra bibliografica e documentaria: Rome, Biblioteca nazionale centrale, 18 marzo-13 luglio 1985*, (Rome: Centro stampa Biblioteca nazionale centrale, 1985), 58.
[61] "Alla vigilia dell'emanazione dei nuovi programmi gli analfabeti nel nostro Paese sono ancora oltre il 60 per cento della popolazione, e del restante 40 per cento pochi vanno oltre la pura comprensione della lingua nazionale e la scrittura del proprio nome." Ibid., 43.

suggestion of a rehabilitated attitude towards regional dialects, which once again emphasises the goal of cultural homogenisation through the eradication of local linguistic identities.[62]

The linguistic debate and the (aimed) suppression of regional dialects unavoidably assumed political relevance. In this fragmented scenario, Collodi actively participated in the conflictual process *tout-court*. He was assigned to detect the *francesismi* for a project that was affected by heavy regionalist frictions: he was a Florentine journalist who bitterly criticised the intrusion of the Piedmontese political class into Florence. Furthermore, mainly through his schoolbooks, he contributed to the education of the post-unification generations of Italians. In other words, he was aware of governmental directives in terms of language education and knowingly chose to detach himself from the attempted cultural homogenisation. In these terms, the analysis of how Collodi presents the *Questione della lingua* cannot be approached from a mere linguistic perspective but must also consider the political echo. Even very recent discussions about linguistic aspects of Collodi's schoolbooks neglect to take into consideration the ways Collodi and his schoolbooks interact with the world socially and politically. In response to this oversight, or disregard for the political dimension, in existing critical literature which solely favours the linguistic aspect—this chapter will go on to consider the social and political significance of Collodi's treatment of dialects in his primers.

The dialects in *Il viaggio per l'Italia di Giannettino*

Collodi's attitude towards dialects in *Il viaggio per l'Italia di Giannettino* indicates a position closer to that of Ascoli rather than the governmental directives. It seems that Collodi considers local idioms as "markers of identity", as Beyen and Van Ginderachter would have it, rather than unruly cultural anomalies to eradicate.[63] The message delivered by the acknowledgement of local tongues goes beyond their mere recognition. Local culture is openly celebrated through the narrative strategies with which Collodi framed the episodes relating to the dialects and

[62] Such a hostility reached its apex in the years of the fascist regime. Boero and De Luca claim that dialects were considered "malerba da estirpare" for many decades after unification. Boero, *La letteratura per l'infanzia*, 20. See also Francesco de Renzo, "Per un'analisi della situazione sociolinguistica dell'Italia contemporanea. Italiano, dialetti e altre lingue," *Italica* 85, no. 1 (2008), 44-62.
[63] Van Ginderachter and Beyen, *Nationhood from below*, 13.

through his description of the spoken language, which Collodi defined as a crucial aspect inherent in the identity of a community.

In the three volumes of *Il viaggio per l'Italia*—respectively dedicated to the North, the Centre, and the South of Italy—Giannettino recounts his travels through Italy with Boccadoro.[64] The addressees of Giannettino's storytelling are his close friends, Minuzzolo, and his brothers. Collodi creatively uses the concept of *viaggio* to write of the various parts of Italy by means of a 'verbal' retelling of Giannetinno's travels. Moreover, the tales of Giannettino's travels thinly veil its intended purpose as a resource for teaching cultural geography.[65]

Collodi's friend, the philologist Giuseppe Rigutini, clearly identified this goal in his introduction to the first episode, in which he stressed the main merit of the *viaggio*. He argued that Collodi's intention in writing the episode was to encourage children "a considerarsi non come o toscani o piemontesi o lombardi o veneti o romani o napoletani o siciliani, ma come italiani."[66] As the analysis will show, Collodi seemed to deliver a different message, in which he emphasised that people are *fiorentini, milanesi, siciliani* before being Italians. Collodi seems to suggest that a long-standing meaningful bond with the concept of Italy could not preclude a deep sense of one's own regional identity. Hence, assimilation or eradication of one's identity could not be as effective as the recognition and valorisation of a plurality in the culture that constitutes Italy. Collodi seemed to praise the social and cultural value of the local communities, which epitomised a profound identarian reality already well-embedded in the society, as opposed to the newly constructed one.

Giannettino describes the history and the main architectural, museal and artistic peculiarities of every significant area or town he visits and often offers a description of the local community, explaining any possible economic, social, and cultural sign of distinction. Importantly, the first markers of the identity of a region are depicted in Giannettino's recurring,

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[64] In *Giannettino*, Boccadoro promised to take Giannettino on a trip as a reward for his commitment to his studies.

[65] Collodi never visited many of the places about which he writes, as proven by many letters he wrote to people he knew while working on the *viaggio*. For example, in 1883, he wrote a letter to his friend and publisher, Filippo Orlando; in this letter, he confessed to "ingrullire" (going crazy) because of the preparation of the second volume of *Il viaggio per l'Italia di Giannettino*. The letter is kept at the Biblioteca Labronica, in Livorno, COL Cass 29, 2023.

[66] Giuseppe Rigutini, "Introduzione", in Collodi, *Il viaggio per l'Italia di Giannettino-Nord*.

simulated theatrical recitals, in which he performs the dialect of the specific area followed by an immediate translation into Italian. Most of these performances are warmly welcomed by his audience, Minuzzolo and his brothers. For example, after Giannettino performs his interpretation of dialects from Bologna and Milan, Collodi emphasises how the other children reacted: "Tutta questa scena fu recitata da Giannettino con tanta naturalezza, che Minuzzolo e gli altri tre fratelli cominciarono a battere le mani e a gridare 'Bene! Bravo! Biiiiis!..' tale e quale, come se fossero stati in teatro."[67]

The attention Collodi gives to dialects in his schoolbooks differs from how, for example, the dialect was conveyed in *Giannettino's* predecessor text, *Giannetto*. In that famous primer, Parravicini used the word *dialetto* only in the introduction, in which he recommends the *maestro* to use the dialect only when the child could not understand a concept any other way; however, the final stage of the educational process had always to be in Italian:

> Quando lo scolaro ha letto una proposizione o un periodo con l'accennata esattezza, l'istruttore volge nel dialetto dello scolare le parole che questi non può intendere. Alla fine della lezione il maestro raccoglie le medesime parole, e dicendole nel dialetto obbliga lo scolaro a ripeterle in buona lingua italiana.[68]

One might think that in other contemporaneous books, dialects were useful to authors who wished to depict uneducated people. This occurs, for example, in the magazine *L'amico dello scolaro*. In a short story published in the magazine in 1895, a *maestra* attends to the distribution of books and workbooks at public schools. Amongst the crowd of poor mothers and sick children, a young man dressed like an adult peasant behaves impolitely—he spits on the floor before speaking, addresses the *maestra* in unrefined Italian. And yet he makes it clear he would like to begin his primary education. In this case, the young man's illiteracy (and lack of refinement) is apparently due to his going to work rather than attending school during his childhood:

> Una mattina […] n'entra uno di dieci o quindici anni alto, bruno, con un paio di scarponi da uomo, senza cappello, con una giubba di mezza lana corta corta e la camicia a brandelli legata da collo con lo spago. Si fermò davanti al mio banco con le mani nella tasche delle

[67] Ibid., 184-5. With regard to the performance about Bologna, Collodi wrote "A sentir Giannettino, che parlava bolognese, i ragazzi si divertivano, come se fossero andati al teatro." Ibid., 81.
[68] Parravicini, *Giannetto*, 14.

> sottoveste e un piede in avanti; sputò con la mossa d'un uomo che ha finito allora di fumare e mi disse a voce alta: "Sono i'Palloni" Guardai la nota –"Come? Sei di prima?"- "E sapete, me ne rincresce, ma gli è i'prim'anno: è son sempre andato fori co' i' me zio a fa l'interesso." [...] Mi fece pensare a lungo quel povero ragazzo che dava del voi alla maestra […].[69]

Here, the *maestra* identifies the young man's ignorance in the use of the plural *voi* as a form of courtesy instead of the more contemporary third-person *lei*. One year later, she meets the child again; this time, he offers her a chicken, as a sign of gratitude, and says "l'accetterà di bon core sora maestra". The teacher is moved by this gesture and watches him walking in the snow, "e gli mandai, con l'anima, tutti i miei baci." Finally, she praises the fact that he improved his Italian because he learned how to use the third-person form of courtesy: "Povero e caro figliuolo, aveva anche imparato a dar di lei in prima!". In this excerpt, the dialect used by the young man is evident in expressions such as "i'Palloni" or "gli è i'prim' anno", despite his learning.

Unlike the short story published in *L'amico dello scolaro*, schoolbooks maintained a more conservative approach to language. They make no use of dialects even when describing indigent people. In *Il Libro del Bambino*, written by Giulio Tarra in 1864, a refined use of Italian is present in a dialogue between a poor mother and her two children. It seems that any reference to dialects needed to be avoided, regardless of the lifeworlds of fictional characters:

> LA MAMMA: Se i ricchi non fanno carità, non si salvano: così se i poveri non hanno pazienza, non avranno il premio celeste.
>
> MICHELE: Ebbene: io sarò contento d'andare alla scola coll'abito rotto.
>
> ANGIOLINO: Ed io vi andrò senza scarpe: ma voglio andar in Paradiso con te, cara mamma, e col babbo, che siete poveri e pazienti.[70]

Collodi instead consistently mentions dialects and adopts different narrative strategies to frame the conveyance of the local linguistic identities throughout the three volumes of *Il viaggio per l'Italia di Giannettino*. In the first volume, dialectal performances are key moments when Collodi brings to the fore structural social issues. Some of the social issues Collodi addresses

[69] Viscardo Vergani and Maria Letizia Meacci, *1800-1945: rilettura storica dei libri di testo della scuola elementare* (Pisa: Pacini, 1984), 110.
[70] Ibid., 90.

are well known—orphanages or people living in poverty; at other times, his social critique can be interpreted as a subversive attack on the wealthy North—specifically Lombardy and Piedmont—where people of the middle class are represented irreverently as pedantic, arrogant, and uninspiring. For example, Collodi seems to use dialect to criticise the *piemontesismo*—the whole wealthy North—through the creation of fictional characters who are scarcely interested in knowing about the rest of Italy despite being reputed proponents of a unified Italy. In this way, these Northern characters—and particularly the Piedmontese character—appear pedantic in comparison to the epitome of institutional education, Boccadoro.

Ambivalences and the absence of Roman

Collodi's first depiction of dialects in *Il viaggio per l'Italia di Giannettino* is in Florence. The elevation of Florence—on account of its version of the Italian language—to the Italian language's supposed homeland seems to trouble Collodi. This is demonstrated by his description of the Florentine dialect. It is the only instance in the entire "*viaggio*" that Collodi associates a dialect with a specific social class, and makes use of the word *vernacolo*.[71] Defining the *vernacolo*, Collodi highlights that it is more or less the same as the "buona lingua", although somehwat "sciupacchiata dalla pronunzia e da tutti quegli spropositi, che fioriscono naturalmente sulla bocca di chi non ha mai bazzicato ne' le scuole ne' la società delle persone educate bene."[72] While the difference between dialect and vernacular lies in the geographical diffusion of the parlance—the former more comprehensive than the latter, which is more localised—Collodi attributes the difference to social disparity.

The ambivalence becomes more evident when Boccadoro—who very often represents the view of the ruling class and epitomises an institutional approach to education—says that "Il popolo fiorentino [...] non ha dialetto; i Fiorentini parlano tutti la lingua italiana: la stroppiano un poco nel pronunziarla, ma è sempre lingua italiana."[73] Collodi seems to deploy Boccadoro to highlight the Manzonian *florentinisation* of the Italian language and hence the

[71] The stereotypical vernacular speaker is a young shoeshine, who refers to Giannettino in Florentine dialect: "La venga signorino, la venga. L'è lei che mi fa fare la prima." Collodi, *Il viaggio per l'Italia di Giannettino-Nord*, 59.
[72] Ibid., 58.
[73] Ibid., 46.

governmental stance. Boccadoro's statements support this observation; he describes Florence as the destination of many wealthy families' offspring, sent to this city to study and, concurrently, learn the Italian language.[74] Attention to social disparity, however, does not resurface in the books and middle-class characters from Piedmont or Lombardy simply communicate in their local dialect.

Analysis of how the *Questione della lingua* is introduced in *Il viaggio per l'Italia di Giannettino* illustrates the lack of clarity surrounding the educational approach to the language. Collodi manufactures a confusing cultural geography in which the differences between language, dialect, and vernacular are unclear. The ambivalence with which the text presents the relationship between the national language and local dialects further supports the argument that Collodi did not wholly agree with governmental strategies.

Collodi's episodes assign importance to dialects, so much so that "si potrebbe quasi dire che ogni regione italiana ha un dialetto proprio e particolare", overcoming the social distinction he previously mentioned.[75] Collodi groups Italian regional dialects into nine categories: "l'Italo-celto, che si parla nell'Emilia, nella Lombardia e nel Piemonte; il Veneziano; il Ligure ossia il dialetto del Genovesato; il Tosco-romano, che è quello di Roma e delle province romane; il Napoletano; il Siciliano; il Sardo, ossia il dialetto della Sardegna; il Corso, o il dialetto della Corsica e il Friulano, che è il dialetto del Friuli."[76]

Curiously, all dialects are illustrated in the book, except for Roman and Corso (Italian was Corsica's official language until 1859). Although the second volume is predominantly dedicated to Rome, there is only one mention of the Roman dialect, but no example is presented. It is the only time in Collodi's schoolbooks that a dialect is mentioned but not

[74] "A Firenze, ho sentito dir sempre, che si parla la buona lingua Italiana; e questa è la ragione, perché tante famiglie d'altri paesi d'Italia mandano i loro ragazzi a studiare nei collegi di Firenze e della Toscana [...] s'istruiscono nelle cose che debbono imparare, e imparano benissimo a orecchio la lingua italiana, senza bisogno di studiarla tanto su i libri e su i vocabolari." Ibid., 46. Here, Collodi acknowledges a phenomenon that characterised Florence during its years as *Capitale*. Also, Edmondo de Amicis spent several years in Florence; he writes of how he learnt more about Italian in those years than from the books he studied. Moreover, de Amicis attended the renowned *salotto Peruzzi*, a cultural institution of Florence that, according to Marazzini, inspired De Amicis for his last book, *L'idioma gentile*, dedicated to the Italian language. Collodi joined the *salotto Peruzzi*, according to historian Ugo Pesci. See Marazzini, "Firenze capitale: questioni linguistiche", 91-104; see also Pesci *Firenze capitale*.
[75] Collodi, *Il viaggio per l'Italia di Giannettino-Nord*, 57.
[76] Ibid., 58.

described: "Che la conosci tu la parlata romana? No, non la conosco-rispose Minuzzolo-ma me la figuro: dunque è lo stesso."[77] While the exclusion of Corso could be explained by the fact that the Isle of Corsica was under French authority at the time, the absence of the Roman dialect may indicate that Rome was commonly perceived as a small-scale version of the Italian nation. Rome, Italy's capital since 1871, was unsuited to Collodi's cornucopia of local identities, because any link drawn between Rome and a specific language or dialect would detract from Rome's image as an eternal city that represents and unifies all Italians.

Substantiating speculation about the Roman dialect's exclusion from Giannettino's *viaggio,* we can take into consideration *La geografia di Giannettino,* published in 1886. In this book, Collodi delves into descriptions of Rome, Roman dialects, and other languages spoken in the city. He portrays Rome as a modern multicultural city in which "sentite sempre ronzarvi intorno agli orecchi tutti i dialetti d'Italia e tutte le lingue del mondo. [...] Il forestiero [...] incontrerà ad ogni passo dei toscani, dei piemontesi, dei siciliani, dei napoletani, dei veneziani, dei sardi, dei bolognesi, dei romagnoli, dei lombardi, e magari dei francesi, dei tedeschi e degli spagnoli."[78] Once again, Collodi equates regional dialects with representations of local communities. In Rome, there is no mention of the Italian language; instead, the total sum of dialects underscores portrayals of what is spoken in the Italian capital—and hence the Italian nation—as a bricolage community within which disparate identities commingle.

Collodi's Rome confines locals to the Trastevere area; in the other parts of town, Collodi says that "la parlata romana non la sentite mai, o quasi mai." In Trastevere, however, lives the "bella e robusta gente, (che) credono con ragione di aver conservato nelle loro vene l'antico sangue romano." who belong to the "popolazione operaia e artigiana".[79] Therefore, native Romans are subordinate to others, as in the story from *L'amico dello scolaro*. This underlines once more how local identities remain omnipresent, even in the capital, because Collodi's Rome has been *conquered* by the other Italians, whereas locals—who belong to the working class—are relegated to Trastevere. In these terms, the absence of fictional dialect

[77] Collodi, *Il viaggio per l'Italia di Giannettino-Centro,* 16.
[78] Collodi, *La geografia di Giannettino,* 76.
[79] Ibid., 76.

moments for Rome in *Il viaggio per l'Italia di Giannettino* seems to be a political choice, rather than a simple omission.[80]

The dialects of the South

In the volume dedicated to Southern Italy Collodi frames dialects differently from those in Northern Italy. While he meticulously describes many small communities of the north, such as the communities of Ravenna or Prato, the South is broadly divided into three areas: Naples, Sicily, and Sardinia. One could surmise that Collodi did not know the South of Italy as well as he knew the North; this interpretation would be supported not only by the difference in details, but also by the fact that literary sources inform his writing of three Southern dialects. In contrast to Collodi's reliance on literature in his writing on southern dialects, in the volume dedicated to the north he authors original dialogues in dialect.

As I will examine in greater detail in Chapter 5, it was common in Collodi's years to approach Southern Italy with an orientalist approach. Literary texts as 'primary' sources supplement Collodi's scarce knowledge of southern communities. Nevertheless, Collodi's texts confirm the view that dialects are a significant part of the southern communities' identity. He also highlights moments of everyday life, for example, in descriptions of street foods in Naples, as well as in transcriptions of dialectal poetry, thus exalting the dialect as a form of art lower classes enjoy.

This chapter's analysis of how Collodi describes the Neapolitan, Sicilian, and Sardinian dialects in the third volume of *Il viaggio per l'Italia di Giannettino* reveals that the 'Rubicon' mentioned by John Hastings seems to be crossed. Despite the implication that Collodi may possess less first-hand knowledge of southern dialects, his writing about them illustrates a linguistic richness that goes beyond the one in the volume dedicated to Northern Italy. In the volume on the South, Collodi offers three dialectal excerpts from literary texts—plays and poetry—that reveal a more vital link between the dialect and the local community's identity.

[80] Gioacchino Belli seems to be the illustrious victim of this choice. Belli was very popular at the time for his anti-clerical poems and regarded as one of the most popular vernacular writers, together with Carlo Goldoni, Carlo Strada, and Giovanni Meli—whom instead Collodi mentions in the description of the Sicilian language.

His in-depth literary research regarding the southern dialects also has the effect of underscoring the dialects' cultural dignity. Citing the *Scuola Siciliana*, for example, Collodi emphasises the connection between dialects and the modern Italian language. His extensive knowledge of theatre can also be seen in the Neapolitan marionettes inspired by the *Commedia dell'Arte*, in characters such as Pasquino and Razzullo. Collodi stresses the importance of Neapolitan dialectal theatre on more than one occasion and ennobles the social function of dialects as a secret code that enabled people to fight injustices perpetrated by the Bourbons. Through such narrative choices, Collodi reinforces the message of a national community in which he believed the valorisation of local identities to be fundamental.

Collodi's appreciation of the dialects' liveliness and sense of reality seems to have an impact on his style of writing. Renato Bertacchini emphasised how, since his journalistic career, Collodi mastered a dialogic style in his texts, which the critic called "vena discorsiva".[81] According to Bertacchini—and echoed by Roberto Vetrugno decades later—Collodi had at his disposal an abundant literary *guardaroba* (wardrobe) from which he could create dialogic-styled texts resplendent with vernacular expressions as well as *dantismi*, biblical, and mythological references.[82] His frequent use and high respect for the *lingua parlata* shows that his decision to highlight dialectal moments in his schoolbooks was a cultural choice. In *La grammatica* Boccadoro says, "per la lingua, ossia per la parola"; this sentence echoes the importance Collodi gave to the spoken idioms.[83]

The passages ought to show that Collodi was aware of the value of dialectal spoken languages and respected them as the foundation of any cultural identity. In *Il viaggio per l'Italia di Giannettino*, dialects are the primary sign of distinction of the local communities and are so rooted in their cultural identities as to be linked to the physicality and the gestures of certain groups.

[81] Renato Bertacchini, "Guardaroba linguistico di Collodi giornalista." In *Scrittura dell'uso al tempo del Collodi - Atti del convegno del 3-4 Maggio 1990* (Scandicci: La nuova Italia, 1994), 53-82.
[82] Roberto Vetrugno, "Il secondo mestiere di Collodi," in *L'italiano alla prova: lingua e cultura linguistica dopo l'unità*, ed. Franco Pierno and Giuseppe Polimeni (Florence: Cesati, 2016).
[83] Collodi, *La grammatica di Giannettino*, 109-110.

Sicilian dialect

The description of Sicilian dialect denotes how Collodi elevates its cultural level and exalts the importance of the *Scuola Siciliana* in contributing to the foundation of the Italian language. It is possible to summarise Collodi's writing on the Sicilian dialect as follows. After listing great classic personalities, such as Archimede, Empedocle, and Teocrito, Collodi highlights the importance of the *Scuola Siciliana*, the community of poets who gathered around Frederick II in the thirteenth century and initiated, according to Dante Alighieri, the first literary Italian standard. Collodi notes that poets from the *Scuola Siciliana* drew inspiration from the Occitan troubadours—which implicitly stresses the 'evolutionary' aspect of a language. He goes on to name the *Scuola*'s main characters: "[...] e poi altri poeti, come Guido e Oddo delle Colonne da Messina, Ruggerone da Palermo e la gentile poetessa Nina, della quale s'innamorò il nostro Dante da Maiano per aver letto alcune sue canzoni e per la fama della sua bellezza."[84]

Collodi's reference to Nina demonstrates a deep knowledge of the *Scuola Siciliana*. Nina was a poetess who was one of the first Italian woman poets, but whose existence is still debated. Writing in 1940, Chandler Beall observes how Nina was neglected for almost six centuries and rediscovered only in 1780.[85] Since then, eminent scholars such as Francesco de Sanctis, Giulio Bertoni and Adolfo Borgognoni have tried to prove her existence, contested by the belief that she might have been a fictional construct of male poets such as Dante da Maiano, who, as Collodi mentions, dedicated various sonnets to her,.[86] Through the mention of Nina, Collodi further elevates the cultural and social significance of the *Scuola Siciliana* and consequently stresses how regional identities contributed to the creation of the Italian language and were the backbone of the Italian linguistic identity.

Beyond his writing of the *Scuola Siciliana*, Collodi makes use of the fictional character Boccadoro as a vehicle to satisfy Giannettino's observation ("Mi figuro che anche la Sicilia,

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[84] Collodi, *Il viaggio per l'Italia di Giannettino-Sud*, 155.
[85] Chandler B. Beall, "Un recueil italianisant du XVIIIe siecle francais," *Modern Language Notes* 55, no. 7 (1940), 528.
[86] *Storia della letteratura italiana. 1 1*, (Turin: Einaudi, 1958), 21. Giulio Bertoni, *Il Duecento* (Milan: Vallardi, 1973). Adolfo Borgognoni, "La condanna capitale di una bella signora" in *Studi di letteratura storica*, ed. Adolfo Borgognoni (Bologna: Ditta Nicola Zanichelli, Cesare e Giacomo Zanichelli, 1891). See also Daniele Cerrato, "Nina Siciliana: una poetessa alla corte di Federico II?," *Mezzogiorno Italiano: riflessi e immagini culturali del Sud d'Italia* 1 (2016).

avrà il suo poeta, in dialetto…") and introduce the classicist poet Giovanni Meli.[87] Gaetana Marrone defines Meli as "one of the greatest masters of the antisatirical Arcadian style", a style that "places the animals in a pastoral melic-idyllic context".[88] He adapted the Arcadian Academy style to write bucolic sonnets in Sicilian dialect during the eighteenth century. He is traditionally regarded as one of the so-called *quattro coroncine*, the four most distinguished dialect composers, together with Carlo Goldoni (Venetian), Carlo Porta (Milanese), and Giuseppe Gioacchino Belli (Roman).[89] In this vein, Collodi's Boccadoro cites an extract of Meli's work to introduce a section dedicated to notable Sicilians: "la Sicilia è chiamata la terra dei grandi uomini: e con ragione."[90]

In addition to literary references, Collodi highlights the Sicilian dialect's musicality and its connection with people's body language: "Il dialetto siciliano, per gli orecchi che sanno intenderlo e gustarlo, ha una grazia ingenua e schietta e un colorito molto semplice e molto espressivo. Aggiungi che i siciliani, nel parlare, accompagnano sempre la parola col gesto e con le movenze eloquenti della fisionomia."[91]

Sardinian dialect

Collodi's writing about the Sardinian dialect reiterates in this context the image of dialects as signs of cultural identity and a 'history' of communities. Collodi defines the Sardinian dialect as one that is difficult to understand ("un dialetto che tiene un po' dello spagnolo e un po' del latino") and as culturally rich as Sicilian.[92] Collodi reproduces a manuscript written in the Sardinian dialect, the longest fragment of a dialectal text reproduced in the whole series of schoolbooks. As in the Milanese and Venetian episodes, Collodi's text offers a description of

[87] Collodi, *Il viaggio per l'Italia di Giannettino-Sud*, 153.
[88] Gaetana Marrone, Paolo Puppa, and Luca Somigli, *Encyclopedia of Italian Literary Studies* (New York: Routledge, 2007), 202.
[89] According to scholars, including Ciro Roselli, the appellation *quattro coroncine* (four small crowns) derives from the *tre corone* (three crowns), the three fountainheads of Italian literature: Dante, Petrarca and Boccaccio. See Ciro Roselli, *Storia e modelli della letteratura italiana dalle origini ai giorni nostri* (n.p.: Lulu Com, 2012), 166.
[90] Ibid., 154. "E se io volessi rammentarti giù giù, fino ai nostri giorni, tutti quei siciliani, che nelle lettere, nelle scienze e nelle arti, ebbero un chiaro nome, credilo a me che non la farei più finita." Collodi, *Il viaggio per l'Italia di Giannettino-Sud*, 155.
[91] Ibid., 153.
[92] Ibid., 281.

the Sardinian people: here, the story of a shepherd who loses a sheep and eventually saves the animal from the attack of a wolf.[93]

In this section, Collodi quotes a poem without referencing its author, whereas on other occasions—for instance, in his citations of Meli—he adequately references his sources. In this case, he defines the quoted fragment as a *manoscritto* which seems to be written by Giannettino's friend. However, the poem reproduced in *Il viaggio per l'Italia di Giannettino* is a short(ened) version of *S'anzone* (the lamb), a song written by Abbot Pietro Pisurzi, an eighteenth-century Sardinian poet. The translation into Italian Collodi provides in *Il viaggio* replicates a translation by Abbot Tommaso Pischedda, who published an anthology of popular Sardinian songs in 1854.[94] According to Pasquale Tola—whose biographic dictionary of illustrious Sardinians appeared in 1838—the song *S'anzone* was widespread in the north of Sardinia: "Nel capo settentrionale della Sardegna non vi è contadino né forosetta, la quale non le sappia a memoria. Quella dell'Agnella specialmente è Cantata nei conviti, nelle feste, in ogni lieta occasione."[95]

Giancarlo Porcu, situates *S'anzone* in a well-rooted social rituality in his recent detailed philological research on the songwriter Pisurzi.[96] According to Porcu, Pisurzi's song is narratively built around the *topos* of the *sa chirca*, the search for lost livestock. Porcu argues that the same ritual was played when the man asks the bride's parents for her hand, reading *S'anzone* as a zoomorphic metaphor of an established and relevant formality in Sardinian society.[97]

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[93] Ibid., 282-285.
[94] Tommaso Pischedda, *Canti popolari dei classici poeti sardi tradotti ed illustrati per l'abate Tommaso Pischedda* (Sassari: A. Ciceri, 1854).
[95] Pasquale Tola, *Dizionario biografico degli uomini illustri di Sardegna ossia storia della vita pubblica e privata di tutti i sardi che si distinsero per opere, azioni, talenti, virtù e delitti*, 3. 3 (Turin: Chirio e Mina, 1838), 105-6.
[96] Giancarlo Porcu, *Le canzoni di Pisurzi: edizione critica* (Nuoro: Il Maestrale, 2017).
[97] "Nell'interno dell'isola c'è ancora l'uso che il paraninfo proceda per circonlocuzioni; alla domanda: Ite kères? Risponde: unu andzòne pérdiu e, quando compare la ragazza prescelta, esclama: kústa est s'andzonèdda mèa." Max Leopold Wagner and Giulio Paulis, *La vita rustica della Sardegna riflessa nella lingua* (Nuoro: Ilisso, 1996), 338. "In una descrizione più antica della stessa usanza il padre del pretendente sposo «si porta […] dai parenti della diletta e loro annunzia la brama del figlio, favellando presso a poco in tale figurato linguaggio: "vengo a cercare una pecora di perfetta bellezza che voi possedete, e che potrebbe essere la gloria della mia greggia e la consolazione dè miei ultimi giorni."

In summary, once again, Collodi perceives in a dialectal text the expression of social and cultural roots that are fundamental to the identity of a community. Collodi exalts the value of dialects from multiple perspectives; the dialects have literary status and they are shown to have a historical depth that cannot be erased. Ultimately, Collodi offers a model of society in which dialects are a resource to be safeguarded, respected, and appreciated.

Neapolitan dialect

Collodi's description of the Neapolitan dialect is the most detailed and enthusiastic of all:

> Par quasi che il dialetto lo abbiano in corpo a gomitoli e che quando aprono bocca, il filo venga via senza interruzione, finché un gesto non lo tagli lì a secco e la bocca si chiuda. Le consonanti addolcite gocciolano giù come giulebbe e in quelle correnti di suoni strascicati non senti ogni tanto che l'e, l'o e l'u, che salgono a galla e si rituffano: ma nessuna accentature ti aiuta ad avvertire il distacco delle parole. E quando in una parola hanno scolpita forte una sillaba, il rimanente lo lasciano cascare dalla bocca e il gesto finisce di esprimere ciò che il labbro ha sfiorato appena. Qualche volta le parole cessano del tutto e quasi all'improvviso, ma il loro discorso continua ancora sotto la forma di gesti o di atteggiamenti della fisionomia, come in una macchina, tolta la forza motrice, cessa il frastuono e il lavoro, ma le ruote seguitano un altro poco a girare in silenzio. Il più delle volte, il gesto finale d'ogni discorso significa: 'mi spiego?' a cui quello che ascolta risponde per il solito con un altro gesto che significa 'ho capito!'…[98]

In this fragment, the pace and style Collodi used contribute to a very engaging and dynamic description of the dialect. The dynamism of the episode recalls parts of *Le avventure di Pinocchio*, with very prominent use of verbs—twenty-six—which confers a vibrant vitality on the description of the language. According to Collodi, the Neapolitan dialect is also made up of gestures and body language. He describes the language as a physical extension of the body and stresses the image of a cultural and social identity that is deep rooted. Collodi sees any form of homogenisation to a national language as a too artificial task, as he underscores this unique connection: "Tieni a mente che a Napoli, anche i soli moti della testa, della bocca e degli occhi sono un linguaggio chiaro e intelligibile, come quello d'un libro stampato."[99]

Baldassarre Luciano, *Cenni sulla Sardegna, ovvero usi e costumi, amministrazione, industria et prodotti dell'isola* (Turin: C. Schiepatti, 1843), 70.

[98] Collodi, *Il viaggio per l'Italia di Giannettino-Sud*, 20.

[99] Ibid., 22.

Keeping in mind Hastings, when he notes the *stability* that written form gives to any language, Collodi openly attributes to the local gestures the significance of a written language.

In addition to the detailed description of Neapolitan dialect, Collodi depicts quotidian scenes in which the dialect is performed; as in Venice and the *zuca baruca*, while in Naples Giannettino meets itinerant food vendors on the street. However, unlike Venice, the Neapolitan scenes incorporate live dialectal theatre, in which the peddlers are characters *tout-court*: the *Verdummaro* sells "scarobelle, cecorielle, cappuccelle"; the *carnecottajo* yells "è di vitella lo fegato!"; the young farmers sell broccoli—"friarielle, ste vruoccole, friarielle"; the *mmummarara* sells sulphurous water; the *pizzaioli* sell pizza, yelling "è con l'alice e la pummarola sta pizza".[100] This parade of vernacular stock characters can be observed in Collodi's descriptions of workers, such as the *U'Solachianello* (shoeshine), *O'Maccaronaro* (who cooks maccheroni), and the *Maruzzaro* (who prepares a dish with winkles). The absence of dialogue between the sellers—in contrast to the *zuca baruca* and their customers in the Venetian scene—is replaced by a Neapolitan glossary that defines not only the different characters but also the instruments. For example, when describing the celebration of *festa di Piedigrotta,* Collodi refers to "triccaballacche, putipù and scetavaiasse", percussion incstruments intended to increase the din ("Il fracasso è la sinfonia dominante della festa di Piedigrotta").[101]

Collodi gives literary dignity also to the Neapolitan dialect by referencing literary sources. For the first time in Giannettino's *viaggio*, Collodi dedicates an entire section to a famous dialect theatre. Collodi, who was a connoisseur of and contributor to Italian theatre, opted for a well-liked *farsa*, *La cantata dei pastori*, written in 1698 by Andrea Perrucci. Through Boccadoro, Collodi explains the theatrical genre and relates it to Tuscan street theatre, *I Maggi*.[102]

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[100] Ibid., 25. Collodi uses the verb *berciare* (to squabble) for the *pizzaiolo*. He uses the same verb only for the seller of *zuca baruca* in Venice (see Collodi, *Il viaggio per l'Italia di Giannettino-Nord*, 254).
[101] Collodi, *Il viaggio per l'Italia di Giannettino-Sud*, 33.
[102] See also Maria Elena Giusti, *Teatro popolare: arte, tradizione, patrimonio* (Pisa: Pacini Editore, 2017). Anna Barsotti, *Il teatro dei "Maggi" in Toscana: drammaturgia, ideologia, spettacolo nella tradizione popolare* (Roma: Lucarini, 1983).

In doing so, Collodi redirects attention away from the most famous Neapolitan character, Pulcinella, towards Razzullo, a character from *La cantata dei pastori*. Boccadoro explains how *La cantata dei pastori*—performed by the company of *Marinella*—sometimes replaced Pulcinella's after the demolition of *Teatro del Sebeto*. For Collodi, Razzullo and the genre of the *farsa* are representations of Neapolitan people and their adroit creativity (which also emerges from the previous occupational' descriptions). Razzullo is a "scrivano, pescatore, cacciatore, oste, capraro e buffone: insomma un po' di tutto".[103] He is a multifaceted character who plays a role in a hybrid genre:

-Ma che cos'è questo Vero Lume [the show's subtitle] domandai al Dottore.- È un dramma o una commedia?

> -Né l'uno né l'altro. È una farsa grossolana, uno strano miscuglio di paganesimo, di superstizione e di buffoneria, una specie, insomma, di quei Maggi, che si cantavano e che forse si cantano anche oggi nella campagna lucchese. E pensare che di questo pasticcio se ne fanno fin due o tre rappresentazioni per giorno! E che applausi! E che furori! Il teatrino, come puoi figurartelo, è pieno stipato, un'ora avanti che abbia principio lo spettacolo: e il popolino pigiato degli scanni della platea o in certe buche per aria, che hanno la pretensione di essere palchetti, s'impazienta, rumoreggia, fischia, mangia semi di popone, e si tira le bucce di lupini.[104]

Collodi quotes some excerpts from the script of *La cantata dei pastori* and emphasises Razzullo's lines in dialect:

> -Sacce ca cca' benuto/Io Songo co lo Présete Romano/E só stato screvano, Pe nnummerá li gente che 'nce songo/Sotto lo' mperatore Attaviano. (Sappi che qui venuto/Io sono col preside romano/e sono stato scrivano/per numerare gli abitanti che ci sono/sotto l'imperatore Ottaviano.)"[105]

Therefore, it can be said that Collodi's writing of *viaggio* in the South of Italy foregrounds the Neapolitan dialect in descriptions of the local community. Moreover, dialect is promoted as a medium of art—Collodi reproduces dialectal theatre as a representation of Neapolitan literature. These elements contribute to Collodi's *anti-normative* approach to language. Rather than suppress dialects, instead he elevates them to symbols of the community and its literary

[103] Collodi, *Il viaggio per l'Italia di Giannettino-Sud*, 42.
[104] Ibid., 43.
[105] Ibid., 44-45.

production. Collodi's treatment of dialects may not fulfil Anderson's definition of 'languages-of-state'; however, they are so embedded in the identity of the community as to be regarded as constitutive of Italian identity; that is, not an aspect to be eradicated in favour of a constructed cultural homogenisation.

The dialects of the North

In the volume of the *viaggio* dedicated to Northern Italy, Collodi does not connect dialects to a written literary tradition, nor does he mention vernacular poems. Instead, he creates 'performances' in which dialects are spoken. The analysis above of Collodi's treatment of dialects in the first volume of *Il viaggio per l'Italia di Giannettino* underscores how he echoes Renan, by 'not enclosing' a dialect within a specific category of people. The scene in which dialects are described and spoken represent speakers from different strata of society, as opposed to the lower and uneducated classes only.

Giannettino's travels through Italy begin in his hometown, Florence, where Collodi presents the first dialect-based episode (discussed at the beginning of this chapter's section on dialects); subsequent sections concern dialects from the cities of Bologna, Milan, Turin, Venice, Udine, and Genoa. In the first volume, Collodi makes use of dialects to go beyond mere folkloristic descriptions of locals; instead, he manages to convey important social messages through the creation of fictional dialectal moments, including a veiled criticism of Northern communities that can be associated with the aforementioned *piemontesismo*.

The fictional situations into which dialectal episodes are inserted vary from a social to a theatrical-like context. Dialects hence frame the situation in which Collodi emphasises social issues such as poverty, stresses the artistic value of a specific dialect, or offers scenes of daily community life. For example, in Bologna and Udine, the episodes performed in dialect show encounters between Giannettino and two indigent children. In Bologna, the protagonist is harassed by a beggar who tries to sell him a box of matches.[106] The tone is not dramatic, and there is no mention of the child's poverty; however, the episode seems to stress how the usage of dialect was more frequent in the illiterate classes. In Udine, Giannettino meets another

[106] Collodi, *Il viaggio per l'Italia di Giannettino-Nord*, 80-81.

beggar, and this time his poverty is immediately evident ("un ragazzetto più povero della miseria). The child admits that he has to look after his two younger brothers because his parents are in hospital; in that problematic context, the young children are leading a difficult life, sleeping 'rough' on the streets: "E la notte dove dormite? – Second che da la combinasion, o culí, o culá si va, tut á l'e bon par dormí."[107]

In episodes on wealthier Milan and Turin, Collodi 'stages' two narrative situations in which dialects are not (only) a prerogative of the lower classes. When in Milan, Giannettino re-enacts a performance he witnessed in Boccadoro's friends' home. The performance tells the story of a Milanese clerk who wants to go to the isle of Sardinia, but is afraid of seasickness and would prefer to travel overland. Despite the light tone, the short text highlights the arrogance of the 'progressed' Northerner, as represented by a typical middle-class man, who would like to modify things that are unmodifiable, exclusively for his comfort. Nonetheless, the boat captain speaks standard Italian:

> Capitano - (ridendo) Ma dunque non sapete che Sassari è in Sardegna, e che la Sardegna, essendo un'isola, è circondata da ogni parte dall'acqua?
>
> Domenico- Il soo ben; ma ghe saria minga mezzo de andagh in vettura anca in Sardegna?(-Lo so bene, ma non ci sarebbe proprio il mezzo di andare in vettura anche in Sardegna?)[108]

In the scene dedicated to the Piedmontese dialect, the local confection of sugared almonds is the fulcrum of the scene. However, in this specific case, Collodi's narrative strategy seems to aim at a negative representation of the Piedmontese élite. The Piedmontese fictional character is the only one in the whole book who dismisses the importance of food, in particular, a sweet such as the sugared almond, which was very appealing to children, as confessed by Minuzzolo. This approach presents him in a negative light; hence, as the Piedmontese character reprimands children for eating sweets, the unpleasantness of his character for the children audience increases.

> -Come fa a dire queste bugie?...Per sua regola Minuzzolo è un ragazzo di giudizio.

[107] Ibid., 277.
[108] Collodi, *Il viaggio per l'Italia di Giannettino-Sud*, 133.

- Prima ‘d tutt i masna’ ‘d giudissi is lodou nen das par lor, e peui an leu ‘d ciamè di bounboun, ai ciamou ai so’ amiss di brav liber da lesi e da studiè…capisla? (-Prima di tutto, i ragazzi di giudizio non si lodano da sé: e poi, invece di chiedere dei confetti, chiedono ai loro amici dei buoni libri da leggere e da studiare…ha capito?)

-Altro se ho capito! – gridò Minuzzolo ridendo- e per oggi mi basta e me ne avanza.[109]

This episode is the only dialect one in which Giannettino plays the role of himself - he pretends to be the Piedmontese version of himself and censures Minuzzolo’s tendency to prefer sweets over books and culture.[110] The Piedmontese theatre performance is not cheered by Minuzzolo and his siblings; instead, it ends with Minuzzolo being lectured, and there is no moment of shared amusement.

Deepening this analysis of the scene from a narrative to a word level, it is notable that Giannettino, while playing a Piedmontese version of himself, uses French-inspired words. He uses the *francesismo bounboun* instead of *confetto* to describe the sugared almond. The linguistic unorthodoxy of Piedmontese Giannettino’s stance against food echoes Boccadoro’s frequent condemnation of children’s gluttony.[111]

In other episodes, dialect is used to show moments in the day-to-day life of local communities; for example, in Venice, Giannettino visits the food market. Here, the dialect is used to represent a group of peddlers selling *zuca baruca*, a typical Venetian street food consisting of sliced roasted pumpkin, very popular amongst the lower classes (“Il popolino di Venezia n’è ghiottissimo”).[112] The dialect ultimately supports a manifestation of local identity,

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[109] Collodi, *Il viaggio per l’Italia di Giannettino–Nord*, 144.

[110] The Piedmontese episode is preceded by Giannettino’s story of going with his friend Ulderico to a puppet show. On that occasion, the performed piece was *Il casino di campagna*, a farce written in 1815 by German dramatist August Friedrich Ferdinand von Kotzebue. Kotzebue was a very popular author before the Romanticism, and was targeted by Romantic artists as the epitome of conservativism. His death, perpetrated by a Theology student in 1819, provided Metternich with arguments to convince the Confederation to enact the Carlsbad Decrees, reinforcing reactionary policies, See Monica Marsigli, “L’internazionalizzazione delle culture nel Settecento: la mediazione culturale delle traduzioni per il teatro europeo,” *Atti della Accademia roveretana degli Agiati. A, Classe di scienze umane, lettere ed arti*. 9 (2009), 308.

[111] Ibid., 52. As already examined in chapter 1, Jacques Gleyse focused on French school texts at the end of nineteenth century. Gleyse highlighted that many French schoolbooks of the time had a similar approach to food and promoted the maxim “you eat to live and do not live to eat”. Émilien Cazes, *Instruction morale et civique. Cours moyen*, (Paris: Delagrave, 1890), 53.

[112] Collodi, *Il viaggio per l’Italia di Giannettino–Nord*, 253.

inserted into a social context—the food market—in which the sense of community is reinforced by the sellers calling customers by name. The sense of poverty and incumbent disgrace that hovered over other characters such as the child from Udine is here replaced by a lively atmosphere in which the locals enjoy a day at the market:

> -Ghe ne volè, Lucieta? (-Ne volete, Lucietta?) domandò uno di quei giovanotti a una di quelle ragazze.
>
> - Se ben, dè qua. (-ne voglio sicuro; datemene un pezzo) rispose la ragazza.
>
> - E vu, dona Pasqua, ghe ne volè? (-E voi, donna Pasqua, ne volete?) domandò il solito giovinotto a un'altra di quelle donne.
>
> -De Diana! La mi piase tanto la zuca baruca! Demen un pezzo anca a mi. (Perdina [sic!]! Mi piace tanto la zucca barucca; datemene una fetta anche a me.).[113]

The Genoa episode, the last of the volume dedicated to the North of Italy, sees Giannettino describing a dispute between children. In this case Collodi stresses the positive aspects of the Genovese dialect through Boccadoro, according to whom "[...] il dialetto Genovese, sebbene non sia conosciuto nel resto d'Italia, come il veneziano, il milanese e il piemontese, pur nondimeno non manca di pregi: tant'è vero che parecchi buoni poeti della Liguria preferirono di scrivere le loro poesie nel dialetto nativo."[114] Collodi creates a scene of two young children who have just finished school, and "uscivano coi libri sotto il braccio", immediately start to speak in dialect. In this case, the failure of the repressive policies against dialects is made explicit, as the two young students speak dialect as soon as they leave the school environment.[115]

The Genoa dialect was the only one mentioned by Edmondo de Amicis in his famous *Cuore*, where the word *dialetto* appears only once, in the episode *Dagli Appennini alle Ande*. That episode is about a child, Marco, who leaves his hometown of Genoa to travel by ship to Argentina where he will join his mother who has migrated there for work. During a solitary moment, before the vessel sails, three sailors speaking in dialect help Marco overcome his melancholy:

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[113] Ibid., 254.
[114] Ibid., 294.
[115] Ibid., 294-295.

> Tutto quello che gli accadde da quel momento fino alla sera del giorno appresso gli rimase poi nella memoria confuso ed incerto come una fantasticheria di febbricitante, tanto egli era stanco, sconturbato, avvilito. E il giorno appresso, [...] si trovava a poppa d'una grossa barca a vela, carica di frutte, che partiva per la città di Rosario, condotta da tre robusti genovesi abbronzati dal sole; la voce dei quali, e il dialetto amato che parlavano gli rimise un po' di conforto nel cuore.[116]

In this case, the dialect gives the young protagonist a sense of belonging that makes him feel less lonely and defenceless. However, throughout the book, and especially at school, there is a constant reference to the Italian language, "la lingua che parlo", and no character speaks his dialect, despite the fact that many stories describe children from different regions of Italy.[117]

What comes to the fore through this chapter's analysis of how dialects are managed in *Il viaggio per l'Italia di Giannettino* is that Collodi promotes an acknowledgement of the many dialects as a healthy sign of cultural diversity. Collodi gives dialects a significant prominence and uses them as a robust identarian aspect, in fact, the first sign of distinction of the local communities. On the contrary, he does not see the national language as the new bonding and constitutive element; instead, he portrays it as something that can be only learned in books or by living in Florence. In doing this, he stresses how the new Italian language was a super-imposition that could have reached only the higher levels of society, those who could afford to study or to send their offspring to Florence.

Moreover, Collodi promotes dialect as a form of art and dedicates ample space to dialectal poetry, which conflicts with the absence of poetry in official Italian. These two elements support the anti-normative approach held by Collodi, who elevates the dialects to symbols of the Italian community's literary tradition.

The educational contradiction: from leverage to threat

This final part of Chapter 4 focuses on broadening the contextual examination of the dichotomy language/dialects to the ambitious goal of teaching official Italian to the new Italian citizens and its outcome, which was far from successful. As assessed by Simonetta Soldani, a schooling system initially designed only for the progressed North could not overcome some fundamental

[116] Ibid., 245.
[117] Ibid., 104.

barriers, and eventually the strategy failed. For example, the educational scenario witnessed a very significant unevenness in education quality, not only between North and South but also between the city and adjacent rural areas.[118] Moreover, the scarcity of resources allocated to education, together with the numerous changes of government—with cases of ministers who were in charge intermittently, such as Michele Coppino or Guido Baccelli—created inconsistency in the implementation of medium or long-term policies. More generally, a detrimental attempt of centralisation made by the Italian State resulted in a loss of trust and loyalty by the community through the years.[119] The progressive decline of the repute of primary school teachers is an indictment of that failure. As examined in Chapter 3, *maestri* rapidly found themselves to be the scapegoats of such failure after being considered a fundamental resource when the strategy for cultural homogenisation was first implemented and promoted.

The spirit of the new educational policies was implemented based on the creation of a national cultural imagination modelled on the ruling class, which, quoting Marzio Barbagli, "mirò a far accettare, in tutti i punti del territorio nazionale e a tutte le classi il nuovo sistema sociale e politico."[120] However, the ruling class aimed at what Sani called 'dirozzamento delle plebi', or else at "trasformare la plebe in un popolo libero", as Talamo would have it.[121] So, it could be said, homogenisation of society modelled upon a *new* ruling class was the main goal of centralisation, under the cover of more palatable attempts to educate the masses and increase the literacy rate.

Education, literacy and the new Italian State are entangled. In his first speech to the Parliament as Minister of Education on 13 April 1861, Francesco De Sanctis made it clear that education and literacy would leverage emancipation of illiterate people from their "ignorance"-induced "slavery". Moreover, he stressed how the new Italian State would intervene as the "lever", and disseminate the Italian language in the pursuit of such an emancipation:

> In un altro recinto l'onorevole mio predecessore diceva: che l'istruzione popolare è quasi una difesa morale della società, che l'uomo istruito commette meno delitti. È vero; ma io

[118] Simonetta Soldani and Gabriele Turi, *Fare gli italiani-scuola e cultura nell'Italia contemporanea*, 2 vols, vol. 1 (Bologna: Il Mulino, 1993), 43.
[119] Giuseppe Talamo, "Scuola e Nazione in Italia nei primi decenni post-unitari", in *Scuola e nazione in Italia e in Francia nell'Ottocento*, 37.
[120] Marzio Barbagli, *Disoccupazione intellettuale e sistema scolastico in Italia, 1859-1973*,86.
[121] Talamo, "Scuola e nazione in Italia nei primi decenni post-unitari", 23.

> aggiungerò: noi abbiamo decretato la libertà in carta. Sapete, o signori, quando questa libertà cesserà di essere una menzogna? Quando noi avremo effettivamente uomini liberi; quando della plebe avremo fatto un popolo libero. Chiameremo noi forse uomini liberi quei contadini ignoranti delle Provincie napoletane, tratti a reazione, ad opere crudeli di altri tempi, la cui anima non appartiene a loro? No, non sono uomini liberi costoro, la cui anima appartiene al confessore, al notaio, all'uomo di legge, al proprietario, a tutti quelli che hanno interesse di volgerli, d'impadronirsene.[122]

After a decade of unsuccessful attempts to improve the quality of the Italian educational system—and primary education in particular—the failure of educational goals on a national scale urged the ruling class to reassess its approach towards education.[123] The debate eventually inspired a questioning of the social and political usefulness of having an educated population, probably resulting from concern for the socialist threat.[124] As many parliamentary speeches show, politicians pinpointed education as a possible cause of the fraying of the social fabric. They perceived danger in making the masses more critical (and hence less docile).[125] Minister Coppino openly faced the dilemma in 1877 and admitted the educational contradiction in front of the whole Parliament:

> o le scuole contengono in se una minaccia pel nostro avvenire, e non resta che sopprimerle; o sono le forze più poderose per affrettare il miglioramento civile, e ne viene di conseguenza il procacciar loro la massima efficacia possibile non soltanto con l'accrescerne il numero, ma anche col renderle più frequentate.[126]

Reading between the lines, the speech indicates how, behind these words, there lies the issue of the ruling classes feeling threatened by the possibility of social emancipation, as well as the acknowledgment of flawed educational policies expressed by low attendance. This fear intensified after the first organised political movements, such as the *Federazione Italiana dell'Associazione dei Lavoratori* in 1872. Such a cautious tactic might explain why, as Marco

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[122] "Sessioni parlamentari", https://storia.camera.it/regno/lavori/leg08/sed034.pdf. (Consulted on 1/06/2019).
[123] Aristide Gabelli, "L'istruzione elementare nel regno d'Italia in paragone con gli altri Stati", in *L'educazione nazionale; saggi pedagogici*, ed. Ernesto Codignola (Florence: Vallecchi, 1924), 69-73.
[124] Barbagli, *Disoccupazione intellettuale e sistema scolastico in Italia, 1859-1973*, 85-90.
[125] See also Gabriella Ciampi, *Il Governo della scuola nello Stato postunitario: il consiglio superiore della pubblica istruzione dalle origini all'ultimo governo Depretis (1847-1887)* (Milan: Edizioni di Comunità, 1983); Bertoni Jovine, *La scuola italiana dal 1870 ai giorni nostri*; Giovanni Ferretti and Piero Calamandrei, *Scuola e democrazia* (Turin: Einaudi, 1958); Inzerillo, *Storia della politica scolastica in Italia: da Casati a Gentile.*
[126] Talamo, "Scuola e nazione in Italia", 29.

Civra also noted, the Italian State progressively lost its grip on its initial resolute imperative of imposing the new Italian language and suppressing the dialects.

Collodi and the definition of the Italian language

In his schoolbooks, Collodi reflects on the cardinal prerogatives for a standardised Italian language. In *Giannettino* he defines it as "il fatto che più distingue una nazione dall'altra", where a nation is "quel complesso di abitanti civili, che [...] parlano press' a poco la medesima lingua".[127] Collodi's schoolbooks were written in a time, Mariano Raicich explains, characterised by linguistic struggle. Following unification, "barbarismo francesizzante e giornalistico" was demarcated from "frigido purismo", radicalising Anderson's notion of lexicographic and philological revolution.[128] Linguistic conservativism resulted in a pedantic restoration, whereas the philological laissez-faire resulted in an uncritical expansion of the vocabulary.

Once again, Collodi comes to the fore as the epitome of this dualism, as his relationship with *stranierismi*, particularly French-inspired, radically changed over time. In 1853, Collodi's play *Gli amici di casa* received heavy criticisms regarding the massive use of *francesismi*.[129]

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[127] Collodi, *Giannettino* (1892), 89-90. This explanation of Nazione justifies the existence of Italy even before the political acknowledgement. Moreover, it is worth observing how Collodi emphasises the word *press'a poco*; with this word, he seems to stress how a compromise is required, and how difficult it might be to have the same idiom spoken in the whole nation. A similar definition appears in Parravicini's *Giannetto*; however, in that text the author writes that in Italy "tutti parlano più o meno bene la stessa lingua". Unlike Collodi—who generically referred to a nation—Parravicini highlights how in Italy all speak Italian. See Parravicini, *Giannetto*, 80. Collodi's position on the meaning of the language remains unchanged until his last book *La lanterna magica di Giannettino*, despite the directives of the 1888 Gabelli programs. See Collodi, *La lanterna magica di Giannettino*, 171. In the Collodiana collection at the BNC of Florence, there are many handwritten metalinguistic notes that show a constant attention to a standard Italian language.

[128] Raicich, "Lingua materna o lingua nazionale", 254.

[129] Collodi, *Opere*, 21. In the article "Filologia in ghiaccio", published in *Note gaie* (97-101), Collodi expressed his position regarding the language, preferring a pleasant sound over a pedantic approach—which he adopts later in life nonetheless. He states, "non hanno sempre ragione quei puristi arrabbiati, che esagerando l'amore per la purezza della lingua, scartano senza pietà ne' misericordia ogni voce nuova e necessaria che i Francesi hanno derivato da buona sorgente e che noi abbiamo presa da essi, vinti dalla necessità di nominare con nuovo vocabolo qualche nuova idea e qualche nuovo trovato. Se la nostra lingua, dice quel brav'uomo del Rigutini, ha già il vocabolo, e se questo vocabolo è nell'uso popolare, il ricorrere al francese è vizio e vergogna: ma se la voce non l'abbiamo, o è già caduta in disuso, che male c'è a prenderla da un'altra lingua sia la francese, o l'inglese, o la tedesca?" Collodi, *Note gaie*, 100-101.

Subsequently, with the translation of Perrault, as examined in Chapter 1, Collodi experimented with the opposite approach of Tuscanising the French writer's fairy tales. Massimo Prada examined how Collodi approached the "imported words" in his schoolbooks and stressed how in *Giannettino* Collodi did not discourage the evolution of language and used *stranierismi* such as *chifelli* and *manageria*.[130]

Such first enthusiastic openness to linguistic evolution—embodied by frequent use of *francesismi* in his works—preceded a more conservative approach, in which his linguistic tolerance evolved into strict safeguarding of a more traditional Italian language. In his last years, according to his nephew Paolo, his friendship with Accademia della Crusca linguist Giuseppe Rigutini turned Collodi into a purist, "un po' pedantuccio alla scuola […] del professor Rigutini, che lo accusava di esser troppo toscaneggiante."[131] This evolution would explain why Collodi condemns the perseverant use of French and English-inspired words by the upper echelons of society. In *La lanterna magica di Giannettino*, he even distances himself from his earlier laissez-faire approach to linguistic purism in some texts. One could argue that Collodi's linguistic conservativism must be linked to the increasing influence of nationalism that affected the Italian *Staatsträger* in the last part of the century. The defence of the Italian language depicted as a cultural war and linked to the *Risorgimento* is proof of this and could arguably be linked with the more conservative approach.[132]

This changing approach underscores how Collodi delivers the idea of the language as a continually evolving subject, as two other episodes in *Il viaggio* show. In the volume dedicated to the South of Italy, Giannettino describes the Tramway of Palermo. The child decides to clarify that he writes the Italian correspondent for 'tramway', *tranvai*, and not *tramvai* or *tramvia*.[133] At the end of his explanation, which is merely based on a description of

[130] Prada, "Giannettino tra sillabario e grammatica". Prada outlines that it was better for Collodi to directly use the original foreign word than cripple it with Italianisation, as he did with, for example, the words fiacre or consomé. Ibid., 21.
[131] Collodi and Castellani Pollidori, *Le avventure di Pinocchio*, XL.
[132] Collodi, *La lanterna magica di Giannettino*, 171.
[133] Here, Collodi repeats what he writes in "Filologia in ghiaccio": "Perché no? Non si dice, forse, e non si scrive rosbiff? Non si scrive tunnel, tender, vagone e locomotiva? Non si scrive chincaglie, chincagliere e chincaglieria? [...] E perché' dunque non si potrà scrivere italianamente Tranvai, quando noi non abbiamo un altro vocabolo, per indicare con precisione questa nuova maniera di vettura pubblica? Soltanto domando di esprimere un desiderio: vorrei, cioè, che invece di scrivere Tramvai coll'm, si decretasse per comune accordo di doverlo scrivere coll'n:Tranvai! Scritta in questo modo, la

the melodious sound of the language, Collodi admits that the Italian language had to accept the introduction of new terms:[134]

> Ti avverto una volta per sempre che io scrivo Tra**n**vai coll'**n** e non coll'**m**: perché il dottor Boccadoro dice sempre che quelli che scrivono Tramvai coll' m, o peggio, Tramvia, è tutta gente nata e cresciuta senza orecchio musicale, e che non sente il vero suono da doversi dare ai vocaboli forestieri, che entrano per amore o per forza nella nostra lingua.[135]

His openness towards evolving languages also emerges from the ironic comment that he dedicated to the *Accademia della Crusca*.[136] The *Accademia*, founded at the end of the sixteenth century, was the conservative body halting the evolution of language. In the text, Giannettino refers to a conversation with an Italian language teacher, during which the teacher expresses his views on the *Accademia*. Giannettino asks him about the vocabularies compiled by the *Accademia della Crusca* and the work in progress for the fifth edition; the maestro's answer ironises on the long time required and alluded to the impossibility of framing a language in time and space:

> - E quante edizioni, gli domandai, sono state fatte di questo Vocabolario?
>
> - Quattro, mi rispose il maestro, e ora si sta facendo la quinta: ma il lavoro è tanto lungo, che forse voi altri ragazzi, per ragione d'età, avrete la consolazione di vederne la fine. Quanto a noi, uomini fatti, ho una gran paura che non ce ne tocchi.[137]

This passage is prophetic, to the extent that the first volume of the fifth edition mentioned in *Giannettino* was released in 1863 and interrupted in 1923. By then, the last released volume was the one dedicated to the letter O. Collodi satirises on the impossibility of framing a language that was evolving, especially in those years. One might think that the *fin de siecle* society's positivist enthusiasm could have inspired Collodi's ironic comment. Collodi often

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parola mi parrebbe all'occhio un po' più italiana, e la eufonia [...] non ci scapiterebbe nulla. Si può essere più discreti in una questione di lingua?" Collodi, "Filologia in ghiaccio", in *Note gaie*, 101.

[134] This acknowledgement is in stark contrast to Collodi's last book, *La lanterna magica*, in which he dedicated a substantial section to imported words, which he condemns, and replaces with indigenous words. He calls it a "guerra contro lo straniero". See Collodi, *La lanterna magica di Giannettino*, 169-171.

[135] Collodi, *Il viaggio di Giannettino per l'Italia-Sud*, 203.

[136] This episode appears only in the second edition of the first volume of the *viaggio* from 1882. It is absent from the first edition from 1880.

[137] Collodi, *Giannettino* (1892), 35.

stresses and promotes the correct use of the Italian language; however, he does not disregard innovation and adjustments in the language when necessary.

These excerpts highlight how Collodi conveys the idea of an evolving Italian language and stresses how an oral education appears to be more effective. This approach is expressed in *La grammatica di Giannettino*, in which Collodi tries to apply his dialogic style and his instruct-with-delight approach on this seemingly unpopular subject, dominated by fixed rules.[138] The whole text is structured as an extended dialogue between Giannettino and Dottor Boccadoro, that according to Maria Catricalà was a widespread technique at the time.[139]

Although being a school text that is almost exclusively a list of grammar instructions, Collodi manages to give a fresh approach to the topic. His friend Augusto Conti, who was a well-known pedagogist, philosopher, and a resident member of the *Accademia della Crusca* acknowledged this innovative approach in the introduction to *La grammatica di Giannettino*: "Ecco una grammatica, che, non cessando d'esser grammatica, è, a parer mio, un libro piacevole."[140] Almost a century later, Pino Boero and Carmine de Luca reaffirm how *La grammatica di Giannettino* was an innovation in terms of educational strategy. Collodi decided to utilise many of the linguistic elements from contemporaneous use although still portraying an "educazione linguistica secondo i canoni estetizzanti e latineggianti della tradizione", refreshing a subject that always lacked appeal for young children.[141] Also, Maria Catricalà emphasises how Collodi praised what she called a "norma auspicata".[142] According to Catricalà, Collodi supported an ethic of the language, which he considered crucial for humankind. He clearly delineates this in *La grammatica di Giannettino*, when Boccadoro stops being the *gramaticus* and plays the role of *magister vitae*:

> Appunto per la lingua ossia per la parola, l'uomo si dimostra fornito di ragione e distinto dagli animali bruti. E però tieni a mente che, usando della parola per far del male, o solo

[138] In the text the young protagonist needs to prepare for the final exam and realises his insufficient knowledge of Italian grammar.
[139] Maria Catricalà, *L'italiano tra grammaticalità e testualizzazione: il dibattito linguistico-pedagogico del primo sessantennio postunitario* (Florence: Accademia della Crusca, 1995), 83-95.
[140] Collodi, *La grammatica di Giannettino*, 3.
[141] See Boero and De Luca, *La letteratura per l'infanzia*, 23.
[142] Catricalà, *L'italiano tra grammaticalità e testualizzazione*, 94.

> per dire sciocchezze o peggio ancora sconcezze l'uomo si abbrutisce e non merita più il nome di uomo."[143]

Overall, we can perceive a transversal approach towards the education of the Italian language in Collodi's schoolbooks, oscillating between a conservative rigour and the acknowledgment of language as a subject in constant evolution. Prada stresses this ambiguous approach and highlights a linguistically *bifronte* Collodi in *Giannettino* and *La grammatica di Giannettino*.[144] In his technical examination of grammar in these two volumes, Prada acknowledges that "il fondo linguistico dei giannettini è un italiano medio, fondato sul fiorentino dell'uso colto contemperato con quello della tradizione letteraria e non privo, almeno in qualche caso, sia di qualche movenza un po' conservativa, sia di qualche traccia di colloquialità."[145]

Within this linguistic compromise—hence the ambivalent approach—Collodi managed to insert three different linguistic aspects: a predominance of explicit local Tuscan expressions; a few conservative traits; but also, innovative aspects, often documented in colloquial episodes. This strategy, according to Prada, proved Collodi's dealignment from Manzonian's directives and created a non-orthodox linguistic context.

One could argue that Collodi opted for a realistic approach—Giannettino is Tuscan. Hence the language used is predominantly regional—but what seems to be undeniable here is his scrupulous attention to the Italian language. Nonetheless, Collodi seems to encourage a sentient compromise rather than a specific position. Prada stresses how Collodi paid intense and constant attention to grammatical reviews through the numerous editions of his schoolbooks. He defines Collodi's linguistic paradigm as "antimanzoniano", which foreshadows a more tolerant attitude than Manzoni's monotheist stance.

> Pare di cogliere, dunque, nella prassi correttoria del Collodi, l'incarnazione del modello tradizionalista e antipopolare proposto dal Rigutini: un paradigma in essenza antimanzoniano, in cui il fiorentinismo ribobolaio, demotico o antiquato è recuperato come puro elemento di stilizzazione; un modello più consentaneo invece agli orientamenti

[143] Collodi, *La grammatica di Giannettino*, 110.
[144] Prada, "Giannettino tra sillabario e grammatica", 18.
[145] Ibid., 14.

postmanzoniani che, tra la fine dell'Ottocento e l'inizio del secolo successivo avrebbero guidato la formazione dell'italiano unitario.[146]

Once again, it seems that Collodi advocates an approach reminiscent of Ascoli's, namely, the adaptation of the new cultural system in harmony with the existing cultural situation, and not vice-versa.

Conclusion

Collodi's approach to the Italian language exhibits two key characteristics. He applied narrative strategies based on 'instruct with delight' also to the teaching of grammar, as Giuseppe Rigutini underlined in the introductions to some of Collodi's texts. Most importantly, Collodi offered a model of language as an entity that can change and redefine itself, while the presence of many dialects in Italy is promoted as a cultural richness of the Italian community. Collodi seems to agree with Graziano Isaia Ascoli when he underscores the importance of a national identity that includes regional cultural heritages instead of the superimposed new one that emerged from the directories of the *Staatsträger*.

In his schoolbooks, and particularly in *Il viaggio per l'Italia di Giannettino*, Collodi portrays the Italian nation as a multicultural community, where diversity was a resource and not a hindrance. In these terms, Collodi's stance is significantly distant from the *Staatsträger*, which defined, particularly the southern area of Italy as barbarian and uncivilised after unification.[147] Collodi not only presents an Italian community based on a social, cultural, and economic plurality, but he also pays tribute to the status of each community by acknowledging their linguistic identity and gives them cultural depth without being idyllic in the description. Collodi does not seem to evade social problems such as poverty, illiteracy, and beggars, as Concetta D'Angeli noted in relation to his journalistic texts (see Chapter 1). In his schoolbooks, Collodi offers Italian students a portrayal in which those problems are part of the real Italy. Moreover, he overcomes the sectarian way in which the North developed a barbarian image of

[146] Ibid., 40.
[147] Nelson Moe, "Altro che Italia! Il Sud dei Piemontesi (1860-61)" *Meridiana*, no. 15 (1992). Moe also quotes a letter from State delegate for the South of Italy Luigi Carlo Farini to Cavour in 1861: "Che barbarie! Altro che Italia! Questa è Affrica: i beduini, a riscontro di questi cafoni, sono fior di virtù civile. E quali e quanti misfatti!" Ibid., 64.

the South based on the governmental reports of the time and presented serious social issues that take place in the South as well as in the North.

Collodi highlighted the importance of spoken languages throughout his career and mastered a narrative style based on intense use of dialogues. In his schoolbooks, he creates narrative episodes in which dialects are often presented in their 'spoken' dimension, such as dialogues or 'theatrical' performances. This indicates that Collodi does not see dialects as marginal but precisely inserted in the context of endorsement of pluralities and local communities within Italian society. The example of the *Scuola Siciliana* and its influence on the construction of the national language is emblematic from the perspective offered by the theoretical framework that opened this chapter. Collodi stresses the evolutionary feature of language; the Italian language is strongly linked to a historical process that started in Sicily and was not merely super-imposed by the élite. Moreover, the reference to written vernacular texts proves the 'stability' that scholars have recognised as an essential prerogative in the discourse of language descent and national identity.

An implicit political stance would seem to lie behind this linguistic approach; Collodi had to deal with the controversial issue of the Italian language, which, as this chapter has shown, caused friction among politicians and literates. In doing so, he highlights that the complete homogenisation of a living language was unachievable ("press' a poco la stessa lingua"). The Italian community that he promotes, in particular through *Il viaggio per l'Italia di Giannettino*, is proudly multicultural and considers local identities and their dialects as core national attributes that cannot be easily erased and homogenised in a cultural project. Most importantly, he delivered a message that stresses the vital contribution that local communities could bring to the nation, never endorsing any form of homogenisation. This happened at a time when the question of the plurality intended as a not-homogeneous community was exceedingly delicate. The socialist threat began to concern the ruling class, who perceived the aware masses as an eventual destabilising factor for social order. From this angle, Collodi's choice to praise the importance of regional communities and not a homogenised society can be interpreted as a dissonant message from that of the *Staatsträger*.

Chapter 5

Local celebrations and food

> La mattina si alzava presto e usciva col sigaro in bocca e la immancabile pezzola rossa nella tasca davanti della giacchetta. Se ne andava in mercato, comprava quanto gli occorreva, metteva tutto nella pezzola che annodava per le cocche, e abbracciato un fiasco del migliore, se ne tornava a casa. Lì si metteva in maniche di camicia, andava in cucina (col cappello in testa, si capisce) e si metteva a far da mangiare. Non so come avesse imparato, ma si vantava di saper fare delle pietanze da leccarsi le dita.[1]

The examination of public celebrations within a discourse of national bonding is an ongoing study, inspired by Mosse's contribution to the nationalisation of the masses implemented by the Nazi totalitarian regime.[2] Mosse initiated the theoretical and historical approach later employed by other scholars to examine the relationship between events such as public ceremonies and the attempt to institute a united sense of national community even outside a totalitarian regime perimeter.[3] Specifically, the analysis of how the Italian State fostered a collective cultural imagination and how such a strategy is reflected in Collodi's schoolbooks will further elucidate the type of contribution to nation-building present in Collodi's texts. For this reason, the first part of this chapter explores how the primary sources backed the promotion of the Italian National Day at the time—the *Festa dello Statuto*—and then considers how Collodi represents local communities and their celebrations.

With this final chapter, I expand on the analysis started in Chapter 4 regarding how Collodi's schoolbooks relate to the intricate relationship between cultural plurality and

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[1] Paolo (Collodi Nipote) Lorenzini, *Collodi e Pinocchio* (Florence: Salani, 1981), 73.
[2] George L. Mosse, *La nazionalizzazione delle masse* (Bologna: Il mulino, 1975).
[3] Ilaria Porciani, *La festa della nazione: rappresentazione dello Stato e spazi sociali nell'Italia unita* (Bologna: Il mulino, 1997). Tobia, *Una patria per gli italiani*; Ridolfi, *Le feste nazionali* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 2003); Carol Xiaoyue Zhang, Lawrence Hoc Nang Fong, ShiNa Li, and Tuan Phong Ly. "National Identity and Cultural Festivals in Postcolonial Destinations." *Tourism Management* 73 (n.d.): 94–104.

homogeneity, otherwise identifiable in the dichotomy between national (State) and local communities. Whereas in Chapter 4, I examined the political and cultural aspects of the language, this chapter addresses this dualism by analysing cultural expressions such as public celebrations and local foods. The goal is to assess the extent to which Collodi backed the Italian élite's aspiration for a strongly State-centred nation in his schoolbooks and whether, instead, he offered the new generation of Italians a different model.

It could be theorised that Hobsbawm's and Banti's discourse on traditions—either invented or recycled—may be one outcome of Mosse's contribution. When in the Introduction I mentioned Anderson's and Hobsbawm's theorisation of what stands behind the 'nation', I focused on the two concepts of authority and knowledge. Together with these two models, Hobsbawm includes a third requisite for the existence of a nation, which is "its historic association with a current state or one with a fairly lengthy and recent past." This concept will be developed six years later when the "current state" will turn into the theory of the "invented tradition" that is "a set of practices, normally governed by overtly or tacitly accepted rules and of a ritual or symbolic nature, which seek to inculcate certain values and norms of behaviour by repetition, which automatically implies continuity with the past."[4]

With this theory, Hobsbawm opened the door to an examination of cultural constructs within a discourse of national identity. Such opening is a key aspect of *Beyond Pinocchio*, as it allows my research to extend the analysis from a social and political level to a cultural dimension. Moreover, Hobsbawm's model inspired scholars such as Banti to examine the extent to which the Italian context, in particular across the years that led to Italy's unification, needed a specific methodology to analyse its set of traditions. Banti considered the nation "la comunità fondamentale, il soggetto originario, da cui discendeva la legittimità delle istituzioni che in uno spazio e in un tempo dato avrebbero dovuto disciplinare la vita collettiva"[5]. He argued that the new Italian *Staatsträger* evoked familiar echoes and known values, images that were already embedded in the community's cultural heritage, to establish a new secular religion based on its authoritative entity. He defined that process as a 'recycle' rather than an invention of traditions, arguing that these old and familiar customs were mixed using known religious

[4] Hobsbawm and Ranger, *The Invention of Tradition*, 1-2.
[5] Ibid., 8.

rituals, personal experiences of family relationships and honour-coded behaviours. As he stated:

> A me sembra, invece, che la storia dell'idea di nazione [...] possa essere ricostruita con maggiore esattezza e chiarezza quando si attenui l'enfasi posta finora sulla natura 'inventata' di quell'idea, e quando si concentri l'attenzione piuttosto sul fatto che gli intellettuali che la modellarono lo fecero utilizzando discorsi – parole, simboli, figure-preesistenti ad ambiti discorsivi, in origine, assolutamente diversi. [...] In tutto ciò, di calco, trasposizione e manipolazione si dovrebbe parlare, piuttosto che di pura, semplice e libera invenzione.[6]

Through this chapter, I shift attention to how Collodi approached food, particularly in *Il viaggio per l'Italia di Giannettino*. My analysis is intended to follow recent contributions—such as Ferguson's, Pezzotti's, Frosini's or Montanari's, amongst others—that examined food and its related cultural background as significant indicators of character, whether individual, regional, or national. Scholars have turned their attention to how governments, writers or even communities employed this material culture to consolidate imagined communities, as Anderson would have it, or to invent (or recycle) traditions, as Hobsbawm and Banti would argue. For this reason, in the second part of this chapter, I will examine the substantial space Collodi dedicated to local foods in his schoolbooks and draw connections between this aspect and the relation plurality/homogeneity explored in the last two chapters. I will examine how Collodi uses local celebrations and local foods to emphasise the importance of multiculturality as a most valuable resource for national bonding. Again, Collodi's disagreement with how the *Staatsträger*—or the crude reality—altered the idea of brotherhood and nationhood that underpinned *Risorgimento* might be argued to be the cause of his dissonance.

This analysis of local celebrations and food traditions contributes to a non-conformist political stance which implicitly valorises regionalism. Collodi brought to the fore a feature—that of regional and local specificities—that was already a pervasive reality in the community at all levels, despite the State's endeavours to offer a monolithic image of homogeneity. The figure of Francesco Crispi—one of the most influential politicians in the timeframe of this research—is an excellent exemplar of the dissonant relationship between the Italian State's elusive sense of unanimity and authority at the time and the widespread regionalism. After

[6] Banti, *La nazione del Risorgimento*, 150.

being a key figure in the *Risorgimento* and having fought for republican revolutionary ideals, Crispi soon developed a monarchic position based on a strong presence of the State. According to Christopher Duggan, Crispi believed the Monarchy to be indispensable at this time, as the newly formed Italian State was too weak not to be ruled by a monarch. In a letter Crispi wrote to a French friend in 1868 (a certain Fleury), he explained how Italy could not afford a republic:

> Italy was born eight years ago. It was born prematurely, and when no one was expecting it. It is we who conspired to make it. It needs to be strengthened and brought to manhood. Time is required to achieve this. We have destroyed the old governments; and we have linked up the various provinces: south to centre, centre to north. But this is no great achievement: it needs to be cemented. The stitches of our union are still visible: they must disappear, and the whole body be made seamless.[7]

Crispi was the minister in charge of Internal Affairs between 1877 and 1878, and in his first seventy days in office, he needed to deal with the significant events of Vittorio Emanuele II and Pope Pius IX's funerals. In both instances, he showed firm support for a centralised nation, which he outlined in declarations like the following: "My programme can be summarised in a few words. Respect for the State's political institutions and for the rights that derive from them. Devotion to the King, who personifies the unity of the nation. Vigilance and firmness in the maintenance of public peace".[8] Although very brief, the experience of Crispi as Minister for Internal Affairs epitomises the political scenario in which Collodi's schoolbooks were published. Crispi's state-centred vision would develop in the late 1880s and be at its apex in the early 1890s, culminating with Italy's imperialist campaigns; however, his strong vision of a centralised State began to be implemented in the years when Collodi first approached the schoolbook genre. The Italian State embarked on a robust centralising effort in order to present a monolithic political, linguistic and cultural image, and Crispi was one of its most passionate supporters.

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[7] Christopher Duggan, *Francesco Crispi, 1818-1901: from nation to nationalism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 312. The original letter is kept at the *Museo del Risorgimento* in Rome, b.831, fasc. 54, Copialettere 13/10/67–19/6/69, C. to Fleury, 13/11/68. It is not clear if Crispi wrote in English, or if Duggan translated it. With regard to Crispi's political shift, his double marriage seems to mirror the ideological twist. Crispi first got married in 1854 to Rosalie Montmasson, a fervent revolutionary, and in 1878 to aristocratic Lina Barbagallo. The latter created a big scandal, as he was accused of bigamy.

[8] Ibid., 377.

Regional conflicts affected political life, and Crispi could not have been immune from the consquences. The political events that facilitated Crispi's advent to the head of Internal Affairs bring to the fore how regionalism impacted national politics, and Crispi's rivalry with his predecessor, Baron Nicotera, is a telling example.[9] Crispi—Sicilian—and Nicotera—Calabrian—were both members of the *Sinistra storica* but represented two opposite factions. Nicotera represented the moderate and conservative side of the party, while Crispi was more progressive. Once again, Collodi experienced the effects of such a conflict, as he suspended his activity as journalist when Nicotera was in charge of Internal affairs and resumed it when Crispi replaced the Baron. The Sicilian politician allowed Collodi to resume writing but stressed how Collodi needed to respect the State for which he worked, being a public employee at the time.[10] According to the satirical journalist Giovanni Piacentini, one of the founders of *Fanfulla*, Crispi openly commented on Collodi and the censorship he previously underwent: "Il tuo Collodi [...] scriva dunque come e dove gli pare, che ciò non mi riguarda: io non domando altro se non che non usi contro il governo di ciò che si fa come impiegato."[11] The example of Crispi brings to the fore the State's attempts to promote homogeneity when the same State could not avoid the impact of regionalism within. It is this specific aspect that Collodi addressed in his schoolbooks, deciding to promote a society in which multiculturality is a resource to preserve and respect.

[9] "Nicotera was his main adversary. […] Aside from the general threat that he presented to the implementation of the left's traditional programme […] Crispi had another specific reason for opposing Nicotera in 1877, namely the latter's ruthless police campaign against banditry and the mafia in Sicily. The severity of this operation […] caused a great deal of disquiet in the island, not least because the ill defined character of 'the mafia' resulted in much arbitrariness. Crispi, as a leading spokesman for the island, felt driven to defend the interests and good name of Sicily and criticized the conduct of the campaign. The rivalry between Nicotera and Crispi acquired a new edge […]." Ibid., 363. See also Giampiero Carocci, *Agostino Depretis e la politica interna italiana: 1876-1887* (Turin: G. Einaudi, 1956). 109-11 and 135-6.

[10] The strict control over the press which Crispi always managed carefully, particularly during his prime ministership, was a clear example of the State's authoritarian presence. In particular, he often pointed at the *Fanfulla*, for which Collodi worked, as an example of the kind of press which aimed to produce "factual errors, […] malicious conjectures, and […] slanderous gossip" (Duggan, *Francesco Crispi*, 372). Collodi also received pressure from Nicotera when the Baron was Minister, and left journalism for a year. Keeping his job at the Prefecture of Florence, he re-joined *Fanfulla* when Crispi came in.

[11] N.A. 754, cass. III, c, 56. In Collodi, *Opere*, CIX.

Festa dello Statuto

Within such a fragmented context, the government believed that the *Festa dello Statuto* would instil in citizens a strong sense of unity and respect for the State. As Porciani highlights, the *Festa* "era intesa come un modo per esaltare la forza del nesso centro-periferia [...] per collegare simbolicamente alla capitale le città e i comuni del regno".[12] The *Festa dello Statuto* was dedicated to the constitution, known as *Statuto Albertino,* and was not linked to any specific event related to the statute. Moreover, the *Festa dello Statuto* celebrated a constitution that was initially designed for the Piedmontese Kingdom, enacted in 1848 by Vittorio Emanuele's predecessor King Carlo Alberto di Savoia—hence the adjective *Albertino*—and eventually extended to the whole Italian State upon unification in 1861.

The *Statuto Albertino* had scarce grip on the population, for reasons that originated from its being the thin line between creating a national State and a mere expansion of the Sardinian Kingdom. Its content highlights a controversial standpoint, such as the problematic position expressed by the first article of the *Statuto* concerning the Catholic religion.[13] Scholars such as Porciani have also outlined how the same figure of King Carlo Alberto was little known to the new Italian citizens and was naturally eclipsed by the strong image of Vittorio Emanuele; hence, dedicating a National day to a not so popular character could have contributed to the *Festa*'s scarce appeal.[14] However, many other factors contributed to the failure of the *Festa* as the national day celebrated by the whole national community.

Firstly, the date chosen for the *Festa* was not linked to any specific event. Marco Minghetti—Ministry of Internal Affairs—being unable to isolate any "fatto eminente" clearly and unanimously denotative of the Italian unification as the French *Trois Glorieuses*—decided to extend the May Piedmontese Festa to the whole country. The following year the Italian government rescheduled the *Festa* due merely to a concern about the weather and fixed its celebration on the first Sunday in June. This collided with other recently instituted national days, such as the French Bastille Day and the Greek National Day, which celebrated specific

[12] Ilaria Porciani, *La festa della nazione*, 45.
[13] As examined in Chapter 3, the first article of the *Statuto* addressed the Catholic as the official religion. In these terms, the Italian State's ambiguous nature–propagandising its secularity and inaugurating its constitution with a religious statement–was clearly emphasised.
[14] Ibid., 143.

events—a revolution or a declaration of independence—deeply connected with the nation's constitution. Even celebrations that have been recently instituted, such as the German Unity Day—which falls on 3 October to celebrate the formal reunification of 3 October 1990—seem to be linked to a specific event closely connected with the constitution of the national community. The current Italian national day on 2 June commemorates the institutional referendum held in Italy on 2 June 1946, resulting in the replacement of the monarchy with a republic.

Such a lack of a specific date or a specific event to celebrate for the *Festa* contributed to weaken its appeal within the community. The newly formed Italian government received many proposals for a new national day from many private citizens and professionals, but all were related to local events such as the insurrection of Lombardy or the liberation of Genoa.[15] Minghetti and the newly formed Italian State, according to Porciani, wanted to put Piedmont and the Savoy at the centre of the future collective imagination. Hence, the government aimed to "mettere in chiaro fin da questo momento che la vicenda italiana doveva essere letta accentuando il ruolo della dinastia. Non a caso lo stesso Michelini [deputy of Parliament of Piedmont and eventually of Italy] affermava a chiare lettere che la 'promulgazione delle basi dello Statuto [...] fu il principio del Risorgimento italiano."[16] Consequently, Minghetti decided to extend the *Festa* to the whole country. Beyond the purely ideological contextualisation, such a decision could have been also influenced by the more pragmatic problem linked to the timeline. The Italian State was proclaimed on 17 March 1861. The Piedmontese *Festa* was already programmed for the following first Sunday of May, and the élite were against its cancellation. Minghetti decided to postpone the celebrations to the first Sunday of June and extend it to the whole nation, putting an end to the controversy. Only in 1882 was the *Festa* postponed because Giuseppe Garibaldi died just two days before (Friday 2 June).[17]

[15] Ibid., 23.
[16] Ibid., 25.
[17] The Catholic magazine Civiltà Cattolica often ironised on the bad weather that often happened during the *Festa* in May—but also in June—and claimed a divine intervention ("castighi di Dio"). Moreover, they ridiculed the decision to postpone the *Festa* for weather reasons, and sarcastically suggested creating an event that could float through the calendar, "mobile e trasportabile, ad arbitrio, a tempo di siccità." *Civiltà Cattolica*, XXII (1871), s. VIII, vol. V, p.236).

However, the political eulogy of the *Festa* immediately spoke of an Italian State that furthered self-celebration instead of tributing the Italian community. In a speech in the Senate in April 1861, Professor Antonio Montanari outlined the main directories that the *Festa* needed to follow. According to Montanari, the *Festa* represented the continuity with the past, in which the State celebrated the "patrio riscatto" through "rassegne militari, esercizi di tiro, mostre d'industrie e belle arti, opere di beneficenza."[18] The two most important moments of the *Festa* were, in fact, the army parade and the award ceremony for the most deserving students, in which the pompous propaganda reached its climax. With a very rigid structure which promoted a severe solemnity, the *Festa dello Statuto* was the official National Day in post-unified Italy and received more attention from the élite than the celebrations for the *XX Settembre* that commemorated the day in 1870 when Rome was finally annexed to the Italian nation. The local municipalities were obliged to organise their celebrations for the *Festa*, but the State did not implement any such orders for the celebration of *XX Settembre*. However, the *Festa del XX Settembre*—as had happened to the reputation of the *maestro*—rapidly became to be perceived as a socialist threat for being the commemoration of the *Risorgimento* and its heroes.[19]

All the logistics related to the organisation highlighted the complicated relationship between the central State and the local governments, rather than emphasising the intended unity. The central government forced local municipalities to pay for a standardised event in which the Army and schools were representative of the State, celebrated by the parade at the centre of the ceremony.[20] Public buildings such as barracks and schools were decorated, emphasising the State's presence in the territory. However, the financial responsibility for the *Festa*'s celebrations was entirely on the local governments—similarly to what happened with the primary schools—that had to respect the rigid schedule of events planned by the State. The decision to leave the budgeting in the hands of local governments, according to Ridolfi, was a consequence of the expected difficulties in extending a Piedmontese celebration to the remotest

[18] Camera dei Deputati, *Atti Parlamentari*, sess. del 1861, Documenti, 218.
[19] "Le feste del 20 settembre continuarono ad essere fonte di aperto conflitto simbolico […]. Localmente ciò si tradusse in una rinnovata sintonia tra mondo socialista e galassia democratico-radicale, non senza diretti riflessi nel modo di intendere la celebrazione della festa civile del 20 settembre." Ridolfi, *Le feste nazionali*, 42-43.
[20] Regarding schools, the Festa was the occasion to inaugurate new schools or new flags. See *Inaugurazione della bandiera / R. Istituto Tecnico Vittorio Emanuele 2. in Bergamo*, (Bergamo: Gaffuri e Gatti, 1883).

areas of the new nation. It ended up being a double-edged sword, as the local municipalities had the chance to express their detachment towards the State by allocating very little money to the *Festa*.[21] An analysis of how the allocated resources progressively decreased in the majority of the nation's regions indicates how the local communities gave little support to the imposed celebrations of the *Festa*. For example, the Catholic-inspired élite who governed the city of Bergamo did not organise any Festa celebration for many years, and opposition against a centralising event such as the *Festa* could be a way to highlight the "dimensione 'orizzontale' dell'autonomia dei comuni", which was a stronghold for the Catholic system of values.[22] However, many local governments boycotted the *Festa* over the years; for example, in the municipality of Vecchiano—a small village in Pisa's outskirts—the local government preferred to finance the local orchestra—"di impronta democratica" according to Porciani—rather than the *Festa*.[23]

Finally, the institutional aura of the *Festa*, its super-imposed extension, and its weak connection with a shared sentiment by the whole community resulted in confusion, eventually disengaging the Italian community and sanctioning the failure of the *Festa*'s aims. Maurizio Ridolfi argued that the *Festa* enjoyed popularity when it was exclusively celebrated in Piedmont, as it represented "un momento significativo della ritualità pubblica."[24] However, the extension to the whole nation was further complicated by the date reschedule, as the first Sunday in June often collided with the religious celebration of the *Corpus Domini*. This confusion was for the country's remotest areas a symbol of the diatribe between the State and the Catholic Church. In this specific case, the State invaded spaces and times that had traditionally belonged to Catholic rituals and had timed the lives of many communities across centuries. Also, the weak ideological grip of the *Festa* on the national community was emphasised by the aforementioned death of Garibaldi. As a journalist of the time put it in 1884, "Ormai per una coincidenza di data, la festa dello Statuto finisce col confondersi coll'anniversario di Garibaldi: e si vedono tutte le città dividersi in due parti."[25]

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[21] Ridolfi, *Le feste nazionali*, 34.
[22] Porciani, *La festa della nazione*, 43.
[23] Ibid., 42.
[24] Ridolfi, *Le feste nazionali*, 34.
[25] Ibid., 36.

Overall, there seem to be two primary dynamics in examining the *Festa* and its failed attempt to *invent* a tradition. On the one side, the *Festa* openly epitomised the previously analysed *Piemontesizzazione* of the Italian nation. Not only did it originate in Piedmont to celebrate the King and his constitution, but also the Piedmontese-inspired State élite aimed to impose their achievements and historical heritage on the whole country, neglecting to take into account and valorise the local cultural identities. On the other side, the deliberate choice of individual local governments to allocate fewer funds to the *Festa*'s celebrations in favour of local events highlights how little interest the Italian community had in the *Festa*. The latter is the perspective emphasised by Collodi in his journalistic texts as well as in his schoolbooks.

Collodi and the *Festa dello Statuto*

The narrative excerpts analysed in the previous chapters—for example, when Giannettino visits the battlefield of Montanara—show that Collodi did not usually promote the State's overt propaganda in his schoolbooks; similarly, he maintains a dispassionate approach when describing the *Festa*. Although the study of public celebrations may have a very minor role in school curricula, we still need to consider that at the time of Collodi, State celebrations were not secondary in the governmental school programs but were expressly regulated by official documents. After unification, the government conceived a new civic subject to be taught in the primary school curriculum, called "Diritti e doveri del Cittadino".[26] Specifically, the government wanted its young citizens to be educated on the *Statuto*.[27]

Despite some directions he gives on illustrating the main points of the constitution, Collodi's detached approach seems to be a sign of disengagement towards manifestations of public propaganda, rather than a belittling attitude to the civic duty of a citizen. He never describes or explains the *Statuto*, except for a brief sketch offered in *Giannettino* and repeated in *La lanterna magica*. In that excerpt—which is precisely the same despite the thirteen-year gap between the two books—Collodi portrays the *Statuto* as a contract, similar to a financial agreement: "[...] ti dirò che lo Statuto è per una nazione ciò che sarebbe, all'incirca, il contratto che stipulano fra di loro alcuni individui, quando vogliono unirsi in società, e metter su qualche

[26] Ascenzi and Sani, *Tra disciplinamento sociale ed educazione alla cittadinanza*.
[27] See also Civra, *I programmi della scuola elementare dall'unità d'Italia al 2000*.

grosso traffico. In quel contratto, come sai, vi si dichiarano gli obblighi e i diritti dei soci, e le regole colle quali dovrà essere amministrata la società. Cosi lo Statuto."[28]

One might argue that explaining a set of laws was a too complex topic for young children. However, Collodi maintained a detached approach when describing the *Festa* as well. Such an attitude is unusual in a writer who offered meticulous descriptions of celebrations and events, particularly those with lots of people attending—as will be examined later in the chapter. Moreover, his choice of using an ellipsis in the *Festa* description seems to be linked with the antiphrastic significance Daniela Marcheschi gives to the same interpunction in *Pinocchio*'s last section. In this specific case, Collodi uses ellipsis after naming the public lighting, which he ridicules in a journalistic text I will analyse later:

> So che c'è una festa dello Statuto; so che questa festa ricorre ogni anno nella prima domenica di giugno: so che in quel giorno si tirano cannonate d'allegria, si dànno premi e medaglie: i soldati girano per la città in uniforme di gala e col pennacchio al cappello; le bande suonano sulle piazze: si mettono le bandiere e i lampioncini alle case e agli uffizi governativi...[29]

As has often been the case, the schoolbooks require a more between-the-lines approach. In this instance, Collodi's aversion to the *Festa* can also be detected in his description of Florence's public celebrations, which opens the series of *Il viaggio di Giannettino per l'Italia*. Collodi creates a dialogue in which Giannettino's friend Pompilio—another middle-class child—is not interested in the *Festa*, as he completely ignores any question about how it was performed in Florence:

> Vi sono molte feste pubbliche nel corso dell'anno? -Mi dice il signor Boccadoro che una volta ce n'erano moltissime: ma oggi sono ridotte a poche: un po' d'illuminazione e di fuochi d'artifizio per la festa di San Giovanni, che è il patrono della città: qualche altra festicciuola popolare: la festa dello Statuto e lo scoppio del Carro.- Che cos'è questo Scoppio del Carro?[30]

One could object that Pompilio does not focus on the *Festa dello Statuto* as he knows it so well. However, given that the text was destined for an educational network, Collodi's decision

[28] Collodi, *Giannettino*, 117.
[29] Collodi, *Il viaggio per l'Italia di Giannettino-Nord*, 116.
[30] Ibid., 45.

to bypass the description of the *Festa* altogether—in favour of a local event—cannot be regarded as a mere lapse.

The distance between this brief, superficial description of the *Festa* and those in other contemporaneous books—in which the emphasis is on the fatherland and the sacredness of the event—is manifest. In *Il nuovo Giannetto* Raffaele Altavilla—a primary school teacher who also wrote many moderately successful school texts—dedicates ample space to the *Festa*.[31] In the excerpt, Altavilla uses the *maestro*—and not a student—to describe the event and its meaning with some exaggeration. The *maestro* advises all his student to attend the ceremony in their best clothes ("Guai a chi manca") and describes the *Festa* as the occasion to celebrate the statute, which he praises as a symbol of freedom: "Quella carta mirabile, quella prodigiosa carta che ruppe le nostre catene, che fece cessare la nostra schiavitù, che ci redense tutti, che ci proclamò tutti fratelli, tutti uguali, tutti liberi cittadini."[32] While Collodi focuses on the celebrational elements—the parade, the awards, the live music—Altavilla underscores how the "magnanimo" Carlo Alberto gave the Italian people the chance to have free institutions.[33]

In *Cuore*, Edmondo de Amicis described the memorable 1882 edition of the *Festa* and underscored its essential impact on Enrico's sense of nationhood. That edition of the *Festa* was memorable because Giuseppe Garibaldi's death on 2 June caused a two-week postponement (and not one week as De Amicis wrote in *Cuore*).[34] This allows De Amicis to describe the *Festa* in its most emotionally intense edition, in which Garibaldi's heroic image adds emphasis to the parade. The *Festa's* description in *Cuore* is exclusively focused on the army parade and filtered through young Enrico's eager eyes, overwhelmed by the beauty of the numerous military corps that parade on the day. The *crescendo* begins with the cadets ("passarono con

[31] Elisa Marazzi, "Editori per la scuola elementare a Milano nel secondo Ottocento. Autori, testi e mercato (1861-1900)." (PhD diss., Università degli studi di Milano 2010), 163.
[32] Raffaele Altavilla, *Il nuovo Giannetto: ossia le quattro stagioni: libro di lettura pei fanciulli e pel popolo: la primavera, l'estate, l'autunno, l'inverno* (Milan: V. Maisner e Compagnia editori, 1872). 98.
[33] Altavilla blurs the historical facts, as he initially delivers the message that the Italian people were set free because of the promulgation of the *Statuto*. The *Statuto* was the set of laws that regulated the Kingdom of Piedmont, and was eventually extended to the rest of Italy. According to Roberto Sani, Altavilla's approach to history was criticised also by the Minister of Education, who refused to grant him a licence for secondary teaching because of the "raffazzonamento e l'inesattezza delle opere di storia e geografia." See Roberto Sani and Giorgio Chiosso, "Dizionario Biografico dell'Educazione 1800-2000." http://dbe.editricebibliografica.it/.
[34] Camera dei Deputati, legisl. XIV—Ia sessione—discussioni—tornata del 3 giugno 1882.

una eleganza ardita e sciolta di soldati e di studenti.") and ends with the cavalry ("passò di galoppo, con gli elmi al sole, con le lancie erette, con le bandiere al vento, sfavillando d'argento e d'oro, empiendo l'aria di tintinni e di nitriti").[35]

De Amicis frames his enthusiastic description with two additional elements that confer even more sacredness to the *Festa*. First, he begins the section dedicated to the *Festa*—which he wrongly sets on 11 June, instead of the eighteenth—with a letter from Enrico's father to his son, dated 3 June. In that letter, Alberto lectures his son on Garibaldi, who had died the day before. In these lines, De Amicis's patriotic eloquence is at its highest levels:

> [...] quando sarai un uomo, lo vedrai gigante; e quando non sarai più al mondo tu, quando non vivranno più i figli dei tuoi figli, e quelli che saran nati da loro, ancora le generazioni vedranno in alto la sua testa luminosa di redentore di popoli coronata dai nomi delle sue vittorie come da un cerchio di stelle, e ad ogni italiano risplenderà la fronte e l'anima pronunziando il suo nome.[36]

At the end of the glorious parade, Alberto reprimands Enrico when he describes the army "un bello spettacolo". Through the father's words, De Amicis takes the opportunity to abruptly divert attention from the shiny parade to the grief of death and highlights the promoted meaning of the *Festa*, intended to be intense gratitude to those who sacrificed their lives for the freedom of the Italian people. In comparison to such a eulogy, Collodi's description—together with the words he uses for Montanara seems to be even more distant.[37] Although Collodi does talk about the human sacrifice of the *Risorgimento*, De Amicis emphasises it by linking the many deaths with the solemnity of the Army: "Ogni volta che senti gridare in una festa: Viva l'esercito, viva l'Italia, raffigurati, di là dai reggimenti che passano, una campagna coperta di cadaveri e allagata di sangue, e allora l'evviva all'esercito t'escirà più dal profondo del cuore, e l'immagine dell'Italia t'apparirà più severa e più grande."[38]

As can be expected, Collodi approaches the *Festa* more critically and directly in his journalistic texts. In works such as *Le luminare* (*Fanfulla*, 13 June 1871) or short stories such as *Scampolino* (*Occhi e nasi*), Collodi highlights the Italian State's inability to convey an idea

[35] De Amicis, *Cuore*, 284.
[36] Ibid., 282.
[37] See Chapter 3, 136.
[38] Ibid., 284.

of wealth and sovereignty through the *Festa*. Like the references to paucity embodied by the teachers, examined in the previous chapters, the texts infer that public celebrations such as the *Festa dello Statuto* could risk being counterproductive propaganda, in that they could reveal the State's weakness.

Collodi uses irony once again to highlight the paradox epitomised by the *Festa*. Although the two texts mentioned above are not the only ones in which he does this, they offer a perspective on two main aspects of a public celebration.[39] In *Le luminare* Collodi shows a harsh approach towards the *Festa* and the *Statuto* itself, which he defines "un santo moderno [...] di buona pasta. [...] Si lascia solennizzare oggi, domani, doman l'altro, fra un mese: in somma quando fa piacere ai suoi fedeli devoti." Collodi here ironises on the previously analysed lack of a fixed day on which to celebrate the constitution; according to Collodi, such uncertainty weakened the Festa's power and did not confer any sense of authority to the Italian State.[40]

Collodi also emphasises the miserable impact of the lighting on the State buildings during the 1871 *Festa* night. In a few lines, he describes a city in which the lighting organised by the Florentine municipality seems like the Logistilla's castle from Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso* or the lights on the altar during the ritual of the Forty Hours Devotion. Collodi seems to describe a scenario in which the Florentine municipality opted for lighting the Communal buildings magnificently, leaving the State ones with poor lighting:

> Ieri sera (pigliatene ricordo) i lampioncini della Comune, accesi a miriadi sulle colline intorno alla città, mortificarono e umiliarono profondamente i lampioni versagliesi dei ministeri e di tutti gli uffizi governativi. I lampioncini comunali ridevano, brillavano, scintillavano sul fondo scuro del cielo: quelli invece del Governo sonnecchiavano come tanti ministri dell'istruzione pubblica, o fumavano come pascià a diciassette code![41]

Collodi's criticism of the Italian State's way of celebrating is constant throughout the whole article. The official lighting, he tells us, appeared "spontanea come la scadenza di una cambiale,

[39] For example, in "Le chiavi dei mulini", published on *Fanfulla* on the 1st of October 1871, Collodi asks to the Minister of Finance to leave him a "foglia di fico per potere una volta all'anno uscire di casa a solennizzare la festa dello Statuto".
[40] "La festa, la vera festa dello Statuto, sarebbe fissata per legge nella prima domenica di giugno: ma, se in quella domenica piove (e piove sempre), la festa si rimanda a un altro giorno e tutti pari."
[41] Ibid.

e brillante e variata, come una circolare del Ministero delle finanze agli agenti delle tasse!". He blames the Italian State for organising an event that not only does not promote the State but has the collateral effect of highlighting the State's poverty and lack of authority.

The unappealing self-celebration of the State on the occasion of the *Festa* is reiterated in *Scampolino*. In that short story, Collodi focuses on the poorly paid State employee, whom he describes as a clown-like man with giant feet, whose wardrobe is made of "una camicia colle maniche, e due maniche senza camicia, per potersi cambiare."[42] Scampolino should be the symbol of the *Festa*, as he is a State delegate. However, Collodi says that he "gode uno stipendio o, per dir meglio, soffre uno stipendio di sessanta lire al mese e lo soffre con molta rassegnazione."[43] He cannot afford to have lunch daily and often stops in front of the Osteria, dreaming of having a gargantuan meal. On the day of the *Festa*, Scampolino has his only dinner of the year, which Collodi describes with a touch of desolation:

> Alle dieci di notte torna a casa, e coll'olio rimasto per caso nel lampioncino mette insieme una frittata, che divora con grandissimo raccoglimento, in segno di profondo omaggio a quel Patto fondamentale, che guarentisce ai cittadini del Regno tutti i diritti politici e civili, salvo beninteso, quel diritto volgarissimo e quasi inutile di levarsi la fame almeno una volta la settimana. Mangiata la frittata, Scampolino entra a letto e gridando: Viva lo Statuto e fuori i lumi, spenge la candela.[44]

This sense of indigence pervades the whole text and unavoidably brings to the fore the very paradoxical nature of the *Festa*, which echoes the paradoxes Collodi outlined with regard to other aspects of the society, that have been analysed in the previous chapters.

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[42] Daniela Marcheschi linked the character of Scampolino with 1835 Honoré Daumier's humoristic sketch *Le Petit Clerc*. According to Marcheschi, that was another proof of Collodi's belonging to a European anti-bourgeois journalism, in which artists from different countries and artistic contexts cooperated to criticise the middle-class establishment. See Marcheschi, "Da Collodi a Collodi: concezioni e pratiche dell'umorismo nell'Ottocento". Luigi Volpicelli also focused on the multidisciplinary aspect of Scampolino, which he compared to Chaplin's Charlot. See Luigi Volpicelli, "La via di Pinocchio" in *Studi Collodiani*.

[43] According to Effren Magrini and Alberto Geisser, in 1879 in Italy the cost of one kilogram of butter was 2.68 Lira. See Alberto Geisser, Effren Magrini, and Viarengo Roux, *Contribuzione alla storia e statistica dei salari industriali in Italia nella seconda metà del secolo 19* (Turin: Roux e Viarengo, 1904).

[44] Collodi, "Scampolino," in *Opere*, 269-276.

Local celebrations

In Collodi's schoolbooks, regional celebrations have a special place. He dedicates substantial space to a significant number of local celebrations to present the character and the customs of local communities, particularly in *Il viaggio per l'Italia di Giannettino*. He invests events such as the *O' Nunnu* in Palermo or the *Festa della sacra Cintola* in Prato with more significance than the *Festa dello Statuto* in terms of their contribution to the identity of the community. His attention to local celebrations goes beyond mere popularity; he mentions events that were no longer taking place as well as those that were popular at that time.[45] Collodi often gives enthusiastic descriptions of markets, fairs, sacred festivals, and carnivals throughout Italy.

The significance he accords to local celebrations is proved by the fact that, in the first volume of the *viaggio* collection, which begins in Florence, he describes the *feste pubbliche* before describing the local dialect. In the rest of the *viaggio* he maintains such a hierarchy, and public events are amongst the first descriptions he gives of local communities. The local events he describes include celebrations from many parts of Italy, such as the *Scoppio del Carro* in Florence, The *luminara di San Ranieri* in Pisa, the *Festa di Santa Rosalia* in Palermo, the *Festa di Piedigrotta* and the *Festa di Montevergine* in Naples. Collodi hence offers a portrayal of the overall national community as a variegated mosaic of local groups of people with a specific character. Such a priority needs to be read within the homogenisation/local identity dichotomy, and its significance goes beyond that of being a mere folkloric interlude. The fact that Collodi's texts always bring to the fore a strong passion for social and political topics, and that he focused on similar topics—a sense of nationhood, national community, social values—in his journalistic texts emphasises the social significance of these events in a discourse of cultural heritage.

The specific example of how Collodi describes the *Festa di Montevergine* in Naples seems to be the military parade counterpart of the *Festa dello Statuto* that De Amicis pompously described in *Cuore*. Collodi describes the parade of the people, thus shifting attention to the local traditions and communities:

[45] For example, he describes the Volo dell'asino, an event in Empoli on the day of Corpus Domini until 1861, when it was banned because of the unfair treatment received by animals. Collodi, *Il viaggio per l'Italia di Giannettino-Centro*, 13.

> il pellegrinaggio alla Madonna di Montevergine è lungo e costoso. Ci si va in belle carrozze e vestiti con molto sfoggio; e arrivati sul posto, bisogna solennizzare la giornata con un bel desinare. La vigilia del pellegrinaggio, ossia la notte che precede il giorno della partenza, i cittadini napoletani sono destati nel più bello del sonno da scoppi terribili di mortaretti. I pellegrini annunziano a modo loro che l'ora della partenza è sonata. Le brigate si formano, le carrozze son pronte. Eccoli che si slanciano alla disperata, urtandosi, arrotandosi, cantando, ridendo. Corrono barroccini e calessi, carrozze da nolo a un cavallo e a due, carrozze padronali specialmente destinate alla festa, adorne di frange d'argento', di campanelli squillanti, di bandiere sventolanti, con l'immagine della Madonna dipinta nel mezzo. E come le carrozze, così i cavalli sono sfarzosamente agghindati con pennacchi, con nappe, con mantelli ricamati, e fiori, e banderuole metalliche, e ori e argenti. [46]

The pilgrimage to Montevergine is represented as a meaningful event which collectively bonds every tier of the local community as they celebrate their cultural traditions:

> Nelle carrozze si adagiano trionfalmente le maeste (popolane benestanti), i guappe, gli scuonceche. i malamente, che son tutti sinonimi di bravi e di bravacci, di gente in somma che non si lascia posar le mosche sul naso e che è pronta, se occorre, a menar le mani. Gli uomini in una carrozza, le donne in un'altra: lassù, al santuario, penseranno a riunirsi. Le donne molto pettinate con lo scialle bianco di crespo, e addosso collane, spille, orecchini, braccialetti, anelli, catene, orologi, tutto l'oro e le gemme che si ritrovano in casa. Gli uomini vestiti a nuovo ed uniformi: gli stessi cappelli, le stesse giacchette e soprabiti, gli stessi calzoni, e tutti col sigaro in bocca. E vanno e vanno, sollevando intorno a sé urli d'ammirazione o d'invidia, saluti di buon viaggio e di buon divertimento, grida ed applausi e fischi di monelli. Non una fila né due ma una folla di carrozze di ogni grandezza e di ogni modello, traversano Toledo, volano per la marina, si spingono a rotta di collo sul ponte della Maddalena e spariscono lontano lontano, rumoreggiando in mezzo a una nuvola di polvere.[47]

The reader understands that *before* being Italians, people are—for example—*Neapolitan* or *Florentine* precisely because they share a common heritage and that this cultural uniqueness is precious. Collodi portrays a multicultural society in which local identity assumes importance and needs to be preserved. Such an approach strengthens the position that emerged from my

[46] Ibid., 86-87.
[47] Ibid., 87.

analysis of local dialects concerning the 'language-of-state' and reinforces the idea that Collodi seems to propose a sense of identity grounded in the valorisation of the various individualities.

In such a detailed and meticulous description of local events, however, it stands out how Collodi decides to neglect two such significant events, as the Venice Carnival and the *Palio di Siena*, which had established notoriety at the time. In 1887, Riccardo Brogi stressed the vast popularity of the horse race in Siena: "Chi non conosce il Palio di Siena, magari di saluto? Si può ignorare, che so io, la storia della costola di Adamo, ma non è permesso ignorare che in Siena, il 2 luglio ed il 16 agosto di ogni anno, si fa una corsa tutta speciale e caratteristica, in una più speciale e caratteristica piazza."[48] In *Il viaggio per l'Italia di Giannettino*, Boccadoro admits to having have attended to the famous horse race in Siena four times, and claims they are "la festa più originale e più artistica, fra tutte le feste pubbliche che si fanno in Italia."[49] However, Collodi does not devote any more words to an event that was very popular at the time, as contemporaneous testimonials such as Brogi's prove. Collodi seems to dislike events focused on the unfair treatment of living animals. As well as praising the decision to suspend the previously mentioned *Volo dell'asino* because of the cruelty to the donkey, he reiterates the same position when he praises the decision to suspend the *Palio di San Vittorio* in Cascina, near Pisa, because the horses were too old to race: "Ora lo hanno smesso, ed è bene: perché i barberi che pigliavano parte a quell palio erano certi cavalli così rispettabili per la loro età e per la loro canizie, da far capire che avrebbero preferito una sedia per mettersi a sedere [...]".[50]

Even fewer words are assigned to the Venice Carnival, which Collodi defines as "il carnevale più allegro, più originale e più spiritoso d'Italia" but only with reference to the past, with no mention of his own time.[51] In Collodi's eyes, carnivals are insincere manifestations of fake joy: "Il carnevale di Palermo, da parecchi anni in poi, somiglia ai carnevali dell'altre città d'Italia: vale a dire, non è altro che un'allegria artificiale, la quale fa di tutto per parere allegra davvero, e spesso non ci riesce."[52]

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[48] Riccardo Brogi, *Il palio di Siena, appunti e impressioni* (Siena: A spese dell'autore, 1887), 2.
[49] Collodi, *Il viaggio per l'Italia di Giannettino-Centro*, 231.
[50] Collodi, *Il viaggio per l'Italia di Giannettino-Centro*, 17-18.
[51] Collodi, *Il viaggio per l'Italia di Giannettino-Nord*, 257.
[52] Collodi, *Il viaggio per l'Italia di Giannettino-Sud*, 164.

In the examination of how Collodi included local manifestations within a discourse of cultural identity, it might be argued that—as a man of his times—he was not immune to the orientalist approach that Northern Italians had towards the South. After unification, the discovery of the Southern communities, and their social and cultural uniqueness stimulated fashionable anthropological studies. Personalities such as Alfredo Niceforo and Cesare Lombroso aimed to prove scientifically the difference between people on a racial, geographical and even professional basis.[53] This determinist approach was underpinned by the Northerners' immense surprise in discovering how some of their new compatriots were uncivilised and different from them, and in need of being aligned to the Northern standards as soon as possible. According to historians such as Paolo Macry, the Northern intellectual élite—of which Collodi was *de facto* a component—approached the Southerners with a mixed sense of curiosity and fear and tended to picture them as exotic. Macry stresses an orientalist approach towards the South of Italy that created a stereotyped Southern community, whose aspect was "al tempo stesso affascinante e minaccioso, fragile e pericoloso."[54] He argues that characteristics such as passion, superstition, and laziness—that Collodi, along with others at the time, attributed to most Southern people—"hanno una qualità esotica, attingendo all'idea che l'Occidente ha delle popolazioni non europee e, in specie, dei territori coloniali."[55] Collodi echoes this approach by connecting the Oriental "mollezza" with the personality of Sicilians. His use—unique in the whole *viaggio*—of the adjective *orientali* is in tune with what a journalist of the 'Gazzetta di Torino" wrote about Neapolitans in 1861: "popolo vago ed irrequieto, […] portato dalla sua natura orientale a non curarsi che indeterminatamente di tutto, ad adorare soprattutto il riposo."[56]

Enrico Squarcina seems to agree with Paolo Macry in objecting that Collodi trivialised the *questione meridionale* in *Il viaggio per l'Italia di Giannettino*, particularly with his

[53] Personalities such as Alfredo Niceforo aimed for a biological determinism of such discrepancy between Northerners and Southerners. See Alfredo Niceforo, *Italiani del Nord e italiani del Sud* (Turin: F.lli Bocca, 1901). Also, Napoleone Colajanni aimed to dismantle similar theories, which were promoted by other researchers such as Cesare Lombroso. See Napoleone Colajanni, *Settentrionali e Meridionali* (Casciago: M&B, 2000).
[54] Paolo Macry, "Immagini del Mezzogiorno nel discorso politico nazionale," in *Due nazioni: legittimazione e delegittimazione nella storia dell'Italia contemporanea*, ed. Ernesto Galli Della Loggia and Loreto Di Nucci (Bologna: Il Mulino, 2003), 73.
[55] Ibid., 73.
[56] Claudia Petraccone. *Le due civiltà: settentrionali e meridionali nella storia d'Italia dal 1860 al 1914* (Rome: GLF editori Laterza, 2000), 24.

folkloristic descriptions of the Southern communities. Squarcina stresses that Collodi separated the picturesque and irrational world of the *popolino* from the modernisation that the bourgeoisie had recently brought to the South (such as the *Funicolare*, the very first actual train ever built in Italy).[57] Squarcina believes such a distinction highlights the innovative contribution that nationalisation—epitomised by the bourgeois values of productivity and dynamism that Collodi emphasises when describing the Northern communities—brought to the development of remote Southern areas.[58] In other words, Squarcina sees Collodi as a spokesman of the super-imposed middle-class Northern élite, who believed the Southerners to be savages that needed to be civilised.[59]

The recent interest in *Il viaggio per l'Italia di Giannettino* and its pedagogical significance inspired Maria Truglio, who mirrors Squarcina in identifying *Il viaggio per l'Italia di Giannettino* as a 'Northern-supremacist' text through which the *Staatsträger* implemented their cultural and educational campaigns. In her examination of *Il viaggio per l'Italia di Giannettino*, Truglio links Giannettino's travel and his personal growth with the evolution of the Italian nation. In Truglio's view, Giannettino is a "particularly modern linguistic missionary" who "travels the peninsula to spread the normalizing Florentine idiom and the value of education outwards from Florence."[60]

Truglio emphasises Giannettino's role as paladin of the normalisation that the *Staatsträger* considered necessary for a definite sense of nationhood. Such an interpretation—which I pair with one which focuses on Giannettino as the carrier of Collodi's dissonant messages—seems to be supported by the way Collodi describes the human character of local communities. His description brings to the fore specific generalisations, according to which Northerners are portrayed as hard workers and most of the time refined. People from Turin, for instance, are described as "educatissima e compitissima[...] perfino le ortolane si scambiano fra loro il titolo di madama, come se fossero tante Contesse", while Southerners are inclined to

[57] Squarcina and Malatesta, "La geografia del 'viaggio per l'Italia di Giannettino' di Carlo Collodi come strumento per la costruzione nazionale italiana".
[58] Ibid., 235.
[59] See also Alberto Burgio, *Nel nome della razza: il razzismo nella storia d'Italia 1870-1945* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 2000); Nicola Trebisacce, "Meridionalismo e scuola nella storia dell'Italia unita", *Studi sulla formazione*, 21, no.1 (2018); Pasquale Villari, *Lettere meridionali ed altri scritti sulla questione sociale in Italia* (Florence: Le Monnier, 1991).
[60] Truglio, *Italian Children's Literature and National Identity*, 86.

enjoy celebrations. Sicilians, he says, have "qualche cosa che rassomiglia alla mollezza degli orientali".[61] Collodi often describes the personalities of people from Northern communities: for example, people from Milan are gentle and healthy, while those from Genova are hard-working: citizens of Ravenna are very hospitable—"è la città della cortesia e della schietta ospitalità. Il forestiero che arriva qui è sempre il ben arrivato"—and Venetians are "una gente cortese, gioviale e manierosa, che parla volentieri e parla bene."[62] Nevertheless, the most detailed descriptions take place in the volume dedicated to the South of Italy, and most predominantly to the descriptions of people from Naples, Sicily and Sardinia. For example, Collodi defines Neapolitans as the most significant paradox; calm but lively, unclean but noble in their behaviours, and incredibly smart. Collodi emphasises how Neapolitans are hard workers, although their jobs are usually poorly paid; ultimately, he stresses how they respect those they believe to be superior, in what seems to be related to the strong presence of Catholic values:

> Io non ho mai trovato tanta amorevolezza di modi e tanta natural cortesia in gente lurida e stracciata, come nella plebe napoletana [...] Bada però che la furberia è dipinta ne' loro volti e nei loro occhi lucidi e penetranti: e l'abitudine che hanno gli uomini del popolo d'intendersi fra loro coi soli atteggiamenti della fisionomia, ti farà parere questa furberia anche più grande del vero. [...] I Napoletani, benché vivaci e accortissimi, sono pazienti, tranquilli, amanti di stare in pace con tutti, e rispettosi colle persone che credono a loro superiori.[63]

The physicality that I examined in the local dialects comes to the fore even in the descriptions of local communities and even more in the Sicilians portraits, where Collodi alternates stereotypical observations—dark-haired, dark skin, ardent temperament—with incisive and vivid images, such as their ingenuity and their Oriental "mollezza":

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[61] Collodi, *Il viaggio per l'Italia di Giannettino-Nord*, 141-42. The description of Piedmont is a unicum amongst all the other local communities, as it is tightly bound to the Savoia family. According to what emerges from the text, Piedmont is not a region of Italian citizens, but is part of the history of Casa Savoia, "come raccontare la storia di due amici che avessero fatto la vita insieme e che avessero avuto in comune allegrezze e dolori." Ibid., 113.

[62] Ibid., 177, 293, 85, 273. In line with what happened in relation to local dialects, the volume dedicated to the centre of Italy does not offer any description of local personalities.

[63] Collodi, *Il viaggio per l'Italia di Giannettino-Sud*, 19. In this last part, it seems that Collodi referred to the *camorristi*, whom he called "guappe, scuonceche, i malamente, bravi e bravacci", people who based their respectability on violence ("gente insomma che non si lascia posar le mosche sul naso e che è pronta, se occorre, a menar le mani."). Ibid., 87.

> Ne vuoi un ritratto in pochi segni di matita? Eccolo qui: nella maggior parte dei siciliani troverai statura media, capelli neri, carnagione olivastra o bruna, occhi vivissimi, ingegno pronto e variabile, e nel loro modo di fare. In quanto poi a carattere, il siciliano è ardente, appassionato, generoso, liberale, pieno di fuoco per tutto ciò che è bello e nobile; temperamento un po' vulcanico, in cui il cuore qualche volta prevale e vince la mano alla riflessione.[64]

Manuel Borutta examined how, since *Risorgimento*, the orientalist approach—a definition that sometimes sounds like a euphemism for racism—was not exclusive to the Northern Italians' view of the Southerners. Borutta argues that Italy—and Rome in particular—had been 'orientalised' by Europeans since the Enlightenment, and "Italian patriots were forced to confront this orientalist image of their nation when they lived in exile or travelled abroad".[65] Consequently, the succeeding Piedmontese-inspired secular State *recycled* that approach not only towards the Southerners but also against the Holy See, and the "papal regime" that "was also associated with oriental tyranny".[66] The Pope and the Catholic Church reigned over a flock of sheep, as shown by a caricature published in the magazine *Spirito Folletto* in 1868. The élite of the time—represented by personalities such as D'Azeglio, Mazzini, Cavour—believed that the Holy See kept its believers in a condition of ignorance and bigotry. On the other hand, the new State was the herald of progress and science, offering a progressive future.

[64] Ibid., 153.
[65] Manuel Borutta, "Anti-Catholicism and the Culture War in Risorgimento Italy", in *The Risorgimento Revisited*, 202.
[66] Ibid., 205.

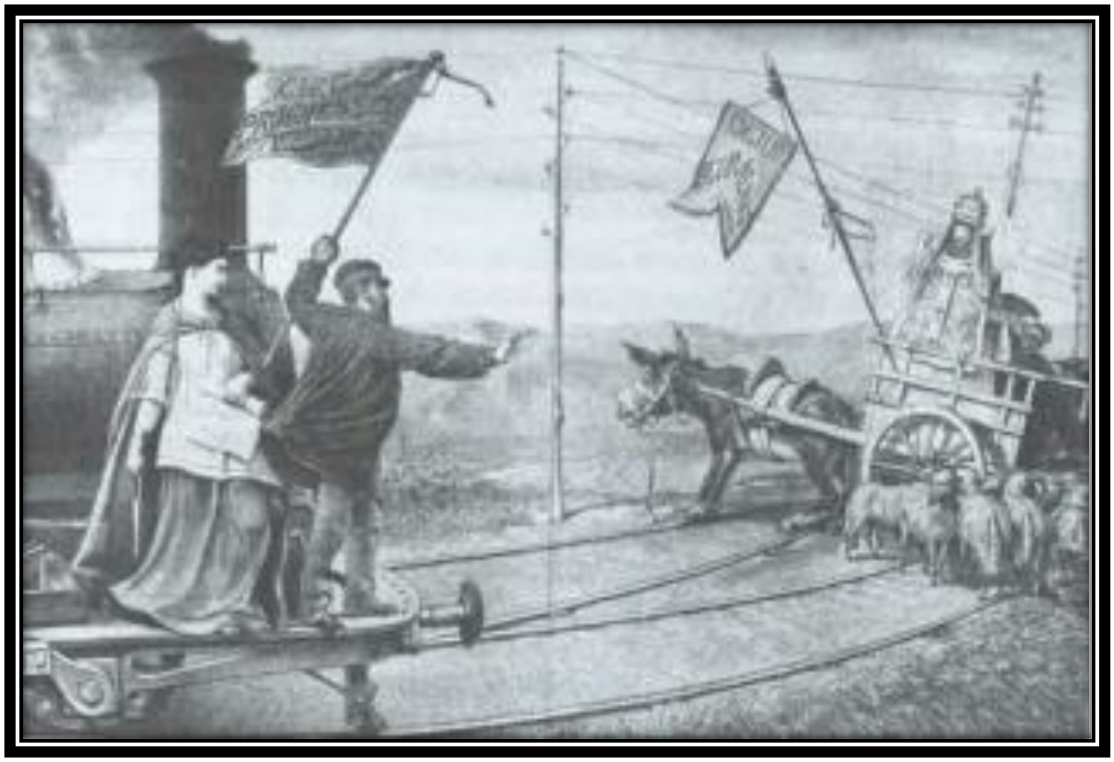

Fig. 8 *Lo spirito folletto*, 381 (1868).

The scenario here seems to be a Northern educated community that aimed to civilise the masses—particularly the African-like Southerners—and remove superstition and bigotry from the domesticated believers. In both cases, the geographical directory was pointing South. Accordingly, we could have expected Collodi, as a man of his times—and member of that cultural élite—to emphasise the Northern wind of civilisation, particularly in the books that the State chose to further its aims. At the same time, the description of Southerners as communities of gullible and *rozzi* would not have surprised readers, considering the context.

However, when considering Collodi's orientalist attitude, there is a certain dissonance from the context of the time in his descriptions of situations in which Northern and Southern cultures are presented as already blended by historical events. For example, he describes the small Sicilian village of San Fratello and highlights that the inhabitants still spoke the Lombard dialect at the time because a Lombard community had moved to Sicily during the Middle Ages.[67] Moreover, poverty and illiteracy are present in the South as well as in the North. Beyond the examples mentioned in Chapter 4—such as the beggar in Bologna or the orphan in

[67] Collodi, *Il viaggio per l'Italia di Giannettino-Sud*, 235.

Udine—Collodi's transversal approach to those problems is epitomised in his description of Turin, in which he links the city with the plague of indigence. Instead of limiting his description to the wealthy part of the Piedmontese capital and focusing exclusively on the Savoy fortress's cafes and theatres, Collodi begins with a section dedicated to local markets and charitable institutions. He creates a paced description of locations where he mixes liveliness with indigence, symbols of a healthy State with the darkness of poverty and abandonment. The sequence starts with the city market, which Collodi describes in enthusiastic words ("Che spettacolo bello e divertente, ragazzi!"). Again, the wealth of detail given about this humble parade is in clear opposition to the silence dedicated to the *Festa*:

> Quante baracche di merciaj, dì pannajoli , di pentolaj, di ortolani e di pollajoli, sotto quelle grandi tettoje, nel mezzo della piazza, quanti monti di ortaggi e frutta, e panieri di ciliege, di albicocche, e ceste di susine, di pere e di mele, e canestri smisurati d'uva e di limoni! E che brulichio di compratori e di venditori! A quel banco, un ghiottone grasso e tondo come una vescica di lardo soffiava fra le penne di una pollastra, per vedere se era tenera e ben nutrita: più in là un vecchino pulito, strofinava la punta del naso sopra un formaggio per sentirne l'odore: al banco vicino, una signora cogli occhiali sperava contro la luce un pajo d' ova, per assicurarsi se dentro c'era il pulcino: pochi passi discosto, un giovanetto, colla scusa di voler comprare, piluccava con disinvoltura tre o quattro grappoli d' uva e poi non comprava nulla. E intanto per la piazza era un viavai continuo· di carrette piene di ogni ben di Dio, e un formicolajo, una confusione, un pigia-pigia di serve, di cuochi, di sguatteri, di contadini, di ordinanze militari colla sporta sotto il braccio, di buone massaje, che andavano a far la spesa da sé, di rivenditori ambulanti, di ciarlatani, di cantastorie, di burattinai e di monelli di nove o dieci anni, che vendevano lunarj, campanelline per le chiavi, fiammiferi di cera e di legno, orecchini di stagno che pareva argento, e orologi inglesi a mezza lira l'uno, che non volevano camminare neanche a menarli per la mano.[68]

The description proceeds to the flea market *del Pallone* ("uno spettacolo che fa un po' ridere e un po' mette di cattiv'umore. Si direbbe quasi che quella è la fiera o il mercato della miseria.")[69] Collodi follows the animated description of the military citadel of *Piazza d'armi*—"par d'essere in una Fortezza in tempo di guerra." [70]—with a ghostly portrayal of charitable institutions such

[68] Collodi, *Il viaggio per l'Italia di Giannettino-Nord*, 130.
[69] Ibid., 131.
[70] The complete description reiterates the above mentioned dynamism: "In quel tempo uscivano frotte di carabinieri dalla fortezza, stormi di ufficiali dalla scuola di equitazione, sciami di operaje dagli opificj militari: l'Arsenale di artiglieria riempiva le strade vicine di rumori minacciosi: si udivano di tanto in

as the *Stabilimento di Don Bosco* and the *Ospedale di Cottolengo*: "In quelle strade silenziose non si sentono altri rumori, che echi lontani di litanie, cantilene di bambini e tintinii di campanelli di parlatorj. Lì tutto è pace, tutto è penitenza, tutto è rassegnazione."[71] Excerpts such as this show how Collodi inserts images of extreme poverty in the advanced city of Turin.

While Collodi does not undermine at any stage the religious legacy behind many of the events he describes and does not point too decisively against the *flock of sheep* dominated by the Holy See, he does focus on the importance a specific event has for the local community and avoids the sort of anti-clerical position particular to a climate in which a State is trying to build a secular nation. [72] Collodi addresses superstitions with a critical slant, but he does not exclusively link them with religion. As I have previously shown, Collodi ridicules *any* kind of acritical acceptance, whether religious or secular. For example, he makes fun of the uneducated people's ignorance during events such as the *Scoppio del Carro* in Florence and the dissolution of St Gennaro's blood in Naples. Collodi describes the *Scoppio del Carro* with the same meticulousness he employs when describing other local celebrations:

> [...] è posato su quattro ruote, e lo tirano quattro bovi. Su questo catafalco vi sono appiccicati razzi, girandole altri fuochi d'artifizio. Al momento preciso in cui la Messa del Sabato Santo, cantata in Duomo, arriva Gloria in excelsis Deo, e che tutte le campane della città ricominciano a sonare a distesa, i fochisti incendiano un razzo chiamato la Colombina, il quale, scivolando lungo una corda, e uscendo dalla porta di mezzo, va direttamente a dar fuoco al carro, ossia, ai fuochi artificiali, che vi son sopra; e poi torna indietro e si spenge. A questo divertimento c'è sempre una gran folla di gente, specie di campagnoli.[73]

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tanto le detonazioni del Laboratorio pirotecnico, la Caserma della Cernaja echeggiava di canti e di squilli di tromba, le bande dei reggimenti passavano sonando e le macchine a vapore del Genio militare percorrevano le strade, facendo tremare i vetri delle case." Ibid., 132-133.

[71] Ibid., 133.

[72] The previously mentioned parade for the *Festa di Montevergine* is nothing but a procession to the homonymous sanctuary; the parade itself is characterised by a blatant emblem of the Madonna: "Corrono barroccini e calessi […] con l'immagine della Madonna dipinta nel mezzo."

[73] In relation to the *Scoppio del Carro*, the description continues: "E la cosa bellina è questa: che se la Colombina va spedita dall'altar maggiore al carro, e ritorna indietro spedita, i contadini sono tutti allegri, perché, dicono loro, quello è un segno che il raccolto dell'annata sarà abbondante: se poi, per disgrazia, la Colombina inciampa, o si ferma, o brucia a mezza strada, allora i contadini se ne vanno via scontenti, perché vuol dire che il raccolto dell'annata sarà scarso. -Ma che ci si deve credere a questi segni della Colombina?... -Pover' a te! Io ti ho raccontato apposta la storiella, per farti vedere che cosa sono i pregiudizi della gente ignorante." Collodi, *Il viaggio per l'Italia di Giannettino-Nord*, 45-6. In relation to St. Gennaro's blood, Collodi dedicates more than two pages to the event, and openly links it

In both events, he is critical of people of any social background for believing that random occurrences could determine their future. Collodi blames uneducated people as well as the professional classes for their superstition, as he clarifies in this excerpt:

> D'altra parte, che cosa c'è da meravigliarsi se tanta povera gente nata e cresciuta nell' ignoranza presta fede alle diavolerie e ai sortilegi degli stregoni, quando vediamo, da un capo all'altro d'Italia, centinaia e migliaia di persone colte, istruite e spregiudicate, le quali, per amore del giòco del Lotto, credono nel libro de' sogni, come un buon cattolico crederebbe nella parola del Vangelo?"[74]

Read between the lines, it is possible to see that Collodi's approach is not to look at Italian society as divided into virtuous middle-class and uncivilised lower classes, or Northerners and Southerners. He depicts a scenario in which the potential risk of being flawed and poisonous for a healthy society is not linked to social status or geographic descent. While most social messages of the time pointed at poor people, uneducated Catholic believers or 'African-like' Southerners, Collodi does not make the wealthy Northern middle-class immune from risks such as gambling, superstition or poor education. These descriptions show how Collodi does not employ an elitist approach and offers—although with some embedded stereotypes typical at the time—a transversal and not downright prejudiced perspective. There is no neat social, economic or geographical distinction between good and evil. Collodi presents a disenchanted view of Italian society that dissents with the homogeneous and neatly divided view of the élite. The way Collodi describes local communities and their events reinforces the notion of his schoolbooks as texts in which Collodi elegantly delivers a message of dissent towards the promoted model of society and offers a less standardised view on the Italian community.

Collodi's pedagogical key messages seems to lie in describing a new Italian nation in which problems and virtues are transversally disseminated, and in inspiring his readers to acknowledge diversity as a resource. Collodi warned the new Italian citizens of the risks of any pre-constituted truth. His texts underpin a message of collective needs for *dirozzamento*. Ulisse del Lupinaio, the humble son of a coffee roaster, needs to be educated as well as the aristocratic

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to the *Scoppio del Carro* with regard to superstition: "Il popolo adora, e dal compiersi il miracolo più presto o più tardi trae argomento di buona o di avversa fortuna, tale e quale come i contadini di Firenze, prevedono l'abbondante o la scarsa a raccolta dal volo della colombina, il giorno dello scoppio del carro." Ibid., 84-5.

[74] Collodi, *Il viaggio per l'Italia di Giannettino-Sud*, 173.

Giocondo and the bourgeois Giannettino. Collodi's school texts sometimes echo Gabelli and his concerns about radical positivism, which could have turned into another religion, equally dangerous as all the others.[75] The Tuscan writer seems to be Positivist *enough* to dismantle as many dogmas as possible, but still critical of the orthodoxy of specific schools of thought. He advises his readers to refute an exclusively super-imposed education. Most importantly, the crucial part of Collodi's message seems to lie in the fact that many social problems were linked neither to a specific social class nor to a regional provenance. The causes of Italy's backwardness were in the mentality that had not changed its tendency to accept uncritically what came from the *Staatsträger* of the time.

Food as a sign of identity

Collodi is arguably the first who elevated food and food rituals to an expression of cultural heritage in schoolbooks. Food was traditionally perceived simply as a means of sustenance, not a sign of cultural character. Collodi's meticulous presentation of the many local foods and specialties around Italy as a positive sign of cultural distinction is another critical aspect that distances his text from representing what Macry identifies as fear of the Southerners—the '*teoria del contagio*'. Particularly throughout *Il viaggio per l'Italia di Giannettino*, Collodi delivers a message according to which food is a relevant and valuable marker of a community's identity.

The examination of Collodi's innovation in considering food in his schoolbooks within a cultural character discourse needs to reflect on two points. First, the fact that the debate on food at the time was evolving and becoming more engaging thanks to the contribution of personalities such as Pellegrino Artusi, who published his *La scienza in cucina e l'arte del mangiar bene* in 1891 (just one year after Collodi's death). Artusi was a respected figure—a wealthy merchant who was well-embedded within the cultural élite—who had lived in Florence since 1851 and ultimately contributed with his book to corroborate the discourse on food. In recent years, scholars such as Massimo Montanari, Kennan Ferguson, and Giovanna Frosini delved into the concept of food as a relevant marker of cultural identity in a discourse on community character. They examined the impact of food on nations and nationhood—and this

[75] See Chapter 3, 135-136.

aspect will be analysed with regard to the Italian community.[76] Second, the fact that Collodi shows particular attention to food in many of his texts, where he refers to food for cultural and social purposes. This aspect has been analysed in a national identity discourse by scholars such as Daniele de Feo. However, these analyses have not considered Collodi's schoolbooks but limited their focus to *Pinocchio*.

The theoretical element that underpins my analysis is the consideration of food as a marker of cultural character. Such an approach, which intensified from the first decades of the nineteenth century thanks to contributions such as that of Brillat Savarin, has been recently employed in a discourse of identity by scholars such as Jane Thompson, Massimo Montanari, Kennan Ferguson, and Barbara Pezzotti. Montanari's historical analysis supports the theory of food as a significant part of a community's culture, in its being "an extraordinary vehicle of self-representation and of cultural exchange".[77] Montanari matches food with language in its being a culture itself, as it is *not* [an act] *of nature* but constructed and managed by men. Furthermore, he argues that food represents a cultural heritage, either individual or collective. "Eating the food of the 'other'" is hence getting in contact with another community's traditions and identity. [78] Scholars such as Barbara Pezzotti investigated how food is a relevant cultural sign of distinction in crime fiction. Pezzotti argues that Andrea Camilleri gives to his most famous fictional character—detective Montalbano—a strong sense of belonging to his native Sicily through his close relationship with local food. Pezzotti claims that food becomes for Montalbano a "*militant* and tasty weapon against the rhetoric of the Northern League".[79] The impact of food on identity—of individuals as well as communities, as Montalbano represents the intertwinement "of cognitive (attachment to the land) and tropological (political and social commentary)"—hence invests political aspects that need to be considered on even a larger scale.[80] This transition from examining food as a cultural marker to considering its political

[76] Massimo Montanari and Beth Archer Brombert, *Italian Identity in the Kitchen, or Food and the Nation* (Columbia University Press, 2013); Kennan Ferguson, "Nationalism: Why states need cookbooks," in *Cookbook Politics* (University of Pennsylvania Press, 2020). Giovanna Frosini and Massimo Montanari, *Il secolo Artusiano: atti del Convegno, Firenze - Forlimpopoli, 30 marzo - 2 aprile 2011* (Florence: Accademia della Crusca, 2012).
[77] Massimo Montanari, "Food is culture," (2006), http://site.ebrary.com/id/10183599, 148.
[78] Ibid., 12, 148.
[79] Barbara Pezzotti, "Food as a Political Weapon in the Inspector Montalbano Crime Series" in *Italian identities*, ed. Diana Glenn and Graham Tulloch (Leicester: Troubador Publishing, 2020), 109.
[80] Ibid., 109.

nuances has been examined by Kennan Ferguson, who extended Montanari's interpretation of food as a *cultural medium*. Within a discourse of national identity, Ferguson believes cookbooks to intensify "the naturalisation of foods as the products and affective representations of national identities."[81] He claims that when a man "can taste the nation", then the *imagined* community becomes real, and "your nation is embodied."[82]

Collodi's approach to food was innovative for the time, as the concept of food was yet to take the first steps towards acceptance as a cultural element. In those years, food was just a mere means of nutrition or a status symbol, something to expose as a sign of financial wellbeing. The discourse on food and its cultural value had received its first impulse only a few decades earlier from the famous *Physiologie du gout* by Jean-Anthelme Brillat Savarin (1826), whose reflections on *gout*—such as the popular "tell me what you eat, and I will tell you what you are"—still resonate in our time. Savarin's scientific and philosophical approach to food pioneered the concept of gastronomy as a legitimate area of study. It is not a coincidence that Artusi's book has both the words *scienza* and *arte* in the title. Food began to be perceived as a heritage and attracted artists' attention even outside the professional *milieu* of chefs.

Moreover, the positivist atmosphere of the time contributed to attracting people to this field.[83] The consideration of food habits and food processing quickly became commonplace; Savarin's scientific slant eventually became fertile soil for the positivist-inspired society, and rapidly writers, cooks, and scientists began to refer to his text. Statistician and academic Alfredo Niceforo—whose fame is linked to controversial theories based on race—quoted Savarin in his attempt to prove the inferiority of Mediterranean people against the British. "Noi"—argued Niceforo, who used the previously mentioned Savarin's aphorism to support his theory—"siamo inferiori agli anglosassoni perché mangiamo meno e peggio di loro."[84] Paolo Mantegazza also read and appreciated Savarin in his *Elementi di igiene*. Mantegazza uses Savarin's high esteem for rotisseurs—"On devient cuisinier, on nait rótisseur"—in his

[81] Ferguson, "Nationalism: Why states need cookbooks.", 42.
[82] Ibid., 57.
[83] Jane Thompson, "Gastronomic Literature, Modern Cuisine and the Development of French Bourgeois Identity from 1800 to 1850," *History Honors Papers* 9 (2011), 49.
[84] Alfredo Niceforo, *Italiani del Nord e italiani del Sud*, 164.

attempt to scientifically prove the importance of the cooking technique within a discourse of health and hygiene.[85]

The Florence of the end of the nineteenth century where Collodi lived could not be insensitive to such an innovative discipline. Mantegazza—at the time also a popular figure—lived in Florence when the city was Italy's capital.[86] He was known for his multidisciplinary interests, the importance of food habits being one of them; he was a physician, physiologist, anthropologist, and prolific writer of novels such as *Testa*, the positivist counterpart to De Amicis's *Cuore*. According to him, cooking was art that aimed to educate "insieme il senso del gusto e il sentimento del bello."[87] Mantegazza aimed to apply a rigorous scientific method to cuisine and to frame the contemporaneous popularity reached by food and related topics—eating, cooking, and social and political meanings of certain food habits.

Paolo Mantegazza was in touch with Pellegrino Artusi, who is considered the founder of the national cuisine.[88] Collodi described Florence as a city where everyone knows everyone in *I misteri di Firenze*. Porciani reinforces such an idea when she states that Artusi lived in Piazza d'Azeglio, walking distance from the Istituto di Studi Superiori where Mantegazza used to teach.[89] Artusi assiduously attended Mantegazza's lectures on ethnology and anthropology at the Istituto.[90] The interconnection between the two is then transparent in Artusi's book, in which he directly addresses Mantegazza with regards to coffee and its digestive effects.[91]

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[85] Paolo Mantegazza, *Elementi di igiene* (Milan: Brigola, 1871).
[86] Mantegazza was a deputy in Parliament from 1865 to 1876 and was nominated professor of pathology and anthropology at the *Istituto di Studi Superiori*—"il centro, il focolare della cultura intellettuale di Firenze", according to Pesci. Pesci *Firenze capitale*, 385.
[87] Mantegazza, *Elementi di igiene*, 211.
[88] In *I misteri di Firenze* Collodi expressively says that Florence could not be the right set for any "mystère" (a type of crime novel that was very popular in those years). Collodi argued that everyone knew everyone in his Florence; according to him, "Quando in un romanzo contemporaneo fiorentino vi saltasse l'estro di notare una strada o una porta di casa, trovereste cento, trecento, mille che sarebbero in caso di dirvi con esattezza chi abita il quartiere da voi designato e posto in scena, e il nome, cognome, professione […] e moralità di tutti gli inquilini che successivamente vi presero domicilio, da quarant'anni a questa parte." Collodi, *I misteri di Firenze* (Florence: Tipografia Fioretti, 1857), 121.
[89] Ilaria Porciani, "Sulla Firenze di Artusi" in *Il secolo Artusiano*, 232
[90] Luigi Ballerini et al, "Introduction: A as in Artusi, G as in Gentleman and Gastronome," in *Science in the Kitchen and the Art of Eating Well* (University of Toronto Press, 2003), XXXIX. On the relationship between Artusi and Mantegazza, see Lucia Rodler, "Artusi, Mantegazza e la retorica" in *Il secolo artusiano*, 149-158.
[91] Pellegrino Artusi, *La scienza in cucina e l'arte di mangiar bene: manuale pratico per le famiglie* (Florence: Tipografia di Salvadore Landi, 1891), 352.

Recent scholarly contributions and dissertations—Madeleine Grose or Daniele De Feo beyond the much-quoted Massimo Montanari—stress how Artusi and Mantegazza spoke to the emerging middle-class in their books and contributed to creating a canon that eventually diverged from a mere nutritional context and became a real sign of cultural identity. For example, Artusi explicitly acknowledged that only a wealthy audience could read, but most of all afford to decide what to eat ("S'intende bene che io in questo scritto parlo alle classi agiate").[92] The logic thread seems to lead directly to the over-quoted Piero Camporesi, who praised Artusi's contribution to Italian identity as going well beyond that of Manzoni, in being a middle-class hero who contributed to a homogenisation of the society.[93] If we consider that on 10 November 1878—thirteen years before Artusi's book was released—the mayor of Florence welcomed Italian King Umberto with a banquet composed of only French-inspired dishes,[94] it seems that Artusi contributed to a unification of the Italian middle-class, which was affected by an evident penchant for a French-inspired lifestyle. Studies such as Montanari's had the merit of bringing to the fore how food and related habits—kitchen equipment, spaces, ingredients—began to be perceived as a status symbol and how Artusi's work had a significant national dimension. Florence's cultural centrality and the positivist atmosphere that dominated the philosophy of the time created a fertile environment in which food started to be explored from perspectives such as scienza, arte, and *igiene*. Digressions around food hence embraced matters of culture, society, and as a consequence, also politics.

However, Montanari develops his theory of the so-called "Artusian synthesis", which contributed to defining the political relevance of Artusi's book. According to Montanari, Artusi's contribution to a discourse of identity—social, national, regional—can only be understood if seen transversally. He refuses to define Artusi's cookbook as homogeneous and stresses how such a text "suggests a mutual understanding of practices and products, including

[92] Ibid., 16.
[93] "L'importanza dell'Artusi è notevolissima e bisogna riconoscere che La Scienza in cucina ha fatto per l'unificazione nazionale più di quanto non siano riusciti a fare i Promessi Sposi. I gustemi artusiani, infatti, sono riusciti a creare un codice di identificazione nazionale là dove fallirono gli stilemi e i fonemi manzoniani." In Pellegrino Artusi and Piero Camporesi, *La scienza in cucina e l'arte di mangiar bene* (Turin: G. Einaudi, 1970), XVI.
[94] Ballerini et al, "Introduction: A as in Artusi, G as in Gentleman and Gastronome.", XX.

diversity as an indivisible element of national identity."[95] Artusi offers a model based on home-cooking, which is at the same time "democratic and authoritarian. Democratic, because it does not aim at the "perfect" recipe but at multiple variations, all legitimate, all equally deserving of respect. Authoritarian, because each recipe will, by definition, be "the best," jealously guarded as a secret, a part of the family's identity."[96] Artusi—a wealthy middle-class man—produced the book with his beloved housekeeper Marietta, a woman from humble origins. Their relationship is then emblematic of the actual scenario in which Artusi's recipes were put into practice, as the typical reader—a middle-class woman—was most likely assisted by her servants when attempting to cook. Artusi often stresses the provenance of each dish. For example, he explains dishes such as the Risotto *alla milanese*, the Tortellini *alla bolognese*, Pizza *alla napoletana*, Gnocchi *alla romana*.[97] In the editions that followed the first, which he personally edited and financed, until he died in 1911 when he donated the book's copyright to his cooks Marietta and Francesco, Artusi offered the many modifications to his dishes that he received from his readers, women who commented on Artusi's recipes and offered their own—or their family's—variation.[98] In general, Artusi never offers a 'closed' recipe but emphasises how each recipe can be adjusted according to people's taste.

This seems to suggest that Artusi's prerogative was not to construct a middle-class identity. On the contrary, he aimed to create a community in which diversity and variants were welcomed contributions. Such an approach collided, for example, with what happened in France. Since the beginning of the nineteenth century, the new bourgeois class looked for new distinctive signs. According to Jane Thompson, gastronomic literature at the beginning of the century—the previously mentioned Brillat-Savarin and Antonin Carême and Alexandre Balthazar Laurent Grimod de la Reynière—contributed to creating the new profile of the *gourmand*. Thompson argues that "Brillat-Savarin was trying to appeal to the layered and intricate levels of the bourgeoisie and promote one homogenous bourgeoisie that had a similar

[95] Massimo Montanari and Beth Archer Brombert, "The artusian synthesis" in *Italian Identity in the Kitchen, or Food and the Nation* (Columbia University Press, 2013), 19.
[96] Montanari and Brombert, *Italian Identity in the Kitchen*, 77.
[97] Artusi does not limit the provenance to the Italian cities, but also underscores some international dishes such as the *Latte alla portoghese* or *Crema alla Francese*.
[98] In the digital edition available from the official website *www.pellegrinoartusi.it*, Artusi gives three options for the *Risotto alla Milanese*, introducing the last version with the exclamation "Potete scegliere!", *http://www.pellegrinoartusi.it/80-risotto-alla-milanese-iii/* (Il risotto alla milanese).

set of manners and could at least be united in one thing: their ability to be critical gourmands."[99] It is not surprising then that the Savoy court traditionally hosted dinners and banquets with menus in French and French-inspired food (Piedmontese cuisine has a clear French inheritance).[100] The new etiquette and forms of taste that characterised the French bourgeoisie rapidly became a status symbol for other countries' middle-classes in the nineteenth century. Such an approach is reminiscent of what happened with the language and the French-inspired words used by the Italian élite, which Collodi harshly criticised in *La lanterna magica di Giannettino*.[101] In this perspective, Artusi's contribution was indeed innovative, as he promoted Italian cuisine—hence a cultural identity—as a varied portfolio of local recipes that everyone could adapt according to their taste.

Whereas Brillat Savarin supported a homogenised national middle-class, Artusi promoted a regional-based cuisine and supported individuality over standardisation. Brillat Savarin addresses some dishes—such as the *pot-au-feu*, a beef stew—as symbols of national distinction. He claimed that French soups are the best in the world because they are a well-rooted tradition that eventually led to the perfect recipe: "On convient généralement qu'on ne mange nulle part d'aussi bon potage qu'en France, et j'ai trouvé dans mes voyages la confirmation de cette vérité. Ce résultat ne doit point étonner; car le potage est la base de la diète nationale française, et l'expérience des siècles a dû le porter à sa perfection."[102] Along the same lines, Artusi considered *maccheroni* as the national food, as he puts it:

> Se è vero, come dice Alessandro Dumas padre, che d'inglesi non vivono che di roast-beef e di budino ; gli Olandesi di carne cotta in forno, di patate e di formaggio ; i Tedeschi di sauer-kraut e di lardone affumicato ; gli Spagnuoli di ceci, di cioccolata e di lardone rancido; gl'italiani di maccheroni, non ci sarà da fare le maraviglie se io ritorno spesso e volentieri sopra di essi, anche perché mi sono sempre piaciuti, anzi poco mancò che per essi non mi acquistassi il bel titolo di Mangia maccheroni e vi dirò in che modo.[103]

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[99] Jane Thompson, "Gastronomic Literature, Modern Cuisine and the Development of French Bourgeois Identity from 1800 to 1850", 94.
[100] Gianfranco Schialvino, *Carte in tavola* (Brescia: Comune di Brescia, Assessorato alla Cultura, 2015).
[101] Collodi, *La lanterna magica di Giannettino*, 164-172.
[102] Jean-Anthelme Brillat-Savarin, *Physiologie du goût*, (Paris, Gabriel de Gonet, 1848), 50-51.
[103] Artusi, *La scienza in cucina e l'arte di mangiar bene*, 109-110.

However, he presents many different regional modifications to the same food (*alla bolognese, alla napoletana*).[104] Artusi—who often reprimanded the excessivly xenophilic approach that affected Italian people—presents a cultural scenario in which Italian identity is the blend of many separate communities and welcomes regional and individual modifications to those recipes that for Brillat Savarin were epitomes of an ethical code, and for that reason had to be made uniform and consistent.[105]

Collodi and food

Such fluidity and transversality need to be considered when analysing how Collodi presents food to Italian students in his schoolbooks and connects it to a discourse of cultural homogenisation or—although anachronistically—to an 'Arthusian synthesis'. Although his approach to food has been examined in *Pinocchio*—in contributions such as that of Daniele De Feo—a similar examination has not been applied to the schoolbooks.[106] De Feo investigates how food is closely intertwined with a discourse of identity in *Pinocchio*. He claims that in *Pinocchio*, food is "a tool that aids Pinocchio's education", and in particular, the epitome of social status.[107] According to De Feo, Collodi's representation of Pinocchio and his hunger is the symbol of a "populace which suffers and combats a reality of misery."[108] Food for Pinocchio is the symbol of social achievement, symbolised by the "dugento panini imburrati" the *Fata* prepared for Pinocchio first planned—and failed—transition from puppet to human,[109] or the "risotto alla Milanese" and "maccheroni alla napoletana" Pinocchio dreams of when he is turned into a donkey and has to eat hay.[110] De Feo follows an analytical road paved in 1972

[104] He also mentions a "Maccheroni alla francese", arguing that he found the recipe in a French book. However, he needed to adjust the ingredients: "Li dico alla francese perché li trovai in un trattato culinario di quella nazione ; ma come purtroppo accade con tali ricette stampate, che non corrispondono quasi mai alla pratica, ho dovuto modificare le dosi nelle seguenti proporzioni." Ibid., 48-50.
[105] "Qui viene a proposito uno sfogo contro la proverbiale indolenza degl' Italiani i quali sono soliti di ricorrere ai paesi esteri anche per quelle cose che avrebbero alla portata della mano nel proprio." Ibid., 266. Artusi often refers to the correspondent Italian term, even when the recipe is French or English inspired. "Questo si chiamerebbe alla francese purée di lenticchie; ma il Rigutini ci avverte che la vera parola italiana è passato applicabile ad ogni specie di legumi." Ibid., 186.
[106] Daniele De Feo, "Il gusto della modernità: aesthetics, nation, and the language of food in 19th century Italy" (PhD diss, The State University of New Jersey, 2014).
[107] Ibid., 210.
[108] Ibid., 205.
[109] Collodi, *Pinocchio*, 66.
[110] Ibid., 77.

by Gino Raya and his *prefamismo*; Pinocchio exists because he is hungry. Raya claimed that in *Pinocchio* Collodi reduces morality to a "necessità trofica".[111]

If food in *Pinocchio* is the symbol of a dream to be part of the middle-class, Collodi's schoolbooks offer other analytical perspectives. According to De Feo and Grose, Pinocchio is the indigent who dreams the *risotto alla milanese* without ever having ever tasted it. The risotto is the symbol of a bourgeois status; for this reason, Pinocchio believes it to be the best food in the whole world, as the 'panini imburrati' or the 'maccheroni alla napoletana'. Moreover, the constant hunger that emerges from *Pinocchio* seems to render these dishes even more delicious. To a certain extent, Pinocchio reminds us of Scampolino and his food daydreams. Giannettino is instead already part of the middle class and, accordingly, should not crave what he already has.

In his schoolbooks, Collodi uses food—and related food habits—as a powerful tool to describe communities' identities and does not focus exclusively on renowned bourgeois foods—tortellini, roasts or fish—but includes in his descriptions many dishes that we would today call 'street food'. For example, Giannettino asks his friend Onofrio to indicate to him some good *trattorie* in Palermo.[112] He offers a description of the local food for many areas he visits, such as Turin (confetti and chocolate), Milan (risotto, mascherpone, panettone), Prato (biscuits), and Siena (panforte). Collodi, by representing local foods, seems to reiterate a portrayal of the Italian national community as predominantly characterised by a multiculturality that he appreciates and emphasises. Throughout his journey, Giannettino uses food to describe local communities' identities and stresses the importance of food in local festivities, which he meticulously describes. For examples, he gives a detailed description of the *pizza*:

> Vuoi sapere che cos'è la pizza? È una stiacciata di pasta di pane lievitata, e abbrustolita in forno, con sopra una salsa di ogni cosa un po'. Quel nero del pane abbrustolito, quel bianchiccio dell'aglio e dell'alice, quel giallo-verdicchio dell'olio e dell'erbucce soffritte

[111] Raya, *Collodi*, 50. See also Madeleine M. Grose, "Dal cibo nazionale al cibo globale la digestione letteraria di un pasto storico," (ProQuest Dissertations Publishing, 2015).
[112] "Badi veh! io non son ghiotto!... tutt'altro che ghiotto! Però mi rassegno volentieri a mangiar bene: e quando si mangia fuori di casa, lei m'insegna che non basta contentare il palato, ma anche l'occhio vuol la sua parte, ne conviene? Sicché dunque mi premerebbe di conoscere qualche buona trattoria di questa città, per poi suggerirla al Dottore." Collodi, *Il viaggio per l'Italia di Giannettino-Sud*, 166.

> e quei pezzetti rossi qua e là di pomidoro danno alla pizza un'aria di sudiciume complicato che sta benissimo in armonia con quello del venditore.[113]

Collodi extends his use of local cuisine as a cultural indicator to all Italy; according to him, the Milanese cuisine is "bonissima [...] fatta col burro, ma sana e saporita."[114] He describes local specialties such as the Milanese *mascherpone* ("un dolce fatto colla panna") and *panettone* ("specie di stiacciata della quale a Milano si fa un gran consumo, segnatamente nelle feste di Natale"). He also describes local food from remote communities, such as Sardinian specialties ("il porchettu, ossia il porcellino di latte arrostito allo spiede, e annaffiato col famoso vino di Malvasia, e gli amaretti, che si fabbricano ad Oristano.")[115]

Collodi seems, in this case, to abandon Raya's *prefamismo*, and instead shows a reality made of many different communities who predominantly were unaware of each other. In these terms, the problem of integration and acceptance of each other's cultural identities was an essential step. In this perspective, food seems to be a form of identity, a cultural heritage that unification cannot erase. The same approach to food as a sign of identity will recur decades later, in Igiaba Scego's short story *Salsicce*, in which the protagonist's reflection on her cultural identity begins with cooking sausages.[116] Horn agrees with Vito Teti in stressing that food is the symbol of "un processo di recupero dei valori originali, individuali e culturali del mondo d'origine."[117] Although Horn and Teti specifically refer to the literature of migrants, it can be argued that the context in which Collodi wrote *Il viaggio per l'Italia di Giannettino* had some aspects that can be linked with Scego and her struggle in being an established Italian citizen without knowing how to cook sausages. In his text, Collodi proposes a compromise that reminds us of that of Scego; the new Italian children might be Italian, but they are *also* Sicilian, Lombard or Neapolitan in the same way Scego is *also* Somali.

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[113] Ibid., 25. Artusi, instead, did not describe the pizza as we know it, but as a dessert with pastry. Artusi, *La scienza in cucina e l'arte di mangiar bene*, 265.
[114] Collodi, *Il viaggio per l'Italia di Giannettino-Nord*, 179.
[115] Collodi, *Il viaggio per l'Italia di Giannettino-Sud*, 290-1.
[116] Igiaba Scego, "Salsicce", in *Pecore nere racconti* ed. Gabriella Kuruvilla et al (Ditzingen: Stuttgart Reclam, 2018).
[117] Vera Horn, "Assaporare la tradizione: cibo, identità e senso di appartenenza nella letteratura migrante" *Rev. Ital. (Online) Revista de Italianística*, no. 19-20 (2010), 174. See also Vito Teti, "Emigrazione, alimentazione, culture popolari" *Storia dell'emigrazione italiana* (2001).

According to Collodi, food is sometimes so important for some communities as to be the object of veneration. For example, when he describes the Sicilian sweet *cassata*, which was prepared during Easter, Collodi, with amusement, elevates the sweet to something sacred: "Qui, da noi, si può celebrare la Santa Pasqua magari senza entrare in chiesa: ma senza mangiare la cassata, no. Non mangiare la cassata nel giorno di Pasqua sarebbe un segno di poca devozione."[118] Collodi makes a strong connection between food and religious celebrations when describing religious festivities in Sicily. Hence, for Easter *cannoli* and the "pupo coll'ova" are essential foods, the famous celebrations for Saint Rosalia are renowned for the "processioni, illuminazioni, fuochi artificiali, e grandi mangiate di lumache col sugo di pomodoro.". At the same time, San Martino is celebrated with "i tacchini più grassi della cristianità."[119] Finally, Christmas in Palermo means *mustazzoli*, biscuits made of flour and honey. In this excerpt, the intertwinement between religion and food becomes evident as Collodi also uses many analogies with food when describing the nativity in Sicily, which is reminiscent of the semantic reference to foods he made in some of his journalistic texts:

> Anche qui, come da per tutto, i ragazzi fabbricano nelle case il loro modesto Presepio coperto di prezzemolo, di mortella e di altre verdure [...] e un bue e un asinello color di caffè-e-latte [...] e in mezzo a loro un bambinello [...] con i capelli biondi come la farinata gialla e con due gote rosse come due macchie di vino, e su [...] un gran foglio tutto tinto d'inchiostro violetto, perché rappresenti al naturale l'azzurro del firmamento, con una larga frittella d'olio nel mezzo[...].[120]

The role of food in *Il viaggio per l'Italia di Giannettino* could be, albeit anachronistically, defined 'Arthusian', as Collodi employs a transversal approach, and describes 'food for rich people' such as risotto as well as that for the lower classes, both in the North and in the South (*zuca baruca* in Venice and the lively descriptions of Neapolitan street foods). Collodi directs the young readers' attention to food's social value by describing what today is called 'street

[118] Collodi, *Il viaggio per l'Italia di Giannettino-Sud*, 183.
[119] Ibid., 183.
[120] In "La storia di un furbo", which I analysed in Chapter 2, Collodi describes Roboamo's political stance using a food analogy: "In politica, rispettava la cucina piemontese, ma, dal punto di vista igienico e nutritivo, preferiva l'arrosto e lo stufatino alla fiorentina." Collodi, "La storia di un furbo" in *Opere*, 92. Also, when describing the *Festa di Montevergine*, Collodi argued that "bisogna solennizzare la giornata con un bel desinare." Local celebrations are signs of cultural identity as well as food, which to Collodi's eyes deserves a devotion: "La vera devozione, e specialmente la devozione del palato, non bada a certe piccole economie." Collodi, *Il viaggio per l'Italia di Giannettino-Sud*, 184.

food', and in doing so, he adds another significance to food, which is that of unifying the different classes. When describing the *venditori di commestibili* in Naples, Collodi offers one of his most vibrant descriptions. He elevates the industry of pasta to one of the most important of Naples ("I maccheroni hanno oramai acquistato un diritto di cittadinanza in tutte le cucine dell'universo").[121] Moreover, he describes street food sellers as artists (another connection with Artusi and his title choice *L'arte di mangiar bene*). The description of the *maccaronaro* is probably one of the most dynamic pages in all the schoolbooks and ends with a telling comparison with a piano player:

> Da una delle caldaje il maccaronaro prende i maccheroni già pronti mentre nell'altra ne cuociono altri, che saranno pronti tra dieci minuti. Via via che gli avventori aumentano, egli affretta sempre più i suoi movimenti: finché, dopo poco, non è più un uomo: ma doventa un crescendo, una fuga, una vera macchina a vapore. Volta e rivolta colla bacchetta i maccheroni che bollono, mentre scansa la faccia dalla vampa del fumo scottante. Posa attraverso ai margini della caldaia la bacchetta carica di maccheroni rimasti a cavalcioni; ne afferra una giusta porzione colla sinistra, e li solleva ciondolanti nell'aria: vi mette sotto una scodella presa a destra e ve li lascia cadere. Poi passa al formaggio: una manciata e via: poi al pomidoro che vi butta sopra con un cucchiaio. Pesca nella cassetta di legno una forchetta: consegna tutto all'avventore, e poi di nuovo ritorna alla caldaia sempre ripetendo gli stessi movimenti e sempre percorrendo su e giù tutti gli oggetti del suo banco, come farebbe un pianista sulla tastiera del piano-forte.[122]

One could think that this excerpt comes from *Pinocchio*, it being so lively and dynamic. Collodi expresses here his admiration for classical music ("doventa un crescendo, una fuga") and his fascination with modern machinery (una vera macchina a vapore). His words create a sort of soundtrack to a phenomenon that, according to Collodi, congregates people from many walks of life. He claims that "Gli avventori più ricchi arrivano fino al pomidoro: altri si fermano al formaggio: altri non arrivano neppure a quello. Allora chiedono in compenso una poca d'acqua della caldaja."[123] Such transversality is reiterated in the description of how people from Naples get ready for Christmas Eve dinner:

> Un piacevolissimo poeta popolare, il Genoino, descrivendo il Natale di Napoli, ebbe a dire: Pare l'urdemo juorno che se magna! (pare l'ultimo giorno che si mangia): e disse

[121] Ibid., 18.
[122] Ibid., 36.
[123] Ibid., 36.

> bene. Di lì a poco, quando tutti hanno comprato, quando tutti si sono provvisti, ricchi e poveri, aristocratici e borghesi, negozianti, operai, donnicciuole accattoni, cocchieri, acquaiuoli, guagliuni, e in una parola tutti (perché non c'è nessuno in quella sera solenne che non trovi modo di banchettare, ossia di fare un po' di rialto per dirla alla fiorentina) di lì a poco tutta la città rimane deserta, muta, bui. Napoli in quel momento mangia.[124]

Food is hence aristocratic, bourgeois, low-class, but also enjoys a sort of religious veneration and it is represented as a bonding and levelling agent. The impact of well-rooted celebrations such as Easter, the *Festa di Santa Rosalia*, or Christmas is, according to Collodi, even more connected with the local identity of a specific community when celebrated with the related food, such as cassata, snails in tomato sauce or panettone.

The distance between Collodi's work and books such as Parravicini's *Giannetto* seems even wider: the latter described food as a potential danger and warned children about the risks of excessive consumption.[125] Food was merely an element of nourishment and survival and traditionally connected to places such as the *Osterie*. According to Marcella Bacigalupi, the *osteria* was identified as the "origine e ricetto della corruzione plebea" from the early years of the nineteenth century.[126] The *osteria* was seen as a step towards perdition, real traps in which poor people ended up drinking and gambling. In *Giannetto*, for example, the protagonist's friend Franceschino begins his road to perdition by skipping school and eventually becoming a regular at the *osteria*; unavoidably, he ends up in jail. The *osteria* was profoundly disapproved in conservative texts such as Pestalozzi's *Leonardo e Geltrude*, Thouar's *Racconti per giovinetti* or Cantu's *Portafoglio d'un operajo*, that stressed the danger connected with excessive celebrations and extreme conviviality, advocating instead for a society based on sobriety and moderation.

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[124] Ibid., 54.
[125] "Quanti non muojono per l'intemperanza del mangiare e del bere! È vecchio il proverbio che dice: *Uccide più gente la gola, che la spada*. […] L' uomo deve mangiare sol quanto basta per saziare la fame, deve bere sol quanto basta per estinguere la sete." Parravicini, *Giannetto*, 32.
[126] Bacigalupi and Fossati, *Da plebe a popolo*, 55.

Fig. 9 Il viaggio per l'Italia di Giannettino, *Giannettino, Boccadoro and Minuzzolo at the restaurant in Pisa*. 1883.

Collodi reiterates his innovative approach of a multicultural Italian nation by pioneering food as a relevant cultural marker. His innovation is transversal, as he used elements such as dialects and local food that the central State cultural strategy did not contemplate. Also, notwithstanding his anticlerical position, he does not offer any particular criticism against the Catholic Church and especially those rituals which were so embedded in people's lives as to be an integral part of their cultural identity Conversely, he minimises events and celebrations around which the secular propaganda consolidated.

Conclusion

This examination of how Collodi handles cultural features such as language, public celebrations, and food seems to agree with the ultra-positivist *j'accuse* he outlined in *Pane e libri*.[127] Collodi's primary educational goal seems to be to eliminate *any* un-criticism, even of policies that were fundamental to the new Italian State, such as radical secularity, full acceptance of the State authority and its morals, and prioritising national character over local identity. In this perspective, the way Collodi relates to local communities and their cultural backgrounds is another element that detaches his schoolbooks from a purely conservative dimension. Although this is insufficient to support accusation of any type of radical position, such as socialism, the political value of Collodi's choices in his schoolbooks cannot be overlooked.

Chapters 4 and 5 bring to the fore a substantial distance from the linguistic and cultural homogeneity that the ruling class pursued at the time. Collodi shows a systematic reference to local cultural symbols—such as dialects, celebrations, or foods—that substantiates the message of plurality he delivers to the new generations of young Italians. In these terms, after a political and social analysis in Chapters 2 and 3, the thesis's second part contributes to confer on Collodi's schoolbooks a solid cultural dissonance from the State's promoted society.

Overall, Collodi seems to precede Artusi in filling a gap which the ruling class left empty regarding Italian people's gastronomic identity. He anticipates Artusi's definition of Italian people as *mangia-maccheroni* by describing a community devoted to food and conviviality and for which food is an essential staple of the cultural character.[128] Collodi's contribution elevates food to a relevant cultural marker. Collodi is innovative in his approach to dealing with food as a cultural marker and in his consideration of food as a vehicle for conveying the Italian nation's multiculturality. He seems to echo Banti in creating a heritage of 'recycled traditions', on the same level as a language—here echoing Montanari. Collodi delivers a strong sense of belonging through food, and stresses his sense of a nation as the sum

[127] See Chapter 3, 153.
[128] "Se è vero, come dice Alessandro Dumas padre, che gl'inglesi non vivono che di roast-beef e di budino; gli Olandesi di carne cotta in forno, di patate e di formaggio; i Tedeschi di sauer-kraut e di lardone affumicato; gli Spagnuoli di ceci, di cioccolata e di lardone rancido; gl'italiani di maccheroni[...]" Artusi, *La scienza in cucina e l'arte di mangiar bene*, 109.

of many little communities with different traditions which, however, are variants of the same macro-context. In this regard, it seems that Collodi expands what Camilleri—according to Pezzotti—did with food as a sign of belonging to the Sicilian community.[129]

To Collodi, food *is* a language, and as every community has its dialects, it also has its foods and celebrations that need to be respected and enjoyed rather than suppressed. The young reader of *Giannettino* discovers a whole new world, together with the parent who sits alongside the child learner. The journey through different parts of Italy is not exclusively inspired by the *folkloristic* search of the savage that could have animated a Northern-inspired concept. Collodi shows that the same characteristics—such as local dialects, love of food, local events, superstitions—are distributed throughout the Nation, independent of region or social class. Moreover, his innovation lies in presenting to the young children new instruments for a deeper cultural acknowledgement of the many little communities that compose the Italian nation. His representation goes beyond the usual journey to historical sites or mere geographical notions. For the first time, it expands to include and privilege the field of cultural identities.

Collodi deliberately emphasised the importance of local manifestations over the *Festa dello Statuto*, and contributed to undermine the sense of homogenisation that the ruling class pursued from the early years of unification. Collodi was indeed a man of his times and was inevitably influenced by the orientalist approach towards the Southern communities. However, beyond the stereotypical description, other elements emerge which highlight a certain dissonance from the stable uniformity that the central State furthered. These elements did not strengthen the authority of the Italian State, and probably endorsed a society that was far from the one that the élite propagandised.

The promoted society which emerges from the analysis of these three cultural markers seems based on the postulate that *before* being Italians, the new citizens needed to acknowledge, accept and respect every sign of cultural identity. This sort of *cultural federalism* is the antithesis of what the Italian State pursued: Manzoni and the State aimed for a unique national language and eradication of local dialects, and Collodi promotes them as a culturally bonding sign of heritage. The State propagandised the *Festa dello Statuto* as the celebration that united all Italians, and Collodi not only ignores it but gives prominence to a vast number

[129] Pezzotti, "Food as a Political Weapon in the Inspector Montalbano Crime Series".

of local celebrations with a wealth of detail. While food was not considered a factor able to contribute to a discourse of national cultural heritage, he resolutely links it to his message of equalisation. Collodi's texts present a nation in which each community is equal to the others *because* of its uniqueness. The conveyed message hence seems to be the one according to which any idea of homogenisation—intended as extending *one* culture to the whole nation, such as language or the Piedmontese-inspired system of laws—needed to be contested.

Conclusions

Beyond Pinocchio has established that a new reading of Collodi's schoolbooks was necessary. Their reputation as texts that openly supported the new Italian nation promoted by the *Staatsträger* needed to be readdressed. This thesis underscores that Collodi, in his schoolbooks, managed to maintain a critical approach to his contemporaneous society, along the same line of what he did in his extensive journalistic career and, as recently theorised, even in *Pinocchio*. The examination of how his school texts relate to the concepts of authority and shared cultural identity brings to the fore Collodi's dissonance with how those concepts were promoted and propagandised by the *Staatsträger* in post-unification Italy. As this project has brought to light, Collodi's schoolbooks contain a transparent element of dissent towards the ruling class, which in itself calls for a definition beyond the term '*letteratura anfibia*'. One should think along the lines of a new category such as '*letteratura scolastica dissonante*' to precisely describe the sort of operation undertaken by Collodi.

For this reason, Collodi's innovative contribution to school literature needs to be expanded. The already accepted innovations that Collodi brought to the pedantic genre of school literature at that time speak of a new, fresh, dialogic style and an adjustment of perspective to the child's level. Thanks to Collodi's production, from that moment on, schoolbooks could address children audiences directly and entertain them while providing them with education. These are important achievements. However, his consideration of young readers as capable of identifying his sometimes-ironic critiques speaks of a writer who also believed in people's intelligence, as he tells us in *Scaramuccia*:

> La reazione è possibile: tentatela coraggiosamente; perocché, per quanto il guasto sia grande, vive sempre, in fondo a questa decrepita società una scintilla di retto sentimento, che quantunque sopito non è difficile ridestarla, quando da voi si voglia, e fortemente si voglia.[1]

[1] *Scaramuccia*, 6 October 1854.

In the same way, when addressing his young audience, Collodi believed in the power of such "reazione". As only an experienced journalist would do, and unlike many of his contemporaneous writers who were in the habit of filling books for children with "contenuti moralistici e particolari edificanti",[2] Collodi, in his schoolbooks, carefully disseminated messages of criticism against his society's failures and invited his young readers, together with their guiding adults to critically approach their society.

The chosen methodology relating to nation-building pointed to an examination of Collodi's schoolbooks through the lens of authority and shared cultural identity. This critical approach produced new findings in Collodi's educational literature. We can now argue that Collodi's schoolbooks differed from many contemporaneous texts in their political and cultural depth. Also, Collodi pairs an innovative, entertaining style with a non-idealistic approach to social life and duty of its citizens, and offers a pedagogical message based on an orthodox analytical attitude that encouraged the refusal of pre-constituted truths. Collodi criticises the whole society and stresses how a *dirozzamento* was needed for everyone who placed personal interests before the community's wellbeing, regardless of social class. Overall, Collodi equalises Italian society from a social, geographical, financial, and cultural perspective. He makes it clear that his contemporaneous society was based on constructs—*Patria*, family, cultural homogeneity—that he reveals as being so highly idealised, as to lose sight and control over the concrete foundation of the community.

The first aspect emerging from his schoolbooks is that, there were elements of Collodi's dissonance, which, although they cannot be defined as a herald for socialist ideals, they do nonetheless highlight the necessity for his 'selected community' to be the much-needed change-bearer. Much like what happened in his journalistic texts during his whole career, Collodi refused the contemporaneous complacent enthusiasm for objectivity, typical of the Positivism, and encouraged his readers to interpret critically the society in which they lived. In the same years he wrote his schoolbooks—and *Pinocchio*—Collodi criticised such an approach, which promoted an acritical acceptance of super-imposed notions. He instead wanted his young readers to always empirically approach their society and managed to de-

[2] Marcheschi, *Il naso corto*, 80.

idealise those constructs that the *Staatsträger* placed as the foundation of their new Italian nation.

Collodi expresses his dissonance, in his schoolbooks, with a technique he mastered very well in the course of his career, that is irony. Giannettino is the quintessential symbol of Collodi's ironic slant. Giannettino is not a lower-class child who undergoes a process of *dirozzamento* through the wise help of the *maestro*, whose guidance contributes to turning him into an educated and loyal citizen. Unlike any other child character before him, Giannettino is son of a parliamentary deputy and a middle-class child who, however, behaves according to those steretypes assigned to children of the lower classes in the contemporaneous educational literature. Giannettino steals, drinks, lies, and gambles: he is *rozzo* all-round. His family is the synthesis of the moral vices that Collodi confronted throughout his whole career: disinterest in education, a predilection for personal advantages at the expense of the community, hypocrisy, and corruption.

Collodi's approach to the public aspect of authority—the Italian State institution and its cultural and educational strategies—is along the same lines. The Italian State that emerges from these schoolbooks is prey to *malaffare* and *Trasformismo*, and is not at all the idealised sacred institution to which the new Italians had to be devoted and grateful and by whom they needed to feel supported and protected. One of his schoolbooks' particularities was that of clearly illustrating Italian politics and its mechanisms. However, he presented to the new generations of Italians an unstable and inconsistent political scenario, in which deputies are chosen by family connection and not by merit, as the likes of young Ciccillo demonstrate. The system Collodi outlined was not idyllic: it was a crude representation of a faulty institution that could not engage the allegiance of its people. Furthermore, Collodi condemns any attempt at sacralisation of the secular State. With such an approach, he openly criticises the strategy for ideological supremacy that the *Staatsträger* implemented in their cultural struggle against the Holy See.

In both cases, the parallel analysis of the schoolbooks with many texts Collodi wrote as a journalist contributed to my assessment that such an unsympathetic slant is coherent with Collodi's overall production. The anomaly, we could say, would have been that of supporting his contemporaneous society uncritically.

However, Collodi makes it clear that his attitude to families and the State was not iconoclastic. Thanks to the introduction of positive familial characters such as Giannettino's uncle Ferrante or Minuzzolo's father Quintiliano, or the sense of respect that emerges from his descriptions of the deputies as representatives of the national community, Collodi shows that his criticism was not of the family or the State as an institution. He directs his disapproval to the contemporaneous practices of the familial or governmental bodies, implicitly advocating civic responsibility and duty.

While Collodi discredits the authority of the two most propagandised institutions of post-unification Italy—family and the State—his critical approach towards the other macro-criterion of the nation-building project, that is instilling a shared cultural identity, was not different. A close reading of such aspect became essential in order to assess the extent to which Collodi's schoolbooks aligned with the cultural 'homogeneity' position expressed by the *Staatsträger*. In particular, the way these texts communicate to Italian children show how the supposedly dichotomic concepts of homogeneity and plurality are not mutually exclusive in Italy, but rather rub shoulders. As such, the thesis' engagement with the overlooked primary sources demonstrates an even greater complexity within the already fervent discourse around the impact of regionalism in the unification process.

Even in this case, Collodi delivers a clear message that further underscores his schoolbooks' dissonance from the *Staatsträger* promoted nation. With regard to the linguistic and cultural homogeneity campaign that the Italian State perpetrated, Collodi creates fictional situations which can be read as a strong critique against the linguistic homogenisation imposed by the Italian State. Collodi dedicates ample space to local dialects in his schoolbooks and elevates them to the status of significant identity markers for regional communities.

Also, the examination of how Collodi describes local celebrations and local foods compared to the Italian National Day commemoration reinforces the image of a vibrant and multicultural Italian community, where multiculturality was projected as a resource and not as a hindrance. Unlike other school texts of the time, such as *Cuore*, official celebrations are not propagandised. Instead, Collodi places his focus on local celebrations and local foods with such a wealth of detail as to resemble the lively descriptions offered in *Pinocchio*.

However, along the same lines of what we have seen with regards to the *dirozzamento*, Collodi equalises Italian society and offers a scenario in which superstition, ignorance, bad habits and poverty are equally described throughout the peninsula, and not limited to a specific area. Collodi carefully avoids conveying a classist message and did not second the custom of the contemporaneous schoolbooks, which pictured the poorer students as the ones who were in need to be refined by the upper classes. The example of local food is emblematic; Collodi elevates something that was at the time underrated and brings it into the school environment, hence to the attention of the whole nation. This aspect assumes even more relevance if we think that it was more likely for wealthier children to attend school in those years. Through the analysis of regional foods, I have highlighted that Collodi was an innovator in presenting to the new generations of Italians a cultural aspect that was very well-embedded in the community but not yet 'recycled' by the *Staatsträger* within the nation-building project. His representation of food culture is far from folkloristic or a mere entertaining device for his readers but rather, it anticipates modern perspectives regarding food and cultural identity.

Beyond Pinocchio will contribute to the fertile field of study that employs cultural products in order to re-examine societies and historical processes. The project has shown that texts such as schoolbooks can be meaningful sources through which to investigate the kind of society a *Staatsträger* designed for future generations. Additionally, a writer such as Collodi needs to be examined with particular attention, as his overall career and reputation make him a unique schoolbook author.

Beyond Pinocchio has demonstrates that elements of that 'failure' to instil a sense of shared identity among Italians that contemporary scholars attributed to State policies were already circulating in Collodi's schoolbooks. From this perspective, it contributes to the examination of how the propaganda implemented by the Italian *Staatsträger* did not secure a new solid interpretation of authority and culture, and to a further review of Italian nationhood. Finally, this study might pave the way for other studies on how schoolbooks have not necessarily always been in accord with national propaganda in these last two centuries in Italy.

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