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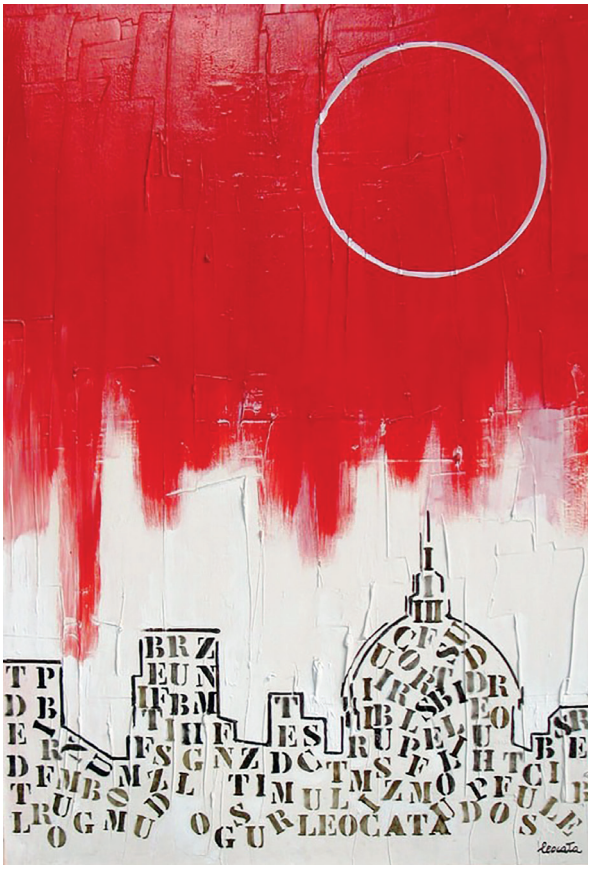

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Kulturen der Lehrerbildung in der Sekundarstufe in Italien und Deutschland

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Habsburg Legislation on the Training of Elementary and *Ginnasio-Liceo* (Secondary) Teachers and its Implementation in the Italian Territories across the 18th and 19th Centuries

by Simonetta Polenghi

The debate on teacher education tends to focus on current phenomena and situations that may be most clearly understood and assessed when we are informed by a thorough background knowledge of past events.[1] Hence the value of looking back at the origins of teacher training, which predate the unification of Italy, and particularly the – then avantgarde – legislation introduced by the Austrian Habsburg Monarchy in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and its implementation in the Italian territories. In this paper, I offer a brief outline of the main lines of development under the Habsburgs in the training of elementary school and *ginnasio* teachers respectively, analysing the differences between them, their relative strengths and weaknesses, and how in some respects they strikingly prefigured key themes in contemporary teacher education.

1 The Age of Maria Theresa and Joseph II

1.1 Elementary teacher training

Ad hoc training for elementary teachers had already been called for and implemented in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries – we need only recall the work of Comenius or August Hermann Francke's *Seminarium Praeceptorum Selectum* – but legislation introduced under Maria Theresa was the first to stably establish a period of obligatory training for aspiring elementary teachers across a large area of Europe, beginning with Austria, then Hungary and eventually all regions under Habsburg rule. As is commonly known, the *Allgemeine Schulordnung*, issued by Maria Theresa in 1774 but drafted by Abbot Johann Ignaz Felbiger, prescribed that aspiring teachers attend a specialist training course, delivered at *Normalschulen,* schools offering a four-year cycle of education, to learn the latest educational method, variously termed normal (*Normalmethode*), tabular-literal or simultaneous. For teachers to apply the new group instruction approach in place of the more traditional individual instruction, mastery of the new teaching method and its instruments (blackboard, wallcharts, innovative textbooks) was a *sine qua non*. Initially, the new training courses varied in length. On average, the duration ranged between three and ten months, but country school teachers received only six weeks of training. Under Joseph II, the duration of these teacher education courses was fixed at three months. For those preparing to teach in *Hauptschulen* and *Normalschulen*, the prescribed reading was Felbiger's (1775) *Methodenbuch*, a 508-page tome. For aspiring country school teachers, Felbiger produced an abbreviated 124-page version, the *Kern des Methodenbuches*.

1 See Polenghi 2012a; Polenghi/Triani 2014.

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In 1778, Felbiger brought out the *Forderungen an Schulmeister und Lehrer der Trivialschulen*, a 48-page booklet that further summarised the contents of the *Methodenbuch*. While this work covered the basics of how to teach reading, writing and arithmetic, it omitted the richest and most innovative contents of both the *Methodenbuch* and *Kern*, that is, those imparting general notions of educational theory and didactics that were informed by the Pietist, Philanthropic and Enlightenment traditions, while retaining a Christian ethos.[2]

Those preparing to teach in larger or city schools also received training in the teaching of other subjects, the general principles of educational theory and didactics (with an emphasis on *katechisieren*, i.e. the art of asking questions to ascertain that pupils had genuinely understood the learning material and were not just mechanically repeating it from memory). The majority of teachers were priests. The art of questioning was the same method that Felbiger applied to the teaching of the catechism. Catechists too were required to learn the normal method and assimilate Felbiger's pedagogy: a solemn decree issued on 16 November 1776 mandated a three-month (later extended to six-month) course for catechists. Felbiger himself, between 1777 and February 1781, personally trained almost 1,200 catechists.[3]

Clerics made a vital contribution to the field of education. Religion was a core subject and had to be taught by priests. Schools in towns and city quarters were overseen by local parish priests because there was a lack of educated lay people to take on this role and a lack of financial resources to pay them. The priests had to be the 'teachers of the people', and teachers in turn were not only expected to make the masses literate, but also to teach the ethical virtues demanded by the society of the day: obedience, industriousness, honesty, solidarity, humility, and satisfaction with one's social status.

Although the Habsburg elementary school system was designed from a jurisdictionalist perspective that envisaged the large-scale deployment of religious staff, in practice it immediately attracted lay teachers too. The training courses were attended by both: in 1777, for example, the *Normalschule* of St. Anna in Vienna enrolled 121 religious and 139 lay student teachers. The imposition of an obligatory training period was not always popular with priests, whose religious duties often prevented them from attending, especially if they were not resident in a city with a *Normalschule*.[4]

In Austrian Lombardy, the Viennese regulations, which were earlier implemented in the South Tyrolean territories, began to be applied under Joseph II. Previously, during the reign of Maria Theresa, Giovanni Bovara had laid the groundwork for the application of the reform by sourcing the necessary funding.[5] In addition, the year 1788 saw the opening of the *Scuola Caponormale* in Milan (*Normalhauptschule*), which immediately began to offer a three-month teacher training course based on Francesco Soave's translation of the *Kern,* the *Compendio del metodo*. Joseph II set out to laicise and professionalise the teaching corps, and to reinforce the state's control over the elementary school system, while retaining the educational objectives defined by Felbiger. While the tabular method, which had met with criticism in Austria and was also challenged by Soave, had been abolished, the normal method otherwise remained in force. The works of Felbiger continued to represent the core reference materials. Existing studies document the success of Joseph II's policy in the domain of elementary teacher education, which

2 See Gönner 1967 (which remains a key text to this day), Stanzel 1976, Van Horn Melton 1988, Engelbrecht 1984, Gecchele 2000, Polenghi 2001, Polenghi 2009.

3 Cf. Croce 1979, p.125.

4 Cf. Schubert 1853, p.6.

5 See Piseri 2004.

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became markedly more secularised in both Austria and Austrian Lombardy. A government survey in 1799, during the Austro-Russian restoration, found that almost a third of the teachers in public elementary schools in Milan district were already familiar with the normal method.[6] As had previously taken place in Austria, the establishment of a wide network of elementary schools (especially for boys) was accompanied by the consolidation of state control over elementary teacher education: aspiring teachers would now be required to pass an examination certifying that they possessed the required subject knowledge and pedagogical background.

1.2 The training of *Gymnasium* teachers

The elementary school reform was implemented before the corresponding reform of the *ginnasi*, which was hampered by both economic difficulties and a clash between two competing models: the traditional one-teacher-per-class formula (*Klassenlehrer*) and the novel subject-specialist approach (*Fachlehrer*). Culturally and economically speaking, both Maria Theresa and Joseph II prioritised the creation of a network of schools delivering basic elementary education to the masses over expansion of the *Gymnasium* network, utilitarianistically and paternalistically deeming that there was already an oversupply of *Gymnasien*. In taking this stance, the Habsburg rulers and their entourage were encouraged by Enlightenment thinkers and Cameralists. Prominent among the latter was Joseph von Sonnenfels, who believed that there were too many students crowding university classrooms, giving rise to a surfeit of intellectual resources that was socially and politically dangerous. For this reason, as early as 1772, von Sonnenfels called for a drastic reduction in the number of *Gymnasien*, *Lyzeen* and universities. Just before the suppression of the Jesuits, in 1772 the State Council (*Staatsrat)* debated the Pergen proposal for the *Gymnasien*. A key component of Pergen's reform concerned teacher training, for which he wanted to set up a *Lehrer-Seminar* and recruit foreign academic staff. But Joseph II, then co-regent, blocked the plan, assigning absolute priority to the financing of mass elementary education.[7]

The suppression of the Jesuits in 1773 yielded 400 million florins, which from 1774 onwards became the ex-Jesuit fund. This was primarily used to finance the rolling out of Johann Ignaz Felbiger's plan for elementary schools. Maria Theresa refused to employ lay teachers in the *Gymnasien*, preferring former Jesuits or members of other religious orders, especially the Piarists; moreover, she was against setting up state-run Seminars for training secondary teachers in pedagogy and the various subject areas, as proposed by Pergen and Kaunitz following the German model. Beginning in the autumn of 1773, Maria Theresa ordered the closing down of several *Gymnasien*. Within a few years the number of *Gymnasien* in Bohemia and Moravia had halved. But the suppression of the Society of Jesus, which even in the Habsburg territories had played a leading role in secondary education, ultimately hastened reform. On 15 October 1775, Maria Theresa approved a plan for restructuring the *Gymnasien* that had been drawn up by the Piarist Father Gratian Marx and that proposed retaining the figure of the *Klassenlehrer*, a generalist teacher who would be assigned to a class for the entire five-year cycle, rather than introduce *Fachlehrer* (teachers who are subject specialists), as Ignaz Mathes von Heß, from Würzburg, professor in history of literature at the University of Vienna, had recommended.[8]

6 See Polenghi 1994.

7 For important background information on the Austrian *Gymnasium* system and its reforms, see: Grimm 1987, Grimm 1995. Cf. also Polenghi 2007a, Polenghi 2007b.

8 Cf. Grimm 1987, pp. 368ff.

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Although Gratian Marx's plan did include steps to modernise the teaching of certain subjects, overall it was not particularly innovative, remaining close to the previous Jesuit model. Many members of the *Studienhofkommission* supported Heß regarding the *Fachlehrersystem* and disagreed with Marx on educational grounds. The Monarch, however, was not as sensitive to such arguments as to political and economic factors, because the hiring of subject specialists would have represented an extra financial burden for the state.

The training and remuneration of teachers were a stumbling block that would continue to hold up the reform of the Austrian *Gymnasium* over the following decades. Lay teachers would have required higher pay, but the funding for education was almost entirely destined to the elementary school network. Hence, *Gymnasium* teachers in those years – the vast majority of whom were still priests, including the former Jesuits – lacked formal training in pedagogy, which their German counterparts in contrast received while attending the faculty of philosophy.

In 1797, Francis II asked the *Studien-Revisions-Hofkommission* to draw up a plan for the reform of the *Gymnasium*. The debate continued to revolve around the figure of the teacher, and the choice between subject specialists or generalist class teachers. A key turning point came in 1797, when Piarist Father Innocenz Lang was appointed to the role of adviser on elementary schools and *Gymnasien*. He proposed increasing the weekly hours of instruction to 28, a move that would make the introduction of *Fachlehrer* a matter of necessity. Lang also made provisions, as had Pergen before him, for the setting up of a *Seminar* for teacher education. The *Studien-Revisions-Hofkommission* examined Lang's plan in the winter of 1797-98, but again it was held up for economic reasons: indeed, it was opposed by the State Council on cost grounds, given that the ongoing war against France was absorbing all the available resources, preventing the state from committing to any additional expenditures.[9]

2 The Napoleonic Age

During the Napoleonic domination, the territories of the Cisalpine Republic, later to become the Italian Republic and finally the Kingdom of Italy, essentially continued to enforce the school policy that had been put in place by the Austrians. Despite the political conflict between Paris and Vienna, the two regimes shared a similar outlook on education and schooling: the leading priorities thus remained investment in the network of elementary schools to deliver literacy and civic education to all and prescription of Father Soave's reformed normal method. For economic reasons, the Kingdom of Italy chose to enhance and monitor teacher training not only by recommending but also by actually imposing the use of certain textbooks, and from 1809 onwards, by obliging all teachers, including private ones, to sit an examination. Hence, the normal method as presented in the works of Father Soave became the required standard in the kingdom.[10] Again, this strategy was effective where Felbiger's method was already known: while only 31% of Lombard teachers were familiar with the normal method in 1799, by 1805 this had gone up to 61% and in 1814 to almost 100%.[11]

9 See Timp 1968.

10 See Brambilla 1973, Bucci 1976, Ambrosoli 1987, Toscani 1994, Pepe 1995, Roggero 1999, Pagano 2000, Pagano/Vigo 2012, Pagano 2017, Pagano 2019.

11 Cf. Polenghi 2007c.

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However, the decision to examine teachers and to condition their teaching practice by obliging them to use centrally approved textbooks had one definite downside: the closure of the *Scuola Caponormale* in Milan. This represented a loss in pedagogical terms, because the Napoleonic exams ascertained that teachers were proficient in reading, writing, simple arithmetic and decimals, but did not assess their knowledge of education topics, didactics, etc. They verified that the teachers possessed the required literacy and elementary mathematical skills but not whether they knew how to competently transmit this knowledge to their pupils. The kingdom's urgent need was for a large number of teachers: it was possible to turn a blind eye on the soundness or otherwise of their training, especially where country school teachers were concerned. Demanding educational and pedagogical skills would have been to go beyond the minimum requirements. Furthermore, given that there was no longer any teacher training institutions, such skills were expected to be learnt on the job in any case.

If, however, there was continuity between the Austrian and the Napoleonic elementary school policies, the same cannot be said for the *ginnasi* and *licei*. Indeed, under Napoleon, the *licei* broke with the earlier Jesuitical model, both by hiring lay teachers and by introducing new science subjects while scaling down the importance of Latin and Greek.[12] The law on the reform of secondary education was passed on 4 September 1802 and remained in force for the duration of the Napoleonic Kingdom of Italy. The principal innovation was the introduction of the *lycée* into the Republic of Italy's educational system, along the lines of the upper secondary-school system that had just been set up in France under the Consulate with the aim of forming the future ruling class.[13] The drive to modernise the country included reforming the secondary-school classical studies curriculum, which was no longer viewed as adequate for the education of future administrators of the state or those planning to enter the professions. The new *lycées* were opened in the capital city of each department, where they represented a clear break with the centuries-old Jesuitical tradition. Indeed, alongside the humanities, philosophy and mathematics – subjects that were already taught in city *ginnasi* – the *licei* offered a range of new disciplines such as physics, chemistry, agronomy and botany, architectural design, and law (the Napoleonic code), all in place of classical literature.

In 1807, again copying the French model, *licei* with places for boarders were introduced in competition with the religious boarding schools traditionally attended by the sons of the nobility and the ruling classes. Hence secular schools, with a modern curriculum, now coexisted with traditional boarding schools, religious or private, that continued to implement the Jesuitical model. The new notables – the military and civilian elites of the Napoleonic regime – thus had access to new schools where their children could receive an education on par with that of the traditional elites. In practice however, these new schools did not prove popular in all the departments, because many families were sceptical of such an innovative model, perceiving it as excessively modern and secular.

New legislation in 1811 cut the *ginnasio* cycle down to four years, removed Latin and Greek from the curriculum of *liceo* and made the *ginnasio* mandatory for those seeking to obtain the *liceo*. Because the *liceo* was a requirement to attend university, it was considered a preparatory step and was taught by subject specialists. In the second year of the two-year *liceo* cycle, students were offered a choice between a science and a law curriculum. In 1813 there were 26 *licei* up and running in the Kingdom of Italy, nine of which also took boarders, a considerable

12 See Brambilla 2006, Pagano 2007, Pagano 2008, Pagano 2012a, Pagano 2012b, Pagano 2014.

13 See Boudon 2004.

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number for the period and – per head of population – a higher proportion than in France. The *licei* for boarders were intended to offer a secular state-run alternative to religious (or private) boarding schools, which, despite the hostility of the government, continued to put up strong competition. To address this situation, Napoleon ordered that full and partial scholarships be made available to the children of civil servants and military officers. Although not all the new schools, residential or otherwise, met the favour of the local communities where they were set up – indeed some of them failed outright, partly due to the brevity of the Napoleonic rule – the founding of the *licei* unquestionably marked a turning point in the history of Italian education: in keeping with the French model, this was the beginning of a shift towards increased State involvement in the school system and the modernisation of the curriculum.[14]

3 The Age of the Restoration

3.1 Elementary teacher training

The Kingdom of Italy was applying French legislation to *ginnasi* and *licei*, while continuing to operate elementary education as defined by Maria Theresa, Joseph II and Felbiger, albeit without opening normal schools for teacher training. Meanwhile in Austria, the late 1700s saw a key reform of the legislation on schools which would later be implemented in the Kingdom of Lombardy-Venetia.

In 1805, Francis II approved a plan to reform the school system, which due to the outbreak of war against Napoleon, only came into force on 1 April 1806, under the title *Politische Verfassung der deutschen Schulen.* The new law, which was subsequently rolled out to all the empire's territories, was to regulate the Habsburg educational system until 1848. In Lombardy-Venetia, it was applied via a law enacted in 1818. The most innovative aspect of the *Politische Schulverfassung* – vis-à-vis the previous legislation from the reign of Maria Theresa – was the introduction of *Realschulen* as an alternative to the *Gymnasien*. This was further complimented by the establishment of the first chair in pedagogy at the University of Vienna, the first holder of which was Vincenz Milde, future Archbishop of Vienna, then a young Moravian priest, catechist, educator and chaplain to the Court. Milde, who is viewed as Austria's leading educationalist in the first half of the nineteenth century, had himself received the kind of formation that was typical of the late Josephinismus; he presented a jurisdictionalist approach to the relations between State and Church, and designed an educational system with a strong ethical foundation that was Kantian, scientifically grounded and informed by a broad reading of the European educational literature.[15] Milde did not base his educational theory on the Bible and took a tolerant view of other denominations and religions. His theorising had no confessional undertones. The chair of pedagogy was made part of the Faculty of Philosophy. Pedagogy was a compulsory subject for seminarians, who could not receive ordination unless they had passed the pedagogy exam. Pedagogy was also mandatory for private tutors and, from 1808 onwards, for the lay teaching staff of the *ginnasi*.[16]

14 For more background information on this point, see the works by E. Pagano cited earlier. See also Brambilla 2005, Grab 2015.

15 For a comprehensive treatment on Milde, see Holtstiege 1971. A short biography is available in Kovács 1994. A further key resource is Engelbrecht 1984, pp. 212-218.

16 Cf. Brezinka 2000, pp. 34ff.; Brezinka 2012, pp. 6f.

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Milde's educational theory – condensed into the two volumes of the *Lehrbuch der allgemeinen Erziehungskunde zum Gebrauch der öffentlichen Vorlesungen*, which included his university lecture cycles and were published in 1811 and 1813 – became the Empire's official pedagogy: the *Lehrbuch* remained the prescribed text for all pedagogy chairs across the empire's universities (including Pavia and Padua) up to 1848.

The *Politische Schulverfassung* called for the reinstatement of *Normalschulen* for teacher training, both in the capital cities and in all provincial capitals. This led to considerable growth in the number of teacher training schools. Teachers in upper elementary schools (*Hauptschulen*) were required to attend a six-month training course at a *Normal-Hauptschule*, while their counterparts in lower elementary institutions (*Trivialschulen*) only had to undergo a three-month course as long as they sat an exit examination and had previously completed a year of teaching practice. Felbiger's manuals were now viewed as out of date. In Austria, the period around the turn of the century had seen intense debate on catechetical and ordinary school teaching methods.[17] This prompted the use of alternative methodology guides, none of which were found to be fully satisfactory until a student of Milde, Joseph Peitl, head of the *Normalschule* in Vienna, published his *Methodenbuch* in 1820. Peitl's work won the approval of the *Studienhofkommission*, and in 1821 it was prescribed by law as the official teacher training manual throughout the empire. Like Felbiger before him, Peitl produced an abbreviated version of the manual for rural elementary teachers.[18]

The adoption of Peitl's manuals (which were informed by Milde's pedagogy), the introduction of an obligatory year of teaching practice and the rigorous obligatory examinations in 11 subjects all contributed to improving the standard of teacher training. For ten subjects (related to reading, writing and arithmetic), aspiring teachers were examined in two key areas: the subject content itself and the teaching of the subject. The eleventh subject dealt with the method, that is, educational theory and didactics. The fact that *Hauptschule* teachers were now guaranteed a pension gave further impetus to the secularisation of the teaching profession, irrevocably on its way to becoming an occupation recognised by the state that required specific theoretical and practical training, of which educational theory and didactics were a key component.

In Lombardy-Venetia, as mentioned earlier, these provisions came into force in 1818, but it took time for the prescribed textbooks to be translated, hence the new teacher training courses were actually launched in 1822. The Milan *Scuola Caponormale* was reopened in 1820, and gradually the other provincial capitals got their own *Scuole Caponormali*, enabling increasing numbers of teachers to attend the training courses. The *Scuola Caponormale* in Cremona, as is well known, was headed up by Aporti. Peitl's *Methodenbuch* was translated into Italian by Francesco Cherubini, head of the *Scuola Normale* in Milan and a renowned scholar of dialectology and philology. The *Metodica,* a thick 282-page volume, remained the prescribed text for all teacher education courses at *Normalhauptschulen* throughout the Kingdom of Lombardy-Venetia, right up to unification. For aspiring country schoolteachers, on the other hand, it was enough to study the *Manuale dei maestri elementari*, which was only 74 pages long, and had also been translated by Cherubini based on Peitl's abbreviated manual.[19]

A great novelty brought about by the newly enforced Austrian legislation concerned training standards for female teachers, who were also required to be familiar with the pedagogy manu-

17 See Polenghi 2002, Polenghi 2016.

18 Cf. Gönner 1967, pp. 92ff.

19 See Polenghi 2004, Polenghi 2009, Polenghi 2012b, Polenghi 2013.

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als. Though exempt from attending the course at the *Scuole normali*, they were obliged to take the exit examination (in the presence of the chief inspector) and were held to the same standard as their male colleagues. They were also required to do a year's teaching practice as part of their training. In Lombardy (though not in Venetia), despite the opening of many new elementary schools for girls, the new policy quickly generated a surplus of licenced female teachers: many young women, generally from lower middle class families or poor and humble backgrounds, opted for this new employment opportunity – which soon became a possible route towards emancipation.[20]

The high priority assigned by Vienna to the training of elementary teachers, both male and female, placed Lombardy, alongside Cavour's Piedmont, ahead of the rest of Italy. The region now had a body of professionally trained elementary school teachers of both sexes. Teachers were no longer predominantly priests but lay people whose theoretical and practical pedagogical competence was certified by the government. The occupation of teacher was now associated with specialised training as well as specific duties but also rights such as seniority and pension entitlements.

3.2 The Training of *Gymnasium* Teachers

The parallel reform of the secondary school sector (i.e. the *Gymnasium*) encountered far more obstacles and difficulties, particularly in relation to the question of generalist vs. specialist teachers. In 1805, Piarist Father Franz Innozenz Lang, who held overall responsibility for the Austrian *Gymnasien* and had been striving to reform them since 1797, presented a new proposal for a six-year secondary cycle (four years of grammar studies followed by two years of humanities in keeping with the Jesuitical model), with five or six *Fachlehrer* and a religion teacher. Greek was scaled down but remained compulsory. However, due to the war, Lang's plan was only effectively applied from 1814 onwards. It thereafter remained in force until 1848. Hence, from 1818 onwards, the six-year *Gymnasium* cycle was extended to all regions of the empire. Lang did not lay much emphasis on teacher training – which in the German states to the north was delivered through dedicated institutes – because most of the teaching corps were members of religious (mainly the Piarist and Benedictine) orders. Lay teachers received their pedagogical training at the faculty of philosophy of a university and from 1808 onwards were obliged to pass an examination in pedagogy, a discipline in which – as mentioned above – Milde had recently been appointed first chair.

However, Lang's reform was short-lived, because in 1818 the majority of the *Studienhofkommission* voted to reinstate the *Klassenlehrer*. Hence, the *Gymnasien* reverted to the single class teacher model, with one teacher assigned to each class of students for the entire four-year cycle (years 1-4) and another for the subsequent two-year cycle (years 5-6).[21]

The failure of the *Fachlehrer* system was due to multiple factors, including the chronic shortage of teachers, low salaries and the lack of social prestige associated with the occupation. These factors also explained the system's reliance on priests. Given that there were not enough lay teachers equipped to teach the *Realia*, the class teacher of necessity became a Latin teacher. Not surprisingly, therefore, the *Studienhofkommission* proposed removing the natural sciences from the curriculum and cutting back on mathematics in favour of Latin and Greek. This meant in practice a return to the earlier Jesuitical model.

20 Cf. Polenghi 2012b, pp. 82ff. In relation to the Veneto region, see Gecchele 2012.

21 Cf. Grimm 1995, pp. 226ff.; Gönner 1967, pp. 70f.; Polenghi 2007b.

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The implementation of this form of *Gymnasium* in the Kingdom of Lombardy-Venetia gave rise to multiple problems.[22] It followed the Jesuitical model and was therefore drastically different to the *ginnasi* and especially the *licei* that had been set up under Napoleonic rule. Secret reports written by the prefects of the *ginnasi* and submitted to the head of the *ginnasi* in Lombardy, Carlo Giuseppe Londonio, provide insight into the difficulties that arose in applying the most recent Austrian legislation. The vast majority of *ginnasio* teachers had no knowledge of Greek whatsoever (a subject that had been dropped entirely during the Napoleonic years) and had severe difficulty with mathematics. Driven by the need to hold on to their jobs, most teachers agreed to be examined in these problem subjects to prove that they were sufficiently competent in them, but this did not improve the situation because the teachers' background in most subjects other than Latin was too weak and they typically spent more time teaching Latin than envisaged by the curriculum, to the detriment of other disciplines. As late as 1835, Londonio was lamenting that very few *ginnasio* teachers had a grounding in algebra: 'The majority teach whatever little they can find and understand for themselves in the textbook.'[23]
The fact that most *ginnasio* teachers were priests made the obligation for aspiring teachers to take a university course in pedagogy largely irrelevant. In contrast, there continued to be a reasonable proportion of lay teaching staff in the *licei*, as a consequence of the changes introduced in the Napoleonic period.[24]

3.3 The Thun-Hohenstein Reform and the Introduction of the *ginnasio-liceo*

In September 1849, a new law was passed in Vienna that provided for the restructuring of *Gymnasien-Lyzeen* and universities across the empire. Drafted by Franz Exner, a Herbartian philosopher, and Hermann Bonitz, a professor of classical philology at University of Vienna, the new legislation was endorsed and pushed through by Count Leo Thun-Hohenstein, the new minister for religion and education and a former student of Exner's at Prague University. The faculty of philosophy was now recognised as a fully independent faculty, and its previous function of offering a course of studies preparatory to other university studies was transferred to the *Gymnasien-Lyzeen*, which in turn also underwent reform. The number of hours devoted to Latin and philosophy was drastically reduced, while the hours spent learning Greek were increased. Science and mathematics were a key part of the curriculum. This dual emphasis on the humanities and the sciences has been attributed to the influence of Herbart's pedagogy on Exner's thinking. Another major new development was the replacement of the class teacher by several subject-specialist teachers. *Gymnasien* and *Lyzeen* were joined to form a secondary school cycle lasting eight years and offering the foundations of knowledge required to enter university. The pedagogical training of *Gymnasium* and *Lyzeum* teachers was now provided by a dedicated school (*Seminar*) at the University of Vienna, where classical philology, thanks to Bonitz, was a core component of the curriculum. Teachers were required to have in-depth subject-specific knowledge and to hold a science or humanities degree.[25]
The negative aspect of the reform was the fact that passing the pedagogy exam was no longer mandatory. Hence, the highest standards of subject-specific knowledge went hand in hand with the loss of educational and didactic knowledge. From a neo-humanist perspective, full

22 See Giglio 1978; Polenghi 2007a; Polenghi 2007b.
23 Archivio di Stato di Milano, *Studi*, p.m., cart. 639, Milan, 25 mar. 1835, from Londonio to the Government.
24 See Chierichetti 2013.
25 See Aichner/Mazohl 2012.

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epistemological and heuristic mastery of one's discipline was viewed as ensuring the ability to teach it. The professorships in pedagogy were closed down until 1871.[26]

Implementation of the reform in Lombardy-Venetia was hindered by the political situation following the 1848-49 war. Thun decided to involve a group of Italians by co-opting them into an advisory commission whose official brief was to discuss the Austrian law; however, this was a political move designed to persuade the Italians of the merits of the reform, prior to its implementation. The commission, composed of eight members from Lombardy and eight from Veneto, included two bishops in addition to prominent intellectuals and academics. It was chaired by Giovanni Battista Bolza, who had taught at the *liceo* in Como before taking up a post as an archivist at the Ministry for Religion and Education in 1848. Bolza had translated the Austrian reform plan into Italian and was charged with secretly reporting to Vienna on which members of the commission were hostile to Austria's interests. The secretary was Francesco Ambrosoli, a professor of classical literature at the University of Pavia. The commission began its work on 17 February and wound up on 10 April 1851. Contrary to expectations in Vienna, the Italian working group manifested a range of diverse opinions on the reform: some members proposed offering five years of *ginnasio* and three of *liceo*, or else maintaining a longer *liceo* cycle by transferring the last two years of *ginnasio*. The merging of *ginnasio* and *liceo* into a single secondary school institution with a pre-university function raised a number of concerns. First, the members of the commission were concerned that the Italian *liceo* tradition should not be lost. Although the Napoleonic reform was no longer in force, the standard of the *licei* had nevertheless remained reasonably high during the Restoration. The Thun reform would have seen them downgraded to *ginnasi*. The discussion lasted several days and a compromise solution was eventually reached, namely to divide secondary education into three cycles: a lower *ginnasio* (three years), an *upper* ginnasio (three years) and a *liceo* (two years).[27]

This proposal was unanimously approved by the commission, who also drafted an outline curriculum. Latin would be taught for only an hour a week in lower *ginnasio*, the educational cycle that could also precede *Realschule*. Following the same logic, Greek was moved to the last two years of upper *ginnasio* and to *liceo*. This left more hours for teaching Italian, a subject that was to be further developed in the final year of upper *ginnasio*, with the addition of Italian literature studies. The proposed 3+3+2 formula made the lower *ginnasio* similar to a single *Mittelschule* compulsory for all, and a precursor of the contemporary Italian *scuola media unica* (which was only established in 1962). It is certain that Ambrosoli, who spoke out on the issue in 1854, was in favour of a universal middle school on the grounds that it would help to prevent school dropout. The commission's proposal, which cut down on Latin, expanded the Italian curriculum and reduced the hours of Greek to make room for science and philosophy in the final two-year cycle, implied a partial return to the Napoleonic model, whose cultural value was still recognised.

Concerning the need for adequate teacher education, the commission recommended that the ministry set up two Normal institutes (in Pavia and Padua) for the training of secondary school teachers. The student teachers were to attend third-level courses in the subjects they planned to teach, both at the university and at the Normal institute (in the respective city), where they were to be taught by *liceo* and *ginnasio* teachers who would be salaried by the government. They would study teaching methodologies with the head of the institute. This would have

26 Cf. Brezinka 2012, pp. 9f.

27 See Mazohl Wallnig 1975; Chierichetti/Polenghi 2017.

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ensured that aspiring teachers received a solid foundation both in their subject and in pedagogy, didactics and subject didactics. At the end of their course of studies, normally lasting three years, the students would receive their teaching licence on passing a final oral and written examination in all their subjects. During the third year, the students would be allowed to take on substitute teaching assignments, thereby also gaining practical training.[28]

The commission's proposal contained several extremely modern features. At the time it was put forward, it would have enabled recovery of both the innovative *curricula* of the Napoleonic *liceo* and the standards of the 1805 *Schulverfassung*, which had recognised the importance of a background in educational theory and didactics not only for elementary school but also for *ginnasio* teachers. To the detriment of teacher education, as Grimm and Brezinka both observed, this requirement was omitted from the Thun reform. Unfortunately, Francis Joseph refused to take the commission's suggestions on board, and in 1851 he extended the Thun-Hohenstein reform of higher education to the Kingdom of Lombardy-Venetia without making any modification to it whatsoever.

A number of difficulties immediately came to light: first and foremost, the lack of specialist teachers posed a major obstacle to the implementation and success of the reform. In addition, the *liceo* teachers in Lombardy felt that they had been demoted to the level of the *ginnasio*. Only a short time later, the Casati law was to introduce yet another reform, which dropped the Austrian model, but stopped short of offering pedagogical training for secondary teachers.[29]

As things stood on the eve of Italian unification, the Austrian school policy had clearly had positive effects when it came to the training of elementary teachers, but this proved unsatisfactory in relation to the training of secondary school teachers. With regard to how the Thun reform – which enhanced teachers' subject-specific knowledge but did not equip them with educational-didactic competence – impacted the students, Stefan Zweig has left us an eloquent autobiographical account of attending *Gymnasium* in Vienna at the close of the nineteenth century:

> 'For us school was compulsion, ennui, dreariness, a place where we had to assimilate the 'science of the not-worth-knowing' in exactly measured portions – scholastic or scholastically manufactured material which we felt could have no relation to reality or to our personal interest. It was a dull, pointless learning that the old pedagogy forced upon us, not for sake of life, for the sake of learning. And the only truly joyful moment of happiness for which I have to thank my school was the day I was able to shut the door behind me forever.
>
> It was not that our Austrian schools were bad in themselves. On the contrary, after a hundred years of experience, the curriculum had been carefully worked out and had it been transmitted with any inspiration, could have been the basis for a fruitful and fairly universal education. But because of their accurate arrangement and their dry formulary our lessons were frightfully barren and lifeless, a cold teaching apparatus which never adapted itself to the individual, but automatically registered the grades, 'good', 'sufficient', and 'insufficient', depending on how far we had complied with the 'requirements' of the curriculum. It was exactly this lack of human affection, this empty impersonality and the barracks-like quality of our surroundings that unconsciously embittered us. We had to learn our lessons and were examined on what we had learned. For eight years no teacher asked us even once what we personally wished to learn, and that encouraging stimulus, for which every young person secretly longs, was totally lacking. […]

28 Cf. Chierichetti/Polenghi 2017, pp. 292ff.

29 Cf. ibid., pp. 300ff.

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> Nor were our teachers to blame for the dreariness of the institution. They were neither good nor bad; they were not tyrants, nor on the other hand were they helpful comrades, but poor devils who were slavishly bound to the schedule, the officially designated curriculum. They had to accomplish their task as we had to do ours, and – we felt this clearly – they were as happy as we were when in the afternoon the school bell rang and gave them, and us, freedom. They did not love us, they did not hate us, and why should they, for they knew nothing about us; even after a year or two they knew only a few of us by name. According to the teaching methods of those times, they had nothing to do but to determine how many mistakes we had made in our last lesson. They sat up at their desks and we sat below, they questioned and we had to reply, and there was no other relation between us. [...]
> In my opinion nothing is more characteristic of the total lack of spiritual and intellectual relationship between our teachers and ourselves than the fact that I have forgotten all their names and faces. With photographic precision my memory still retains the picture of the teacher's desk and the classbook, into which we always tried to peep because it contained our marks. I can see the little red notebook in which the grades were entered, I can see the short black pencil with which our marks were reported, and I can see my own book strewn with the teacher's corrections in red ink, but I can no longer see a single one of their faces – possibly for the reason that we always stood before them with eyes indifferent or cast down.
> This dissatisfaction with school was by no means a personal attitude. I cannot recall a single one of my comrades who would be reluctant to admit that our interests and good intentions were wearied, hindered and suppressed in this treadmill'.[30]

These words of Zweig's deserve to be remembered when – in debating the professional development of contemporary secondary teachers – we may be tempted to overlook or deny the importance of adequate training in educational theory and practice.

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30 Zweig 2006, pp. 29ff.

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