

DONNE NEL NOVECENTO

23

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## DONNE NEL NOVECENTO

Il Novecento è stato unanimemente definito dalla storiografia il “secolo della donne” per la loro presenza crescente nella sfera pubblica, ovvero l’ambito delle professioni, dapprima nei settori più vicini all’immaginario consolidato sull’identità femminile (lavoro di cura, insegnamento, professione sanitarie) per giungere a inficiare il monolitismo maschile nelle tradizionali roccaforti dell’atavica misoginia. Al di là di una ricerca condotta sulle agevolazioni della macrostoria, i volumi inseriti nella collana tendono a restituirci il senso del vissuto, dell’inesplorato, di quell’abisso ancora poco illuminato in cui intere esistenze hanno trovato il loro fluire, talvolta periglioso, talvolta in palese rivolta verso cristallizzate consuetudini. Ciò che si intende indagare si inquadra prevalentemente nei forti momenti di discontinuità nella storia delle donne, allorquando una strenua consapevolezza dell’ingiustizia delle pratiche vigenti e illogicamente accettate si fa coscienza dapprima isolata, poi condivisa, e infine si trasforma in precise richieste per cui vale la pena di combattere e sacrificarsi. Nel Novecento le battaglie delle donne trovano la loro legittimazione storica in un percorso di chiara natura democratica che le vede dichiarare con voci alte e sonore la loro condizione di cittadine e di lavoratrici a pieno diritto. Finalità prioritaria delle pur eterogenee ricerche presenti nella collana è restituire prioritariamente la cartografia di tale esperienza, adottando un’impostazione fortemente interdisciplinare, sul modello degli *women’s studies* di tradizione anglosassone.

Ogni volume della collana è sottoposto al giudizio di due *blind referees*.

### *Women in the 20th Century*

The twentieth century has been unanimously defined by historiographers as “the women’s century”. Indeed, it was at this time that women began to enjoy a growing presence in the public sphere, i.e., the world of work, first in those professions already considered by the collective consciousness as the province of females (childcare, teaching, and nursing), but later encroaching on territory traditionally deemed exclusively male. Going beyond a superficial, macro approach to research, the volumes in this series aim to restore a living, breathing history, leading us into unexplored worlds and shining a light into the dark corners of the past, in which entire lives were lived, sometimes dangerously, and sometimes in courageous revolt against the status quo. The main focus of investigation is the moments of discontinuity in the history of women, when they began to develop a strenuous awareness of the injustice of the conventional, if illogical, way of doing things, first as isolated individuals, and then as part of a growing tide of warriors. In the twentieth century, the battles fought by women were legitimized historically through a democratic process that enabled them to vociferously stake their claim to equal citizenship and professional standing, with all the associated rights. Although the perspectives and methods in the series may be heterogeneous, they have a common aim — to map out such experiences, bringing a robust interdisciplinary approach to the fascinating topic of women’s studies.

Each volume is submitted for approval by two blind reviewers.

La historiografía ha definido por unanimidad el s.XX como el “siglo de las mujeres” por su creciente presencia en la esfera pública, es decir, en el ámbito profesional, primero en los sectores más cercanos al imaginario consolidado relativo a la identidad femenina (cuidado de la familia, enseñanza, enfermería), para llegar a desafiar el monolitismo masculino en los bastiones tradicionales de la misoginia atávica como la judicatura, la medicina y las fuerzas armadas. Más allá de una investigación realizada sobre las ágiles alas de la macrohistoria, el objetivo de los volúmenes introducidos en esta colección es el de trazar el sentido de la experiencia, de lo inexplorado, de ese abismo todavía poco iluminado en el que fluyen enteras existencias, que, a veces, es peligroso y otras se presenta en evidente rebelión contra las costumbres cristalizadas. Lo que se pretende investigar se enmarca principalmente en los duros momentos de discontinuidad en la historia de las mujeres, cuando el incansable sentir de la injusticia de las prácticas vigentes y aceptadas irracionalmente toma conciencia, primero de forma aislada, después compartida y, por último, se transforma en reivindicaciones concretas por las que vale la pena luchar y sacrificarse. En el siglo XX las batallas de las mujeres encuentran su legitimación histórica en un recorrido de naturaleza claramente democrática en la que ellas declaran, con voz alta y sonora, su condición de ciudadanas y de trabajadoras de pleno derecho. El fin último de investigaciones tan heterogéneas existentes en la colección es principalmente restablecer la cartografía de esa experiencia, adoptando un planteamiento interdisciplinar que tiene como modelo los *women’s studies* de tradición anglosajona.

Cada volumen está sometido al juicio de dos *blind referees*.

#### *As mulheres no Século XX*

A historiografia unanimemente considerou o Século XX como o “século das mulheres” por causa da presença crescente das mesmas na esfera pública, designadamente no âmbito das profissões, inicialmente nos setores mais próximos à imagem consolidada relativamente à identidade feminina (trabalhos domésticos, ensino, assistência médica) e chegou mesmo a desafiar o monolitismo masculino nas cidadelas da misoginia atávica. Além de uma investigação efetuada sobre as asas ágeis da macro-história, os tomos incluídos nesta coletânea tendem a trazer-nos o sentido da experiência, do inexplorado, daquele abismo ainda pouco iluminado em que fluem existências inteiras, às vezes perigoso, outras vezes em evidente revolta contra hábitos cristalizados. O que se deseja indagar enquadra-se principalmente nos fortes momentos de descontinuidade na história das mulheres, nas ocasiões em que um valente conhecimento da injustiça das práticas em vigor e illogicamente aceites torna-se consciência, primeiro isoladamente, em seguida de forma partilhada e, enfim transforma-se em reivindicações claras pelas quais vale a pena combater e sacrificar-se. No Século XX as batalhas das mulheres alcançaram uma própria legitimização histórica em um percurso de natureza claramente democrática em que elas declaram em voz alta e sonora a própria condição de cidadãs e de trabalhadoras com plenos direitos. Uma finalidade prioritária das investigações presentes nesta coletânea, mesmo se heterogêneas, é prioritariamente restabelecer a cartografia de tal experiência, ao adotar uma abordagem muito interdisciplinar no modelo dos *women’s studies* da tradição anglófona.

Cada tomo é submetido à avaliação de dois *blind referees*.

# Women's Education in Southern Europe

Historical Perspectives (19th–20th centuries)  
Volume II

*edited by*

Antonella Cagnolati  
Antonio Fco. Canales Serrano

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Barbara De Serio  
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*Tout ouvrage est jugé d'après les règles du genre auquel il appartient, et ce genre présumé dispose les lecteurs à y chercher telle ou telle sorte de mérite. Il n'est donc pas indifférent de déterminer précisément le genre d'un ouvrage mis pour la première fois sous les yeux du public; car on peut craindre que l'impression qu'il en recevra ne diffère de celle qu'il avait attendue et que ce qu'il cherchait ne nuise à ce qu'il trouve. J'ai vu des livres déclarés froids, parce qu'on s'était préparé à les lire et à les juger comme romans; d'autres au succès desquels a nui l'espérance trompée d'y reconnaître un système. Je prends donc la précaution d'annoncer que je n'ai voulu donner ici ni un roman sur l'éducation, ni un système d'éducation.*

M.me Guizot, *Éducation Domestique, ou Lettres de Famille sur l'Éducation*  
(A. Leroux et Constant-Chantpie, Tome Première, Paris 1826, Preface)





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## Aknowledgements

The preliminary research project that ultimately led to the publication of this volume was originally written up for the 17<sup>th</sup> *Coloquio* of the *Sociedad Española de Historia de la Educación*, which took place at Cádiz on the 9th to 11th of July, 2013. In the interval between one session and another, before the magnificent spectacle of the sea at Cádiz, the two editors – who had long been considering the idea of publishing a book together – agreed that there was a need for a scientific account of a parallel history narrating the long and arduous but essential journey of the women of the Mediterranean, first towards literacy, and then towards emancipation.

This idea appealed to other colleagues, each with their own particular perspective, who enthusiastically got on board, defining geographical areas and moments in the history of female literacy in the south, particularly the Mediterranean region. The response was so prompt and plentiful that we published the first volume in February 2017 and now the second, – testament to the great interest harboured by the scientific community for this topic.

We, the editors, would therefore like to extend our heartfelt thanks to all those who responded so prodigiously to our call for their excellent contributions, which do credit to the entire effort. Particular thanks are also due to the publishing house Aracne, who with great sensitivity readily agreed to publish not one but two volumes, and to the University of Foggia for entirely funding both the research project and the publication of these books.

Ferrara – La Laguna, 15<sup>th</sup> February 2018

Antonella Cagnolati, Antonio Fco. Canales Serrano



## In a different voice

ANTONELLA CAGNOLATI, ANTONIO FCO. CANALES SERRANO\*

What do we mean when we use the expression «women's education»? What training paths do you have in mind? And for which categories – deriving from the affiliation of ethnicity, social class, language, habits, and why not, even of prejudices rooted in the patriarchal substratum of each society? The analysis becomes complex because, far from embracing and sharing a sterile neo-positivist trajectory, we are faced with singular individualities with a different story, marked by arduous struggles and fatiguing destinies.

The conquest of the alphabet was often for women the first step towards freedom: freedom to think, travel, work, to feel and become part of the world and not considered as simple subjects with were not allowed to speak. Education has set minds and hearts in motion, has re-discussed ancestral certainties, has designed hopes never conceived until then, has opened the doors that were well locked with powerful guardians. For this reason, and for anyone who wants to trace historical paths searching for the lives and destinies of individual women, it is necessary to start from their formation, from their *Bildung*, made up of many fragments: home, family, readings, friendships, mentors, lights. This book and the single chapters composing it are devoted to those women who fought a long battle on school desks just to allow us to be here and tell their stories.

Let us therefore enter into the merits of the essays that make up the collection. In all, the centrality of the role of women shines: in the first place as owners of educational pathways, in the double sense of reception of formal and informal curricula, and as organizers of specific ini-

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tatives aimed at children, be they pioneering schools, publications, journals and magazines for childhood.

Vincenzo Lagioia describes in depth the portrait of Madame de Maintenon as painted by the historians. The image of Maintenon came to us through a literature that preferred to focus on the marginal aspects of her person or on dimensions that concerned the affective, religious and relational dimension of the Court rather than on the political and educational one. Instead, the figure of the governess, the Christian pedagogist and the educator of numerous young girls disappeared. Maintenon learns from her life, takes advantage of the experience with children; above all, she loves them and pours attention and scruples that, as we know from her biography, were given to her with avarice. It is through the pages of the pedagogist and academician Octave Gréard and of the writer Saint-Marc Girardin that the reflection on the educational qualities of the Marquise de Maintenon returns to be central. The profiles presented in *L'Éducation des femmes par les femmes* and in *Études sur le règne de Louis XIV* aim at telling a biography inserted in the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> century through a historical-political objective that gives back to the story its real complexity.

The case described in detail by Elena Musiani turns to the analysis of the important role played by bourgeois women in Bologna of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Described as the century of discovery of the maternal role of women, this century ended up establishing a clear division between public and private spheres. The Napoleonic Civil Code contributed to providing the legal framework for relegating women to the domestic sphere, attributing to them solely the care of the home and family. In the post-unified context of «making the Italians», however, Italian women began to carve out new roles for themselves, and to leave the domestic walls behind to embrace a career in the wider context of education. This contribution investigates this aspect through some example female protagonists of Bolognese society during the *Risorgimento*, and the phase of construction of the liberal state. At this time of transition from domesticity to direct action, these women sought to affect society through association, individual educational acts and, especially, the production of writing aimed at «building and defining» a new type of female citizen.

Moving on the North East coast of the Mediterranean, we find other case studies such as those related to the role of women in Bosnia and Herzegovina. During the Austrian-Hungarian rule of Bosnia and

Herzegovina (BiH), girls were educated to be good housewives with a sense of economy and good taste. They were trained to be able to balance their own needs and with the economic status of their households. When teacher-training schools opened, girls were allowed to take classes in this discipline. However, if they did decide to become teachers, they were discouraged from getting married. They were allowed to marry their male colleagues, fellow teachers, but if they desired to marry anyone else, they would have to give up their teaching position. In this context, Snjezara presents two brave and intelligent female teachers – Jagoda Truhelka and Jelica Belović – who arrived in BiH from Croatia. Both of them became principals of the Higher School for girls in Banja Luka, and later on worked in Sarajevo. They spent most of their lives in BiH, teaching in schools and writing various articles and books on children's lives, people heritage, and national history, etc. They were proficient in several foreign languages and read foreign literature, translating important pedagogical articles into the local language. Despite all their efforts and the results they obtained, their priceless contribution was largely forgotten in BiH.

A relevant focus is put on the situation of women in Albania by Vittoria Bosna. As gender equality is considered a fundamental goal and a vector of democracy and peace in a territory that aspires to stability and equal rights, this is particularly true for a state like Albania. The aim of this contribution is to reconstruct the processes of female education in 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> century Albania, demonstrating how Albanian women worked, raised their children, reinforced traditions, and participated in social life, showing also in the same time the sacrifices they made to educate and emancipate themselves. Indeed, education allowed women to become protagonists in these battles: brilliant in this sense is the example of Sevasti Qiriazhi, founder of the first private school for girls in Albania. According to her opinion, the school was considered a didactic-educational institution, where pupils had to acquire knowledge, the ability to think and express themselves, and good manners, but also to become active members of society, and further the cause of Albanian national unity.

Another fresh and stimulant landscape is opened by the contribute of Antonella Cagnolati, in which the analysis of several case studies reveals the extraordinary range of sources available to an ongoing interdisciplinary research endeavor that is weaving together the primary strands of the History of Education in post-Unification Italy. The pro-

ject aims to assess individual memories, the history of schooling, and educational pathways – reconstructing a tradition in which women with various levels of training (teachers, educators, and authors of children’s books) determinedly took their place in society, fully aware of the fundamental role they were taking on.

If we consider education as a means of identity construction in autobiographical accounts, there are still many avenues on this journey to explore: the school as a place; the books read and pondered upon; encounters with individuals that shape self-image and guide children, teenagers and young women towards becoming fully-rounded adults; and the roads they travelled, albeit in a limited space. It is also worthwhile examining the educational context as a whole, and how the women’s identity was shaped by the friendships, family, and other key figures in the neighborhood, parish and quarter.

Indeed, each of these factors plays a decisive role in the creation of an individual’s psychological make-up, and, in recounting their very personal experiences, authors of autobiographies give us vital clues as to the wider picture. In spite of the mystification and censorship employed by these now adult and self-conscious writers, the facts, events and episodes they narrate must be scrupulously dissected if we are to get a clear picture from the fragments we can discern from the individual and heterogeneous accounts available to us. We must shine a light into the shadows, and contextualise the various divergences, homologies and discontinuities.

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

Beginning with an in-depth analysis of Maria Montessori’s famous trilogy on the study of childhood as a religious sensory period, the contribution of Barbara De Serio retraces the history of the first applications of the Montessori method in the field of religious education. It



explores the institution of the first Children's Homes in the Church, established in Spain in the 1910s. For Montessori, religion, although a doctrine, was primarily a sentiment, strongly felt by the child by virtue of the purity of their spirit; children were naturally in communion with the transcendent – a closeness reflected in their “psychic” powers.

This concept was also dear to Adele Costa Gnocchi, one of Montessori's first students. With her mentor's blessing, Costa Gnocchi was able to keep her pedagogical model alive in Italy, and embarked upon projects that Montessori could only plan, but not implement. For example, Montessori's studies on birth are behind Costa Gnocchi's model of religious education, which in her opinion should start from birth, involving the newborn – that miracle of creation. Indeed, in her view the metaphorical transition from biological life to the spiritual begins at birth, and has the “divine” power to shape a “new man”.

Let's move now to Spain. In their chapter, after a historical overview of the introduction of women into Spanish academic bodies, and a brief description of their current status and the transformations that have taken place in the university teaching profession as the 20<sup>th</sup> century became 21<sup>st</sup>, Irina Rasskin Gutman and Tamar Groves present the identity and positions of seven academic women with diverse professional and life trajectories. The stories analysed elucidate the wide range of new challenges faced by university lecturers, especially since the recent incorporation of Spanish universities into the European Higher Education Area (EHEA). Interviews reveal their different positions as regards the three dimensions that constitute the profession: teaching, research and management. They also shed light on the new evaluation criteria for access, maintenance and promotion in an academic career. At the same time, their stories reveal the persistence of several historical challenges, and highlight the continued problematic role that institutions play in promoting or hindering, in a more or less tangible way, equal opportunities and the professional development of women. Also discussed is the fundamental role of families in the search for an increasingly complicated balance between professional and personal identity.

Then we come to the last essay of the volume with the contribution of Manuela Ladogana. The problems related to old age have led to great contradictions in the structure of society, and the life of every person. Pedagogical research should be questioning the possibility of educating people to experience old age as a new life – open to previ-

ously unimaginable opportunities for knowledge, being and doing. There is a need for training in old age that promotes, in each individual, the ability to look towards a yet undiscovered future. This will involve rethinking the past, in a constant redefinition of an increasingly complex self.

This contribution aims to reflect on the formative value of autobiographical narration in the process of identity construction in the elderly. Specifically, it emphasises the pedagogical value to older women of narrating their life stories. Essentially, the idea is to give older women the opportunity to discover how the process of their own history of formation and transformation can still evolve and enrich itself, by evoking, reinterpreting, and recomposing their existential experiences to date. Indeed by means of a non-threatening medium such as the story, it is possible to begin conscious reflection on one's own female identity, recovering a subjectivity that in real life is often prevented.

## Françoise d'Aubigné au XIXe siècle

L'immagine dell'istitutrice Maintenon in Octave Gréard  
e Saint-Marc Girardin

VINCENZO LAGIOIA\*

Presque toutes les maisons ne sont réglées que par les femmes, à qui leurs maris en abandonnent le gouvernement: et le soin qu'elles prennent de l'éducation des enfants, est bien plus considérable aux familles et plus important à l'État, que celui qu'elles ont des biens. Elles se donnent toutes entières à leur conservation.<sup>1</sup>

Riflette così il filosofo cartesiano e femminista ante litteram François Poullain de La Barre nel suo celebre trattato *De l'Égalité des deux sexes*, opera complessa e in parte ripensata dallo stesso qualche anno dopo con la pubblicazione del saggio *De l'Excellence des hommes*<sup>2</sup>. A richiamare il filosofo, però, è il pedagogista e accademico francese Octave Gréard (1828-1904) nella sua opera, fondamentale per gli studi sull'educazione, *L'Éducation des femmes par les femmes*<sup>3</sup>. Nel presentare la sua teoria di profili e modelli educativi, di uomini e donne che a suo parere hanno inciso significativamente sulla formazione delle donne, nel contesto del lungo Ottocento francese<sup>4</sup>, il pedagogista mo-

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<sup>1</sup> F. POUILLAIN DE LA BARRE, *De l'Égalité des deux sexes, discours physique et moral où l'on voit l'importance de se défaire des préjugés*, chez Jean du Puis, Paris 1673, qui citata nell'edizione curata da Marie-Frédérique Pellegrin per Vrin, Paris 2011, p. 86.

<sup>2</sup> Sulla figura di Poullain de La Barre si veda E. DORLIN, *L'Évidence de l'égalité des sexes. Une philosophie oubliée du XVIIe siècle*, L'Harmattan, Paris 2001; anche S. STUURMAN, *François Poulain de la Barre and the Invention of Modern Equality*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge 2004. Fondamentale, per una visione storiografica complessiva, P. HOFFMANN, *La femme dans la pensée des Lumières*, Slatkine Reprints, Genève 1995.

<sup>3</sup> Per approfondire si veda J. MICHELET, *Nos fils: étude par Octave Gréard*, Lévy, Paris 1903; S. DAUPHIN, *Le vice-recteur Octave Gréard, rénovateur des lycées parisiens (1880-1895)*, in C. Pierre, L. Jean-Noël, S. Philippe (Eds.), *Lycées, lycéens, lycéennes: Deux siècles d'histoire*, INRP, Paris 2005; Id., *Octave Gréard, 1828-1904*, Presses Universitaires de Rennes, Rennes 2016.

<sup>4</sup> Cfr. F. MAYEUR, *L'éducation des filles en France au XIXe siècle*, Perrin, Paris 1979; C. DUPRAT, *Usage et pratiques de la philanthropie. Pauvreté, action sociale et lien social, à Paris, au cours du premier XIXe siècle*, Comité d'histoire de la Sécurité sociale, 2 voll., Paris 1997; J. N. LUC, *L'invention du jeune enfant au XIXe siècle. De la salle d'asile à l'école ma-*

stra come in una vetrina le qualità di ogni modello. Il primo ad aprire l'elenco delle *auctoritates* è l'arcivescovo di Cambrai François de Salignac de La Mothe-Fénelon (1651-1715). Gréard si domanda: «comment Fénelon appréciait le rôle social des femmes et quelle idée il se faisait de leur aptitude à recevoir l'éducation»<sup>5</sup>.

È con tale premessa che l'accademico introduce ai differenti pensieri, chimerici e pratici, sul ruolo della donna nel secolo in cui lui vive, sull'attitudine a ricevere e dare educazione in senso di formazione completa. Poulain de La Barre quindi, nelle sue opere *De l'Égalité* e ancor meglio nell'*Education des dames pour la conduite de l'esprit dans les sciences et dans les lettres* (1679), pensando alla donna nei ruoli socialmente attribuiti agli uomini, si spinge provocatoriamente, è il pensiero di Gréard, attraverso una volontà di sfida verso un ordine costituito e solidamente conservato. Ben più comprensibile e moderata, sempre a parere del pedagogista, è la posizione dell'abate Claude Fleury (1640-1723) che però non rende ancora giustizia alle numerose qualità delle donne che non possono essere circoscritte a quelle che universalmente vengono considerate le loro caratteristiche. È forse proprio attraverso la cristallizzazione dei femminili temperamenti che si continua a scrivere la narrazione sull'essere donna, sulla sua educazione e sul ruolo a essa legato:

Ce sera sans doute un grand paradoxe de soutenir que les filles doivent apprendre autre chose que leur catéchisme, la couture et divers petits ouvrages: chanter, danser et s'habiller à la mode, faire bien la révérence et parler civilement; car voilà en quoi consiste pour l'ordinaire toute leur éducation.<sup>6</sup>

Emancipazione disordinata, chimerica uguaglianza, tutto questo non appartiene alla solida riflessione che l'arcivescovo di Cambrai espone nella sua opera, considerata fondamentale per il percorso evolutivo degli studi pedagogici, *Traité de l'éducation des filles* (1687). Rispondendo quindi alle spinte eccessivamente progressiste, il futuro precettore del duca di Borgogna e autore del Telemaco, opera che gli avrebbe portato non pochi problemi per le ironiche considerazioni verso il governo di Luigi XIV come pure problemi gli avrebbe portato

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ternelle, Belin, Paris 1997; R. ROGERS, *Les Bourgeoises au pensionnat. L'Éducation féminine au XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Presses Universitaires de Rennes, Rennes 2007.

<sup>5</sup> O. GREARD, *L'éducation des femmes par les femmes*, Hachette, Paris 2<sup>e</sup> éd. 1887, p. 15.

<sup>6</sup> Si tratta di un passaggio dell'opera dell'abate FLEURY, *Traité du choix et de la méthode des études*, chez Aubouin, Paris 1686, citato in GREARD, p. 16.