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ADDRESSEES AS PROTAGONISTS OF READING BOOK STORIES:
CHILDREN AND THEIR PORTRAYAL – A COMPARISON OF AN ITALIAN
STORYBOOK FOR ITALIAN – LANGUAGE SCHOOLCHILDREN DURING
THE IMPERIAL AND ROYAL HABSBURG ERA AND A GERMAN STORYBOOK
FOR GERMAN-LANGUAGE SCHOOLCHILDREN IN (PRE-)FASCIST ITALY

DESTINATARI COME PROTAGONISTI NELLE STORIE DEL LIBRO
DI LETTURA: I RAGAZZI E LA LORO RAPPRESENTAZIONE –
UNA COMPARAZIONE DI UN LIBRO DI STORIE ITALIANO PER ITALIANI –
IL LINGUAGGIO DEI RAGAZZI IN ETÀ SCOLARE DURANTE
LA MONARCHIA ASBURGICA E UN LIBRO DI STORIE TEDESCO
PER RAGAZZI GERMANOFONI A SCUOLA NELL'ITALIA (PRE-)FASCISTA

Schoolbooks are written for children. The stories and narratives they contain are a self-representation of society and its values and visions. This paper analyzes the texts in two textbooks written for children of a minority language in Trentino and in South Tyrol in the historical context of nationalist settings in the early 20th century. The focus of interest lies in the representation of child protagonists in the stories and narratives.

I libri di testo sono scritti per i bambini. Le storie e le narrazioni che contengono sono un'auto-rappresentazione della società, dei suoi valori e delle sue idee. Il presente contributo analizza i testi contenuti in due libri di testi scolastici scritti per i bambini appartenenti a una minoranza linguistica del Trentino e dell'Alto Adige, durante il periodo storico dei contesti nazionalisti del 20esimo secolo. Principale focus d'interesse è la rappresentazione del bambino protagonista all'interno di tali storie e racconti.

Key words: Schoolbook analysis; image of the child; nationalism and childhood; instrumentalization of the school.

Parole chiave: Analisi dei libri di testo; rappresentazione del bambino; infanzia e nazionalismo; strumentalizzazione della scuola.

The significance of schoolbooks as «an important medium of public discourse and pedagogical communication» (Radtke 2002, 5) is considerable since, as pointed out by Schissler and Soysal (2005), they «communicate perceptual patterns and interpretations with a long-term effect» (Lässig 2010, 199). Schoolbooks present «a precise dominant, socio-cultural knowledge», which in turn «constructs a selective description of reality» (Höhne 2003, 105). Thus, schoolbooks amount to media of knowledge «in which socio-cultural knowledge is articulated in a specific, media-based form – in the shape of a book and as pedagogically coded, institutionalised and historically as well as temporally compressed knowledge» (Ivi, 73). Wiater (2003) describes research on school books as research into cultural history which, as Weinbrenner (1995) explains, is only possible in a socio-cultural setting considering the political context of the time and «only as a partial analysis due to its complexity»



(1995, 41). This study analyses two storybooks devised for and used in the Italian and German-language provinces of today's Trentino-South Tyrol, Italy's northern-most region. Each created in substantially different times and political contexts, the books were issued 21 years apart and are bibliographically listed as follows:

(1) Bertamini, Albino. 1906. *Libro di lettura per le Scuole popolari austriache. Edizione in tre parti. Parte II. Ristampato inalterata all'edizione del 1904.* Vienna: I.r. Deposito dei libri scolastici¹.

(2) Prof. Bonatta, Cesare. 1925. *Italisches Abendland. Lesebuch für Elementarschulen. Oberstufe. Approbiert vom kgl. Ministerium für Unterricht.* Bolzano-Milano: Editore Luigi Trevisini.

Bertamini's book was addressed to children who were native speakers of Italian and attended the Italian-language primary schools of today's Trentino, which was part of Austria until 1918. Bonatta's book was written for German-speaking children in fascist Italy. Although the latter was only published in 1925, i.e. just over two years after the Fascists rose to power (22 October 1922), it can be assumed that it had been commissioned prior to that (Seberich 2000). Hence, both schoolbooks are written in the mother tongue of cultural and linguistic minorities which – both openly and covertly – reacted to the assimilation policies of their respective states with irredentist endeavours.

The principal focus in analysing the data material lies on the extent to which children are made protagonists of the stories to be read, highlighting the following aspects:

1. Gender distribution: What is the quantitative ratio in terms of gender distribution?
2. Assignment of roles: Which are the child protagonists' roles?
3. Assignment of characteristics: Which attributes are assigned to the child protagonists?
4. Open or concealed normative elements in the sense of moralising instructions to act aimed at the addressees: Do the stories with child protagonists contain open or concealed messages/prompts addressed to the principal receivers of the reading passages?

The methodology is derived from Mayring's (2010) qualitative content analysis approach. By accessing the question with the help of category-building, it was possible to assign roles and attributes to the child protagonists and analyse any implied or explicit instructions to act aimed at the addressees. Using an inductive method in compliance with the process model, the following categories and sub-categories were extracted from the data material:

Aspect 2 (assignment of roles)

- son/daughter
- pupil

¹ According to bibliographic details, the book was first published in 1904, with a second, unchanged edition issued in 1906.

- child, general
- hero/heroine
 - Aspect 3 (assignment of characteristics)
 - morally good– morally bad
 - clever, wise – simple-minded, naive
 - brave, courageous – fearful
 - strong, persevering – feeble
 - obedient – disobedient
 - diligent – lazy, idle
 - grateful – ungrateful
 - Aspect 4 (open or concealed normative elements)
- medium of the message conveyed
 - positive example
 - negative example
 - comparison
 - not assignable
- content alignment
 - willingness to work/sense of duty
 - religious devoutness/godly life
 - altruism
 - gratefulness
 - moral superiority
 - honesty
 - courage
 - national solidarity
- how the message is conveyed
 - indirectly
 - directly
 - not assignable

Thanks to its plentiful content, the text material would also be suitable for an additional deductive analysis, e.g. through pedagogical text hermeneutics (Rittelmeyer; Parmentier 2001), which would, however, go beyond the scope of this essay. An additional hermeneutic scrutiny, e.g. based on text sequence examples, could serve to better integrate the systemic interrelations of the addressees into the analytic process. As Schapp points out, the people (in this case Italian-language children in an Austrian school and German-language children in an Italianised, fascist school) are constantly «caught up in stories» due to their own socio-cultural embedding and must therefore be positioned in their social and political contexts: «Each story, as an open entity, is connected to other stories and, together with them, forms a context of events, actions and sense» (Vonderach 1997, 170). Against this background, the term story refers to both a text to be read and a systemic living context (Luhmann 2004). To shed light on both the intentions of the producers of the school books and how the children are confronted with the texts in the sense of a constructivist study of contents that are

not only alien but also, to a certain extent, perplexing (an alien, hostile cultural community; political oppression) based on their systemic classification, a study was conducted to determine the contexts in terms of time and academic history from which the two books originate and in which they are used (section A). Another section – part analysis and part paraphrasing – is dedicated to the structure of the books in terms of form and content (section B), followed by an analysis of the schoolbooks based on the above questions.

Presentation and analysis of the schoolbooks

(1) Bertamini, Albino. 1906. *Libro di lettura per le Scuole popolari austriache. Edizione in tre parti. Parte II. Ristampato inalterata all'edizione del 1904.* Vienna: I.r. Deposito dei libri scolastici².

a) Context: scholastic history and time in which the book is produced and used

Since 1363, the two regions known today as South Tyrol and Trentino belonged to the Crown lands of Tyrol and were part of the multi-ethnic composite state ruled by the Habsburg monarchy. Therefore, state regulations on education applied to both dominions to an equal extent. In 1774, Empress Maria Theresa reformed the school system introducing mandatory education during six years, to which two more years were added in 1869 under the *Reichsvolksschulgesetz*, Act on primary education (Augschöll 1999). In many cases, however, at micro-level – in the individual city and village schools – the prescriptions in matters of education policy as a re-contextualisation process (translation process) at the hands of its stakeholders (teachers, parents and pupils) within the scope of their possibilities and the given framework (Fend 2006), were only implemented with considerable shortfalls; this was true for both the German-language and the Italian-language parts of the dominion and, among other things, was due to the fact that the state had encumbered the village and city councils with the task of financing the basic education system – in other words the pupils' parents (Antonelli 2013; Augschöll 2000). For the territories with national minorities, the multi-ethnic state provided the founding of primary schools in the respective mother tongues. Accordingly, compulsory education in Trentino was organised in Italian with only a few exceptions (Vitali 2017). The question of the language to be used in all higher education institutions and universities was a constant issue of conflict between the non-German linguistic groups and the “fatherland”. Following the demands for the equal treatment of nationalities made during the revolution of 1848/49, the so-called Imposed March Constitution of 1849 defined «that the peoples who make up the minorities receive the means required to foster their language and to educate in the selfsame» (Engelbrecht 1986, 295). And yet, the demands raised by Trentino to obtain autonomous authority in the school sector, i.a. for an independent section

² Bertamini, Albino. 1906. *Reading book for Austrian primary schools.* Edition in three parts. Part II. Re-print of the 1904 edition; no changes made. Vienna: Imperial and Royal School Book Depository.

within the Tyrol School Board, were repeatedly rejected. The German-language Tyrolean lawmakers, who had set their heart on Germanising the Italian-language dominions, are largely to blame for the failure of the negotiations on autonomy. Meanwhile, especially after 1870, irredentist sentiments³ were on the rise in the Italian-speaking Trentino – i.a. in schools. Teachers, as Engelbrecht (1986, 295) elaborates on the education system of national minorities in the multi-ethnic state, «stood at the very front [...] among the bearers of national life» – an observation that proved to apply to Trentino, too. The use of corresponding didactic materials, too, familiarised the schoolchildren with the notion of uniting Trentino with the recently unified Kingdom of Italy. In the academic year of 1870/71, for instance, school superintendents discovered the history book *Cento racconti di storia patria* by Raffaele Altavilla, which clearly favoured the above sentiment, during a state-mandated inspection of the private girls' school Luigia Bevilacqua in Trento. The *Figlie del Sacro Cuore* teacher training college and its practice facility, the municipal primary school, were found to use cartographic material depicting the northern border along the Brenner Pass. According to the Austrian Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Rome, such maps were part of the teaching materials throughout much of the Kingdom of Italy (Fontana 1987).

The immediate years in which Bertamini's book was compiled, printed and approved by the Imperial and Royal Ministry in Vienna are marked by a tense situation of national-political sabre-rattling within the multi-ethnic state; one that eventually contributed to the breakout of the First World War. The assimilation of Trentino and the German-language part of Tyrol up to the Brenner Pass as described in the above didactic materials was, among other things, to become a political fact only a few years later.

b) Book structure: form and content

This book contains 198 pages, features no illustrations and uses the letters of the Roman alphabet. Changes in the type face are achieved with the help of italics using serifs for poems, songs, riddles and mnemonic passages. The first text in the book is a prayer praising God's omnipresence (*Dio*). The last page features an anthem extolling God, the Emperor and the fatherland (*Il nostro Inno popolare – the anthem of our people*). All texts are marked with consecutive numbers with the exception of the anthem and any aphorisms following a text. The table of contents divides the book into four chapters.

Chapter one is entitled *Ammaestramenti e racconti* (teachings and tales) and contains 59 texts on 67 pages: tales, poems, prayers and moral aphorisms with mnemonic character. No authors are mentioned. The pieces are brief and generally shorter than one page in length, with the exception of 16 texts.

Chapter two is subdivided into seven sub-chapters encompassing 77 texts on 95 pages. The sub-chapters consist of seven scientific topics or sub-sections. *Nozioni di storia naturale* (relations on natural history), the first header, contains 19 texts on "human beings": different text types (tales, prayers, poems and factual texts) steeped in

³ Irredentism: *terre irredente* ("unredeemed lands").

multi-dimensional content and messages. The first piece – with the heading *L'uomo* (man) – concentrates on the soul (*l'anima*) and offers a good impression of the type of notion or narrative (*nozioni*) and natural scientific angle (*storia naturale*) contained in the texts, all of which are announced in the chapter heading in the form of keywords.

Heading number two – *L'educazione* (education) – introduces a text on the need for education and the children's duty to obey their parents. Much like in other texts, the closing statement is a mnemonic formula detailing how good children should behave. It is followed by a poem explaining those instructions.

Chapter three is entitled *L'universo* (the universe). In a colourful blend of text types spread out over 19 pages, the content continues to unfold following the above pattern. The text *I pianeti ed i satelliti* (planets and satellites), for instance, is used to describe the sun's journey from sunrise to sunset, how its rays awaken nature on every new day and how humans and animals rejoice in them. Only one factual piece of information is contained in the text: One sentence explains that the stars continue to be in the sky even during the day, but that the bright sunlight prevents us from seeing them. Only the last sentence refers to the satellites mentioned in the title: «La terra e gli altri pianeti co' loro satelliti percorrono la via, che Iddio ha loro assegnata intorno al sole» (the earth and the other planets with their satellites follow the path around the sun which God has assigned to them), followed by a poem entitled *Dio ed i Beati* (God and the Saints) describing heaven as a coveted paradise. The last verse expresses the desire to someday rise (*salire*) to this place free from sins and relish it in all eternity.

The 31 pages of chapter four are introduced as *Racconti storici* (historical accounts) and accommodate 28 texts followed by one anthem. The protagonists of 25 texts are Austrian emperors ranging from the Middle Ages until the present, i.e. the early 20th century. The stories depict brave, wise and most of all charitable rulers who are kind and benign towards their humble and devoted subjects. In the remaining three stories, faithful and courageous subjects demonstrate their willingness to sacrifice their lives for the fatherland, its flag and their compatriots in distress. One farmer, for instance, refuses to point out the way to the general of an enemy army and, even when threatened with death, declares: «Ebbene, [...] fate come v'aggrada: così morirò da suddito fedele e non avrò tradito la mia patria» (p. 180) (Fine, [...] do as you wish: This way, I will die the death of a faithful subject without betraying my fatherland). Deeply impressed by the farmer's determination to surrender his life rather than forsake his fatherland, the general decides to set him free. In the second story, a gravely wounded soldier left behind refuses to be taken to a military hospital by the enemy's medical corps. When he is found dead later on, a flag is discovered hidden underneath his body to prevent it from falling into enemy hands. The third story is that of a shipwrecked man who after a terrible storm (*orribile temporale*) is saved by a daring fisherman and two forest wardens «incoraggiati dalla sua carità ed intrepidezza» (p. 186) (encouraged by his kindness and bravery). Upon hearing of the noble deed, the Emperor rewards them with a golden medal of merit. The closing sentence offers an explanation: «Chi non rifugge da nessun pericolo, quando si tratta di salvare l'altrui vita, è ben degno di portare al petto l'effigie del suo Sovrano» (*Ibidem*) (those

who do not eschew danger to save the life of others are truly worthy of carrying their Sovereign's portrait).

c) Analysis

A considerable number of texts in the book – aphorisms, prayers, riddles, factual texts, fables and poems – do not feature a human protagonist. The exception is chapter four, *Racconti storici* (historical accounts), whose main characters in 26 out of 28 texts are Austrian emperors and other brave and devoted men. The remaining two stories are tales of the Empresses Maria Theresa and Elisabeth.

The other chapters contain 14 texts with adult, male protagonists, six of whom are fathers raising children. Among the three female protagonists are two mothers raising children and one queen: In *Umanità* (humanity), Marie Antoinette, Queen of France and the daughter of Empress Maria Theresa, hands out charity to an impoverished girl; in *Il buon compagno* (the good companion), a mother warns her son against bad company; and *Il firmamento* (the firmament) is a rhyming dialogue between a mother and her inquisitive son.

Much more is depicted by children taking the roles of protagonists, as concretely seen in 40 texts. The analysis of their gender attribution and the role they embody, led to the following results:

Gender of the child - protagonists

Child - protagonists	Number of stories**
female; active	15
female; passive	0
male; active	26
male; passive	0
children; without gender attribution; active	0
children; without gender attribution; passive	2

* Girls.

** The difference between the number (40) and the sum of stories categorized by gender is due to the fact that some stories have two protagonists belonging to different categories.

Roles embodied by the child - protagonists

Role assignment	Story number	Quantity
son/daughter	2, 3, 21, 24, 29, 32, 38, 39, 40, 41, 43, 50, 53, 54, 67, 70, 76, 159, 184	18
pupil	1, 4, 34, 35, 66	5
child - general	7, 17, 36, 37, 51, 62, 95, 186	8
hero/heroine		0

There are many more child than adult protagonists, spread out over 40 texts in total.

In terms of gender balance, girls are clearly at a disadvantage [15:26]. As for the protagonists' roles, there is a decisive predominance of patterns in relation to the generation to which they belong within the family. Even though the adult counter-roles (father, mother) are not always present, the protagonists' denomination reveals that they are to be located within a family context.

The Analysis of the attributes embodied by the child-protagonists led to the following distribution:

Attributes embodied by the child - protagonists

Category	Text number	Quantity	F	M
1a morally good	3, 4, 5*, 32*, 32, 36, 43, 50, 53*, 53, 76, 63*, 67, 76 144, 146*, 149*, 184, 186	19	6	12
1b morally bad	17, 21*, 32*, 32, 37, 41*, 62, 95, 66, 67	10	3	7
2a clever, wise	86, 149*, 159	3	1	2
2b simple-minded, naive	38*, 39, 40, 41*, 51*, 54*	6	4	2
3a brave, courageous		0	0	0
3b fearful	29*	1	1	0
4a strong, persevering		0	0	0
4b feeble		0	0	0
5a obedient	3, 59	2	0	2
5b disobedient		0	0	0
6a diligent	15, 15*, 36, 86	4	1	3
6a lazy, idle	34*, 35	2	1	1
7a grateful	3, 4, 36, 63*	4	1	3
7b ungrateful	24*	1	1	0

* Girls

What stands out from the data analysed is the protagonists' strong characterisation by means of moral attributes. Furthermore, the distribution of characteristics with positive and negative connotations among the sexes shows a stark predominance of negative attributes among the female protagonists. Based on a value of ten, the amount to which the 15 girls are portrayed with negative characteristics is equal to that of the 26 boys: While the ratio of positive and negative attributes among the boys amounts to 22:10, for the girls the outcome is 10:10.

Whether and in which context the child protagonists analysed above become characters in instructive stories for schoolchildren will now be discussed with a focus on the text medium, the orientation in terms of content and the way the message is conveyed (directly or indirectly).

Medium of the message conveyed	Text number	Quantity
positive example	3, 17, 36, 39,43, 50, 53, 62, 63, 67, 76, 83, 159,	13
negative example	15, 17, 21, 24, 29, 32, 34, 35, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 51, 54, 66, 67, 95, 149	19
comparison	2, 4, 7, 12, 16, 58	6
not assignable		0

Content alignment	Text number	Quantity
work/sense of duty	2, 23, 15, 34, 35, 86, 149	7
religious devoutness/godly life	2, 4, 7, 21, 24, 29, 32, 36, 38, 62, 159	11
altruism	16, 17, 35, 39, 41, 43, 62, 66, 95	9
gratitude	4, 24, 63	3
moral superiority	2, 12, 54, 58, 67, 76, 95	7
honesty	50, 51, 52, 67, 76	5
courage		0
national solidarity		0

Ways the message is conveyed	Text number	Quantity
indirectly	3, 4, 17, 21, 24, 29, 34, 37, 40, 41, 43, 50, 58, 62, 63, 67, 86, 95, 149, 159	20
directly	2, 7, 12, 15, 32, 35, 38, 39, 51, 62, 66	11
not assignable		0

Together with the roles assigned to both adults (predominantly mothers and fathers in the process of raising children) and children (predominantly sons and daughters), the strong characterisation of the latter by means of moral attributes reveals a tendency towards conveying normative instructions on how to act.

In 19 cases, the medium of the message is a negative example, seven of which end with an instruction presented as a clear normative element easy for the young readers to remember, i.e. rhymes or mnemonic sentences.

For example:

Il lavoro (work): Two rich children hear someone sing. Presuming that the person singing is on holiday, they follow the voice and are surprised to discover a farmer at work. When they ask why he is so merry, the farmer explains that he is always joyful whilst working. He asks the children whether they work, too, to which they reply that they do not need to. The farmer then asks:

E avete mai la voglia di stare allegri? [...] I ricchi fanciulli fecero un po' di sforzo da principio per occuparsi; ma in breve tempo conobbero che il contadinello aveva ragione, e che il più bel secreto per esser lieto è quello di non istar mai in ozio. La noia è una malattia, e

l'unico suo rimedio è il lavoro. L'albero non cade dal primo colpo. Ogni principio è difficile: passata la fatica, è dolce il riposo. Chi ben comincia, ha la metà dell'opera. (p. 14) (Don't you ever feel like being merry? [...] At first, the rich children struggled, but soon they understood that the farmer was right, and that the most beautiful secret of being joyful is never to be idle. Boredom is an illness and its only remedy is work. The tree won't fall after the first blow of the axe. All beginnings are difficult: Once the strain is over, resting is sweet. Starting off well is half the work done).

The most instructions with an orientation in terms of content can be attributed to the category “religious devoutness – godly life”: God sees everything (*Dio vede tutto*), as the title of text no. 32 announces – one of the principal messages of the texts categorised here. According to the story, two children start rummaging through the house in search of sweets. All the while they try to remain unseen until suddenly they remember: «Dio è presente in ogni luogo, e noi non potremmo sfuggirlo» (God is present everywhere and we cannot escape him). Glad to have recalled this fact just in time, they thank God: «O mio Dio, l'occhio tuo penetrante mi tenga sempre lontano dal commettere il male!» (Dear God, may your ever-vigilant eye keep me from committing evil!) At the end, the insight is once more reiterated as a prompt.

Based on the present research, the following can be asserted with regard to the research questions:

- As for the gender distribution among the protagonists, girls are at a disadvantage [15:26].
- Both girls and boys are described as active characters.
- The children are predominantly portrayed in the role of sons and daughters.
- The attributes once more show a clear differentiation between boys and girls, with the latter being characterised in a decidedly more negative way [positive-negative characterisation ratio: boys 22:10, girls 10:10].
- In the sub-category “simple-minded, naive”, the girls even beat the boys based on absolute numbers with a ratio of 4:2.
- The most attributes assigned to the protagonists can be classified as “morally good”, followed by “morally bad”.
- All stories with child protagonists convey messages containing rules of conduct.
- The above messages are primarily transmitted through negative examples [19] alongside fewer positive examples [13] and comparisons [6].
- In 20 texts, the reader is referred to the “moral of the story”. Eleven texts end with warnings and rules of conduct concluded from the story and presented in the form of aphorisms, mnemonics or even rhymes.
- Seven out of eleven negative examples and three comparisons end with a clear normative element.
- The substance of the directions to act can be mainly attributed to the sub-categories “religious devoutness – godly life” [11], “altruism” [9], and “willingness to work/sense of duty” [7].

When viewed on the whole, the book reveals the following distinctive characteristics:

- portrayal of women: meagre representation of girls and women; negative connotations in comparison with boys;
- pedagogical notion: stories steeped in moral messages conveyed through negative examples and normative formulas;
- historical angle: limited to the history of the House of Habsburg;
- notion of the school's function of conveying knowledge: facts are dealt with in an unobjective way.

(2) Prof. Bonatta, Cesare. 1925. *Italisches Abendland. Lesebuch für Elementarschulen. Oberstufe. Approbiert vom kgl. Ministerium für Unterricht*. Bolzano-Milano: Editore Luigi Trevisini⁴.

a) Context: scholastic history and time in which the book is produced and used

The book *Italisches Alpenland – Lesebuch für Elementarschulen – Oberstufe* by Prof. Cesare Bonatta was printed in 1925, in other words 21 years after the first edition of the book presented above. It was issued under substantially changed political conditions for the former part of the Crown lands of Tyrol south of the Brenner Pass that had since been apportioned to Italy. With regard to linguistic minorities within the state, by 1925 a strict policy of Italianisation was already in place, initiated by the Fascists who had come to power in October 1922. It can be assumed that the book had been commissioned prior to that time.

Cesare Bonatta, a professor of German language, compiled a number of new schoolbooks for German-speaking schoolchildren in the new Italian provinces. They went to press between 1923 and 1926. The two books *Italisches Alpenland – Mittelstufe* and *Oberstufe* (intermediate and advanced level) are cleared for use in the new provinces, as the records of the central Ministerial Commission in Rome state. Only one more book⁵ is featured on the list of approved books at that time (Ascenzi; Sani 2005). From 1927 on, the list contains no more German-language books.

The first years after the end of World War I and the definition of the Brenner Pass as the new state border are the temporal and political context of the book. Following the Armistice of Villa Giusti (3 November 1918), Italy occupied the territories south of the Brenner Pass. With the Treaty of Saint-Germain (2 September 1919), the Italian-speaking Trentino and the German – and Ladin-speaking part of the Crown lands of Tyrol south of the Brenner Pass were definitively allocated to Italy as spoils of war (based on the promises made in the Treaty of London in exchange for Italy entering the war on 23 May 1915).

The approach adopted by the Italian occupying forces up until September 1919 with regard to the German-speaking population of South Tyrol was much more gentle than the one used against ethnic minorities in Trieste, Istria and the crown land of

⁴ Prof. Bonatta, Cesare. 1925. *The Italic Occident. Reading book for elementary schools. Advanced level*. Approved by the Royal Ministry of Education. Bolzano-Milano: Luigi Trevisini.

⁵ Pasqualis, Mario. *Aus der Schule ins Freie. 4a classe*. Milano: A. Mondadori.

Gorizia and Gradisca, all of which were also occupied. Historian Stefan Lechner sees this as a strategic move: «A brutal approach by the Italians might have had a negative impact on the Paris Peace Conference, since the South Tyroleans had the backing of a still strong and influential German nation, while the Slavs only had the young and weak Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes to rely on» (Lechner 2005, 34).

German-language tuition was upheld, and at the same time, Italian-language schools opened in larger cities and a few villages. Religious education was removed from the core of subjects taught and became an elective subject. As decreed on 15 January 1919, all schools were to honour the new political circumstances by replacing the fatherland-oriented teachings of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy with the geography and history of Italy, focusing strongly on the Risorgimento and the last war (Steininger 2004, 21). Although a mandatory provision, many schools did not integrate Italian-language teachings into their timetables (*Ibidem*; Augschöll Blasbichler 2018).

During Prime Minister Francesco Saverio Nitti's term, the military administrators in the occupied territories were replaced by civil administrators. In July 1919, Luigi Credaro was appointed General Civil Commissioner of Venezia Tridentina – a former Minister of Public Education (1910-14) well-versed in German culture. While historians do not entirely agree on his political stance with regard to the German-language minority, it is true that during his term in office the pressure of the fascist powers became more evident, and especially so in South Tyrol. It was in this era that, with the Lex Corbino Act (28 August 1921), the first attack on German-language schools in South Tyrol took place. The law prescribed that all children were required to be educated in their mother tongue. Therefore, all children with Italian-sounding surnames were forcibly enrolled in Italian-language schools, which led to the closing of 115 classes in 49 German-language schools (Villgrater 1984, 26).

The Fascists' rise to power in late October 1922 concluded the liberal era across Italy. Schools were among the most important tools in their afore-mentioned Italianisation policy. The Lex Gentile Act (1 October 1923), a nation-wide reform of the Italian educational system, put an end to all non-Italian-language schools⁶. Starting with the academic year of 1923/24, all first years were taught exclusively in Italian. By the 1928/29 academic year, the reform was fully implemented. German-language teachers were dismissed and replaced by Italian teachers from the old provinces. The parents' efforts to organise basic tuition in their mother tongue in secret (so-called catacomb schools), was persecuted with the means of a totalitarian state (Villgrater 1984).

In the year the chosen book was published, German-language schools were already on their way to becoming extinct.

⁶ The Lex Gentile Act affected 444 Slavic primary and secondary schools (840 classes; 52,000 students), 324 South Tyrolean schools (593 classes; approx. 30,000 students) and 244 French-language schools in the Aosta valley" (Villgrater 1984, 37). France.

b) Book structure: form and content

Book structure: form and content

The present book by Prof. Bonatta is bound in a green-white cover. The image at its centre was well-known to its addressees: mountain peaks glistening in the pink light of dusk, framed by blue skies and a coniferous forest. Opposite the title page, a large black-and-white portrait shows the King. The caption underneath is one of only two passages in the book printed in two languages. It goes as far as translating the King's name and reads "Our King, Victor Emmanuel III":

Il nostro Re Vittorio Emanuele III
Unser König Viktor Emanuel III

Before the text part of the book begins, another black-and-white image reads the following caption: "Trento: Castello del Buon Consiglio" (Trento: Buon Consiglio Castle).

The ensuing 18 images, all but one measuring a full page, depict ten grand Italian cities and three masterpieces by Raphael (*Raphael Rooms in the Palace of the Vatican; Madonna del Granduca*), Titian (*Assunta*) and Leonardo da Vinci (*The Last Supper*) as well as the Goethe-Schiller monument in Weimar.

A view of Malles/Mals (*Roman tower in Malles in Val Venosta*), a photograph of the Ortles/Ortler glacier, another of the *dedication of the border landmark at Brennero* (Brenner), of *Our Crown Prince in Bolzano* (Bozen) and a drawing showing the *Wine harvest near Bolzano* are all derived from the addressees' geographic proximity. They can be interpreted as a message stating that the addressees have unequivocally been placed in politically new circumstances: The children come from a territory of the ancient Roman Empire (Roman tower) with mountains (Ortles/Ortler) and expertly cultivated landscapes (wine harvest), which is now irrevocably located in Italy (border landmark at the Brenner Pass) and must therefore bow to its head of state (Crown Prince).

The type face is not consistent. Some of the letters of the Latin alphabet are in italics, and 33 texts are printed in blackletter typeface. The font size and the line spacing also vary.

The 211 reading passages are split up into five chapters:

The chapter *Lehrhaftes, Erziehendes und Unterhaltendes* (instructive, educational and entertaining matters) opens with three homages to Italy and its royal family written by Edmondo de Amicis and the editor. Most of its remaining texts are pieces by the great German poets: classical ballads, short texts and brainteasers by Goethe, Schiller, Chamisso, Uhland, Fontane and Bürger. Tyrolean writers including Hermann von Gilm, Karl Schönherr, Vinzenz Gredler, Adolf Pichler and even Bruder Willram, the author of anti-Italian war songs, are also featured alongside famous German tales including *The Pied Piper of Hamelin* and *The Man and the Wife in the Vinegar Jug*.

Between those texts, two pieces without indication of an author describe Verdi's simple life close to nature and his determined, tireless work as well as the misunderstood astronomer Galileo Galilei.

With ten texts in total, chapter *B. Helden* (heroes) is the shortest. Its first reading passage opens with the question why heroes are revered and starts by outlining what heroes are. Among the examples of those who selflessly save others, the «warriors who defend the fatherland in peril» are summarised with the words «heroes are all those who risk their lives for a noble cause».

The subsequent text lists Garibaldi's gentle nature and the heroic acts of his childhood, after which the plots are once again broken down to the level of "common children" (*Schiffsbruch – shipwreck; Die kleine lombardische Spähwache – the little scouting patrol from Lombardy*) and describe their heroic deaths and ensuing reverence.

In passage entitled *Heldenmut* (a hero's valour), the hero as a role model is abstracted even further and placed in a geographical context familiar to the children: In this tale, the hero is a farmhand from "Silandro" (Schlanders) who saves a child from a burning house and dies after suffering severe burns.

The remaining texts are classical ballads by Goethe (*Johanna Sebus*), Fontane (*John Maynard*), Aurbacher (*Liebe deinen Nächsten – love thy neighbour*), Bürger (*Song of the Brave Man*) and Schiller (*The Pledge*).

The majority of texts in chapter *C. Schilderungen und Erzählungen aus dem Volksleben* (tales and stories from the people's lives) were also written by great German poets (Schwab, Kerner, von Tschudi, Storm, Stifter, Auerbach, Frietinger, Anzengruber, Stieler) and are therefore taken directly from a context of German culture and life. Five of the pieces by German authors are descriptions of renowned Italian places: extracts from Goethe's *Italian Journey*; *Brief eines Vaters* (a father's letter; Johann Gottlieb v. Herder); *Ein Sommernachtstraum* (a summer night's dream; Bruder Willram); excerpts of Hermann Allmers' *Römische Schlendertage* (days strolling through Rome); *Römischer Sonnenuntergang* (Roman sunset; M.E. delle Grazie); *Sonette aus Venedig* (sonnet from Venice; August von Platen).

With nine black-and-white photographs, chapter *D. Geographisches* (geography) is the most illustrated one. It invites the children to open up to a journey through the beauty of Italy by creating an image in their heads with the help of the author's descriptions. The different areas and cities are then laid out from the north to the south. Trento is the first city to be mentioned. Important historical highlights are listed alongside the Romanisation of the territory to beyond the Brenner Pass.

The subsequent literary wanderings are rich in exuberant praise lauding the beauty of the landscape and the friendly nature of the people.

The texts are accompanied by a description of Leonardo da Vinci's *The Last Supper* written by Goethe followed by a black-and-white photograph of the famous painting. Here, too, the caption is in two languages: «L'ultima Cena di Leonardo da Vinci. – Das Abendmahl von Leonardo da Vinci». (The Last Supper by Leonardo da Vinci).

Among the descriptions there is an enthusiastic text by Peter Rosegger entitled *Zu Milano auf dem Dome* (in the cathedral of Milan).

The two final pieces of the chapter are dedicated to the African colonies. *Italiens Kolonien* (Italy's colonies) explains colonisation solely as a necessary and clever form of exchange with other countries.

The final chapter, *E. Geschichtliches* (history), opens with a text on the life and habits of Romans (*Leben und Sitten der Römer*) and closes with a piece entitled *Unser Königspaar* (our royal couple). A colourful mix of texts introduces a number of prominent Italian men from the worlds of science, politics and church life (*Marco Polo, Saint Francis of Assisi, Michelangelo, Pius XI, Charles Albert, Christopher Columbus, Ciro Menotti, Giuseppe Mazzini, Dante Alighieri, Vittorino da Feltre*). A series of historical anchor points lead from the Romans to the Crusades and on to the discovery of America, the French Revolution and a large piece on the Risorgimento, the post-unification Italian kings and the World War. These last chapters on history paint Austria as the arch-enemy which, although mostly portrayed in an inferior position, oppressed and subjugated its subjects.

Three topics deal with regional history without ever mentioning the name Tyrol. *Die Eroberung der Alpenländer* (the conquest of the Alpine countries) outlines the belligerent Romans' victorious campaigns heading north. The portrayal of Italy's role in the recently concluded First World War, during which many fathers fought on the Austrian side, followed by the division of Tyrol in the ensuing negotiations «must, however, have clashed extremely with the version told by the children's parents. [...] This is the onset of that violation of history which would for decades put young South Tyroleans in a dire dilemma», as Seberich puts it (2000, 58).

c) Analysis

The vast majority of the stories' protagonists are male adults.

Only eight out of 84 texts in the first part, *Lehrhaftes, Erziehendes und Unterhaltendes* (instructive, educational and entertaining matters), mention women. Six texts are homages to a mother's love, four of which are well-known poems which implicitly ask the reader to love and respect their mother. In four cases, mothers are at the side of their adult sons. Only one mother is portrayed as an active person: She wants to save her son from undeserved punishment, and in doing so, she rises up beyond her limits and ends up paying with her life. The remaining mothers are painted to be weak, old, sick or dead. Two more stories recount how a man and a woman, respectively, are forced to endure punishment as a consequence of their foolish actions. Goethe's ballad *Johanna Sebus* introduces another woman who rises beyond herself alongside the nine protagonists of the chapter *Helden* (heroes).

The chapter *Schilderungen und Erzählungen aus dem Volksleben* (tales and stories from the people's lives) starts with Gustav Schwab's ballad *Das Gewitter* (the storm), in which three women and one child are struck by lightning and killed in their home. In Manzoni's *Die Pest* (the plague), a mother hands over her dead daughter to the body collector and tells him to come back in the afternoon to collect her and another child. Anzengruber's *Das vierte Gebot* (the fourth commandment) describes how a young couple driven out of their home by the mother suffers from the cold. *Die Leute vom Erlhof* (the people of the Erlhof farm) by Alois Frietinger is the story of a farmer's widow and her farm-hands and maids, who selflessly stand by her.

The analysis does not consider chapter *E. Geschichtliches* (history). With only two

exceptions, the protagonists of these texts are all men: One paragraph in the text *König Umberto I* (King Umberto I) is dedicated to Queen Margherita, while the last six lines of the text *Unser Königspaar* (our royal couple) talk of her successor, Princess Elena of Montenegro.

31 out of 123 texts in the first three parts of the book speak of child protagonists. In terms of the distribution between the sexes, there is a striking male predominance. Only three girls have found their way into the stories in passive roles: In the homage to the charitable and very approachable king of the text *Der 11. November* (11 November), a girl recounts how, after the Messina earthquake, she is rescued from the ruins by the king. In Edmondo de Amicis' *Schiffsbruch* (shipwreck), a girl finds room on the rescue boat after a boy leaves the last seat to her. The girl in the afore-mentioned *Die Pest* (the plague) is already dead. The male protagonists play active roles in the texts, the only exception being the boy in the ballad *Der Erbkönig*.

Italien (Italy), a first-person narrative, talks about the loyalty and love for the fatherland of "me, a child" and gives no information as to the author's gender.

Gender of the child - protagonists

Child - protagonists	Quantity
female; active	0
female; passive	3
male; active	27
male; passive	2

The Analysis of the roles attributed to the child-protagonists led to the following distribution by the categories elaborated following Mayring's theory:

Roles embodied by the child - protagonists

Role assignment	Story number	Quantity
son/daughter	6, 7, 27, 28, 39, 41, 66, 74, 75, 80, 83, 100*, 104, 112	13
pupil	82, 83, 99, 110, 11	5
child - generic	1, 2*, 8, 16, 15, 23, 38, 87*	8
hero/heroine	5, 86, 87, 88	4

* Girls

The Analysis of the attributes embodied by the child-protagonists led to the following distribution by the elaborated categories:

Attributes embodied by the child-protagonists

Category	Story number	Quantity
1a morally good	1, 5, 6, 8, 23, 27, 38, 66, 86, 87, 88, 112	12
1b morally bad		0
2a clever, wise	1, 5, 27, 86, 88, 112	6
2b simple-minded, naïve		0
3a brave, courageous	1, 5, 7, 8, 86, 87, 88, 104, 111, 112	10
3b fearful		0
4a strong, persevering	1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 27, 66, 86, 88, 104, 122	11
4b feeble		0
5a obedient	1, 5, 6, 39, 66, 87	6
5b disobedient	82, 83	2
6a diligent	1, 6, 8, 39, 66	5
6a lazy, idle	98	1
7a grateful	1, 6	2
7b ungrateful		0

The positive connotation of the attributes is remarkable. Only Goethe's Sorcerer's Apprentice, *Der Zauberlehrling*, and the boy in the ballad *Der Glockenguß zu Breslau* (the bell-founding of Breslau) by Wilhelm Müller do not comply with the rules. The young shepherd in Karl Schönherr's *Der Hirt* (the herdsman) is somewhat work-shy.

Most of the boys⁷ are portrayed as sons. Four of them are explicitly painted to be heroes.

The protagonists' characterisation is positive. Only three stories name disobedient or idle children. Boys are portrayed as "morally good" [12], "strong, persevering" [11] and "brave" [10].

Medium of the message conveyed	Text number	Quantity
positive example	1, 2, 6, 7, 8, 16, 23, 27, 38, 39, 66, 74, 86, 87, 88, 104, 110, 111, 112	19
negative example	75, 98	2
comparison		0
not assignable	80, 83	2

⁷ Girls are practically not present (see explanation above).

Content alignment	Text number	Quantity
work/sense of duty	1, 6, 8, 23, 27, 39, 41, 66, 86, 98, 104, 110	12
religious devoutness/godly life	5	1
altruism	1, 6, 8, 66, 87	5
gratitude		
moral superiority	6, 8, 23, 27, 38, 74, 86, 87, 110, 112	10
honesty	6, 27, 111	3
courage	1, 5, 75, 86, 87, 88, 111	7
national solidarity	1, 2, 66, 88	4

Ways the message is conveyed	Text number	Quantity
indirectly	2, 5, 6, 8, 23, 27, 38, 39, 41, 66, 74, 86, 87, 88, 98, 104, 110, 111, 112	19
directly	1, 75	2
not assignable	16, 28, 80, 83	4

Content-wise, the texts focus on a “willingness to work/sense of duty” [12], “moral superiority” [10] as well as “courage” [7] and yet refrain from expressing direct, deductive conclusions for the addressees. The content orientation is achieved with the help of positive examples.

A sense of “national solidarity and belonging” is the main topic of four stories. The first text in the book (chapter *A. Lehrhaftes, Erziehendes und Unterhaltendes* – instructive, educational and entertaining matters) is entitled *Italien* (Italy) and, as outlined above, is dedicated entirely to that topic and offers a direct instruction in the very first line. The piece is an example of how torn German-speaking children in South Tyrol were between school and their home in those times: Only a few years before, in the war, their fathers had fought against Italy. Moreover, the legitimation of Italy’s territorial claims to South Tyrol is emphasised by portraying the children’s parents and ancestors as living or having died, respectively, on Italian soil.

The order to serve the fatherland and, if necessary, give one’s own life for it, can be carried out even by children. The dead then join the ranks of heroes, and the sacrifice is rewarded with great veneration by the living, as *Die kleine lombardische Spähwache* (*The little scouting patrol from Lombardy*; 88) vividly illustrates.

Based on the present research, the following can be asserted with regard to the research questions:

- The child protagonists in the texts are practically exclusively male. Three girls are portrayed with a passive stance (one of whom is dead) as opposed to 27 boys depicted in an active demeanour and two in a passive one.
- The children are predominantly represented in the role of sons and daughters. Four boys are explicitly painted as heroes.

- The boys are portrayed as “morally sound” [12], “strong”, persevering” [11] and “brave” [10].
- The content focuses primarily on their “willingness to work/sense of duty” [12], “moral superiority” [10] and “bravery” [7]. Four texts speak of a sense of “national solidarity and belonging”.
- The topic focus is predominantly embedded in positive examples [19], with only two negative examples and two stories which cannot be attributed.
- Only two texts offer a direct call for action or explanation.

When viewed on the whole, the book reveals the following distinctive characteristics:

- a non-presence of girls;
- historical angle: limited to the history of Italy;
- use of the classics of German-language literature;
- a sense of national belonging: the effort to implant the children with a sense of duty to the nation;
- a lack of fascist ideologization: The book contains neither symbols nor beliefs of a fascist ideology, which confirms the above theory that it was in all probability drafted before the start of the fascist era (October 1922).

Comparison and analysis of the two schoolbooks

a) Form and general content

The two books are set up in a similar way. Much like many other storybooks of those times, both Albino Bertamini's *Libro di lettura per le Scuole popolari austriache* (1904, 1906) and Cesare Bonatta's *Italisches Abendland* (1925) contain chapters on factual topics. According to the chapter titles, Bertamini's Austrian schoolbook dedicates a total of 127 out of 195 pages to factual matters: “Nozioni di storia naturale” (relations on natural history); “Animali” (animals); “Uccelli” (birds); “Pesci” (fish); “Insetti” (insects); “Piante” (plants); “Minerali” (minerals); “L'universo” (the universe); “Racconti storici” (historical accounts). With 186 out of 379 pages, Bonatta's pre-fascist book commits almost half of its volume to the chapters “Geographisches” (geography) and “Geschichtliches” (history). Thus, while Bonatta omits scientific topics, Bertamini leaves out any pieces on geography. All the topics previously illustrated are very different in their design of the content. The underlying “educational comprehension concepts”, at the same time, offer insight into the related and implicit mandate understanding of elementary schools (Wiater 2016). When the presented contents of the books are analysed, it could be determined that Bertamini's book cleaves to the logics of government. The contents are nearly identical to the (social and familiar) experiential space (Mannheim 1980, 209). They imply the understanding of the public elementary school's mission, even if it should have been overcome through the law about Church and State (*Schule-Kirche-Gesetz*) of 1868, during the Habsburg Empire, and the proclamation of the liberal reform of elementary schools (*Reichsvolksschulgesetz*), passed in 1869

(Engelbrecht 2010). The contents of Bonatta's book, however, aimed at an expansion of the family related experiential space of the target groups. The spectrum of contents presented, ranged from accepted historic-cultural texts to general scientific findings. Various black and white pictures of landscapes, monuments and the members of the royal family serve as support for learning and understanding. Bertamini's book contains no illustrations. Both books have the same political and educational intention: the strengthening of national belonging and the internalization of the related obligations of the individuals. However, the books are based upon a different historically determined basic understanding and have therefore different methods in conveying their objectives. The "old Austrian" way, where church and state answer all existential questions within their strong bond, mentions god, emperor and fatherland all in one breath. Failing one's obligations towards the emperor and the fatherland is at the same time failing god. After the First World War, the nation and the sovereign power are seen as the highest instances per se (Ascenzi 2009).

Upon contemplating the first and last pages of the books, what stands out is that Bonatta begins with a portrait of the King and a direct call for action – asking the addressees for self-sacrificing loyalty to the fatherland – while Bertamini opens with a prayer and a direct call for prayer, obedience and work. Both books end with homages to their respective sovereign: Bonatta with the text *Unser Königspaar* (our royal couple) and Bertamini with *Sua Maestà l'Imperatrice Elisabetta nell'ospedale del distretto di Wieden* (Her Majesty Empress Elisabeth at the hospital in Wieden) followed by an anthem praising God, the Emperor and the fatherland.

The contents of the chapters "Geschichtliches" (history) and "racconti storici" (historical accounts) do not substantially extend beyond the history of their respective realm. The Italian-language book for children in Trento, for instance, is limited to the history of the House of Habsburg from the Middle Ages to the present, while the book for German-speaking children in South Tyrol concentrates on the Romans, the Risorgimento and the Italian royal family up to the present time. The intention of both books is to convey historical consciousness as an instrument creating identification and identity. The historical memory serves the purpose to «transfer the experiences of the past to the present time in order to understand the present living conditions and to develop future perspectives of life praxis» (Rüsen 2008, 159).

In doing so, both books strongly emphasise the alleged heroic acts of their respective dynasty. Apart from this clear focus, the content of Bonatta's book is slightly broader and features historical texts on *Die Kimbern und Teutonen* (the Cimbri and the Teutons), *Mohamed und seine Religion* (Muhammad and his religion), *Die Sarazenen* (the Saracens), *Die Entdeckung Amerikas* (the Discovery of America) and *Die französische Revolution* (the French revolution), to name but a few. While Bertamini does not mention the addressees' geographic and cultural environment, Bonatta repeatedly refers to the historical proof that the territory up to the Brenner pass is Italian soil in *Glaubensboten unserer Heimat* (messengers of the faith of our home lands) and in a series of explanations. The texts in "Geographisches" (geography) are a cheerful description of the country and the people of Italy from the north to the south, starting

with Trento and closing with the Italian colonies in Africa, accompanied by a series of black-and-white photographs of cities.

b) Analysis based on the research questions

Prior to outlining the results of the present analysis, it should be stated that the texts of the books studied are entirely different with regard to their literary quality and expectation or claim in terms of content. While Bonatta's book comprises ballads and reading passages by significant German poets such as Goethe, Schiller, Herder and Fontane, the texts in Bertamini's book appear to be written for schoolbooks, with short reading passages, prayers, rhymes, aphorisms and mnemonics alternating throughout.

Both books contain texts with child protagonists. Their positioning in the related action context is not casual, as previously explained. They are identification figures for the reader and have a deliberately staged bridging function. The conception of self, others and the world (Koller 2018) is conveyed through their conduct (positive or negative examples) and should serve as a lasting action guidance inspired by the related historical and political intentions and help to build national identity constructs. In both cases, the distribution between the sexes leaves the female child protagonists at a glaring, and also not casual, disadvantage. The same applies to the adult protagonists. Bertamini's book features 15 girls and 26 boys, all of whom are pictured in active roles. Bonatta's texts get by with almost no female child protagonists: They list three girls in passive roles (one of them dead) compared to 27 active and two passive boys.

Gender of the child - protagonists

Child - protagonists	Bertamini*	Bonatta*
female; active	15	0
female; passive	0	3
male; active	26	27
male; passive	0	2
Children; without gender attribution; active	0	0
Children; without gender attribution; passive	2	0

* Number of stories in the mentioned books

While, with three exceptions, all the boys in Bonatta's book have positive attributes and embody the new, strong type of human present by the rising fascism (the three girls could not be classified at all), the characters in Bertamini's book had to be placed in a series of subcategories with negative connotations. This brought to light yet another imbalance among the sexes. While the ratio between positive and negative attributes is 22:10 with regard to the boys, among the girls it amounts to 10:10. In the sub-category "simple-minded, naive", the girls even beat the boys based on absolute numbers with a ratio of 4:2.

Attributes embodied by the child - protagonists

Category	Bertamini Girls	Bertamini Boys	Bertamini Total	Bonatta (de facto only boys)
1a morally good	12	6	19	12
1b morally bad	7	3	10	0
2a clever, wise	2	1	3	6
2b simple-minded, naive	2	4	6	0
3a brave, courageous	0	0	0	10
3b fearful	0	1	1	0
4a strong, persevering	0	0	0	11
4b feeble	0	0	0	0
5a obedient	2	0	2	6
5b disobedient	0	0	0	2
6a diligent	3	1	4	5
6a lazy, idle	1	1	2	1
7a grateful	3	1	4	2
7b ungrateful	0	1	1	0

In both books, the protagonists are predominantly portrayed as “morally good”. In Bertamini’s book, the categories that follow are “morally bad” and “simple-minded, naive”, both of which are not present in Bonatta’s book. The second and third-most frequent attributes in his book are “strong, persevering” and “brave, courageous” – two characteristics that none of the children in Bertamini’s book embody.

Both books portray the children primarily in their social role as sons and daughters. Entries for the “hero/heroine” category could only be found in Bonatta’s book. The concept of child is therefore defined through an intergenerational relation and in connection with all the related obligations for the children (Hengst/Zeiher 2005).

The child-protagonists of both books in their passive and active roles are presented to the readers as a role model or a deterrent example.

Bertamini places “religious devoutness” and “national solidarity” in the foreground. Only Bonatta’s book presents protagonists belonging to the “hero” category.

Roles embodied by the child-protagonists

Role attribution	Bertamini	Bonatta
son/daughter	18	13
Pupil	5	5
child-generic	8	8
hero/heroine	0	4

Bertamini's book stresses the need for "religious devoutness" [11]; a topic that finds almost no mention in Bonatta's book [1]. Bertamini has "altruism" and "willingness to work/sense of duty" [both 9] in second and "moral superiority" [7] in third place.

As for Bonatta's book, most attributes fall into the categories "willingness to work/sense of duty" [12], "moral superiority" [10] "bravery" [7]. "Bravery" and a sense of "national solidarity and belonging" [4] were only found in this book.

Bertamini's book embeds most of its messages in negative examples. In every third text with child protagonists, the author deducts a direct instruction for the reader in the form of a mnemonic formula or aphorism. The content orientation, on the other hand, is achieved with the help of positive examples. With two exceptions, the authors do not express direct, deductive conclusions.

Content alignment	Bertamini	Bonatta
work/sense of duty	7	12
religious devoutness/godly life	11	1
Altruism	9	5
Gratitude	3	0
moral superiority	7	10
honesty	5	3
Courage	0	7
national solidarity	0	4

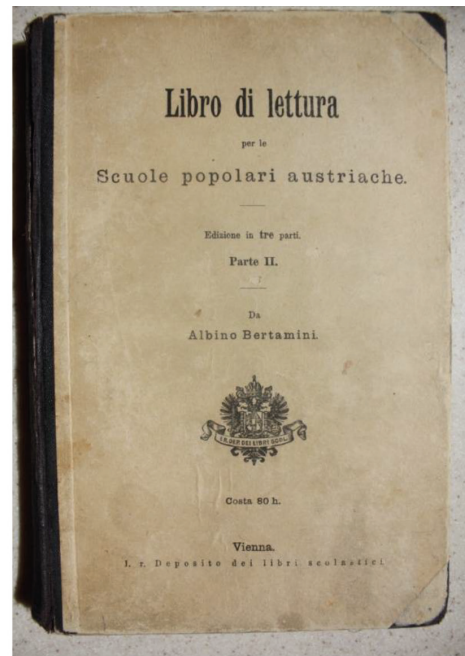
Medium of the message conveyed	Bertamini	Bonatta
positive example	13	19
negative example	19	2
Comparison	6	0
not assignable	0	2

Ways the message is conveyed	Bertamini	Bonatta
Indirectly	20	19
Directly	11	2
not assignable	0	4

The present study could not determine whether and how the most distinctive among the aspects analysed (e.g. the striking gender distribution imbalance, embedding the directions to act in negative examples) are processed to form an acute world view (e.g. the portrayal of women, the notion of what a child or education is) to be conveyed to the children. With reference to *The Role of the Reader* (Eco, 1979) additional analysis could be done, e.g. through pedagogical text hermeneutics as described above as well as through the analysis of the schoolbooks' reception by its addressees (teachers, school children and parents), as presented by Bodo von Borris (2015, 19 et

seq.) in an empiric study about schoolbook evaluation and textbook use. Only then an analysis of the schoolbooks' capacity to encourage learning and educational processes (Marotzki 1990, 32 et seq.) and to lead a transformation of the concept of self and the world (Rosenberg 2011) by involving the scholastic and extra scholastic settings could be made. This study merely represents a small building block for a multilevel analysis (Helsper 2018) and can be seen as a stimulation for further studies.

The present essay is an extended study of the essay „Das Bild des Kindes im Lesebuch – Ein Vergleich eines italienischen Lesebuches aus der k.u.k. Zeit für italienische Schüler mit einem deutschen Lesebuch des (vor)faschistischen Italien für deutsche Schüler. In „Mehrsprachigkeit und Schulbuch“ (Augschöll, A.; Videsott, G.; Wiater, W. Eds. 2013 by Forschung Klinkhardt (Kempten) pp. 169-232).



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