

# TEMPO E APRENDIZADO. O MODELO DE RATIO STUDIORUM DO SÉCULO AO XVI AO XIX

TIME AND LEARNING. THE MODEL OF *RATIO STUDIORUM* FROM THE XVI TO THE XIX CENTURY

TIEMPO Y APRENDIZAJE. EL MODELO DEL RATIO STUDIORUM DEL SIGLO XVI AL SIGLO XIX

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## RESUMO

A relação entre educação e tempo nos seus aspectos teóricos, metodológicos e históricos é um aspecto crucial da história do mundo ocidental. Em comparação com os estudos sociais econômicos e antropológicos que tentam capturar a importância do passar dos dias e das estações, o tempo permanece uma lacuna na história da educação. A falta de uma reflexão profunda sobre esse tópico é surpreendente. Eu examinei o conceito de tempo em relação à história da educação para explorar diferentes ideias de tempo que os educadores e os professores têm expressado por meio das fronteiras nacionais. Tentativas de padronizar a educação, a organização escolar e a agenda dos alunos surgiram ao longo dos séculos. Esses modelos atravessaram as fronteiras nacionais e, por causa de sua eficácia, eles têm atingido um alcance internacional. O caso mais interessante é aquele dos jesuítas. O propósito do *Ratio Studiorum* era organizar os dias escolares e os tempos de trabalho usando um cronograma muito acurado que mantivesse os alunos ocupados por todo o ano, de acordo com o calendário da Igreja. Este padrão efetivamente tornou-se um molde para a criação de colégios ao redor do mundo.

**PALAVRAS-CHAVE:** Tempo. Cronograma. Educação. Jesuíta.

## ABSTRACT

The relationship between education and time, in its theoretical, methodological and historical aspects, is a crucial aspect of the history of Western world. In contrast to social, economic and anthropological studies, which have attempted to capture the importance of the passing of days and seasons, time remains a lacuna in the history of education. The lack of a deep reflection on this topic is surprising. I shall examine the concept of time in relation to the history of education, to explore the different ideas of time that educationalists and teachers have expressed, in various countries. Attempts to standardize education, the organization of schools, and student timetables have been made over centuries. These models have crossed national borders and, because of their effectiveness, have had a widespread international reach. The most interesting case is that of the Jesuits. In fact, the purpose of the *Ratio Studiorum* was to organize

school days and working times using a very accurate timetable that kept students busy throughout the year, according to the Church calendar. This pattern effectively became a model for the creation of colleges around the world.

**KEYWORDS:** Time. Timetable. Education. Jesuits.

## RESUMEN

La relación entre educación y tiempo en sus facetas teóricas, metodológicas e históricas es un aspecto crucial de la historia do mundo occidental. En comparación con los estudios sociales, económicos y antropológicos que intentan capturar la importancia del transcurso de los días y de las estaciones, el tiempo permanece como una laguna en la historia de la educación. Es sorprendente la falta de una reflexión profunda sobre ese tópic. Yo examiné el concepto de tiempo en relación a la historia de la educación para explorar las diferentes ideas de tiempo que los educadores y los profesores han expresado por medio de las fronteras nacionales. A lo largo de los siglos surgieron intentos de estandarizar la educación, la organización escolar y la agenda de los alumnos. Esos modelos atravesaron las fronteras nacionales y a causa de su eficacia llegaron a tener un alcance internacional. El caso más interesante es el de los jesuitas. El propósito del *Ratio Studiorum* era organizar los días escolares y los tiempos de trabajo usando un cronograma muy preciso que mantuviese a los alumnos ocupados durante todo el año, de acuerdo con el calendario de la Iglesia. Este modelo efectivamente se transformó en un molde para la creación de colegios alrededor del mundo.

**PALABRAS CLAVE:** Tiempo. Cronograma. Educación. Jesuita.

## TIME AND LEARNING: A HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE<sup>1</sup>

The relationship between education and time, in its theoretical, methodological and historical aspects, is a crucial part of the history of the Western world<sup>2</sup>.

Time is an element that can be analysed internationally, even if it is strictly linked to local situations, and perceptions of time can be compared across different historical periods. Today, the use of time is a matter of great importance. I would like to digress by emphasizing how the control, organization and spending of time, nowadays checked by the clock, has spread enormously in the digital era. In fact, the watch has become ubiquitous and digital clocks have appeared in all electronic devices; even domestic appliances. In today's era of web 2.0, time-management through iphones and smartphone apps for diaries, calendars, and to-do lists has become an obsession.

In the field of education, time is a key issue in discussions on the success and efficiency of the education system. In simple terms, we could say that there are two approaches: those in favour of a greater commitment to time on the part of students, and those who suggest reducing the study time. According to those who support extending the school timetable, the advantages are:

Raise achievement.[...] allow teachers to cover more material and examine topics in greater depth; [...] address and overcome student learning deficits. Enrich education. Schools with more time do not have to cut back class time in [subjects like] science, social studies, music, art and physical education [...]. Expanded-time schools can offer students a wide range of enrichment courses [...] astronomy [...]drama [...] creative writing. With more time, schools can bring partners [...] [of] community-based organizations, local businesses, higher education, and arts and cultural institutions. Empower teachers<sup>3</sup>.

On the other hand, critics of this position affirm that less schooling allows families to have more influence over the growth of their children; it respects pupils' rhythms, avoiding early institutionalization (I refer here the home school movement); and it reduces the social costs of public instruction.

In comparison with social, economic and anthropological studies that have attempted to capture the importance of the passing of days and seasons, time remains a lacuna in the history of education. The lack of a deep reflection on this topic – with the exception of the research carried out in France by Marie-Madeleine Compère and scholars of the Insitute National Recherche Pedagogic, German scholars under the direction of Wolfgang Mitterand, and a Spanish work lead by Antonio Vinão Frago and Agustín Escolano Benito<sup>4</sup> – is surprising. In fact, at the heart of educational development, there are complex thought processes<sup>5</sup> that have evolved over time, with objective and subjective implications. We must consider objective time, controlled by the hands of the clock but, on a different scale, we can consider the social meaning of time as an event that marks different stages or new chapters in the various ages of life or, again, in terms of biological ageing<sup>6</sup>. The personal and subjective perception of the passage of time is very important too. Time is an omnipresent category in everything we do, despite the fact that distinctions between different cultures and nations are identifiable.

This is a broad issue, and is perhaps best analyzed by a group of researchers, but for this article, I would like to offer some reflections that I hope will be the starting point of a wider research project that I have planned for the future. The first problem relates to sources. I have explored the Jesuit timetables and school day (in French *les temps scolaire*). This choice resulted from the fact that finding school regulations in the archives is quite easy. These sources lend themselves to international comparison across different countries and ages. I am aware that this is just one of the possible ways of investigating this field.

## A REFLECTION ON THE ETYMOLOGICAL MEANING OF SCHOOL

First of all, I would like to stress that the word “school” relates to time. School, etymologically, was called *scholé* in ancient times, from a Greek term which means “leisure” or “free time”. The Romans used the word *otium*<sup>7</sup>. The school was understood to be an experience where people were free from the restrictions and anxieties of work. According to this meaning, students had to pursue their own interests and needed to listen to lessons in peace. They were released from the duty of hard rural or artisan work, defined literally (*negotium*, not *otium*)<sup>8</sup>. The Latin word *ludus*, which is sometimes translated into Italian as *gioco* meaning “play”, has many different meanings, depending on the context. We could use *ludus* to refer to a joke or a hoax, but we also used *ludus litterarius* or *ludi magister* to indicate elementary school or primary teacher. Thus, the semantic of school in the classic age was quite close to other terms like free time, play, and amusement.

Over the Centuries, for various reasons, the idea of *otium* took on negative meanings, especially in the educational context and in religious settings, and this connotation has continued into the Modern age<sup>9</sup>. Dominique Julia explained how the use of time was important in the first community of schools for the poor in France. Pupils had to learn the alphabet as well as adhering to classroom restrictions. Charles Demia, appointed visitor of schools in Lyon in the second half of the XVII Century, wrote:

The poor and badly educated fell into laziness, and so they can only roam, stroll around the streets and crowd around street corners, where they have nothing to do other than engage in dissolute gossip, and so they become unruly, depraved, gamblers, blasphemers and quarrelsome<sup>10</sup>.

To get into the habit of being good pupils, they had to be busy. Lessons in the Christian schools started at half past seven in the morning and lasted until the afternoon. Breaks, study periods, meals and the departure at the end of the school day were closely regulated. The same was true in Italy. For example, a worried Sardinian bishop wrote this letter, in 1767: Play activities

were so common that, during catechism and Christian doctrine classes, you could see hordes of rural children and youngsters out of the churches playing and being lazy. They refused to accept the priests’ pleading, with the cross in one hand, as in a religious parade, soliciting them to come in<sup>11</sup>.

This behaviour became a problem when pupils grew up. Indeed, many peasants and shepherds refused to attend Mass or to honor the Sunday day of rest. We can say, according to Michel Foucault, that setting up timetables was an “orthopedic science” of behavior. If in the XVIII century, the French physician and writer Nicolas Andry de Bois-Regard (1658–1742) defined *L’ortopédie* as the art of

*prévenir et de corriger dans les enfants les difformités du corps*, by extension, the division and organization of the hours in children's lives became a form of protection for the good government both of their bodies and their souls<sup>12</sup>. In schools, as the day goes on, every moment has a specific duty, thanks to the surveillance of a master, in the same way that prison life is allocated according to a useful expenditure of time, under the constant watch over of guards<sup>13</sup>. And this is not the only similarity with a prison in the French philosopher's theory. During detention, the prisoner will be examined by the prison officers and his behaviour recorded day by day, just as the student's conduct will be checked by the teachers. *Homo ludens*, which in classical times, was thought to be the better part of education, later became a source of danger and risk; ideas of "leisure" or "free time" were basically treated with suspicion.

## JESUIT MODEL: RATIO STUDIORUM

As an example of general and international school regulations, we can use the Jesuit *Ratio atque Insitutio Studiorum Societatis Jesu*. As we know, this inflexible program of studies for teaching catechism to children and illiterate people, lecturing on philosophy and theology in the universities, and instructing youth in the grammar schools and colleges, imposed also a model designed to standardize the management of the classroom<sup>14</sup>. In fact, the distribution of hours dedicated to study, repetition, dispute, debates, exercises and holidays could vary according to various factors such as: regional differences, local religious calendars, and according to the context in which people were employed. But before making any change, the Jesuits had to inform the Father General, to ensure that the amendments diverged as little as possible from the common pattern<sup>15</sup>. *Ratio* had a long incubation period and underwent various adaptations from 1581 to 1599. It was the result of the international labours of renowned and experienced Jesuit educators from different provinces in various colleges and countries. With the increase in the number of colleges in Europe (in Italy: Messina, Palermo, Naples; in Spain: Gandia, Salamanca, Alcala, Valladolid; in Portugal: Lisbon; in France: Billom; in the German Empire: Vienna, Ingolstadt), in the New World and in the East, it was necessary to uniform the system of education.

Plans differentiated the sequence of study, which is an especially temporal and progressive distinction, so that, "No one can be promoted from the first to the second year or from second to third if he cannot reach at least average efficiency, that is, the understanding of the knowledge gained in school and the ability to explain it"<sup>16</sup>. The lower classes comprised five levels - three years for grammar, followed by humanities and rhetoric. The *Ratio* pointed out that they "are so closely linked to each other that they never had to be re-organised or improved and in this way they keep the number of teachers down and avoid extending "more than necessary the time needed to complete elementary classes"<sup>17</sup>. Jesuits controlled everything: even the duration of exams "Students of metaphysics, and those going into the third or fourth year of theology, must have an examination that lasts one hour. For students of philosophy and theology, the exam lasts half an hour [...]"<sup>18</sup>. Towards the end of the fourth year of theology, the final examination must be set. Every exam continued for more than two hours for students who wanted to become member of the Company. The times set for theological debate were very long; they could last four or five hours<sup>19</sup>.

An all-absorbing perspective infused the Jesuit colleges, so that school time included a wide range of activities not strictly scholastic, with breaks and feasts receiving special attention: "a few moments' of rest for students was necessary because of the continuous work. But, according to *Ratio*, it was necessary to avoid additional opportunities to celebrate, and the agreed feasts ought to be regularly observed<sup>20</sup>. The general rule in the underpinning the organization of vacations was that school holidays were longer for more advanced pupils and shorter for beginners. For higher classes, holidays lasted between one and two months, for rhetoric holidays one month, for humanities three weeks, for grammar (advanced classes) two weeks, and for lower classes one week<sup>21</sup>.

Classes	Holidays
Higher classes	Between one and two months
Rhetoric	One month
Humanities	Three weeks
Grammar (advanced classes)	Two weeks
Lower classes	One week

Table I Rest time in Jesuit colleges

In many of the Italian Jesuit colleges, the distribution of holy days in the annual calendar looked like this, following the revision of *Ratio* in 1832<sup>22</sup>.

Lower classes	Higher classes
From Christmas Eve until noon of the Innocents (December 28)	From Christmas Eve until the Circumcision (January 1)
From noon on Wednesday before Easter to the Tuesday after Easter	From Easter Sunday to Sunday of Easter
From noon on the eve of Pentecost until the following Tuesday	From the eve of Pentecost until the following Tuesday
On the eve of Corpus Christi from noon	On the eve of Corpus Christi from noon
Commemoration of the dead (Nov. 2) in the morning only	Commemoration of the dead in the morning only

Division of days of vacation during the week

One afternoon a week reserved for rest, the morning hour and a half of lessons for classes in rhetoric, two hours for the other classes. From June holidays for all classes.	One day a week reserved for rest. From June holidays for all classes.
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THE SCHOOL DAY

Examining the timetable for a single day, at the bottom of the timetable there is a rule that Jesuits must limit any form of leisure that could hold up studies. The strategy was to teach pupils the catechism all day. The obsession with not wasting time was so strong that during lunch and dinner, rather than chat to each other, rhetoric students were expected to say prayers, or recite Latin or Greek poems<sup>23</sup>.

Every member of staff had specific tasks in controlling students' time. The master, responsible for discipline, had power over personal study; it was up to the professor "to stay in classroom, or nearby, for at least a quarter of an hour, helping students to reviewing what they had learned during the regular classes"<sup>24</sup>. Only during final exams could the school day be extended until sunset, to allow students to revise<sup>25</sup>. Students would remain in class for "an hour a day for revision[...] excluding Saturdays and public holidays or vacations." As a practice, this would allow mental training and an understanding of what had been done in class. The prefects were required to ban "weapons, lazy people who roam or cackle [...] oaths, offensive words or acts and any dishonest and immoral behaviour"<sup>26</sup>. They also had to organize the time of all the students, to ensure it was spent fruitfully during the time of personal study.

TIME FOR RELIGIOUS PRACTICES

The day's program was strongly influenced by prayer; the day began very early between five and six o'clock, and involved praising the Lord with the *Te Deum* recited in Latin with the prefect. In the chapels of the convents, daily Mass was celebrated, and men took turns working in the service. Participation in the daily Eucharistic communion was strongly encouraged. Prayer came before the start of each study activity, game and meal. And the prayer of the rosary closed the day before break, never late than nine o'clock p.m. Besides the prayers, silence also occupied a large portion of time. "The old Jesuits had calculated that they could 'talk' for about two hours out of twelve hours of school and study"<sup>27</sup>.

Let us look at some documents from the archives. For this research, I used material filed in the archives of the former Province of the Society of Jesus of Turin. This archive houses documents on the regulations of various colleges run by the Jesuits in northern Italy<sup>28</sup>. It is not always possible to link the regulations to the geographical location in which they were originally produced, but as I anticipated, this is not essential given that there is a perfect match in the substance, between colleges. In fact, chronological appearances are practically irrelevant since, as I found in the archives, we can see the same criteria for the organization of institutions across different centuries, with very few changes. We can also see that the fundamental principles, and the general model of teaching in the nineteenth century, was the same as that of the XVI century, and the only innovations that were introduced involved changes to the *curricula* and branches of study. The Jesuit regulations covered various aspects and groups people. The documents I examined are referred to as *Common Orders to be observed by the Lords boarders, Notices for our students, Rules of the pupils who attend the schools of the Society of Jesus, Notices for the masters, Notices to Servants, General and prefects, Observando Paedagogis, General Rules for the actions of each day*. The documentation refers to two key moments: the first, very close to the earliest draft of Ratio from XVI and the beginning of XVII Century, and the second dating back to 1847. Some choices were allowed in implementing college regulations of the boarding schools, according to the "condition of the pupils, the usages of the country, and the local customs and finances".

With regard to religious practices, it was the duty of the teachers of elementary classes to say a prayer before class and ensure that all students attended Mass. In grammar classes, it was necessary to learn and recite the Christian doctrine for a half-hour on Fridays and Saturdays. The spiritual training required, as we read in an Italian regulation of 1886<sup>29</sup>: - the presence of a spiritual father always available to pupils; - continuous reference to the Sacraments through daily Mass and liturgical celebrations at certain times of the year; enrolment in the Marian Congregations, for the best and the most devoted students, participation in the retreats led by the fathers of the company. Of course, confessions were held monthly, on agreed days and times, but as one regulation stated, "a week could not pass without a visit from the father for confession, without pupils being accused of something, or being informed of some temptation or being asked for penance or advice"<sup>30</sup>.

Michel Foucault notes, perceptively, that places were assigned to students in Jesuit colleges corresponding to each function and its value, basically according to their rank<sup>31</sup>. He remarks on the appearance of this pyramidal organization, and shows how space and classroom rows are actually boxes within which the student was allowed to move according to strict rules of discipline. Foucault remarks that even in the Jean Baptiste de la Salle's classrooms, teachers applied a similar concept. The spatial distribution guaranteed, once again, under the watchful eye of the master, a series of distinctions, according to: "the degree of students' advancement, their values, their character and kindness, industry, state of cleanliness, and according to their parents' wealth"<sup>32</sup>.

In addition to this spatial theory, there is a temporal dimension. Schools refined the original timeframe of the monasteries, splitting it into multiple, shorter segments. In the archived documents, we can see many examples of nineteenth-century Jesuit college timetables in which the unit of measurement for time is a quarter of an hour.

Dal 1<sup>mo</sup> 9: Novembres a tutto il gennaio

Giorni di scuola		Giorni di vacanza		Giorni di festa	
6	Alzato	6 1/2	Alzato	6 1/2	Alzato
6 1/4	Angelus, Lavanda, gattinaggi ec.	6 3/4	Angelus, lavanda, gattinaggi ec.	6 1/2	Angelus, lavanda ec.
6 1/2	Orazioni e breve meditazione	7	Orazioni e breve meditazione	6 3/4	Orazioni e meditazione
6 5/8	Riveder la lezione	7 1/2	Mezza orazione, poi ricreazione	7 3/4	Congregazione, mezza poi orazione e ricreazione
7	Mezza	8 1/2	Studio	8 1/2	Studio
7 1/4	Relazione, poi ricreazione	9 1/2	Ricreazione	9 1/2	Studio
8	Revista delle lezioni in camera	10	Studio	10 1/2	Ricreazione
8 1/2	Scuola	10 1/2	Arti liberali, calligrafia, studio di lingue	11	Studio
10 1/2	Ricreazione, arti liberali, calligrafia ec.	11	Ricreazione	11 1/2	Angelus pranzo, poi ricreazione
11	Studio	11 1/2	Angelus, pranzo, poi ricreazione	1 1/2	Lezione spirituale
11 1/2	Angelus e poi pranzo	1 1/2	Lezione spirituale	2	Studio
12	Ricreazione	2	Studio	3	Visita al S <sup>mo</sup> per merenda e passeggiata
1	Studio	3	Visita al S <sup>mo</sup> S <sup>mo</sup> <sup>merenda</sup> <sup>per passeggiata</sup>	3 1/2	Angelus e Rosario
1 1/2	Revista delle lezioni in camera	3 1/2	Angelus e Rosario	3 3/4	Studio e rivista della dottrina di S <sup>ta</sup>
2	Scuola	3 3/4	Studio di galateo, e ricreazione	7	Ricreazione in circolo
4	Visita al S <sup>mo</sup> Sacramento, poi passeggiata	6 1/2	Studio	7 1/2	Revista e spiegazione della dottrina in cappella
5 1/4	Angelus e Rosario	7 1/4	Ricreazione in circolo	8	Cena ec. come negli altri giorni
5 1/2	Studio	8	Cena ec. come nei giorni di scuola		
7	Ricreazione in circolo				
7 1/2	Studio				
8	Cena poi ricreazione in circolo				
9 1/4	Orazioni				
9 1/2	Riposa				

N. 10. Il venerdì alle 7 1/2 giorni si è l'epistolazione  
Per quelli che frequentano la scuola di equitazione è assegnata l'ora del passeggio

Fig. 1: Ammaestramenti e Regole pe' Collegi di educazione governati da P.P. della Compagnia di Gesù, 1859 "Archivio dei Gesuiti dell'Italia Settentrionale in Gallarate" (AGISG), files Collegi Regolamenti.

The picture shows that, anticipating the influence of the industrial model, and perhaps the prevalence of mechanical methods of measurement of time, the unit of measurement is subdivided as the regulations become more stringent. Concerning this matter, Foucault distinguishes between the negative principle of non-idleness (not allowed to waste time) and the positive principle of the optimal use of every moment to expand the possibilities in a day. For this reason, it is considered essential to reduce the time into many small units within which the child is asked to perform a series of activities quickly and well. Time, according to the French philosopher's theory, is compared to the actions of marches or gymnastics, but also in subtle and repetitive motion exercises such as writing. The *Societas Jesu* method unified and systematized educational principles and centralized practical rules to ensure good results in different classes and with different teachers. The prohibition on time-wasting became stricter as intellectual talent increased, and as boys grew up, they gained a greater awareness of the importance of time and its proper use. In the words of Dante Alighieri "Lo perder tempo a chi più sa più spiace" (Purgatorio III, 78) "wasting time makes learned people sorry".

The same rule common to all institutions, in Italian, Spanish and French or other boarding schools was: nothing escaped the gaze of the authorities. Here I reproduce the heartening message for the families who sent their sons to the "Pensionnat" under the direction on Jesuit a Freiburg in Switzerland:

La vigilance des Maîtres s'étend à tous les lieux et à tous les instants. Ils s'appliquent à maintenir l'ordre et la régularité, en les faisant aimer; à prévenir les fautes ou à y remédier promptement, et à exciter ou à entretenir dans les Elèves l'émulation et l'amour de leurs devoirs<sup>33</sup>.

Hierarchies (also typical of the army, factory, and prison), the sequence of classes, interventions to accelerate or anticipate choices, the opportunity to punish or reward the best or worst students by separating them in space, but also by controlling time, were expressions of power that work "directly on time: taking control of it and ensuring its use"<sup>34</sup>. The need to act "in the light of the sun" occurs many times in the regulations for students. "Alerts for students" in the first half of the nineteenth century state: "Use the rule of silence, do not talk with any companion in the room,

do not go to the door of the other, do not stop somewhere withdrawn where the Superior cannot see you. If the Superior does not see you, God can clearly see you". Particular moderation in the movement and careful use of space was always recommended: "Be as much as you can in the room in silence, without croaking here and there, study gladly, assure you that the table and kneeling make a perfect Jesuit"<sup>35</sup>. Teachers themselves had to be exemplary in the efficient use of time. Before the class they must sit on a chair being on the watch, like sentinels, observing the pupils, avoiding being unemployed or intent on unnecessarily flipping registers. In learning, in a narrow sense, power shows itself as an obligation to repeat exercises, or as the granting of an unexpected break. But during the free time the prefect could not sit still at the table but had to turn to ensure that students use their time efficiently, respecting order and authority <sup>36</sup>.

## THE SCHOOL TIME IN RELATION TO THE PROCESSES OF SECULARIZATION

Jesuits had to deal with the processes of secularization and organization of public education in relation to the needs of governments. This led to various compromises in the distribution of school timetable. I present only two Italian cases. The establishment of the Seminary of Cagliari in Sardinia dating back to 1618 was the result of the commitment of the Jesuits to the birth of a higher education system in Sardinia. This institute became the College of Nobles in 1765, after a more active involvement of the noble families and the government as an effect of the reform of the island's public education system<sup>37</sup>. A report affirms that the king was no longer willing to endure the predominance of religious education, and expenditure of time in practices of piety. It was to implement a proper proportion between the "wide fulfilment of Christian duties", according to the model of the Roman College, and the hours devoted to study<sup>38</sup>. Less respect of religious activities would enable three hours of instruction to be added each day. And the reduction of time spent on retreats from eight days to three days, twice a year, set into the Seminary, "would provide a beneficial effect, allowing the formation good Christian and honest citizens, simultaneously".

Through these acts, the governors claimed that the autonomy granted in the past was forgotten; Sardinia came under the control of Savoy after centuries of Spanish rule domination, in 1720. So training the offered had to correspond to the criteria of uniformity and the request of the new "commissioner". The members of the Society of Jesus had to accompany mature boarders to the recently renewed University of Cagliari. Other young students, i.e. boys aged between 12 and 21 years, attended the same courses of all the "low schools" of the kingdom, in seminaries.

In another part of Italy (Padua) and in another era (mid-nineteenth century), a similar phenomenon occurred. In this case, the Jesuits had to review the plans of their colleges to ensure they corresponded to the one implemented in the State secondary schools. It was necessary to make the curricula of studies in the boarding school comparable with that required in non-religious high schools. The members of the Company were convinced of the opportunity to teach geometry, algebra, physics, natural history, not only in seventh and eighth grade, but also in the lower classes. The decision to outsource, from the first four classes, teachers devoted respectively to Latin, Italian, history, Greek, mathematics and a modern language, in this case German, answered a need to deliver a modern curriculum and intercept the possible leakage of students interested in subjects that were in line with educational demands of a society in transformation. The Jesuits, who had worked to standardize the axis of their training colleges for centuries, were forced to organize the school time according to the dictates of emerging nations, in the second half the twentieth century. But the differences between, and within countries regarding the amount of time students spend studying different subjects, the time they spend in different types of learning activities, and how learning time was allocated, are better understood if we look at the traditional humanistic roots represented by the *Ratio Studiorum*<sup>39</sup>.

## CONCLUSIONS

The analysis of time allows us to consider college first of all as a place of prayer, meditation and silence. The rhythm of the liturgy builds the calendar and the Church schedules weekly and daily duties. The time is full of early and frequent retreats. The student lived in college for two purposes:



Christian and civil education. The first one provided by a spiritual director, and the second by the prefect and other teachers. The numbers of lectures (Table 2) was limited (from 18 to 28 hours per week). I say "limited" compared with the abundant capital available to educators, because pupils were under their care for 24 hours, for an average of 10-11 months of the year. There is not enough space here to analyse the content of the curriculum, but a quantitative analysis shows that the importance of hours of study spent on classical languages, especially in the early years of school, are particularly evident<sup>40</sup>.

		Latin	Italian	Greek	German	Geography and History	Math	Physics	Philosophy	Total
Class	I	14.5	2	2	2	2	2	1		25.5
Class	II	14.5	2	2	2	2	2	1		25.5
Class	III	12.5	2	3	2	3	2	1		25.5
Class	IV	12	2	3	2	3	2	1		25
Class	V	12	2	4	2	2	2	1		25
Class	VI	8	2	3	2	2	2	1		20
Class	VII	1	1	1	2	1	2	3	7,5	18.5
Class	VIII	1	1	1	2	1	2	5.5	5	18.5

Table 2 Subjects taught in Padua after 1860 according to according to the proposed change to *Regolamento pei Collegi di Educazione diretti dai P. P. della Compagnia di Gesù* (Rome 1847).

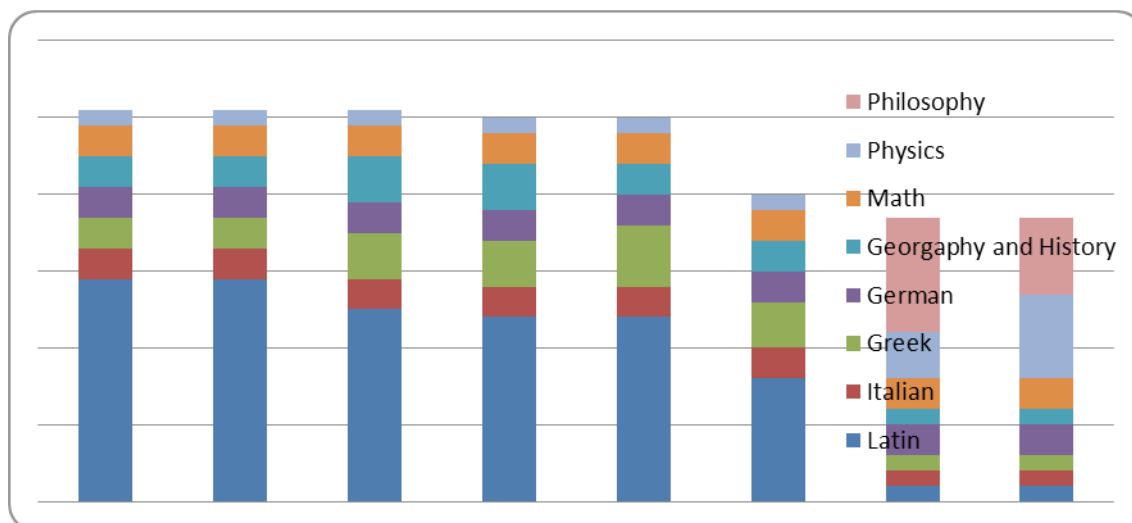


Table 3

We need to investigate further the way in which time is used for individual study, and also for the school lunch, vacations, attention paid to the physical welfare of the students, and playtime. These activities were actually very significant in terms of time, and received constant educational attention.

Although the ideal of both the Jesuits and Protestants was the acquisition of true Christian wisdom, the spread of religious colleges facilitated the adoption of a special relationship to the use of time. It was a very different use from that of the traditional monasteries. Saint Bernard said that the duty of the monks was not to teach but do penance (*monachi officium esse non docere sed lugere*). For the followers of St Ignatius, the religious life was part of the humanities.

I wonder if schooling could not be a significant means by which time was unified, which is one of the essential features of modernization and the dominance of a European model of education. School time becomes a time organized, productive and above all synchronized, and therefore exportable beyond local boundaries. The school, which etymologically in ancient times was called *scholé* and *otium*, that is, idleness and freedom from the troubles related to everyday life, has become obligation, work, duty.

- 1 Paper presented at International Standing Conference for the History of Education 34, **Internationalization in education (18th – 20th centuries)**, 27-30 June 2012 Geneva. For the access to Jesuit Archives of Northern Italy (Archivio dei Gesuiti dell'Italia Settentrionale in Gallarate: AGISG) and permission to quote from the unpublished letters and documents grateful acknowledgment is made to SJ Diego Brunello. Special thanks also to Tom Woodin, Institute of Education, University of London, for proof reading the manuscript.
- 2 Norbert Elias, **Saggio sul tempo** (Bologna: il Mulino, 1986).
- 3 "Why time matters", <http://www.timeandlearning.org>, <http://www.timeandlearning.org/why-time-matters> (accessed August 28, 2012). A very interesting field is also that of the rising of school leaving age, about this see Tom Woodin, Gary McCulloch & Steven Cowan, "Raising the participation age in historical perspective: policy learning from the past?", **British Educational Research Journal** (2012): 1-19.
- 4 Antonio Vinão Frago, "Tiempo, Historia y Educación", **Revista Comlutense de Educación** 5 (1994): 9-45
- 5 Wolfgang Mitter, "Zeit Für Schule ...", **Studien und Dokumentationen zur vergleichenden Bildungsforschung**, 48 (1990), and Gerlind Schmidt, "Zeit in der Schule: Deutsche Demokratische Republik", Fachportalpaedagogik.de, [http://www.pedocs.de/volltexte/2011/3560/pdf/Schmidt\\_Gerlind\\_Zeit\\_in\\_der\\_Schule\\_D\\_A.pdf](http://www.pedocs.de/volltexte/2011/3560/pdf/Schmidt_Gerlind_Zeit_in_der_Schule_D_A.pdf); <http://www.ciep.fr/bibliographie/bibliographie-l-organisation-du-temps-scolaire.pdf> (accessed August 23, 2012). Boris Noguès, "L'encadrement pédagogique et disciplinaire dans les collèges d'humanités ed France du XVI<sup>e</sup> au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle", *Paedagogica Historica* 47 (2011), 243-262. Dario Ragazzini, **Tempi di scuola e tempi di vita: organizzazione sociale e destinazione dell'infanzia nella storia italiana**, (Milano: Mondadori, 1997). Marie-Madeleine Compère, **Histoire du temps scolaire** (Paris: Institut national de recherche pédagogique, 1997). Please note that some scholars who have made important contributions to the history of education have written crucial books on the subject of time, I refer to: Philippe Ariès, **Essais de mémoire** (Paris: Seuil 1993 and Carlo Cipolla, **Clocks and Culture, 1300-1700** (New York: Norton, 1967).
- 6 Jacques Le Goff, **I riti, il tempo, il riso: cinque saggi di storia medievale**, Storia e società (Roma Bari: Laterza, 2001).
- 7 The noun *otium* did not seem negative, it indicated instead the absence of work and the opportunity to consecrate hours, days or more to study poems, art, and in general all the exercises that promote interior improvement. *Otium* was linked with the idea of rest, relax, peace, study and retirement to private life. The antonym: *negotium*, connotes work understood as practical exercise for getting food and the necessities for life. So it indicates a work, a job, but also, in a wide sense, an effort or a worry.
- 8 Kevin J. Brehony. Michael Oakeshott, "**Working at Play or Playing at Work? A Froebelian Paradox Re-examined**", <http://kevinjbrehony.me.uk/wp-content/uploads/2012/02/Working-at-Play-or-Playing-at-Work1.pdf> (accessed June 12, 2012)
- 9 As Le Goff acutely observes in an essay devoted to laughter in the Middle Ages: "laugh and idleness were the greatest monk's enemy". The dangerous link between pleasure and sin, was reiterated in various monastic rules ready to highlight the dangers that come from humour, from jokes and obscenities. Le Goff, **I riti, il tempo, il riso**. Cinque saggi di storia medioevale, 148.
- 10 Dominique Julia, "1650-1800. L'infanzia tra assolutismo ed epoca dei Lumi", in Egle Becchi, and Dominique Julia, eds., **Storia dell'infanzia** (Roma-Bari: Laterza, 1996): 11-12.
- 11 Letter May 24 1767 sent by the bishop Viancino to minister Bogino, published in Giancarlo Zichi, *Lettere di Cesare Viancino a Lorenzo Bogino (1763-1772)* (Sassari: Istituto Superiore di Scienze Religiose di Sassari): 220.
- 12 Nicolas Andry, **L'orthopédie ou l'art de prévenir et de corriger dans les enfants les difformités du corps** (Paris: Lambert et Durand, 1741).
- 13 Michel Foucault, **Surveiller et punir. Naissance de la prison** (Paris: Gallimard, 1975). I refer to the Italian version, **Sorvegliare e punire**. Nascita della prigione (Torino: Einaudi, 1976): 324-340.
- 14 J. Vincent Duminuco, **The Jesuit Ratio Studiorum: 400th Anniversary Perspectives** (New York: Fordham Univ Press, 2000)

- 15 "Rules for the provincial superior", art. 39, **Ratio atque insitutio studiorum Societatis Jesu**, ed. by Mario Salomone (Milano: Feltrinelli, 1979).
- 16 "Rules for the provincial superior", art. 19, §1, **Ratio atque insitutio studiorum Societatis Jesu**. With regard to the division of time see also art. 6: "The students of theology should attend teaching of Scripture for two years, in the second and third year of theology, where the professors of theology are two. Lessons last three quarters of an hour a day. But where professors are three, for less time every day or, if you prefer, longer every other day", and art. 8: "The students of theology should follow the teaching of the Hebrew language for a year, in the second or third year". Article 17: "In colleges [...] the course of [...] philosophy must last at least three years." Finally, art. 18 it was stated that "Although the duration of the studies of humanity and rhetoric cannot be stated, [...] the Father Provincial does not admit to the course of philosophy before students have completed two years of rhetoric".
- 17 "Rules for the provincial superior", art. 21, §2, **Ratio atque insitutio studiorum Societatis Jesu**.
- 18 "Rules for the provincial superior", art. 19, §6 e §11, **Ratio atque insitutio studiorum Societatis Jesu**.
- 19 "Rules for the provincial superior", art.12, **Ratio atque insitutio studiorum Societatis Jesu**.
- 20 "Rules for the provincial superior", art.36, **Ratio atque insitutio studiorum Societatis Jesu**.
- 21 "Rules for the provincial superior", art. 37, § 13, **Ratio atque insitutio studiorum Societatis Jesu**.
- 22 About the school holidays in France during the XIX and XX centuries see, Marie-Madeleine Compère, Philippe Savoie, "Temps scolaire et condition des enseignants du secondaire en France depuis dix siècles," in ed. . Marie-Madeleine Compère (Paris: Institut national de recherche pédagogique, 1997): 267-277.
- 23 "Rules for the rector", art. 11, **Ratio atque insitutio studiorum Societatis Jesu**. In medieval monasteries days were tailored to the canonical hours (in multiples of three: morning, third, sixth, ninth, vespers, compline, night office) and were regulated by the bell instrument par excellence for administer the time. Also in colleges of the Society of Jesus control of the bell allowed to govern the lives of fathers and students, through the management of their time. Le Goff, **I riti, il tempo, il riso. cinque saggi di storia medioevale**, 125.
- 24 "General rules for all the teachers of advanced course", art. 11, **Ratio atque insitutio studiorum Societatis Jesu**.
- 25 "Rules for the awards", art. 5, **Ratio atque insitutio studiorum Societatis Jesu**.
- 26 "Rules of the prefects of the lower classes", art. 43, **Ratio atque insitutio studiorum Societatis Jesu**.
- 27 Manuscript of Franco Guerello, **I convitti, 2006**, in "Archivio dei Gesuiti dell'Italia Settentrionale in Gallarate" (AGISG), files **Collegi Regolamenti**.
- 28 AGISG, **Collegi Regolamenti**.
- 29 *Regolamento del convitto pontano alla Conocchia*, (Napoli: Raimondi 1886). Mentioned in the manuscript of Franco Guerello *I convitti, 2006* in AGISG, **Collegi Regolamenti**.
- 30 *Avvisi per i nostri studenti'*, 2, in AGISG, files *Collegi Regolamenti*. The alert and attentive master's eye can be considered as an expression of a "reasonable paternity", that is as a kind of substitute of parental role made by teachers. In this regard see M. Piseri, "Paternità naturale e paternità ragionevole. L'istituzionalizzazione dell'infanzia in età moderna" in **Figure della paternità nell'Ancien Régime**, ed. by Paola Bianchi Giacomo Jori (Torino: aAccademia University Press, 2011): 155.
- 31 FOUCAULT, **Sorvegliare e punire**. Nascita della prigione, 197.
- 32 FOUCAULT, **Sorvegliare e punire**. Nascita della prigione, 172-177.
- 33 "Pensionnat sous la direction del la Compagnie de Jésus a Friburg en Suisse", S.d., in AGISG, **Collegi Regolamenti**, 1.
- 34 FOUCAULT, **Sorvegliare e punire**. Nascita della prigione, 198-202.
- 35 S.a., 'Avvisi per i nostri studenti', S.d., in AGISG, **Collegi Regolamenti**, 5, 12.

- 36 Ammonimenti e Regole pe' Collegi di educazione governati da' PP. della Compagnia di Gesù, (Roma 1947), AGISG, **Collegi Regolamenti**.
- 37 Fabio Pruneri, **L'istruzione in Sardegna 1720-1848** (Bologna: il Mulino, 2011)
- 38 Archivio di Stato di Cagliari, Regia Segreteria di Stato, s. II, vol. 852, Copia di relazione sul Seminario detto Cagliaritano con alcune pezze concernenti la distribuzione delle ore per occupare gli alunni, utensili e spese del medesimo. **Cagliari 20 dicembre** 1765.
- 39 Christian Alain Muller shows how school timetables and subjects in secondary schools of *élite* changed according to the theoretical and ideological thought of reformers, in Genève during the XIX. **Le Collège de la République**. Enseignement secondaire et formation de "l'élite" à Genève, 1814-1911 (Slatkine: Genève 2009). About other part of Switzerland see Carlo Jenzer, "De l'uniformisation à la diversification: Histoire de la scolarité obligatoire dans le canton de Soleure (Suisse)." In.: **Histoire du temps scolaire**, ed. Marie-Madeleine Compère (Paris: Institut national de recherche pédagogique, 1997): 39-66.
- 40 Thomas S. Popkewitz, 'Curriculum history, schooling and the history of the present', **History of Education**, 40 (2011): 1-19.

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