

Medieval tradition and Italian innovations: background of the Spanish Colleges since 1939.

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I. Universities in Spain

According to J. Verger, the researches in cultural history have an institutional side and, other relative to the content of education/culture. For S. Stelling Michaud, the research in culture must obey the different institutional functions, as they are the ideological elaboration, in addition to the conservation and transmission of culture, and other social tasks. In the case of the Spanish University, both realities have always been intimately related, so that, with each doctrine or political regime, has tallied a model of high education, and in consequence, an institutional peculiarity. As early as in the beginning of the 20th century, the politician Ortiz de Zárate dared to say, 'who controls school will also control the society and the State'. Along different regimes, the educational values have been submitted to the partisan indoctrination, with large discussions about 'freedom to teach', 'university autonomy', and so on.¹

There had been some historical models of University, complementary, contradictory, and even incompatible; however, the University has always kept the reminiscence of its medieval origin, normally spoiled by the myth.² From among the possible liberal models, Spain adopted in the 19th century, a sweetened variant from the French and renounced, at first, the continuity with the tradition of the colleges. This process took place parallel to the final decadence of science and high education in Spain, which, as early as 1890, required a complete revision. Although the aristocratisant temptation of the English model (the college model par excellence) was not completely absent and, although the German model (which overshadowed the French one after 1870) was current among the Krausist lefts and among the

¹ S. ARRANZ MARTIN, *Las otras ramas del saber. Balance de un siglo de educación*, «El Risco de la Nava», 15, Madrid, 14 de marzo de 2000. A, possibly, general prospect, although probably very closed, in R. BERRUEZO ALBÉNIZ's contribution to the work of J. TUSSEL and others, *El régimen de Franco (1936-1975)*, Madrid, 1993.

² I. PORCIANI, dir., *L'Università tra Otto e Novecento: i modelli europei e il caso italiano*, Napoli, 1994.

conservative rights, we must not forget the Italian paradigm, never forgotten. Spain did not renew the University until the second half of the 20th century, but then it was constructed over previous theoretical foundations. So that, to a great extent, thanks to the nucleus of colleges who never left off going to Bologna, the Franco-system managed to conceive a vocationally medieval university, officially centralised but, still respectful to the Colleges corporative autonomies; moreover, theoretically based on that autonomy. Such a contradiction can only be understood because of the arrival of the Italian influence through a singular College as the Bolognese one, and because of certainly not very customary students as were those Spanish. The generation of 'bolognese' from the first post-war period was exactly the one that had been asked to achieve a radical application of the double *colegia* and Italian university model (this one in its totalitarianism version), explained for a common reference to an academic Middle Age closer to fantasy than to reality.

The alleged continuity of the medieval colleges, as well as the influences of contemporary education theories (mainly received through Fascist Italy) resulted in the foundation of the 'Colleges' just after the Spanish Civil War (1936-1939). In this paper we shall try to analyse to what extent the Medieval (and Modern) Colleges were a model for this foundation, and, on the other hand, how important the link between the Spanish authorities and Mussolini's Italy was in this scope (aims, models, government, comparative legislation and future development of the Fascist 'Case dello Studente').

From a practical and quantitative point of view, the university education in Spain was, before the Franco period, a phenomenon of minorities and, during the dictatorship it, paradoxically, stopped being that. Always with reference to the horrible consequences of the Civil War from 1936 to 1939, we would find a dark and not usual time of 'reconstruction', where the intellectual world is hurt by the fratricidal fight and by the split between the victorious and the defeated. The university world, impoverished for the drain, among both, teachers and students, will be long; first, to renew and then to include changes to modernise in time to the social scene. Lets see the student body development:

Universities, 1940 - 1995

Universities, 1940 - 1995	
<i>Year</i>	<i>University Students</i>
1940	37.286
1950	54.605
1960	76.458
1970	205.602
1980	640.949
1992	1.261.012
1995	1.439.482

So then, the passage from an elitist University to another really opened begins in the 1960s with the consequent increasing in the number of university students. To sum up they would have passed from 14 university students per 10.000 inhabitants in 1940-1941, to 324 in 1992, and to 363 in 1995, while the number of official teachers went from a few hundred in the 1940s, to 2.982 in 1974-75, up to 24.043 in 1995. There were 12 universities in 1940 and more than 60 in 2000.

From a theoretical point of view, the question becomes much harder: an authoritarian regime which began defining the University education as an essential side of its politic, but in any case in a minority University, ended up creating a democratic University. The Colleges, created to transmit a feeling of élite (which for falangists had to be political and intellectual, but for bishops had to be religious, and monarchic simply social and economical), never succeeded in organising the University round themselves but, on the other hand, they ended up creating the anti-Franco élite. Therefore there are reasons enough to argue about the sense of basic, secondary and advanced curriculums or, at least, about the way to put them into practise.³

As early as 1900 the Public Instruction Minister, Alvaro de Figueroa y Torres, count of Romanones –doctor in the University of Bologna- complained about that the

³ S. ARRANZ MARTÍN, *Las otras...*

last twenty years of the 19th century, 17 secondary curriculums had been changed. The 20th century it is not out of changes. The longest was made by the Minister García Alix who, by the way, use for the first time ministerial department under the name of ‘Ministerio de Instrucción Pública’, as ‘Education’ was before included in the ministry responsible for public works.

The Spanish regulation of the University degrees, all along the 20th century, has depended on the various laws on secondary education. University was just the culmination of baccalaureate (school leaving examination) because it had no other real function than the formative-professional one. García Alix’s Plan lasted twenty-three years, promoted by Romanones and carried on by Bugallal without hardly changes, until it was replaced with the ‘Plan Callejo’ in 1926 which was substituted again by the previous plan because it was considered fit. This took place in 1931 until the advent of the second Republic. However, we have to point out that previously, in 1926 this plan suffered some modifications by the noted Royal Decree August 25. In 1938 the Spanish Civil War was nor finished, and appeared the famous Plan that mainly had an effect on secondary studies with its baccalaureate of seven years and ‘exam of State’ or Resit at the end. As experts on education say, it was more formative than the previous and than the following. This plan did not last long either because in 1953 was substituted by a similar one, but with a ‘novelty’; the Baccalaureate was divided in two stages, Elementary and Advanced, both with the corresponding resit and graduation, retaining the same subjects, although some of them were optional. This division in two levels was not an originality because it had appeared in the reformation of 1926 with the Elementary and University Baccalaureate.

The social interest on legal changes in Universities had been however lesser than the common concern about Primary and Secondary Schools. The ‘Ley General de Educación’ (General Law of Education) done by Villar Palasí in 1970 was a real pedagogical and organisational revolution in the teaching institutions, both private and public, and it had an effect on Primary and Middle levels. The ‘Villar’s Law’, as it was named, ended up in 1982 when was substituted by the ‘LODE’ (Law to assure the right to education) which, although being supported by hard political connotations and being anxious for surviving, was substituted in 1990 by another one with the same political tendency, called ‘LOGSE’ (general organisation law of the educational system). This one is prevailing, while we are writing this outline, with many modifications also.

From a quantitative and a qualitative point of view, there exists an aspect of the discussion that has always been hidden in darkness or, at least, has been treated indifferently by researches. From the different possible options between an elitist University and a University of Masses, one of the clues is if there exists or not a school network, corporately organised, in the 'hard core' of the corresponding university system. The matter of Colleges, as it seems obvious, can not be historically eliminated in terms of 'housing and assistance', seeing that the school corporations existence, which monopolise or no the University, determines a university culture. Consequently, it is interesting to see how the plans of giving a new life to the Colleges, that had disappeared in 19th century, could determined how such projects could be assumed by the Franco-system and what results that policy had.

II. The Spanish College, a medieval key to interpretate the contemporary evolution

As a matter of fact, a third approach helps us in the preparation of this research: the only Medieval Spanish College that survived to the Liberal confiscation in the 19th century was the Royal Spanish College of St. Clemente in Bologna, Italy. Its renewed splendour during the first half of the 20th century, while the University of Bologna was directed by fascists, could explain the double influx in the new Spanish Colleges: a medieval tradition read in a Fascist Italy. Among the supporters of the idea of the College system in Spain in 1939 and before, there were some important former students in Bologna. Their academic and political careers are closely related to the plans of reconstruction and, first of all, with the idea of making those Colleges the leading core of the Spanish University. We shall see further on some important examples of this traditional élite integration in the Franco system of academic power. Obviously, there is a double source of this idea, on the one hand the Italian context (fascist to 1945, and in some sense afterwards also) and, in any case medievalisant, in view of the inspiration that the College was regenerated with, from 1919 to 1955.

II.a. A medieval institution

The College of Spain in Bologna was a university institution with medieval roots. As there is not a complete study about its history⁴, we have to remember here that, despite its sustained continuity from 1364 up to the present, this survival cannot be explained without a continuous adaptation through the ages. The Medieval College had nothing to do, at least in formative and social aspects, with the one in 16th and 17th centuries, and so on. What is particular is that the retrieval of the internal and external historical memory of the College exactly took place when it was going through the most critical time. Precisely, in the 19th century, when the remaining colleges had disappeared and there was a liberal university formed, the College of Bologna seemed to be at the mercy of the state. Its salvation came from a romantic prompting based on the medieval past, but mainly supported on an idealised rereading. So, the idea there was in Spain in the first half of the 20th century about the medieval university system, was to a large extent, the idea that the College of Bologna wanted to show of itself, supported on a corporate autonomy (self government of the school community), on the academic superiority and on the vertebrating function of the Colleges, with regard to the University and this one in relation to culture and society. This heritage was not exclusive of the most conservative elements of the Spanish society, but it is true that it perfectly suited with the common postulates of the winner side in the Civil War and, that it was not lacking, as we have seen, in distinguished students from Bologna who were prepared not only to suggest the recreation of Colleges, but also to require doing that revision as the one in Bologna (but like the neomedieval one) and to demand those Colleges to direct the university life of the New State.⁵

⁴ About the previous period, P. TAMBURRI, *Natio hispanica. Juristas y estudiantes españoles en Bolonia antes de la fundación del Colegio de España*. Studia Albornotiana LXXI, Bolonia, 1999.

⁵ Specially in this sense is interesting *Constituciones del Colegio Mayor «Santa María»* (s.l. [Madrid], s.d. [c.1945]). It could not be explained in other way that a falangist College by definition, being the flagship of university falangism in Madrid, wanted to connect with the view of the Middle Age that existed then.

II b. An elite of Italian culture

Italy was changing, and the liberal country that Romanones had known during his Bolognese period was shaken by a new revolution, the fascism. The first steps of Fascist rule in the Italian schools and Universities were only negative: the most evident political oppositors were ruled out, the power of the administrative and academical authorities were increased. But yet in the first half of the 1920, a peculiar Fascist educational theory emerged and developed⁶. The leftist power among the teachers in primary schools was overruled, but new structures organised both the teachers (the syndicate, *Confederazione Fascista della Scuola*) and the pupils (the *Opera Nazionale Balilla*, born in 1925). The high culture, that is, the professoral corpus of the colleges and Universities, accepted in a easier way the Fascist rule, and in these fields there was less repression, but also a lesser level of real fascistization (as the events of 1943 -1945 demonstrated)⁷.

Colleges in Italy⁸, which existed up to the Napoleons Era, disappeared in the 19th century, because of the same impulse that almost abolished the College of Spain, saved thanks to the stubbornness of its members and because of its hypothetical extraterritoriality. School tradition was interrupted in Italy, or at least restricted to secondary education, and then limited to the type of Jesuitical school (*convitti*), neither with concessions to the corporate autonomy nor with connections with the University. Nevertheless, the need for holding up University in a more coherent way, and of course the need for housing and organising students, kept the college idea always alive. Even the greatest apostles of liberalism as Giosu  Carducci, followed a romantic idea of the medieval University and an extremely positive idea of the colleges, more strengthened because of the English prestige. In fact, at the end of 19th century, the Italian University sought to be in its forms much more medieval than the one in the previous century (that, however, was institutionally medieval), and certainly there was not a lack in proposals to create college institutions to be permanent in students life. The necessary steps were not taken until the 1930s, and in this point the fascist totalitarianism knew, as in other cases, how to lead a large

⁶ A. LITTLETON, *La conquista del potere. Il Fascismo dal 1919 al 1929*, Bari, 1974.

⁷ D. VENERUSO, *L'Italia fascista (1922 - 45)*, Bologna, 1981.

⁸ *Convegno Nazionale di Studio sui Collegi Universitari in Italia*, Bari, 1961. G. BALILL , *Un futuro per l'Universit  italiana*, Bari, 1961.

liberal tradition to its own profit. The ‘Case dello Studente’⁹ were created in order to give housing, to comprise and to indoctrinate subsequently the most capable and promising university students.

Their structure was defined hierarchical and independent since their creation. That is to say, it was not about Colleges actually, but about state institutions with some of the functions of the Colleges (assistance, leader selection, and education). These foundations were coordinated afterwards by the ‘Gruppi Universitari Fascisti’¹⁰, in such a way that it was about to make them education centres for future members of the corporate state. Nevertheless, and this is very important, the ‘Case dello Studente’ never had a real corporate autonomy, neither internal nor patrimonial and were always subjected to external powers. This fact, in the totalitarian logic, was not ignored in Spain. In fact, the Spanish Colleges, like Italian institutions but precisely in contrast to the College of Spain and to the pure medieval colleges, never had a real autonomy, not even after Franco’s death.

We cannot forget that the best known medieval-traditional college in Italy was the Spanish College. The medieval appearance the Bolognese College was able and wanted to show of itself in the first half of the 20th century fitted in the modernising ideal of fascism, just partly. But through the Spanish who studied in Bologna could come to Spain precise smatterings, not only about how a medieval college kept on working, but also about how an state that was so close had acquired some characteristics of traditional Colleges to create new institutions.

III. 1939. The Colleges, hypothetical future of the Spanish University.

III a. The context

The Civil War destroyed the previous educational system, and both sides prepared ambitious plans for the university reformation, directed to make Spain a modern country with a scientific and cultural development comparable to the European one.¹¹

⁹ The house of Rome, since September, 1st, with foundational rules and regulations in December, 18, 1930 (Ley 1863 de 18 de Diciembre de 1930).

¹⁰ Royal decree 1592, August 31, 1933, Published in the Gazzetta Ufficiale, December 7, 1933.

¹¹ M.J. FERNÁNDEZ DE SORIA, *Vencer y convencer. Educación y política. España 1936-1945*, Valencia, 1993.

The winner side, however, faced to two problems in 1939, which run through the pro-Franco education policy: on one hand, the winners were a coalition with different doctrines; on the other hand, they were lacking in resources. Nevertheless, there always were sources common to the whole official university thought, and the winners reached a certain accord about the mainly aspects of the university reform.

The bill prepared in 1939 cast light on the proposals and models of the new Spanish University¹². Although the Minister of National Education was the monarchic and catholic Pedro Sáinz Rodríguez in 1938, and although catholic hierarchies had great power, we have to remember that the first minister's under-secretary was precisely Alfonso García Vadeucasas. He was a jurist who was distinguished for three reasons that have been already noted: he was a college of Bologna, he admired the Italian culture, and he was one of three men who founded 'Falange Española'. As we have already mentioned the evolution of the university reform, cannot be understood if we do not consider the previous reform of the baccalaureate.

The new University conceived in 1939, had to be elitist (in qualitative and quantitative aspects), joined to the tradition of the Imperial Spain, catholic by definition, impervious to the political and religious dissidence (specially of the teaching staff) and adapted to the 'New State'. With this parameters a first reforming commission was created in the Ministry. Pío Zabala, Inocencio Jiménez, Ciriaco Pérez Bustamante and Juan José López Ibor made it up. They were outstanding figures of the most conservative catholic culture.

This commission introduced important novelties, as it was the proposal to approve new private universities (catholic), the idea of giving universities back juridical personality and autonomy, and the double task of them: educating and researching. These approaches stood, in great part, in contradiction to the totalitarian

¹² C. RODRÍGUEZ LÓPEZ, *El nacimiento de la Universidad franquista: Madrid ante el proyecto de Ley de Reforma Universitaria de 1939*, in *Tiempos de Silencio. Actas del IV Encuentro de Investigadores del Franquismo*, Valencia, 2000, p. 699 - 706. C. RODRÍGUEZ LÓPEZ, *Anhelos de reforma: Madrid ante el proceso de reforma universitaria en el primer franquismo (1939 - 1940)*, «Cuadernos del Instituto Antonio de Nebrija», 2, Getafe, 1999, p. 111 - 161.

program of the falangists. It is important to remark that there were nor academics who had Italian formation in the Commission, and not even from Bologna.

One order (March 9, 1940) required the Spanish universities to give a corporate opinion about the project¹³. The University of Madrid was in opposition to the existence of universities out of the state control, precisely defending some projects and a different idea of the university. In this position, young teachers and Falangist students were more radical.

III b. The protagonists

As long as before 1939, José Ortega y Gasset¹⁴ had recalled the college-medieval model as one of the possible to the regeneration of the Spanish University; however, he did not manage to know well the Italian innovations. In the next generation, Pedro Laín Entralgo was a singular man between two worlds. He was inheritor of the two great Spanish University traditions, the liberal one and the Free Institution of Education, and the traditional catholic one. He was an enthusiast of the Franco-system in its totalitarian version, on which he insisted with great effort and erudition that was already crushing. His later democratic evolution cannot hide his fascist period, and a good example is his speech being the principal of the University of Madrid in 1935 (October,5) in the 'I Congress of Hispanic Universities'¹⁵. He symbolically joined the historical magnificence of Spain together with the success of his university model, the elitist college model from the 15th century to the 17th; and, consequently the decadence of Spain would have taken place parallel to the abandon of this model. The logic seemed to be overwhelming: the Spanish regeneration would depend on the future returning to the abandoned model, definitely to the medieval model of university. Those words of Laín were not original at all, but there were very interesting aspects: it was a summary of the picture Spanish people had, in 1939, of their intellectual past, and it was an assessment of the most interesting aspects for the future of that same past. A main idea: it was advisable to return to the medieval Italian model, that is to say, to the Spanish one in Salamanca. Despite these

¹³ C.RODRIGUEZ, LÓPEZ, *El Nacimiento*, p.702-703.

¹⁴ J.ORTEGA Y GASSET, *Misión de la Universidad*, Alianza, Madrid, 1930.

¹⁵ L.LAÍN ENTRALGO, *Sobre la Universidad Hispánica*, Madrid, 1953.

aspects, Laín analysed hardly some decisions adopted during the first Franco-system about university matters. In fact, next to Antonio Tovar led the totalitarian opposition against the preponderance of the Catholic Church in the University, discussing the chance to permit not state universities.¹⁶

Alfonso García Valdecasas (college-student in 1923-1925)¹⁷, took the doctor's degree in Law in Bologna after being there a college from 1923 to 1925. In 1933 he took part in the foundation of the Falange, and he kept a close link with the University. He was Civil Law professor since 1927. In 1938 he was the under-secretary of Education during the first Government of Francisco Franco, so he was directly responsible of the first purposes to reform the University after the War. As many other catholic of that generation, the model of Free Institution of Education was so present at the time of planning the future. Particularly, the idea of renewing Colleges cannot be separated from the previous existence of the hall of residence, interaction with the College of Bologna was worthy of certain mention. In some way, The Colleged that inspired Giner de los Ríos¹⁸ became an alternative model for the following student generations.

Juan Benito Pérez (College-student in 1928-1929)¹⁹, as historian of Law, contributed to raise the College personality to a theoretical level, where he saw through history and traditions a possible model for the new Spanish University. On the other hand, his political closeness to the Italian fascism, made him referred to the 'Case dello studente' institution as a sequel of the Spanish College. Through the College

¹⁶ M.Á. SOTÉS ELIZALDE, *Los debates ante la creación de Universidades en la Ley de Ordenación de la Universidad española de 1943*, in *Tiempos de Silencio. Actas del IV Encuentro de Investigadores del Franquismo*, Valencia, 2000, p. 727 - 734.

¹⁷ A. PÉREZ MARTÍN, *Proles Aegidiana, 4. Los colegiales desde 1801 a 1977. Elenco de supuestos colegiales. Porcionistas. Rectores y otros cargos (1368-1978). Addenda et corrigenda. Índices*, p. 1886 - 1887 [1464].

¹⁸ Hermenegildo Giner de los Ríos was college-student in 1874, and his son Bernardo Giner in 1912-1914, at the same time as Cipriano Rivas Cherif.

¹⁹ *Proles Aegidia, 4*, p. 1902-1904 [1480]

and University history, and through biographies of the most remarkable students, he developed a task of propaganda in the service of the New State.²⁰

Isidro Martínez, college-student in 1934-1935²¹, represents an inflexion point in the Spanish University life. As García Valdecasas worked in an institutional scope and Benito extended all over Spain the modelic idea of the Bolognese College and the Italian education, Isidoro Martín, a catholic militant, was the Principal who founded the College 'Cardenal Belluga' in Murcia (1940-1949), and he was the Principal of 'San Pablo' in Madrid (1950-1957). From Bologna, besides his juridic education, he extracted a great knowledge of usages, customs and traditions that, in the 1940s run through him from the College of Spain to the new Colleges. As an anxious intellectual man, he worked out a real theory of University²² focused in the Colleges, which the Franco-system adopted as its own.

José Beltrán de Heredia y Castaño²³, jurist also, was the originator of a historical-juridic line and was the one who really renewed in more than one sense the University of Salamanca. He was the Principal of 'Hernán Cortés', destined to the Spanish-American students, still nowadays so influenced by the Bolognese dimension he wanted to give it. Afterwards, he belonged to the National Council Education.

²⁰ For example in his works about San Pedro de Arbués, Nebrija, Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda, and of course about Gil de Albornoz.

²¹ *Proles Aegidia*, 4, p. 1925-1928[1511]

²² Some of his publications are: *Concepto y misión de la Universidad*, Madrid, 1940; *Perfiles actuales del concepto de Universidad según Alfonso el Sabio*, «Anales de la Universidad de Murcia», 1943; *Las Universidades de la Iglesia, Su fundamento y oportunidad*, Madrid, 1958; *Lo que es un colegio menor*, Madrid, 1966; *Méritos y deficiencias de nuestra enseñanza estatal*, «Razón y Fe», 884 - 885, Madrid, 1971; y *Colegios Mayores y Colegios Universitarios en la estructura universitaria española*, in *Homenaje a Segismundo Royo-Villanova*, Madrid, 1977; *Panorama internacional de la libertad de enseñanza universitaria: conferencia pronunciada en la Fundación Universitaria Española el día 28 de octubre de 1980*, Madrid, 1980.

²³ *Proles Aegidia*, 4, p. 1931-1932[1516]

Alfredo Robles Alvarez de Sotomayor²⁴ was, after the parenthesis caused by the Civil War and the Second World War, one of the first noted Colleges. He was in Bologna in 1947-48 and he belonged to the generation that put in practise, the introductions of renovation that had been designed a decade before. He was one of the founders and the Principal of 'César Carlos' in Madrid, perhaps the Spanish College where the Bolognese model is nowadays present. The characteristics of this College are the great participation of students in the administrative life, its condition of centre for postgraduate students, and the high academic and professional level. Moreover, it is one of the few Colleges with partly self-financing, and so more autonomous concerning public grants. This important point distinguishes the College of Spain from the most part of the Colleges of post-war, that cannot have ever been really autonomous, and so extrictly 'College' because they have always depended on external powers. The 'Cesar Carlos' excelence has made it to be the model for other Spanish Colleges. This imitation, has often been, as in the case of Bologna, more a frustrated purpose than an effective reality. In any case, the link between Madrid and Bologna continued with Evelio Cervera y Tuells²⁵, college-student in Bologna in 1949-52 who, besides managing the 'San Agustín' College in Tenerife, was Principal in 'San Carlos' in 1955, before being Principal of the Spanish College after Dr. Carrasco's death. He was very important for the Bolognese tradition spreading: he was Principal up to 1977, and then, on the one hand, the idea of Bologna as a model was consolidated and, on the other hand the real impossibility for other centres to adopt its working plan, was consolidated too.

Colleges while Evelio Verdera was Principal had been the component of a 'third generation' of guidelines, that have lived them as a consolidated reality in Spain but, at the same time, progressively far from the medieval-Italian model. So Emilio Artacho Castellano²⁶ was the Principal in 'César Carlos' where Ramón López

²⁴ *Proles Aegidia*, 4, p. 1937[1523]. Almost at the same time Manuel Fernández Alvarez got his doctor decree in Bologna, who worked about traditional Colleges and divulged that tradition from Salamanca.

²⁵ *Proles Aegidia*, 4, p. 1946-1948[1533]

²⁶ *Proles Aegidia*, 4, p. 1976-1977[1566]

Vilas²⁷ was sub-director. Fernando Suárez González²⁸, college-student in Bologna in 1958-1959 has the most brilliant career. He was sub-director in 'Santa María' and 'Diego de Covarrubias', both in Madrid, at the same time he had important charges related to education as the leadership at 'Centro de Enseñanzas de la Delegación Nacional de Juventudes F.E.T.', the management of the 'Instituto de la Juventud', or the president of the 'Comisión Evaluadora de la Ley General de Educación'. Also being National Consultant of Education he is the author of an original reflection about the possible new Colleges²⁹, certainly far from the totalitarian efforts in the 1940s, but still very close to the Bolognese tradition, in a more medieval and liberal reading than the previous ones.

III c. The objectives

We find in Fernando Suárez's work³⁰, the last and most completed expression of the objectives that the Spanish culture tried to reach returning to the college system. Although it was so, for specially reactionary catholic minds, the Franco-system or, at least the falangists out of bolognese influence, did not only seek to solve the social problem of housing for younger. Like in Italy, doing this was about giving students complementary and complete education, in first place, opening a scope for corporate self-government and organising the University, at least ideally, from colleges. It is important to contrast these ideas, which in 1966 were just partly institutional, but were already beginning to stand in contradiction to the University of mass, with the ones expressed in 1952 by Láscaris Comneno; this one much closer to the spirit of the Laws in 1939-1943, still tried to transform each university student into a college student. That is to say that a University which was entirely consisted of college students acted as leader élite in society, and not that a élite of college students lived

²⁷ *Proles Aegidia*, 4, p. 1990-1991[1516]

²⁸ *Proles Aegidia*, 4, p. 1980-1981 and 2223 [1572]

²⁹ *Teoría del Colegio Mayor*, Madrid, 1966.

³⁰ *Teoría del Colegio Mayor*, Madrid, 1966.

together with a majority of not college students. Here we have to see the sign of the times but also, on the other hand, a sign of the Franco-system totalitarian purposes (and so, of the Italian model), facing a new drive of the medieval model properly Bolognese.

III d. The resources

From 1936 to 1943 (and even later: but the crisis of the fascist regime was a shock for the Spanish official culture), Mussolini's Italy was the model for the educational and cultural policies of the New State.³¹ We have just emphasised that we cannot confuse the assumed medieval hypothesis with the effective italianisation of the Spanish culture in those years. But, it is also true that both factors arrived in great part together, in the people who arrived to Italy in succession before 1936 and after 1947. Concerning the resources, the Italian example lost many of the great purposes of the first Franco-system, even in the university scope. However, we have to realise that in contrast to military or industrial scopes, the regime made a great effort, even in the hardest years of international blocking.

Immediately after the Civil War, the Spanish University received a new ordering which had an effect on Colleges, as we have seen. The public financing was radically increased, and so was the private one, since the creation of Colleges by privates had been allowed. But as it happened in Italy, resources were not enough to give Colleges their own wealth, to be able to generate incomes and so, to maintain a real corporate autonomy. The economic scope helps us to understand how the Bolognese medieval model was almost just rhetoric, while the intention was to create institutions which were easy to control, following the Italian example.

³¹ M^a R. BERRUEZO ALBÉNIZ, *Medidas educativas del fascismo italiano y su repercusión en la política educativa del primer franquismo*, en J. TUSELL et alii, *El régimen de Franco (1936-1975)*, Madrid, 1993.

NATIONAL BUDGET FUNDING FOR «COLEGIOS MAYORES» (1930 - 1935 AND 1940 - 1949)	
YEAR	CREDITS (pesetas)
1930	107.500
1931	50.000
1932	50.000
1933	50.000
1934	50.000
1935	47.375
<i>Civil War</i> 1936-1939	
1940	47.500
1941	172.500
1942	172.500
1943	1.557.000
1944	2.000.000
1945	2.500.000
1946	2.750.000
1947	3.250.000
1948	3.750.000
1949	4.500.000

The first College founded according to the visualised plan, was the ‘Santa María’ in Madrid, which depended on the falangist union of students. A short undated publication (That we have already mentioned)³² contains the patterns; and the students’ self-government did not absolutely reach the hereditary management. So it is noteworthy that they tried to have corporate-medieval aspects when, at the end of the 1940s, it was clear that Colleges would not ever have, making some exceptions, a real

³² *Colegio Mayor de ‘Santa María’*. *Constituciones*, cit.

autonomy. The Franco-system tried to spread³³ an elaborated picture of the presumed identity between the 'new' Spanish University and its college-medieval model but, despite a large evolution with purposes and full of suggestions, the realities of politics proved in the resources management, went on in a different way.

The Colleges soon generated some reflections on their identity and utility³⁴. It is remarkable that the most ambitious, complete and realistic, was the one, which had already began its evolution earlier than the Spanish one and, where it could not be anticipated a return to the College model. However, at best, the survival of real Colleges, where existed, in the midst of the University of Masses.

IV. Conclusions

The Spanish University has experimented a radical change during the 20th century. Like all the Western European countries, went from the liberal University with a harsh state control to the University of Masses, with variable and almost incompatible functions. Medieval tradition and Italian innovations had an influence on the Spanish University modernisation by students and teachers who, by some mean or other, shared both experiences. In this way, we have to remember the role-played by the Spanish College in Bologna which in liberal and republican times had already been able to exert a similar influence.

In college foundations it is very clear, the role, not only theoretical, but also practical played by the 'bolognese', in general, related to the action of the State, Universities, Falange, or the action of the Catholic Hierarchy. It is also significant how non-of the numerous colleges the Opus Dei instituted relied on a descriptive connection with Bologna; and on the contrary, remember that Jesuits, who did count on great traditional links with the Italian College and the students, took a long time to be involved by the constructor fever, which gave the fraternal and rival organisation, great political, social and economical profits.

It is important to remember that the Franco-system Colleges, despite its medievalisant formalism, taken in great part from Bologna, were not corporations, and

³³ S. HERNÁNDEZ MARTÍN, *Universidades*, Madrid, 1957.

³⁴ C. LÁSCARIS COMNENO, *Colegios Mayores*, Madrid, 1952, and, more important F. SUÁREZ GONZÁLEZ, *Teoría del Colegio Mayor*, Madrid, 1966, cit.

always depended on external powers: State, Church, Party... This was the logic of the Italian fascist 'Case dello Studente' and, this fact is another sign of the distances that have to be covered from rhetoric, literature and pictures in medieval taste (although it is far from the historic reality), and their effective implantation. For Spanish Colleges, basically because of their appearance from a medieval model, read through fascism, there were never options to reach a pure independence. It is not proper to complain about that non of them had reached the excellence, variety and freedom of the Bolognese College, because non of them has had real possibilities to adopt the working plans, however, in any case, its forms, and a shadow of its prestige next to an halo of the 'ancient' and the 'medieval'³⁵

Some men had the opportunity to create a new University; some did it from a fascist point of view, which were gradually overshadowed, and others did it from the catholic tradition. However, there were not a representative number of bolognese students who, because of the Italian influence or cause the medievalisant myth of the College of Spain, introduced in Spain the idea of a University centred on Colleges. An idea that was not put in practise completely, but that left to the country a exemplar number of Colleges and a repertoire of ideas that are so far from disappearing.

³⁵ The Middle Age as a fashion, in the 1940s and 1950s. Intellectual fashion, not aesthetic outlook in the romantic taste or in our fin-de-siècle taste. An example of that period, N. BERNDIAEFF, *Una nueva Edad Media*, Buenos Aires, 1946.

Appendix:

New Colleges in Spain (1939 - 1952)³⁶

Nr.	Universit y	Name	Date of Official Acknowled gement	Gen der	Founder - Owner	Links with previous Residenc es & Colleges (Y/N)	Links with Bologne (Y/N)
1	Barcelona	Jaime Balmes	2.3.1950	M	Union of Students (S.E.U.)	N	N
2	Barcelona	Mater Salvatoris	25.3.1946	F	Cath. Church	Y	N
3	Barcelona	Monterols	14.7.1951	M	Opus Dei	N	N
4	Barcelona	Nuestra Señora de Monserrat	26.10.1951	F	University	N	N
5	Barcelona	San Raimundo de Peñafort	19.2.1942	M	University	N	N
6	Barcelona	Santa Eulalia	28.2.1950	F	Cath. Church	N	N
7	Barcelona ³⁷	Virgen Inmaculada	2.8.1949	F	Union of Students (S.E.U.)	N	N
8	Granada	El Albayzin	14.7.1951	M	Opus Dei	N	N
9	Granada	Fray Luis de Granada	23.12.1944	M	University	N	N

³⁶ Source: C. LÁSCARIS COMNENO, *Colegios Mayores*, Madrid, 1952, p. 156 - 161.

³⁷ S. HERNÁNDEZ MARTÍN, *Universidades*, Madrid, 1957, p. 16 adds in Barcelona, before 1952, the male Colleges «Fray Junípero Serra» and «San Jorge».

10	Granada	Isabel la Católica	19.2.1942	F	University	N	N
11	Granada	San Bartolomé y Santiago	19.2.1942	F	University	Y	N
12	La Laguna	San Agustín	27.4.1946	M	Union of Students (S.E.U.)	N	N
13	La Laguna ³⁸	San Fernando	19.2.1942	M	University	N	N
14	Madrid	Ambrosio de Morales	18.2.1949	M	University	N	N
15	Madrid	Residence of the Council of Scientific Research	15.3.1946	Mx ³⁹	Council of Scientific Research	Y	Y
16	Madrid	César Carlos	9.8.1945	M ⁴⁰	Union of Students (S.E.U.)	Y	Y
17	Madrid	Generalísimo Franco	19.2.1942	M	University	N	N
18	Madrid	Generalísimo Franco	29.2.1942	M ⁴¹	University	N	N
19	Madrid	Isabel la Católica	19.2.1942	F	University	N	N
20	Madrid	José Antonio Primo de Rivera	19.2.1942	M	Union of Students (S.E.U.)	Y	N
21	Madrid	La Moncloa	14.7.1951	M	Opus Dei	N	N

³⁸ S. HERNÁNDEZ MARTÍN, *Universidades*, Madrid, 1957, p. 16 adds in La Laguna, before 1952, the female College «La Candelaria».

³⁹ Graduated students.

⁴⁰ Graduated students.

⁴¹ Moroccan students.

22	Madrid	Nebrija	23.2.1947	M	University	Y	Y
23	Madrid	Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe	17.1.1947	M ⁴²	Hispanic Cultural Institute	Y	N
24	Madrid	Padre Poveda	3.8.1945	F	Cath. Church	Y	N
25	Madrid	Residencia de Artistas	25.1.1952	M	University	N	N
26	Madrid	Sagrado Corazón de Jesús	8.1.1945	F	Cath. Church	N	N
27	Madrid	San Felipe y Santiago	18.2.1949	M	University	N	N
28	Madrid	San Pablo	21.7.1944	M	Cath. Church	Y	Y
29	Madrid	Santa María	6.11.1946	M	Union of Students (S.E.U.)	Y	Y
30	Madrid	Santa María del Campo	21.12.1951	M	University	N	N
31	Madrid	Santa Teresa de Jesús	19.2.1942	F	University	N	N
32	Madrid	Santiago Apóstol	6.12.1946	M ⁴³	University	N	N
33	Madrid	Santo Tomás de Aquino	9.8.1945	M	Cath. Church	N	N
34	Madrid	Vallés	18.2.1949	M	University	N	N

⁴² Hispanic students.

⁴³ Eastern European Students.

35	Madrid ⁴⁴	Ximénez de Cisneros	19.2.1942	M	University	Y	Y
36	Murcia	Cardenal Belluga	19.2.1942	M	University	N	N
37	Murcia	Julio Ruiz de Alda	16.6.1952	M	Union of Students (S.E.U.)	N	N
38	Murcia	Sagrado Corazón de Jesús	11.4.1944	F	Cath. Church	N	N
39	Oviedo	San Gregorio	19.2.1942	M	University	N	N
40	Oviedo (campus at León)	San Isidoro	31.5.1944	M	University	N	N
41	Oviedo	Santa Catalina	10.4.1942	F	University	N	N
42	Oviedo	Valdés Salas	15.5.1946	M	University	N	N
43	Salamanc a	Fray Luis de León	19.2.1942	M	University	N	N
44	Salamanc a	Hernán Cortés	21.1.1950	M ⁴⁵	Hispanic Cultural Institute	N	N
45	Salamanc a	San Bartolomé	19.2.1942	M	University	Y	N
46	Salamanc a	San Miguel Arcángel	2.8.1949	M	Union of Students (S.E.U.)	N	N
47	Salamanc a	Santa María de los Angeles	20.12.1946	F	Union of Students (S.E.U.)	N	N

⁴⁴ S. HERNÁNDEZ MARTÍN, *Universidades*, Madrid, 1957, p. 16 adds in Madrid, before 1952, the female College «Sagrado Corazón de Jesús».

⁴⁵ Hispanic students.

48	Salamanc a	Santa Teresa de Jesús	8.1.1945	F	Cath. Church	N	N
49	Salamanc a	Santiago Apóstol	19.2.1942	M	University	N	N
50	Santiago de Composte la	El Pilar	1.3.1946	F	Cath. Church	N	N
51	Santiago de Composte la	Fonseca	12.9.1945	M	University	Y	N
52	Santiago de Composte la	Generalísimo Franco	19.2.1942	M	University	N	N
53	Santiago de Composte la	La Estila	14.7.1951	M	Opus Dei	N	N
54	Santiago de Composte la	San Clemente	12.9.1945	M	University	Y	N
55	Santiago de Composte la	Santiago Apóstol	1.3.1946	F	Cath. Church	N	N

56	Sevilla (campus Cádiz)	Beato Fray Diego José	14.10.1942	M	University	N	N
57	Sevilla	Casa de Santa María del Buen Aire	10.2.1943	M ⁴⁶	University	N	N
58	Sevilla	Guadaira	14.7.1951	M	Opus Dei	N	N
59	Sevilla	Hernando Colón	19.2.1942	M	University	N	N
60	Sevilla (Campus Córdoba)	La Alcazaba	14.7.1951	M	Opus Dei	N	N
61	Sevilla (Campus Córdoba)	Lucio Anneo Séneca	10.6.1948	M	Union of Students (S.E.U.)	N	N
62	Sevilla	San Rafael	23.12.1944	M	University	N	N
63	Valencia	Alejandro Salazar	11.5.1944	M	Union of Students (S.E.U.)	N	N
64	Valencia	Luis Vives	19.2.1942	M	University	N	N
65	Valencia	San Vicente Ferrer	27.5.1946	M	Cath. Church	N	N
66	Valencia	Santa Teresa de Jesús	11.5.1944	F	Union of Students (S.E.U.)	N	N
67	Valladolid	Felipe II	19.2.1942	M	University	N	N
68	Valladolid (Campus Bilbao)	Gregorio de la Revilla	24.7.1947	M	University	N	N
69	Valladolid	María de Molina	27.4.1946	F	Cath. Church	N	N

⁴⁶ American Studies.

70	Valladolid	Reyes Católicos	29.7.1948	M	Union of Students (S.E.U.)	N	N
71	Valladolid	Santa Cruz	23.5.1947	M	University	Y	N
72	Valladolid	Santa María del Castillo	20.6.1950	F	Union of Students (S.E.U.)	N	N
73	Zaragoza	Cardenal Xavierre	14.12.1945	M	Cath. Church	N	N
74	Zaragoza	Cerbuna	19.2.1942	M	University	N	N
75	Zaragoza	Fernando el Católico	10.11.1945	M	University	N	N
76	Zaragoza	Miraflores	14.7.1951	M	Opus Dei	N	N
77	Zaragoza	Santa Isabel Infanta de Aragón	19.2.1942	F	University	N	N