

Religion and the Construction of Argentinean Citizenship

By

Ezequiel Gomez Caride

A dissertation submitted in partial fulfilment of  
the requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy  
(Curriculum & Instruction)

at the

UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN MADISON

2014

Date of Final Oral Examination: 05/21/2014

The dissertation is approved by the following members of the Final Oral Committee:

Thomas Popkewitz, Professor, Curriculum and Instruction

Ksenija Biblija, Professor, Spanish and Portuguese

Francois Tochon, Professor, Curriculum and Instruction

Julie Koza, Professor, Curriculum and Instruction

Ines Dussel, Professor, Curriculum and Instruction

## Table of Contents

<b>Abstract</b> .....	<b>iv</b>
<b>Acknowledgements</b> .....	<b>v</b>
<b>List of Illustrations</b> .....	<b>viii</b>
<b>Chapter One</b> Religion and Citizenship .....	<b>1</b>
1.1 Discourse Analysis: A Genealogical Approach	
1.1.1 The ‘Eventalization’ process: descent and emergence	
1.2 Discourse as the Study of Grids of Intelligibilities	
1.3 State, Power, and the Intersections with Religious Discourse	
1.4 Pathways for Research	
<b>Chapter Two</b> Catholicism and Republicanism in the Early Argentinean Republic .....	<b>28</b>
2.1 Colonial Catholicism and the Early Argentinean Republic	
2.2 The Republicanization of Space, the Republic as a Salvific Space	
2.3 The Republicanization of Historical Time	
2.4 Secularization of Catholicism and Sacralization of Republicanism	
2.4.1 Agency and the Republic	
2.5 Spaniards, Creoles, Indians and the Silence of African Americans	
2.6 Conclusion	
<b>Chapter Three</b> Catholicism and Republicanism in the Buenos Aires Enlightenment .....	<b>53</b>
3.1 Republican Awards	
3.1.1 Martina Viera and Josefa Marino: Two Archetypal Republican Women	
3.2 Fiestas Mayas: Argentinean National Holidays and Catholic Heritage	
3.3 Republicanism as a Salvific Narrative: Cathedral’s facade	
3.4 Conclusion	
<b>Chapter Four</b> Institutional Secularization and how Catholicism Became Part of the ‘Ideal’ Argentinean Citizen .....	<b>76</b>
4.1 The Republican Constitution (1853) and the ideal European citizen	

4.2 Sarmiento, the National Educational Law and Civilization or Barbarism	
4.3 The Public School as the Civilizing Temple	
4.4 The Argentinean National Curriculum and its Catholic Religious Features	
4.5 Catholicism, Nation Building and Educational Practices in Buenos Aires' schools	
4.6 Conclusion	
<b>Chapter Five "Catholic" Secularism and the Jewish Gaucho in the School: The Argentinean Citizen and the Salvation Themes of Republicanism .....</b>	<b>97</b>
5.1 The Anti-Argentinean Schools Controversy	
5.2 Immigration as a National Policy- To Govern is to Populate	
5.3 The Anti-Argentinean Schools and Ernesto Bavio's Report	
5.4 Los Gauchos Judíos	
5.4.1 The Argentine's Passover or Zion	
5.4.2 The archetypical Jewish Farmer	
5.4.3 National Anthem and the Argentine Independence Day	
5.5 The Argentinization of Jews: the Hispanic Heritage	
5.6 Conclusion	
<b>Chapter Six Salvific Narratives, Invisible Winds in the Educational Landscape.....</b>	<b>118</b>
6.1 Rethinking Institutional Secularization as an (Im)possible "Reason"	
6.2 Salvific Narratives: Emotional and Changing Winds Shaping Educational Landscape	
6.3 Catholic Pastorate and the Argentinean Citizen	
<b>Bibliography .....</b>	<b>132</b>

### **Abstract**

Numerous studies regarding citizens' identity and nation-building issues have relegated the analysis of religion, understood as a cultural practice, and its role in the shaping of the Argentinean citizen. This study examines 19<sup>th</sup> century Catholic sermons, government legislation, and Jewish Gaucho schools in its explorations. The dissertation historically argues that religious narratives are a crucial narrative in the grids that give intelligibility to pedagogical principles in the making of the citizen in the formation of the modern 'republicanism' and its school. In contrast to the secularization theory that creates religion as an oppositional category to republicanism, the study demonstrates the extent to which Catholic narratives inscribed pedagogical principles that are reassembled and connected to the discourses of the Argentinean republican citizen. The analysis provides a way to consider the complexity through which seemingly secular discourses overlap and connect with religious ones in the making of the modern Argentinean citizen.

## Acknowledgements

These last years in the United States were in several ways an amazing life experience. Moving to Madison implied much more than a new academic setting. I never imagined the number of experiences that came with the choice of pursuing a Doctoral degree.

Throughout the years in the United States, I have been challenged in so many different ways, socially, culturally and, of course intellectually. When friends from Buenos Aires asked me via Skype how I was feeling I used to describe my recent days, and sometimes I had good days and sometimes icy ones. In those moments of despair, the feeling of God's presence along the way gave me strength and clarity to continue the journey. Antonio, one of my childhood friends, gave me a quote full of wisdom that I incorporated especially while I was feeling frustrated, "if you travel 5,709 miles—from Buenos Aires to Madison—and you are not being challenged, is it worth it?"

These years were truly a learning experience. Madison and the University of Wisconsin-Madison are one of the most fascinating intellectual environments to live in. I get used to find that all the people that occasionally I get to talk in the bus stop or in the playground while looking my sons playing have at least two masters degrees, know a couple of languages, and have traveled overseas several times. It was a delightful experience to live immersed in such an outstanding city and stimulating ambiance.

First, I would like to thank my superb doctoral committee. Julie Koza, Ksenija Biblija, Bernadette Baker, Francois Tochon and Ines Dussel are all an excellent blend of top intellectual scholars that are also extremely nice people. I felt their steady support and kindness throughout the whole process. I am also indebted to Wednesday Group for hundreds of intellectual discussions that shaped me as a critical reader. The ranges of different nationalities and intellectual traditions that join the conversation make the Wednesday Group a pretty unique intellectual space.

Everyone who has lived in Madison knows that it is a city with a special concentration of nice people. The list would be long but I would like to mention Diana Frantzen, Anna Gemrich, and Jesse Kercheval. Douglas Haynes and Suzann Gardner, two incredible persons, had the patience and kindness to edit several of my drafts. Daniel Friedrich and Fernando Louge, both friends, were the best chaperons when I got out of the boat to start my graduate life.

One could say a lot of good things about Tom such as his incredible productivity or his supernatural gift that allows him to work even in planes. I would like to highlight one aspect that I really appreciate about him. I was raised in a very Catholic environment. I went to Catholic school from age 3 to high school. Later, I live four years in a Catholic seminar before making my bachelor in education at the Catholic University in Argentina. I almost forgot, my father is a Catholic deacon. I don't need to describe Thomas Popkewitz biography but certainly it is hard to find two persons with more different backgrounds. The unique aspect of Tom is that in his way of relating with people he is able to transcend the common place categorizations of race, language skills, socio economic status and so on. Instead, Tom cares about what do you think and specifically how do you think. Coming from the end of the world, I find this ability very democratic and certainly meritocratic.

My parents Wenceslao and Lucila were an always supporting beacon. The certainty of their unconditional generosity gave me relief and solace. My siblings, Gasti, Carol and Wenchi were also present in different ways during these years.

Tomi, Matu and Magdalena, my "American" sons were a source of unexpected joy and motivation to finish the dissertation. Tomi's question about when I was finishing my book in order to return to Argentina—his holiday country—was a commonplace during the last year. Finally, Sara, my wife, has been a wonderful partner in these last years. With her always optimistic and lively spirit

our Madison years were a joyful milestone in our lives. I will be forever grateful because feeling her confidence was the best encouragement to pursue my dream.

**List of Illustrations**

- Figure 1. Figure in the newspaper printed by Fray Francisco Castañeda.....page 48
- Figure 2. Fiestas Mayas people in Buenos Aires.....page 49
- Figure 3. Cathedral of Buenos Aires by Carlos Enrique Pellegrini, circa 1830.....page 52
- Figure 4. Current Image of the Cathedral of Buenos Aires.....page 52
- Figure 5. Caras & Caretas Magazine, July 1900.....page 70
- Figure 6. School' schedule printed by national educational.....page 84
- Figure 7. The Jewish Hope.....page 87

## Chapter One

### Religion and Citizenship

*If there really is a relationship between religion and politics in modern western societies, it may be that the essential aspect of this relationship is not found in the interplay between Church and the State, but rather between the pastorate and government.*

*-Michel Foucault, Security, Territory, Population*

This work aims to follow the above intuition of Foucault's and to explore how a non-institutional notion of religion shapes the ways we see, live, and act politics. In contrast to enlightenment traditions<sup>1</sup> that tended to place religion outside the borders of "the political" (Sorkin, 2008; Masuzawa, 2005) the goal of the research is to consider how religious discourses move from their institutional settings to become inscribed in the grids of practices that construct the Argentinean citizen. Throughout this research, I focus on exploring and denaturalizing the subtle trajectories of Catholic and Jewish religious discourses that shape the Argentinean citizenship.

Religion in this study is a cultural rather than an institutional or theological practice. That said, theological notions have a relevant role in shaping citizens in the modern Argentinean republic. Within the grids that shape the Argentinean citizen my focus is on salvific narratives, narratives that portray

---

<sup>1</sup> Habermas (2011) specifically discusses the social contract tradition, which had stripped the concept of "the political" of any serious reference to religion (p.23)

ideas of salvation and the ways to achieve it. These salvific narratives conflate with republicanism through notions of the “good” republican citizen and the public. Hence, within the different branches of theology, I will attend to soteriology because it relates to the understanding of salvific narratives; and how I am using the term soteriology not as a definition, but as something heuristic that is used to explore it the historical analysis that follows.

*Soteriology* studies discourses about salvation. While my intent is not to pursue the scholarship of soteriology in this discussion, it aims to point to different confessions that have their own understanding of salvation and how salvation should be achieved (Dupuis, 1997). For instance, a Calvinistic soteriology emphasizes a subject with strong agency who is able to show his/her status of *gratia* and of following predestination. Since all emotions were suspicious to Calvin the *certitudo salutis* [*certainty of salvation*], has to be proved by its objective results. On the other hand, the Lutheran soteriology is based upon the doctrine of justification. Individuals receive salvation through faith alone. In this regard, Lutheranism was closer to Catholicism. Within Catholicism, there are many different emphases. The Council of Trent (1547) established that although justification is a gracious gift of god the sinner has to be prepared and dispose himself by the motion of his own will. Therefore, Catholicism does consider that the free will and actions of individuals will somehow affect salvation.

The Catholic narrative of salvation has been developed in particular ways in the Argentinean context. Because of Spanish colonization, and the fact that the Catholic church was reacting against the Reformation, the preaching of salvation was given a more rigid missionary approach in Latin America (Dussel, 1981). The Jesuits’ missionaries had a strongly relevant role in how salvation was understood in Latin America by the very fact that there were a huge number of missionaries. When their congregation was expelled in 1767 from Latin America we know that more than 2,200 Jesuits left Latin America. The

Catholicism that resulted through colonialism in Argentina through the Spanish and Jesuits traditions favored the hierarchical obedience of believers.

However, several nuances, and which I explore, existed and also shift in the last decades of the Spanish domination, with the development of Enlightenment ideas in Latin America (Chiaramonte, 1989), and the crises triggered by the Bourbon decadence in Spain. Colonial Catholicism in Argentina has particular trajectories. Firstly, the bishopric of Buenos Aires was far away from the colonial centers of power –Lima and Mexico—and was perceived as a second tier position. Secondly, the University of Cordoba, which is in Argentina, was influential in educating people because it trained with university degrees “native” clergy who were descendants of local wealthy families. Thirdly, the Argentinean clergy has years of experience of collegiate self-governing –the Senate clergy—without bishops or Rome assistance because they had functioned without a bishop in Buenos Aires for long periods. Moreover, after the May revolution (1810) Rome supported the Spanish King in refusing to give to the national governments the same attributions that the Spanish king had given. All these features provided certain Gallican quality to the Argentinean church at the beginning of the independence process. In Buenos Aires, Spanish bishops were perceived as foreign elements by the main actors of the local Church—the priests and religious orders (R. Di Stefano, 2004). In a similar vein, Rome was described as an opulent center of power that was far away from evangelical poverty. The historical analysis developed in this dissertation is situated within the above complicated historical events concerning Catholic salvific narratives. .

Although the study deals primarily with Catholicism, it also takes up Judaism in chapter five through its analysis/discussion of Jewish schools. This chapter discusses how Jewish understandings of salvation shaped the Argentinean citizen. Just to give one example of such understanding, a common trope in Argentinean history is the description of the Republic as the “new heaven on earth” or the

Promised Land. Certainly, such depictions of the Republic were embedded with salvific connotations. Therefore, a complex Argentinean Catholic understanding of the Promised Land gave intelligibility to the nascent understanding of the Argentinean republic.

In this study of the role of religion in shaping the republican citizens, I consider religion as a social practice that generates principles that shape the production of the Argentinean soul. I look at historical discourses related to citizenry as salvation narratives through which particular kinds of ways of thinking that have relationships to Catholicism are present. However, these religious ways of thinking are no longer connected to institutional Catholicism, and in fact were reassembled during the nineteenth century in political, social and educational discourses about the Argentinean citizen. By understanding religion as a cultural practice shared by the majority of a society, I am able to relate religion to citizenship. I understand the soul not as a stable supernatural essence or divine nature but as the inner dispositions of a subject. Up into the nineteenth century, Western tradition discussed the notion of the inner subject as the soul. Nowadays, in an educational context, instead of soul, modern pedagogy prefers to speak about the governing of conduct, personality, relationships, and emotions of students. All these inner dispositions became the target of schooling and pedagogical psychology that renders the child observable and governable (Popkewitz, 2004, p. 5). This inner space of the subject is what I call the soul and the modern school will be the space to shape “national” souls.

From all the social institutions that shape citizenry, education is the space in which the relationships between pastorate and government are more clearly enacted. As Hunter points out, the “reciprocity between governance and self-reflection—between the institutions of social administration and those of spiritual discipline—lies at the heart of the school system (1994, p.xiv). Throughout the research I approach schooling as a system of ideas that normalize and construct the rules through which

the Argentinean soul is organized (Popkewitz, 1997b) and a particular kind of citizen is made up (Hacking, 2006).

As I investigate religion and citizenship in Argentina my inquiry deals with secularization theory. Therefore, I will outline the basic ideas of secularization theory and its major points of dissent. Secularization theory states that “the more modern a society becomes, the less religious”<sup>2</sup>. Roughly speaking, secularization theory defends the idea that in order to modernize themselves, nations should enact policies aimed to “relegate” religion to the private sphere. Hence, in order to modernize societies, religious discourses or practices were replaced by a secular narrative or just excluded, at least formally, from public spaces such as schools. As one of the founders of this theory, Durkheim affirmed that education in society has an integrative social-cohesion function, replacing the antique role of religion. In fact, “patriotism was for Durkheim the civil religion of modern society” (Wallace, 1973, p. 10). With a somehow blind optimism, secularization was described as a linear teleology that would inevitably triumph against religion (Gorski & Altinordu, 2008).

In contrast with the prediction of social scientists, religion proved to be very resilient. Recent events shook the confidence of secularist approaches, the emergence of radical American evangelism in the US, the rapid spread of Pentecostalism in the global South, the Iranian revolution, and the strength of Islam.

The reemergence of religion in broad social movements can also be perceived in international organizations. In fact, even well-known international organizations such as UNESCO started to “view religion and faith based organizations as key to promoting development” (Stambach et al., 2011, p. 111). The rationality behind this shift was that to promote a pluralist and peaceful world it was necessary to

---

<sup>2</sup> Barbu (2013) critiques the secularization theory as a valid framework to analyze citizenship.

instill religious awareness of several religious traditions. Therefore, through a pluralistic and non-authoritarian religious curriculum, religious tolerance was supposed to be nurtured in schools. Contemporary declarations about religious issues of UNESCO such as the *Declaration on the Role of Religion in the Promotion of a Culture of Peace* (1994) are clear examples of this trend.

No matter the fact that “classic” secularist approaches seemed to lose their ground, the academic debate about secularization and its scope in the contemporary world is an open issue. The array of opinion goes from authors that claimed that we are in a period of secularization to Habermas, once an icon of secular rationalism that claimed that the world had entered in a “post secular age” (Gorski & Altınordu, 2008). Secularists group of scholars can include scholars (Norris & Inglehart 2011; Bruce, 2002) and renowned natural scientists (Dawkins, 2006). The main idea is that although the current variability of secularization processes all around the world might seem perplexing, secularization is still a real process. On the other hand, scholars that critic secularism argue that the secularization theory is not anymore a useful analytical tool. For example, Stark, titled a famous article *Secularization, RIP* in which he criticized the myth of religious decline (1999). In a similar trend, Casanova stated that we are in an age of *deprivatization of religion* in which “religious traditions throughout the world are refusing to accept the marginal and privatized role which theories of modernity as well as theories of secularization had reserved them” (1994, p. 5).

Certainly, the academic debate about the validity of the secularization theory will continue. My concern with secularization theory is that it seems to ignore the role and intersections of the Enlightenment<sup>3</sup> in constructing, yet joining, what is often seen as opposites- the notion of private and public life and the spiritual through secular narratives about the citizen (King, 1999, p. 14). It is somehow

---

<sup>3</sup> In the last decades, historical studies such as those of Sorkin (2008) questioned the unitary and secular understanding of the Enlightenment movement pointing out its particularities in each national context.

impossible to think the secularization theory without the Enlightenment. As Latour, (2013) pointed out in his book *An Inquiry into Modes of Existence*, this modernist approach between scientific and religious values rehearses a categorical mistake. The secularization theory ignores the specific mode of existence of religion and the veracity of religion is judged in terms of the conditions of veridiction of a scientific mode of existence (p. 18).

The research does not attempt to make a historical judgment about the degrees of institutional secularization nor the influence of the Catholic Church in Argentina. Rather, the aim is to recognize that our "reason" of the present is not a continuous story, but is produced through multiple trajectories, from which I focus on the religious one. Since the nineteenth century several Argentinean governments promoted a secularization process or institutional differentiation between the church and the state, attempting to exclude institutional religion, understood as a power and competing actor, from public life, but they failed to recognize that these religious narratives remained embedded though ignored in notions of schooling and the citizen.

As currently accepted by historians that there were different enlightenments (Sorkin, 2008), it is also reasonable to talk about several secularizations or "secular settlements" (Gorski & Altınordu, 2008). Such approach "argues against treating modernity as an epochal concept of uniformities in social experiences and instead focuses on non-uniform differences, distinctions, and divisions" (Popkewitz, 2005, p. 23). Aligned with such assumptions my research aims to grasp the specificities of the Argentinean republican citizen. My understanding of religion as a cultural practice does not reject the influence of religion as an institutional actor. However, I consider more relevant the productive role that religion has in shaping and delineating the principles that produce the "reasonable" Argentinean citizen.

Thus, the central concern of the research is to study how religious discourses—both Catholic and Jewish—“traveled” from their institutional settings to become inscribed in the grids of practices that constructed the Argentinean republican citizen.

This will entail three general research questions:

1. How does religion, as a cultural practice, get assembled in the grid of intelligibility that makes the Argentinean citizenship possible in the school curricula?
2. In what ways has the interplay between pastorate and government forged the Argentinean republican citizen? And paradoxically, in what ways are Catholic discourses embodied in the production of who shall be and, in the same process, who cannot be the Argentinean citizen?
3. Looking at the Argentinean case, how can I re-think nation building processes? What consequences and patterns of the Argentinean case can help shed light on other nation building processes?

Argentina<sup>4</sup> is for several reasons a valid case to study religion and citizenship. Catholicism arrived in Argentina through Spanish colonization. Three centuries of colonial Catholicism left strong

---

<sup>4</sup> For the sake of the argument I will refer to Argentina as a political “unity” although it had different and changing geographical limits throughout the last two centuries. Originally called *Provincias Unidas del Rio de la Plata* (1810),

traits in the culture and in the ways the Argentinean citizen has been shaped (Di Stefano, 2000)<sup>5</sup>. My analysis of religion, schooling and citizenship outside Europe and in a Counter Reformation country like Argentina could allow us to see different contours. In addition, with the immigration policy of the late nineteenth century, Argentina became the biggest Jewish community in Latin America. In this regard, Jewish religious discourse is placed within the grid that intersects salvific themes of Catholicism with political ones of the citizen, and it is a relevant element in the analysis of nation building and citizenship. Including the analysis of Jewish religious discourse, I also challenge the idea of the role of religions in the nation building processes as “functionally equivalent” (Schilling, 1994) since I pay attention to Catholic narratives and Jewish narratives in the construction of the Argentinean citizen.

In order to better understand how religious narratives are played out to shape the Argentinean republican citizen, I need to lay out how previous literature has approached the relationships between religion and citizenship. As part of the debate about nation building, I present a literature review of nation-building studies. In order to have a grasp of the state of the field within the vast literature regarding nation-building, I specifically consider the cultural-related studies that bring religion to the fore while working issues of nation building.

One cluster of studies is functionalistic. By functionalistic, I mean the approach that considers the macro structures of society as a whole system and depicts religion as a stage or stable entity that

---

then called as *Republica Argentina* (1826), later known as *Confederación Argentina*—during the Rosas’ government and the promulgation of the Constitution of 1853 (1835-1853). Only after a long political debate, since 1860 the term Argentinean Republic will emerge as the definite one (Chiaromonte, 2010, p. 91). In a similar vein, throughout the research, I refer to the Argentinean citizenship as a set of practices that shaped citizenry and happened in a specific geographically territory, today called Argentina.

<sup>5</sup> I am aware also of two relevant limits of my research. First, it is inscribed in a western tradition of the subject and subjectivity and therefore my western lenses carry the markers of its site of production that many times seems speechless tackling religious issues. Second, my analysis deals only circumstantially with indigeneity or how the Indian religious traditions play out in the palette that shapes the Argentinean citizen. Certainly, the insertion or analysis of Indian religious narratives could have enhanced the scope of the research, adding more colors and shades to the palette but at the same time would have implied a different research project. In a similar vein, in further research, it would be fruitful to analyze how Protestant traditions shaped and connected with Catholic and Jewish ones in the forging of the Argentinean citizen.

somehow affects society. Regarding nation building studies and religious influence, the work of Heinz Schilling, *Confessional Europe* (1988), was a starting point in the area of linking religious issues with the emergence of nation states. He expresses that “the late sixteenth century emergence of confessions [Lutheranism, Calvinism, and Anglicanism, and somehow Catholicism]<sup>6</sup> was one of the key events in early modernization, because the doctrinal and organizational strengthening of the churches became a powerful prelude to political and social reorganization in the following era” (Schilling, 1994, p. 642). These confessions are described as “a modern variant of Christianity (...) developed into internally coherent and externally exclusive communities distinct in institutions, membership, and belief” (Schilling, 1994, p. 641) Schilling stated that confessionalism influenced state development in four aspects: 1) the theoretical and ideological foundations of the early modern state’s authority; 2) the state’s human and material resources; 3) the formation of a political and cultural identity to integrate the subjects into their state; and 4) the growth of a system of European states, including their overseas missionary and colonial efforts (Schilling, 1994, p. 656). His effort to put religious themes into the table is remarkable; however, because of his structural approach, religion was analyzed through its function in society and confessionalism, in spite of the author’s aim, was understood as a type of transitional stage of nation state development.

Also from a functionalist perspective, Philip Benedict described the relationships between religion and the nation state in seventeenth century France in *The Faith and Fortunes of France’s Huguenots, 1600-85*. He explained that confessionalism could be interpreted with two possible meanings. A strong conception of confessionalism “formulated by Schilling and Reinhard that links development of confessional identities to social disciplining and state building” (Benedict, 2001, p. 313) and a weak conception of confessionalism understood as “the process of rivalry and emulation by which the religions that emerged from the upheavals of the Reformation defined and enforced their particular

---

<sup>6</sup> His study refers to Europe between 1560 and 1650.

versions of orthodoxy and orthopraxy, demonized their rivals, and built group cohesion and identity” (Benedict, 2001, p. 313). Through the study of marriage contracts across confessional lines in Montpellier (the city passed from one faith to the other during the Religious Wars), he concluded that a weak notion of confessionalism better explains the role of religion regarding national identity in France. The analysis of a minority religious group is interesting; however, the same approach of the book seems constrained by the use the author made regarding confessionalism. Beyond his distinction, between weak or strong confessionalism, the category itself is not problematized but taken for granted. Hence, the historical contingencies that produced the phenomena are ignored, in order to seek which version of confessionalism (weak or strong) better applies to France.

In a similar functionalistic vein, Anthony D. Smith in *Chosen People* (2003) stated that the only reasonable explanation of certain contemporary extreme nationalistic movements should be explained by religious topics. Smith relegates ethnicity, language, and the state to secondary roles. He listed four cultural foundations of nationalism drawn from religious belief: a myth of ethnic or divine election; a long-standing attachment to particular land; a call to return to golden ages and finally a belief in the power of sacrifice to achieve a glorious future (Smith, 2003, p. 255). He claimed that national identities could be founded “only by the sense of the sacred and the binding commitments of religion”(Smith, 2003, p. 4). His approach describes the nation as a stable entity and religion as shaping the content and direction of nationalism (Smith, 2003, p. 258). In spite of the author’s efforts, Smith is not able to avoid causal explanations between religion and the emergence of extreme nationalistic movements.

These previous accounts (Schilling, Benedict and Smith) place categories, such as the nation state or religion, as natural and evolving institutions of modern life, avoiding the historical processes that constructed the current modern states. Additionally, these accents on the general aspects of their object of study, which is analyzed through the lens of an invariant and hence singularity is always

subordinated to that continuity. In contrast, my project focuses on the singularity and exceptionality that made the Argentinean citizen possible.

Another array of studies can be clustered as studies that analyzed nation building and religion from the development of national mentalities. By national mentalities, I mean the studies that focus on the mental frameworks of each society as a whole. An example from Europe is David Bell, *The Cult of the Nation in France* (2001), who declared that nationalism was invented in the eighteenth century as a culmination of a process that had begun one century earlier (Bell, 2001, p. 7). He focused on the use of language through the analysis of the concepts: nation, *patrie*, *civilisation*, *public* and *société*, in French pamphlets, periodicals and books. He states that “the rise of the concepts of nation and *patrie* initially took place as Europeans came to perceive a radical separation between God and the world”(Bell, 2001, p. 7). Exploring how Christian religious heritage influenced the forging of the French nation, Bell claimed that the most important dynamic of this process was cultural or religious. His study examined the French mentality and how at a certain point of the 1700 “a series of religious, philosophical, and political and material changes combined to produce a fundamental shift in the way educated French men and women saw the world around them”(Bell, 2001, p. 199). Bell’s effort to introduce religion on the discussion is interesting but he separated “the spiritual and material realms”(Bell, 2001, p. 35) as two different domains. Hence, his approach or duality between spiritual and material realms rebuts his initial aim or at least reduces the analytical scope of religious influence in the French nation building process.

Within the cluster of mentality studies, but focused on America as an example is Robert Bellah’s groundbreaking study *The Broken Covenant* (1975). The work of Bellah remains compelling as an entrance to study how non-institutional aspects of religion are deployed in the United States. Throughout the study he described the religious components of American national identity (America’s myth of origin, America as chosen people, etc.) affirming that there were certain common elements of

religious orientation that the great majority of a society shared. He claimed that this religious dimension is expressed in a set of beliefs, symbols and rituals (Bellah, 2006 p. 228). Moreover, he stated that the religious dimension is crucial in order to “interpret its historical experience in the light of transcendent reality” (Bellah, 1975, p. 3). At the same time, he affirmed that these common elements are not apolitical or neutral; on the contrary, they have played a crucial role in the development of institutions, and the American case is just one example of such a relationship. He approached religion as a cultural practice defined as a set of beliefs, symbols and rituals that a great majority of society shares (Bellah, 2006). Nevertheless, Bellah’s approach to the American religious narrative as an ‘objective existence’—American civil religion— (Bellah, 1976, p. 153) that developed over time, has the risk of essentializing such civil religion.

Finally, there is the last cluster that I call historical empirical comparative research. By this cluster I mean the studies that consider the subject, the temporal, and the material as historical constructions. These studies challenge epistemological borders between the religious and the secular while analyzing topics with an international perspective. In this cluster, Hamilton, Gorski, and Tröhler analyzed how religious elements moved outside the religious institutional setting, carrying with them ideals of politics and social order (Tröhler, 2011). David Hamilton (2009) studied how Calvinist educational theory triggered the emergence of modern curriculum. Philip S. Gorski in *The Disciplinary Revolution Calvinism and State Formation in Early Modern Europe* (1999) analyzed the religious origin of the nation state, mainly through the Dutch and Prussia cases. He stated that the religious revolution (Reformation) had a crucial role in constructing the nation state through two processes: confessionalism and social disciplining. The former contributed to nation building, forging institutional networks of socialization and moral control, and creating new forms of territorial identities that were used by state elites (Gorski, 2003). Regarding social disciplining, Gorski stated that Calvinist reformers extended the technology of observation—surveillance—from religious practice to schools, orphanages, poorhouses

and the army. In sum, the disciplinary revolution moved from the religious sphere to notions of the subject and the state. This valuable approach is useful to see how religions or confessions mattered in the evolution of ecclesiastic discipline, social provision and state administration (Gorski, 2003, p. 155).

Daniel Tröhler in *Languages of Education* (Tröhler, 2011) analyzed how, from a linguistic perspective, protestant legacies shaped what he described as languages of education, or modalities of how to think, talk and write about education. He stated that the hidden roots of such languages “are religious, more precisely Protestant, and they are distinguishable between two denominations of Protestantism, namely German Lutheranism and Swiss Calvinism” (Tröhler 2011, p. 4). He claimed that religious discourses (Protestantism) with specific ideals of politics and social order moved beyond the theological domain, constructing languages of education. His thoughtful analysis relates religious discourse with education and nation building. Sometimes his assumption that there are only a couple of languages of education (Tröhler, 2011, p.35) raises concerns about its strong stability and its lack of flexibility. Additionally, the fact that these are linked exclusively to Protestant traditions raises concerns about the influence of other religions in the construction of such languages and the validity of his rationality beyond European or North American borders; though this last point is clearly not his aim.

Another interesting example of the usefulness of this approach related to religious studies is the work of Masuzawa (2005), *The Invention of World Religions, or, How European Universalism Was Preserved in the Language of Pluralism*, in which she described the irruption of the world’s major religions as a subject of study, in western academia. Additionally, Ian Hunter, in his book *Rethinking the School* (1994), analyzed the emergence of the modern school from a genealogical perspective that allowed him to grasp “the contingent circumstances in which the school system came into being” in opposition to justifications of the school that portrayed it as the flawed result of a noble democratic aspiration (Hunter, 1994, p. XVI). In fact, Hunter perceives and highlights the relevance of cultural

institutions of Christian pastoral guidance (shepherd-flock relationship) that resulted in the core moral technology of the school. In sum, these examples show, with different nuances and emphases, the poignancy of the non-institutional approaches, particularly when issues of religion, schooling, and citizenship are under consideration.

The above studies show how religious themes have gained relevance to explain nation building topics. The poignancy of the last cluster of studies leads me to select a genealogical approach for my research. The genealogical method and its eventalization approach allow me to grasp the different nuances and overlapping religious narratives that are embodied in the construction of the modern republican citizen. Although it is 'accepted' that certain religious traditions had great impact in shaping citizenship, such as the English Calvinist shaping American citizenship, my study considers such processes as they relate to schools in a counter enlightenment and Latin American context. In order to fill that research gap, I selected the genealogical approach as a historical method to track the construction of the Argentinean citizen.

### ***Discourse Analysis: A Genealogical Approach***

In this section, first, I describe the main method of my dissertation. I will use discourse analysis. More specifically, I will engage in the kind of genealogical discourse analysis developed most notably by Foucault (Foucault, 1977). In the essay "Nietzsche, Genealogy, History" (1977) Foucault develops his understanding of genealogy in opposition to his notion of archaeology. An archaeology studies the rules of formation of discursive regularities that are "beyond" the consciousness of individual subjects. In contrast, a genealogical approach emphasizes how a specific system of thought transitions to another one. In his essay about genealogy, Foucault explains how the transitions from one way of thinking to another one are not the result of an established logic but of a series of contingencies. Although I analyze the rhetoric of specific texts I am not primarily concerned in the internal logic or grammar of the texts

but in the rules that govern and make possible those texts understood as events. I will describe the features of my genealogical approach by contrasting two models of historical inquiry: the traditional model associated with a metaphysical approach and the genealogical one. In order to clarify my model of historical inquiry, I then describe the scope of the term “event” as my basic unit of analysis with its two major methodological movements: descent and emergence. Second, I explain the reasons I select the genealogical method. Third, I clarify my understanding of the term grid of intelligibility. Fourth, I re-conceptualize my notion of power and the state. Finally, I reveal the epistemological criterion used to select the particular events I have included in my research.

In *Archaeology of Knowledge*, Foucault (1972) describes his understanding of history, in opposition to history in its traditional form. He states that history in its traditional form aims to ‘memorize’ the monuments of the past and transform them into documents to finally, through an imposed and external discourse, find continuities between the events. Hence, such history was concerned with establishing relations such as causality or determination within facts, and its goal was to find the seemingly correct position of the event in an already established series (Foucault, 1972, p. 7). As an alternative, he proposes a different approach to history that aims to eliminate any metaphysical influence or interpretation that could be aprioristically applied to the event.

The genealogical approach has several methodological advantages. First, opposed to history in its traditional form, which aims to find continuities between events, the genealogical method is crossed with the proliferation of discontinuities. Discontinuity<sup>7</sup> acts at the same time as a valid research tool and as an object of the research (Foucault, 1972, p. 9). Second, the goal of the genealogical approach departs from the classical historical approach. The goal of the traditional historical approach was to

---

<sup>7</sup> Additionally, this notion of discontinuity is not a stable one, since it assumes a specific form by taking into account the field and the level that are being studied. Therefore, the idea of discontinuity has different nuances. For example, the discontinuity at an epistemological level is not the same as a discontinuity of a technique by another technical procedure (Foucault, 1972, p. 9).

forge a *total history* with a material or spiritual principle that discloses the spirit of the studied civilization, society, or whatever object of study. In so doing, this approach presupposes that in a defined spatio-temporal period, it is feasible to establish a homogenous system of relations (causality, analogy) that make possible the articulation of total unity. On the contrary, in my research the goal is to analyze how the Argentinean citizen established its boundaries, to reveal its own specific type of relations, and, only later, to formulate how the Argentinean citizen emerged (Foucault, 1972, p. 7). I consider the genealogical method valuable because I understand religion as embodying cultural narratives that provide ways of thinking of modern notions of the future in its salvific themes that are assembled within the republican citizen. Therefore, throughout my research, I do not seek the origins of the Argentinean citizen with the goal of finally finding its secular or religious roots. Instead, I focus on the conditions of possibility that made the Argentinean citizen intelligible in each historical moment, and the role of religious narratives in those grids of intelligibilities. In sum, since I focus on how religious narrative merged into citizenship narratives, the genealogical approach allowed me to study how the religious principles shaped the construction of the Argentinean citizen, without getting trapped in essentialized notions of religion or republicanism.

*The 'Eventalization' process: descent and emergence*

My research approaches the Argentinean citizenship as an event. The 'eventalization' "works by constructing around the singular event analyzed as process a 'polygon' or, rather, 'polyhedron' of intelligibility" (Foucault, 2001, p. 227). The operation of eventalization brings to the fore three layers or polymorphisms: one of the elements brought into relation; one of the relations described; and finally one of the domains of reference. As a consequence, an event is not a battle, a movement, or a philosophy, but the forces or relations that make possible, for example, the emergence of Jewish schools as a danger to national homogeneity (Foucault, 1977, p. 154). For this purpose, the description

of events should be oriented to answer the following question: how it is that one particular event appeared rather than another? (Foucault, 1972, p. 27) Starting from the singularity of the event, the eventalization process aims to find, within the historical conditions and not from an imposed teleology or rationality, the set of relations that make possible the Argentinean citizen.

The eventalization process has two key methodological movements: descent and emergence. The movement of descent “permits the discovery, after the unique aspect of a trait or a concept, of the myriad of events through which, thanks to which, against which they were formed” (Foucault, 1977, p. 146). This process does not imply a reordering of the events. On the contrary, it supposes maintaining the dispersion of such events. For example, regarding this study, the aim of descent is not the erecting of foundations or the restoring of an original stabilization of the Argentinean citizen, but seeks to disturb what was previously considered immobile about it; “making visible a singularity at places where there is a temptation to invoke a historical constant ... to show that things weren’t as necessary as all” (Ibid, p. 226).

The movement of emergence “stands as the principle and the singular law of an apparition” (Foucault, 1977, p. 148). In the same way that it would be a mistake to search for descent in an uninterrupted continuity, we should not consider emergence as the final term of an historical sequence. The movement of emergence considers a singular assembly of forces; it is their eruption, the leap from the wings to the center stage, acknowledging its uniqueness (Ibid, p. 150). For example, in my study, I analyze how religious narratives shaped the controversy that rose in 1884 during the debate between Catholics and Secularists about the teaching of religion—Catholicism—in public schools. Hence, I analyze which diverse set of relations and principles made possible the emergence of an educational law that forbade the teaching of Catholic religion from the Argentinean curriculum. Within this genealogical perspective, the understanding of this tipping point in the Argentinean history implies the process “of

rediscovering the connections, encounters, supports, blockages, play of forces, strategies, and so on, that at a given moment establish what subsequently counts as being self-evident, universal and necessary” (Foucault et al., 2001, p. 227). This particular conformation of emergence could be understood as a non-place, in the sense that no one can attribute the origin of the Argentinean citizenship. Rather, it is the result of substitutions, displacements, disguised conquests, and systematic reversals (Foucault, 1977, p. 151) that make possible the grid of practices that constitutes the Argentinean citizen. In these two movements, descent and emergence, genealogy appears as the opposite of the Christian world, spun entirely by a divine spider, and different from the world of the Greeks, divided by the realm of the will and the great cosmic folly.

In order to understand the Argentinean republican citizen, the genealogical method does not seek for its origin but the fluid grids of narratives that make the Argentinean republican citizen possible. The genealogical approach does not imply a separation between ideas and reality or between theory and practice. In Foucault’s words:

It was a matter of showing by what conjunctions a whole set of practices—from the moment they become coordinated with a regime of truth—was able to make what does not exist (madness, disease, delinquency, sexuality, etcetera), nonetheless become something (...) It is not an illusion since it is precisely a set of practices, real practices, which established it and thus imperiously marks it out in reality (Foucault, 2008, p. 19).

The two elements, set of practices, and regime of truth are assembled and are unthinkable by themselves. It is only through this specific set of practices that I was able to grasp the embodied regime of truth about the Argentinean citizen. It is in the everyday linguistic and non-linguistic practices that I seek how these conjunctions structure social life (Friedrich, 2010, p. 43).

The study pursues the Foucauldian notion of archive, “That which, at the very root of the statement-event, and in that which embodies it, defines at the outset the system of enunciability” (Foucault, 1972, p. 129). In Foucauldian terms, the archive is the whole space of discursive practices that allows some entities to be said and established as an event or as a thing. Practically, the archive is a potentially infinite collection of instances of discursive practices—in my case, sermons and catechisms to be sure but also newspapers, legislation, educational reports, architecture, and Gerchunoff’s book “The Jewish Gauchos”. In exploring the discursive production of the Argentinean citizen, I come to focus the following question: How in different historical moments was this discursive set of practices able to assemble the Argentinean citizen in certain ways and not in others? (Foucault, 1972, p. 128) In the context of this project, I understood the archive as what could (and could not) be said throughout history regarding the Argentinean citizen. Within the archive, I identify and read events.

### ***Discourse as the Study of Grids of Intelligibilities***

Argentinean citizenship, as a discourse of truth, embodies specific distinctions and classifications about who the Argentinean child should be that are embodied in the pedagogical practices of education. In this sense, religious discursive formations about the Argentine citizen enable people to organize perceptions, ways of practice and notions of the soul. As Anderson suggested in *Imagined Communities*, religion as a cultural practice has a crucial role shaping the net of events that carve nationalisms (2006, p. 10). Throughout the research, I explore how religious narratives shape the Argentinean citizen in the pedagogical practices of schooling as grids of historical practices (Popkewitz, 1997a, p. 9). In order to clarify how the grids of intelligibilities can be used, I introduce a quote from Borges.

To see one thing one has to comprehend it. An armchair presupposes the human body  
its joints and limbs; a pair of scissors, the act of cutting. What can be said of a lamp or a  
car? The savage cannot comprehend the missionary’s Bible; the passenger does not see

the same rigging as the sailors. If we really could see the world, maybe we would understand it (Borges, 1975, p.58).

I do not think there is a better way to explain the scope of the grids of intelligibilities other than this quotation from Borges. In the example, the protagonist of the story –the savage—lacks the grids of intelligibilities that allow him to “make” sense or order those signs (Foucault, 1973). In order to see a Bible, it is required to have other conceptions such as what is sacred, God, the individual, textual material, etc. These discursive relations are the set of relations that discourse must establish in order to speak of this or any object and allow people to perceive certain things and not others (Foucault, 1972, p. 46). The end of the quotation is also poignant: “if we really could see the world maybe we would understand it”, because this refers to the human impossibility of understanding the world. In a double gesture our grids of intelligibilities construct “reality” by making some things visible and others unimaginable.

### ***State, Power, and the Intersections with Religious Discourse***

Through the above historical considerations, I can now re-conceptualize notions of the state and power. I moved beyond the analysis of the state as merely bureaucratic actor; by bureaucratic I mean, the administrative and operational policies enacted by the state regarding citizenship. Approaches that attribute all the power to the bureaucratic state are based on philosophical-juridical bases and apply the medieval political theory of sovereignty to explain current power mechanisms. Certainly, this philosophical-juridical interpretation implies, using Foucault’s famous expression, leaving the king’s head immaculate. On the contrary, I used a genealogical approach that is at the same time more open and sensitive to analyze power relations. As Rose and Miller formulate, "Power is not so much a matter of imposing constraints upon citizens as of 'making up' citizens capable of bearing a kind of regulated

freedom" (Rose & Miller, 1992, p. 174)(Hunter, 1994, p. XIX). Power goes beyond the bureaucratic borders or physical coercion of the state apparatus.

The state and governmentality understood as the conduct of subjects "at a distance" are two different, though related, entities, and ignoring this distinction inevitably reduces the scope of analysis of citizenship and religion to the state institutional actions. That said, I am not proposing that the state is an entity that lacks political power, but that it operates from a different notion of power. I argue against the traditional conception that poses the state bureaucracy as the *unique* source of power.

Throughout the research, I tackle citizenship understood as a way "... in which the behaviors of individuals or populations can be shaped and regulated" (Milchman & Rosenberg, 2005, p. 337). From this perspective, which questions the role of the state and recognizes the diffusive features of power, Rose and Miller in *Political Power beyond the State* (1992), analyze the role of the state and declare:

The question is no longer one of accounting for government in terms of 'the power of the state', but of ascertaining how, and to what extent, the state is articulated into the activity of government: what relations are established between political and other authorities; what funds, forces, persons, knowledge or legitimacy are utilized; and by means of what devices and techniques are these different tactics made operable (Rose & Miller, 1992, p. 176).

For example, it is not unusual in contemporary Argentina to utilize religious-based images in order to express ideas to the general public. For example, in contemporary Argentina, there is a famous phrase attributed to Nestor Kirchner, former president, who expressed this after the 2001 crisis, "Argentina is just getting out of hell." Later, he returned to this image with the saying: "We are finally out of the hell but we are still in the purgatory." These religious mottos were used constantly to remember the extent of that economic default and undoubtedly were oriented to discipline expressions

of dissensus. It is clear how religion as a cultural practice remains a key methodological lens to understand power relations related to the Argentinean citizen.

### ***Pathways for Research***

At the moment, I shall explain a strategic choice I have made: What is the first event I started analyzing? Most of the time, historians seek origins, trying to determine when a specific concept appears; and usually this appearance is linked to the appearance of the word that defines the new “situation”. In my research this approach would lead me to the tracking of the word “Argentinean” or “Argentina”. As an example of this methodological path, the book *Crear la Nación, Los Nombres de los Países de América Latina*, (2010) by José Chiaramonte is paradigmatic; in it he sought the origins of the names of several Latin American countries. However, in order to answer my question from a broader perspective, I used a different criterion, a more epistemological one. I focused on the historical moments of crises or clashes of the evolving grids of intelligibilities that related to religious issues and citizenship. This approach or point of departure is called *problematization* (Foucault, 1983), and it consists of

...the analysis of the way an unproblematic field of experiences or set of practices, which were accepted without question, which were familiar and ‘silent’, out of discussion, becomes a problem, raises discussion and debate, incites new reactions, and induces a crisis in the previously silent behavior, habits, practices and institutions (Milchman & Rosenberg, 2005, p. 336).

Therefore, my dissertation focuses on the analysis of specific events understood as singular moments of disruptive power that affected the grids of intelligibilities that produce the Argentinean citizen. For that reason, I decided to analyze four milestones events that help to analyze the scope of the so called

secularization in Argentina. In such events the relationships between the pastorate and the government shifted, though with important nuances. As I pointed out above, I am not interested in the institutional conflicts between the church and the state but in the complex relationships between the pastorate and the nascent government that shaped the Argentinean citizen. I analyze these events as they emerge in sermons, catechisms, newspapers, educational reports, legislation, architecture, and Gerchunoff's book to somehow problematize the previous assemblies of what meant to be an Argentinean. I believe that such analysis would be more fruitful to scrutinize without narrow dichotomies—religious vs. secular--how the Argentinean citizen was constructed.

First, I analyze the initial years of Argentinean emancipation. It is a crucial break because these years reflect the transition from a Spanish colony subjected to the Spanish crown to the first local, independent government. I am interested in the first assemblages of the Argentinean citizens. Immediately after the May Revolution (1810), the South American colonies went through a process of nation building in which religious discourses played a crucial role. I analyze religious and civic-politic catechisms, homilies, funeral eulogies and public exhortations pronounced by Catholic priests on memorial days. Specifically, I analyze the State Catechism (1793), a Spanish Monarchical Catechism, and republican sources—a vast number of Republican Catholic sermons and the Patriotic Catechism (1810)— to show the extent to which Catholic narratives gave intelligibility to the nascent republican citizenry. Through the convergence of these narratives, I argue that religious elements started to become part of national narratives. Beyond the obvious religious rhetoric of these exhortations, I illustrate how religion as a cultural practice shaped the grids of intelligibilities that shaped the South American patriot.

Second, I study the Buenos Aires Enlightenment years or the so called *Rivadavian years* (1820-1828). Rivadavia was the first president of Argentina and one of his more controversial reforms was the

Ecclesiastic one in 1822. Although, enlightenment ideas emerged within the Colonial period (Chiaromonte, 1989), the numerous Enlightenment reforms of such years triggered a new experience of being an Argentinean citizen. In those years, new notions of citizenship with clear educational implications were enacted in Buenos Aires. During those years, notions of agency, the subjectivation process, and somehow the pastoral role of the state changed. In the educational context, schooling, notions of the teacher, the student and the 'curricular content' reflected those transformations.

Third, I focus on maybe the most interesting debate in Argentinean educational history. In 1884, after a memorable debate, the Parliament approved the educational law that established mandatory, free, and secular education in Argentinean public schools. At the beginning of the 1880's, the national government proposed an educational law that triggered a debate about the Argentinean identity. I studied the diverse range of discourses deployed from secularists and religious supporters in the legislative debates. This set of discourses produced a long lasting assemblage of the Argentinean citizen, in which the religious narratives did not disappear. The educational controversy about the role of religion in schools was a catalyst that crystallized the quest for the Argentinean soul.

Finally, I analyze a passionate controversy that pervaded the headlines of Argentinean newspapers at the beginning of the twentieth century. The "Anti-Argentinean Schools" (1908) was the name editors selected to describe the schools managed by Jews. Jewish and Russian schools were attacked by the mainstream media and national educational authorities. The criticisms were based on the fact that such schools were being partially funded by the state and did not teach even a minimum of Argentinean instruction—Spanish language, history, or geography. In the midst of this controversy, the well-known Argentinean nationalist Ricardo Rojas stated: "The danger in Jewish schools comes with their fanaticism which implies the anti-Semitic matter that happily wasn't present here [Argentina] but will emerge as soon as the immigrant's Semitic son would prefer to be a Jew instead of an Argentinean"

(Rojas & Rojas, 1922, p. 180). I describe how the Jewish religious narratives acted as a bridge that gave intelligibility to notions of the Argentinean citizen. Schools acted as the kaleidoscope space through which identity tensions emerged.

Although the dissertation has an interdisciplinary perspective, my focus is on education. In doing so, I focus not solely to the school as the modern institution but as the array of pedagogical devices that shaped the modern republican citizen that becomes taken for granted in the organizing of the curriculum and pedagogy. To give focus to the “reason” that ordered what was possible in schooling, I analyzed discourses that had a relevant role in shaping the principles of republicanism and its citizen. Where not central to the internal analysis of a chapter, I discuss the relation to Catholic salvation themes, republicanism and schooling in the conclusions and again in the final chapter. In chapter two, I analyze the Catholic Sermons and Catechisms. Both—Catholic Sermons and Catechisms—are analyzed as pedagogical devices that had a crucial role in forging early republicanism. In chapter three, I describe the republican awards and national festivities. Such awards and national festivities transcended the borders of schools and were depicted as the most ‘efficient instrument’ (Rivadavia, 1823) to spread republicanism to the populace. In chapter four, while the national educational system was being forged I focus on educational legislation, school practices and curricular understandings of science. Finally, in chapter five, I analyze educational reports that described the Jewish schools as Anti Argentinean ones. I believe that education is a key space to analyze how a republican pastorate was shaped by religious narratives. Hence, through the educational space broadly understood, I delve into historical discourses that shaped the Argentinean citizen.

I believe that choosing to analyze clashes of the changing system of discourses about the Argentinean citizen is finally more fruitful and consistent with a genealogical method that considers discontinuity both as a strategic instrument and as an object of research. Hence, I selected a variety of different texts:

sermons, catechisms, educational legislation, newspapers, educational journals, and, literature because in those texts the discontinuity of specific grids of intelligibilities—problematization—emerged somehow clearly. This approach allows me to explore the trajectories of different scaffoldings of ideas and practices without the risk of an essentialist approach or pre-established temporal demarcations.

## Chapter Two

### Catholicism and Republicanism in the Early Argentinean Republic

The goal of the chapter is to explore what often is placed in opposition—the secular and the theological—in order to interpret their historical intersections in the production of Argentinean citizens. Rather than study how the relationship between religion and citizenship should be or the struggles between the Catholic church and the different national governments, I investigate how religious discourses become interrelated and even undistinguishable as a system of reasons about the Argentinean citizen. In fact, theological patterns of ordering and interpreting human experience shaped to a large degree the conditions, possibilities and limitations of the Argentinean citizen (Howard, 2006, p. 7).

In order to analyze how Catholic narratives shaped the Argentinean republican citizen, the chapter examines how during the early nineteenth century (1810-1820), the Argentinean republican citizen was constructed. The following analysis was triggered in thinking about how education in Argentina was shaped by Catholic narratives that were reenacted in the modern republican citizen. The ways in which religious narratives flowed from the Spanish Colonial Catholicism to republicanism can be perceived by analyzing Spanish Colonial narratives and republican ones. The wide scope of Catholic Sermons and Catechisms made them unique pedagogical devices in the early years of the republic as was internalized in the schools (Dussel I. 2011). I analyze one famous catechism that was used in Spain and in Latin America to support the Spanish king, the Catechism of the State (1793), written by the Spanish Father Joaquin Villanueva. In order to study how some ideas from a Colonial Catholicism *merged* into the republic, I examine republican Catholic sermons and a patriotic Catechism distributed in Buenos Aires immediately after the revolution.

### ***Colonial Catholicism and the Early Argentinean Republic***

In Latin America, Catholicism arrived with the Spanish and Portuguese conquerors. During the colonial years, the relationships and borders between the Roman Catholic church and the Spanish and Portuguese kings were very complex. For example, the Spanish king was entitled to nominate all bishops, establish new dioceses together with their geographical boundaries, send missionaries, and even have some authority over the tithes of all dioceses and parishes (Dussel, 1981, p. 39). This close relationship called *Patronato* has medieval antecedents and was developed to govern Latin American Spanish colonies. In the case of Spain, the Supreme Council of the Indies centralized all the religious, economic, political, military and administrative matters. All these institutional arrangements describe to what extent the propagation of the faith was enacted as a political enterprise. The strong ties of the Catholic Roman Church with the Spanish kings had long lasting consequences in the emancipation process of Latin America. In order to grasp such traditions I analyze the Spanish Monarchical Catechism called the *State Catechism* (1793) that had several versions in Peru, Colombia, Venezuela, etc. (Ocampo López, 2010). The *State Catechism* was well known in Latin America (Baeza, 1996), in part because it argued against republican ideas that were widespread in Buenos Aires.

Around 1810, Spain was in the throes of what seemed to be a deep political crisis. Napoleon was conquering Spain, and Ferdinand VII was jailed by Napoleon while the Spanish peninsular resistance was dispersed. At that time, the inhabitants of Buenos Aires found themselves separated thousands of miles from Spain and without a proper Spanish royal authority.

In Buenos Aires, Ferdinand's displacement was the perfect opportunity to overthrow the Spanish colonial chains. During those years, several European social contract theories were already popular in Buenos Aires (Hobbes, Locke and Rousseau). In fact, the First National Government printed Rousseau's *Social Contract* in 1810. Not surprisingly, the government did not include the chapter in

which Rousseau critiqued the Church claiming that the author suffered temporary dementia during the writing of such a chapter. These social theories stated that sovereignty was a right of the people. Hence, if the social contract between the king and the vassals expired, sovereignty returned to the people. As the 'republican' Father, Fray Soto, explained: "Once the King did not fulfill his obligations, the people, in which essentially resides the sovereignty, reassumes its rights" (Soto, 1816, p. 170). In short, sovereignty should return to people in extreme situations. In Latin America, broadly described, the low clergy supported the republican revolutions, while the high clergy was aligned with the Spanish monarchy (R. D. Stefano, 2000). In Argentina, the situation is quite different. Although, the Spanish bishop from Buenos Aires, Benito Lue y Riega, opposed the revolution, the majority of the high clergy also supported the revolution and several Catholic Fathers were even active members of the revolt (Iglesias, 1998). One of the reasons of such support was that the best posts were given to Spanish priests to the detriment of American ones. Besides, the communication between Rome and Buenos Aires was so mediated and difficult that this distance fostered the autonomy of the colony and the creole party. One clear example in the Church institutional life was the conformation of the Ecclesiastic Cabildo (a senate of the clergy) that ruled the Argentine Church from 1812 to 1832 because of the death of the Bishop Benito Lue y Riega in 1812. Throughout twenty years a collegiate body ruled the Argentinean Church until the ordination and arrival of the next Bishop Mariano Medrano in 1832.

The revolution rapidly divided the clergy between the patriotic priests and the anti-patriotic ones. The clergy in the Rio de la Plata in the independence and early national periods "was mostly secular [not from religious orders], a bit aged, overwhelmingly American and white, primarily of middle-class origin, and disproportionately from Buenos Aires." (Iglesias, 1998, p. 172) Throughout the nineteenth century in the colonial South America, religious celebrations were crucial spaces in which the everyday experiences of individuals were articulated. The audience of these priests was predominantly Roman Catholic populace. After the May Revolution in 1810, these celebrations continued to be

privileged spaces but their narrative and discourses shifted, including new themes such as the idea of social contract and Republicanism. For example, in 1812 the nascent government established that during the masses the priests should pray for “the cause of liberty” (Calvo, 2008). The pool of priests who wrote these sermons studied Theology in Cordoba and some also studied in Spain. They were distinguished journalists (Castaneda), historians (Gregorio Funes), lawyers and, they had prestigious posts as representatives of the national government. In fact, many of the priests who delivered had relevant roles as deputies or signatories of the Argentine Declaration of Independence (1816).

In order to study the narratives that shaped the republican citizen I studied the republican Catholic sermons and the Patriotic Catechism printed by the nascent republicans. The republican sermons assembled a different range of Catholic ideas closely related to the contractualist theories of the Jesuit Father Francisco Suarez and Rousseau. The republican Catholic sermons analyzed were delivered from 1810 to 1830<sup>8</sup>, mostly by Catholic Fathers at important national ceremonies, such as at the May Revolution, funeral prayers of national heroes, patriotic memorials, thanksgivings after military victories, etc., reveal how a more “democratic” Catholic tradition helped to shape the early Argentinean republican citizen. The corpus of seven hundred pages of Catholic sermons that I analyze was published in 1907 by Adolfo Carranza. He was a national propagandist (Bertoni, 2001) and the title of his book: *‘El clero argentino de 1810 a 1830, Oraciones patrióticas’* shows his unquestioned syncretism between the religious—Catholicism—and the “Argentinean”. As a second example of the *modus operandi* of how

---

<sup>8</sup> Adolfo Carranza, founder and director of the Argentinean Historical National Museum. He wrote several books such as “Leyendas Nacionales” (1894) and “Homenajes Patrióticos” (1900) in which he aimed to compile and to give life to national heroes. In the prologue the author says that the book is “of evident historical value to all the lovers of good and of own” (p. II). The author member of the Commission that organized the festivities of 1910 can be identified with the emerging nationalistic trend that highlighted the Hispanic tradition as essential to the Argentinean identity. See (Costa, 2010), who describes the role of Adolfo Carranza in the preparation of the festivities of the Centenary (1910).

religion travels from the strictly religious sphere and assembles in notions of citizenship, I briefly introduce the civic-politic catechisms. Immediately after the revolution (1810), the Patriotic party struggling for independence from Spain, published the *“Public Catechism for the Instruction of the Neophytes or Recently Converted to the Guild of the Patriotic Society”*. The goal<sup>9</sup> of the republicans was to replace the Hispanic Catechisms (Cucuzza, 2011). Through the example of the Patriotic Catechism, I describe how religion as a cultural practice also transcended ideological or partisan points of view, in this case the republican one and the royalist one.

The catechisms have a long tradition in Europe as religious books aimed to teach Christian doctrine, with a methodology of questions and answers to be memorized. The proliferation of catechisms supporting the emancipation movement or in favor of the Spanish monarchy has its antecedent in the European religious struggles of the sixteenth century with the controversy gained by the Large and Small Catechism of Luther (1529). This catechism criticized the Catholic Church hierarchy and later had its counterpart in the Roman Catechism (1566) approved by the Council of Trent (Cucuzza, 2011).

I analyze those three sources, the Spanish Catechism, the Republican sermons and the Patriotic Catechism, as a way to understand the ‘reasons’ of those days. Particularly, I am interested in the ways different Catholic narratives became inscribed on principles and distinctions that ordered perceptions of time, ways of responding to the world, and conceptions of the soul (T. S. Popkewitz, 1997c). Through the analysis of notions of space, time, and soul, I describe how republicanism became a sacred entity while Catholicism narratives became secularized.

### ***The Republicanization of Space, the Republic as a Salvific Space***

---

<sup>9</sup> Hector Cucuzza & Pineau, (2005) explains that the elites poignantly realized the efficiency of Catechisms to transmit knowledge. Besides, the authors describe how throughout the twentieth century the secular pedagogical liturgy adopts the forms of the religious liturgy (cap. 3).

In this section I describe how Catholic religious images were deployed to describe the nascent republic. The republic was depicted through strong salvific images: the Garden of Eden, the Promised Land and the unstained early primitive church. Republican discourse draws upon each one of such religious images to highlight specific republican features. For example, in 1815, during the fifth anniversary of the May Revolution, Father Francisco de Castaneda, describes the Republic through the image of the Garden of Eden,

America is a paradise on earth where the greatest rivers birth and travel; where rules a healthy climate .... America is the garden of the universe, in which surface all are fruits, in which center all are treasures, in which mountains and coasts all are aromas. The America for these and many other circumstances, should be the emporium of religion, the center of wealth, the theater of the wisdom and power (Castaneda, 1815, vol. 1 p. 157).

A few years after the May Revolution, the South American "America" was described with clear religious resemblances linked to the Garden of Eden. Catholic tradition claims that life before original sin is in the Garden of Eden, as described in the book of Genesis. Humans were expelled from the Garden of Eden and condemned to live from the Earth after the original sin. The narratives of America as the land of rivers and fruits signal a return to the Garden of Eden. America is depicted as a salvific space in which rivers, fruits, and treasures depict a paradisiacal scenario. However, America as a republic drew upon elements of the Garden of Eden and included seemingly secular elements such as wealth and power. Castaneda also explains how the American republic has been chosen by God to become the center of wealth, wisdom and power. One of the possible manifestations of becoming a salvific space is the depiction of America as a heaven on earth. At the same time emerges a national exceptionalism because America is divinely destined to be the center of wealth and power. Since the republic became the

immanent salvific space the uniqueness of the republic emerges almost naturally. The republic acquired all the salvific power that was previously present in the Spanish Monarchy and in the Catholic Church.

Another religious image used to describe the Republic was the Promised Land. In 1817, during the seventh anniversary of the May Revolution, the Father Pedro Luis Pacheco makes a depiction of South America as the Promised Land, an exceptional place that will gather people of remote places:

What father of family such as the inhabitants of Tartary, of Hindustan, the Bessarabia, the Crimea, in the Moluccas or the Savage Islands will not tell his children, with the most honorable and glorious excitement: Leave, my children, leave this ungrateful soil, let's go to the city of God, let's travel to the home of the virtues, let's live in the Lord's realm, in South America, where peace dwells, where Christian charity has established his throne (Pacheco, 1817, p. 241).

Importantly, religious elements such as virtues, charity, or the city of God and secular elements, such as fertility and soil, are assembled within the same narrative. The combination forges a deeply Catholic republic in which the figure of authority that was hitherto reserved for the Spanish King was reserved for the Lord. So far, the narrative does not refer to a classical republic or a government of the people, but certainly it was a shift, since a couple of years before South America was governed by the Spanish kings. The republic described as the Promised Land was enacted in order to seduce prospective immigrants from all around the world and placed South America in a different spatiality. From being at the borders, a continent far away from Europe, South America became the center, because South America was a salvific space. The salvific narratives placed South America at the center of the globe. The 'salvification' of the republican space was so important that the assemblage of religious and republican elements was depicted as the happiest state possible.

Finally, the religious image of the early Primitive Church was deployed in the sermons to describe the republic. The early Primitive Christian Church is described in the Bible as a generous and altruistic community. The speech reflects how religious discourses about the primitive church and its style of life were used to give intelligibility to the aspirations of the nascent Republic. Fray Pedro Luis Pacheco describes South America as the place:

where nobody speaks about mine and yours, those cold words that are the cause of tragedies and disorders ... . South America is [the land] where all the rights of the men are respected ... as in the age of the Apostles where there was only one heart and one soul (Pacheco, 1817, p. 242).

Nascent Argentinean republicanism draws upon the image of the early primitive church because generosity and sharing, opposed to the aristocratic accumulation of wealth, was one of the key virtues promoted by republicanism. At the same moment, the Primitive Christian Church embodied a more homogenizing society, “where nobody speaks of mine and yours”, and such a call for homogenization assembled perfectly well with Republican ideals that were opposed to the accumulation of ranks and titles deployed by the Spanish monarchy.

### ***The Republicanization of Historical Time***

In this section I compare the Spanish monarchical notion of time with the republican one. No matter that the revolution provoked a political earthquake, the historical timeline described throughout the republican Catholic sermons had clear resemblances of the notion of time present in the State Catechism. The Spanish State Catechism is an example of a traditional colonial Catholic timeline. The State Catechism explains that the original sin provoked the fall from heaven and the emergence of all kinds of disorders. Hence, God established the monarchy as a remedy to the disorders provoked by the original sin (Villanueva, 1793, p. 27). The present time was the one governed by the Spanish kings, and

since God established the authority of the kings, the monarchy was considered the perfect political system. Any transgression to the Spanish King was taken as a rebellion against God's providence. To a large degree, the present time embodied by the Spanish monarchy was the salvific time established to order society after the disorders provoked by the original sin.

In opposition to the traditional Catholic understanding of time, in the Republican Catholic sermons, time was enacted through the rhetoric of the Jeremiad. The Argentinean Jeremiad deployed the three stages of Jeremiad rhetoric but within republican and South American lenses: the identification of problems that brought the moral or social decline, the Spanish conquest; the periodization of the decline and the simultaneous reflection on what previous generations did better, the evilness and greediness of Spaniards that crashed the civilized Indian societies, and the call for reform that will be a return to the original golden age, a moral conversion that will bring a republican peaceful time (Murphy, 2009; Bercovitch, 1978).

No matter which way that Republican ideas were assembled in such a postcolonial timeline, a Catholic periodization of time was underpinning the republican understanding of time. The early republican notion of time was constrained by this Jeremiad rhetoric that established a Catholic periodization of the past, the present and the future. The republican Catholic sermons depict how the Argentinean republican citizen was inscribed in a periodization that included an immemorial almost forgotten Pre-Hispanic past with peaceful connotation that was linked to the life in Paradise, a miserable Spanish Colonial recent past full of calamities that was linked to the period of the fall from heaven, an unstable republican present linked to the earthly life, and finally, a promissory Republican future that was described as heaven on earth. The republican periodization was deeply theological and acted as a bridge that gave intelligibility to the kind of life individuals were to live in the present. Besides, since the republican periodization was attached to Catholic specific events, a whole range of feelings was

triggered in the audience. For example, the linking of the fall from heaven with the Spanish conquest reinforced negative feelings against Spaniards.

The life in Paradise was described as the period before the Spanish conquest. Catholic sermons describe that past epoch as an earthly paradise ruled peacefully by Indians<sup>10</sup>. This idyllic past was represented as a sinless epoch in which passions, a synonym of evilness, were almost non-existent in America. Indians were described as innocent and harmless people who were even capable of having a tradition and a morality. Such construction of the immemorial past aimed to kindle feelings of respect and compassion towards Indians. The idyllic Indian past was linked to archetypal republican cities and depicted with republican features. Father Soto states, "America since time immemorial had been in control of herself. Governed by its own laws so wisely, so politically, so organized such as Crete, Sparta, Rome and Greece, formed a large and wealthy nation"(Soto, 1816, p. 166). The Indian political organization was described as a prosperous and rightful nation. In other Catholic sermons, Pre Hispanic America is compared with the Republic of Plato and with the Republic of Thomas Moore—Utopia (Neirot, 1812, p. 15). These republican features attached to an Indian past were deployed to signal the significant civic qualities Indians had before the abuses of Spanish conquerors.

The fall from heaven was represented by the period of Spanish Colonial domination. In South America, this miserable recent past started with the Spanish conquest. The Catholic sermons reflect how, suddenly, the peaceful and civilized past was drastically crushed by the Spanish conquest. The Father Juan Antonio Neirot, during a funeral sermon for the deceased soldiers after the battle in Tucuman the Spanish army, claims, "Amid the enjoyment of such happiness the Spaniards appeared. Oh miserable days! Since that time, the American paradise began to become the most lamentable theater of blood, ruin, and desolation" (Neirot, 1812, vol. 1 p.15).

---

<sup>10</sup> See Fray Juan Esteban Soto (1816) quoted by Carranza, 1907, p. 166; 261

The Catholic sermons describe widely how the Spanish conquest brought misery and slavery to America and Indians. Father Gregorio Funes explains, “The great Colon by discovering the New World and becoming an instrument of ambitious kings, opened the way to insatiable conquerors who devoured lands and men” (Funes, 1814, p. 68). The amount and scope of disasters brought by the Spanish conquest varies in different sermons, but all the republican sermons describe the Spanish domination as obscure and unfair. Such descriptions of the recent Spanish past aimed to trigger in individuals a specific range of feelings and thoughts about the revolution. Individuals were compelled to place themselves close to the innocent Indians and against the wretched and selfish Spaniards. In fact, the articulation of an historical narrative that emphasized Spanish abuses had a crucial role validating the pureness and fairness of the Argentinean revolution. By linking the fall from heaven with the injustices and crimes committed by Spaniards, the Catholic sermons produced a ‘common sense’ way of thinking: the Revolution was a charitable enterprise that should be supported by all the honorable people<sup>11</sup>. In fact, throughout the sermons, many times the Argentinean revolution was called holy and described as a ‘political regeneration’ (Funes, 1814, p. 52) that restored Pre-Hispanic peace and fairness in America. Hence, the goal of Republicans was to restore the Indian civic ideals of the Incas that, following the religious sermons, very much resembled archetypal Greek and Roman Republics. The understanding of republicans’ mission in the Jeremiad had consequences in the ways republicans from Argentina understood themselves and their initial positive attitudes toward indigenous people.

---

<sup>11</sup> In order to construct such consensual narrative the Catholic sermons had to differentiate the Spanish Catholic kings from the true Catholicism. As I explained earlier, these two different elements—Spanish kings and Catholicism—were enacted in South America as one entity. With an absolute majority of Catholics in South America, the patriotic priests had the task of emphasizing the distinction between true Catholicism—understood as the primitive Christian church— and the Spanish kings with their wicked and corrupted policies. The distinction between the primitive church and the Roman Church, was also present in European Enlightenment figures such as Locke or Rousseau. Such caveat helped republicans to separate Catholicism from the Spanish king.

Following a Catholic periodization, the Argentinean Jeremiad constructed a specific narrative about the present linked to the future. The below exhortation is a clear example of an Argentinean Jeremiad<sup>12</sup>. The Jeremiad inspired fears in nascent republican citizens through familiar images: chains, slavery, and misery. In the midst of the battles against Spanish armies, Fray Pantaleon Garcia preached a Thanksgiving sermon:

Virtues make nations prosperous, and sins make nations miserable, delivering them to the yoke of the enemy who assaults them. If we are not faithful to our God, let us fear the same fate, (...) If we are unfaithful to our God we will return to our chains, and the enemy shall tread our soil; the free, independent, and sovereign America will be a slave again (Pantaleon Garcia, 1818, p. 288).

These images were used to provoke specific thoughts and feelings in Argentines. Fidelity towards God would decide the liberty or not from Spain. If citizens were faithful to God, the future would be a peaceful republican one. The future of the republic was linked to present actions of the citizens and depicted with salvific connotations. The Father Pacheco expresses,

Listen carefully to the blessings (...) in favor of the homeland of the virtuous and abhorring the nation of criminals: I will send you rain in its season, and the ground will yield its crops and the trees their fruit (...) I will grant peace in the land, and you will lie down and no one will make you afraid (Pacheco, 1817, p. 235).

A republican future with independence, peace, and sovereignty would happen only if the nation was inhabited by virtuous citizens. However, if the citizens' actions were not virtuous, God would execute the revenge and tragedies would befall to the republic. Peace was not expressed in a metaphoric sense.

---

<sup>12</sup> The sermon of Fray Pedro Luis Pacheco (1817) is another example of an Argentinean Jeremiad (Carranza, 1907, vol. 234).

During such years, the republican army was fighting against the Spanish army in the north of the country. Just as in Catholicism, the present life and the future salvation or condemnation was inextricable linked to each other. The early Argentinean Republic constructed a republican timeline but its principles were still shaped by a Catholic periodization of time.

### ***Secularization of Catholicism and Sacralization of Republicanism***<sup>13</sup>

I understand the soul not as a stable essence or supra natural substance but as the inner dispositions of the subject. Nowadays, instead of the soul, modern pedagogy prefers to speak about the governing of the conduct, personality, relationships, and emotions of the child. All these inner dispositions became the target of schooling and pedagogical psychology that renders the child observable and governable (Popkewitz, 2004, p. 5). This inner space of the subject is what I call soul.

The republican Catholic sermons describe how Catholic virtues moved to narratives about the republican “ideal” citizen. A couple of years after the May Revolution, Father Miguel del Corro states, “Christian virtues are the best ornaments of the citizen, and without Christian virtues no one can please God or be useful to the country and his fellows” (Calixto del Corro, 1819, p. 310). Surprisingly, Father Miguel del Corro chose the word ‘useful’ to talk about the role of Catholic virtues. In the Catholic tradition, ‘useful’ can never be used as an adjective or category to describe religious virtues. Catholic virtues such as the Cardinals one: prudence, justice, temperance and courage are considered valuable by themselves. Catholic virtues were the signal of the good citizen and actually the best ornament of

---

<sup>13</sup> In some countries such as Mexico the broader term “patriots” usually refers to all the people who support the independence from Spain; while the term “citizen” only appears years later. In this classification, citizen was attributed to a person who was active and had full of rights (Baeza, 1996, p. 527). On the contrary, in the analyzed Argentinean case, the analysis of the Catholic sermons shows how both terms, citizen and patriot, are used interchangeably. This fact supports the thesis of Baeza, since the May Revolution (1810) and the Declaration of Independence (1816) are chronologically very close.

citizenship. Being faithful to the Lord and useful to the Republic were entangled elements. Since Catholic virtues appear subordinated to the goals of the Republic, the description of Catholic virtues as useful is a secularization of religious rhetoric.

The assemblage of Catholic narratives, with English utilitarian ideas, forged a citizen who should be virtuous *in order* to be useful to the Republic. The process of secularization of Catholic virtues relates to European utilitarian ideas that were en vogue in Buenos Aires. The utilitarian doctrines were well known in South America through the extensive set of encounters and letters that Jeremy Bentham, the English philosopher, had with Republican leaders such as Simon Bolivar or Bernardino Rivadavia. These notions of usefulness are connected to Bentham's utilitarian social ideas (Williford, 1980) (Harris, 1998). Once republican elements were included in the discourses of the Argentinean citizen, the previous Catholic rhetoric was transformed, establishing a mundane context, utilitarian, to Catholic praxis. Fray Pedro Luis Pacheco explains, "Our patriotism will never be true, or useful to the great efforts it has made our common mother [Argentina], if it is not clothed with the great virtues that should attract the abundant blessings of the Lord" (Pacheco, 1817, p. 233). The quotation reflects how after the Revolution, republicanism was given intelligibility through the blend between Jeremiad rhetoric and utilitarian ideas, and moral imperatives.

The same discursive processes that secularized or 'republicanized' Catholic narratives also triggered the sacralization or 'catholization' of republicanism. Though Catholic virtues became valued in service of republican ideas, the merge of republicanism and the theological went even further. Suddenly, throughout the Catholic sermons, republicanism was described as a holy reality, as a "sacred fire." In 1821, Fray Cayetano Rodriguez, during the funeral sermon of the national hero, Manuel Belgrano, states: "You have seen Belgrano displaying that ardent love to his country, that sacred fire, which was the soul of all its actions, and the germ of prodigious public virtues"(Cayetano Rodriguez p.

122). Republicanism is described as a divine reality that allowed Belgrano to be perceived as having prodigious public virtues. In Catholic tradition, the sacred fire is the image depicted to describe the Holy Spirit. In the Acts of the Apostles, the sacred fire is the Holy Spirit that God gave to his disciples. The sacred fire eventually gave the Apostles the strength and power to teach the gospel all around the world.

The sacralization of republicanism can be easily perceived in the funeral sermon of Father Cayetano Rodriguez, who was a renowned Father and who signed the Declaration of Independence (1816). Cayetano Rodriguez says, “The love of the nation is engraved on the very substance of the soul by the same hand that gives us existence” (Pantaleon Garcia, p. 188). Already in the initial years after the Revolution, republicanism was engraved by God, on the very substance of the soul. Republicanism was described as a reality established by God and therefore, a holy reality by itself. At the same time that religious narratives became secularized, Republican narratives became sacralized and were described as holy realities created by God. One of the outcomes of the blend between republicanism and the theological was the sacralization of republicanism.

The sacralization of republicanism implied that being a republican required the explicit assistance of God. The rationality of such dependence lays in Christian theology. Christian tradition considers the Holy Spirit as given by God. In Catholic theology, the Holy Spirit or sacred fire is only acquired by individuals as a gift of God. Hence, the consequence of such a theological nuance is that people cannot achieve true republicanism without God’s assistance. This theological nuance is important because it affects the notions of a citizen’s agency and power. If republicanism is a gift from God, the power of the citizen is limited. On the other hand, if republicanism is merely a human virtue, the agency of the individual is crucial to becoming a republican.

#### Agency and the Republic

Since republicanism was shaped by Catholic narratives, such an assemblage triggered continuities. For example, the colonial Catholic notion of agency moved to the Republican citizen. Through the narrative of the Spanish *State Catechism*, I describe how a specific notion of agency traveled to republicanism. The Spanish *Catechism of the State* asserts:

Q: What should we revere in princes?

A: The authority and the power that is attached to the authority

Q: What respect is due to the princes?

A: Respect interior and exterior, for which we do not look at them as men, but the degree of civil hierarchy in which God has placed them.

Q: Which obligations are implied in such respect?

A: Submission to authority, obedience to its laws, its orders and all that the princess could wish unless if clearly against the Law of God. ... . The good vassal ... simply obeys with good faith and without giving entry to malignant reflections of the so called freedom (Villanueva, 1793, p. 86).

This passage reflects a fragile notion of agency. The power relations between the authority and the individual are described through the relations between the king and the vassal. The agency of the colonial subject was extremely weak because autonomy and self-reflection were considered evil skills. Certainly, such understanding of the subject can be considered as 'normal' in monarchical regimes.

The surprise is that the patriotic Catechism portrays a very similar picture regarding agency and power relations. Around 1810, with the defeat of Spain at hands of Napoleon and the imprisonment of

King Ferdinand VII, the first patriotic government was elected in Argentina. One of the lectures of the patriotic Catechism tackles the issue of the *Juntas* and their authority:

“Question:- Tell me, sons, is there somebody who has to rule us?

Answer- Yes, Father, there is He who has to rule us.

Q:- How many have to rule us?

A:- Just one.

Q:- Where is He who has to rule us?

A:- In Spain, in Chile, and any place.

Q:- Who is He who has to rule us?

A:- The people and their representatives, and the city government, which are three and the same thing ... (Quoted in Cucuzza, 1997: 7-8).

There is an analogy between the “Trinitarian” religious structure with the three divine persons (Father, Son and Holy Spirit) and at the same time one God; and the republican structure, with the people, the representatives, and the city government and “the three at the same time.” This analogy is quite straightforward. However, a common mistake would be to suppose that once the specific religious content was replaced by republican notions, these patriotic Catechisms would be only a didactic tool acting as scaffolding to introduce new liberal ideas. On the contrary, these catechisms are examples to examine how the development of the Argentinean citizen was historically possible through a particular grid of practices in which religious elements had a key role.

The two “opposite” catechisms (royal-republican) have similar notions of the individual, agency, and knowledge. For instance, in both catechisms, individuals were perceived as calculable, manageable

bodies but not as calculating, self-administered selves. Their role was only to learn the correct answer, without any subjective participation in the process (Dussel, 2010). Additionally, both catechisms share a conception of knowledge as something passive to be reduced to small units. Finally, memorization is regarded as the unique path to achieve/learn that content. The example of patriotic catechisms shows how a specific Catholic religious narrative travels from a religious sphere to civic education, producing continuities (notion of individual, agency, knowledge) and discontinuities (notion of civil authority, civic engagement,) that go far beyond the transmission of “facts”.

The republican Catholic sermons also describe the republican citizen as a powerless subject, resembling the relationship between the king and the vassal. In the republican Catholic sermon preached during the seventh anniversary of the May Revolution, Fray Pedro Luis Pacheco depicts a monarchical notion of agency in the Republican citizen:

It is a wise [republican] patriot who is resolved, as he should be, to serve his nation, in childhood and good reputation, in exaltation or depression, paid or unattended with equal joy, as an enlisted soldier or as a general, who obeys promptly and practices without a murmur the most arduous assignments of his immediate superiors, worshipping all authorities in the lordship of the God (Pacheco, 1817, p. 240).

Like the Spanish Catechism and the patriotic Catechism, this statement has a weak notion of agency and reflects how colonial Catholic notions of agency moved to republicanism. The extent of heroism required to become a wise patriot has religious resemblances. Such heroic notions of republicanism were drawn from Catholic exhortations that aimed to foster holiness in believers. The obedience that early monarchical Catholic narratives asked from vassals, republicanism now asked from citizens. The strength and power of the republican authority implies that without slight murmurs superiors shall be

worshipped as divinity. Within this perspective, citizens were perceived as manageable bodies but not as self-administered selves. In the early Argentinean Republic, the role of the citizen regarding civil engagement was reduced only to one who would accept the orders of immediate superiors, without any subjective participation in the process. In sum, although the institutional obedience to the Spanish king was under discussion, the compliance towards civil authority was considered one of the most important virtues in the monarchical catechism and in the Catholic republican sermons and catechism.

### ***Spaniards, Creoles, Indians and the Silence of African Americans***

While in the previous section I tackled the features of the republican citizen, in this section I describe the citizenship status that Spaniards, Creoles, Indians and Blacks had during the transition from the Spanish authority to the nascent Republic. Citizenship status is not just about different names; it is much more than names. A whole set of attitudes, feelings and dispositions are produced within the same subjects through the construction of a human hierarchy. Since I analyze a time of political transition, I first describe the previous Spanish monarchical human hierarchy. The catechism of the State supported the Spanish supremacy above all the *others*, and it argued against Rousseau's ideas about equality.

Q: Does public authority lay on any contract made by the inferiors with the superiors?

A: No. The sovereign authority of princesses does not depend on any contract authority made with their subjects but from the will and providence of God. The existence of principalities in civil society is the work of the Divine Providence which has superiors and inferiors, those who command and those who obey (Villanueva, 1793, p. 88).

The intersection of discourses expressed in the Catechism of the State gave birth to a theological justification of inequality and social stratification. The Spanish king was the device through which God's

will was deployed. This hierarchical stratification of subjects was a vertical one and placed most of the power in the authority. Father Gregorio Funes describes the distinction that existed between the Creoles, those who were born in South America by Spanish parents and the 'real' Spaniards, who were born in Spain,

The tyranny of Spain separated patrician Europeans [from Creoles] creating two lineages, one fortunate one and the other one unfortunate. ... . The posts of profit and power had fallen almost always on those who had the good fortune to be born across the sea (Funes, (1814) quoted by Carranza, 1907, p. 80).

The passage reflects the extent to which labeling was related to everyday life. In Colonial South America, place of birth acted as a citizenship marker. While being born in South America was unfortunate, being born in Europe was a necessary condition to becoming a citizen. In sum, basically "the other" was everyone who was not Spanish. During the Spanish domination, Creoles were not considered as full citizens. In fact, up to the revolution, only Spaniards were considered citizens with full rights. Such status of citizenship was related to everyday issues of power. In fact, the best and more profitable jobs in Buenos Aires were assigned to Spaniards. As an example of such Colonial perspective, the Spanish bishop in Buenos Aires, Benito Lue y Riega, claimed three days before the revolt, "While one Spaniard would exist in the Americas, that Spaniard should govern the Americans"(quoted by Bustamante, 1947).

During the time of the birth of the Republic, such discourses about *the other* started to be challenged. Since republicanism aimed to foster a more homogenous society, previous colonial human hierarchies began to melt. The first republican government supported the social and civic equality of Indians (Margulis, 1999). In the famous Assembly of 1813, republicans abolished all forms of slavery and personal servitude. The republican Catholic sermons describe the gradual shift from a profoundly stratified society to a more homogeneous one. In the initial years after the revolution, the paradigmatic

case of such homogenization was the debate around the Indians and their role in society. The classification of Indians was very controversial because centuries of Spanish domination made the rights of Indians a controversial topic. Around 1814 Father Gregorio Funes states:

Yes, citizens, legislators, contradict Spain pointing out that Indians are more than imperfect animals, and if Spaniards persist in their mania, educate the Indians cultivating their spirit, and Spaniards will glorify you because you know how to make men from beasts (Funes, 1814, p. 77).

The fact that Indians were not considered humans allowed Spaniards to treat Indians cruelly. In the early Argentinean Republic, although Indians were not considered citizens, the Catholic sermons supported the fact that Indians did have a soul. Hence, Indians were able to be saved through Baptism. In such a context, the Indian past was acknowledged as an American legacy, and Beruti's memories describe how, in 1812, four children were dressed in Indians customs for a singing performance (quoted by Halperín Donghi, p. 184). Still, Indians were far from being considered citizens.

Suddenly, a notion of equality, absent in the State Catechism, was portrayed throughout the Catholic sermons. In 1817, Father Felipe Iriarte, during a thanksgiving after a military victory of the republican army, claims:

It is evident that no matter the subordination that all authority demands from the citizen, it is a crucial duty of such authority to respect the inalienable prerogatives of human's beings. Those prerogatives constitute a fundamental equality between the rulers and those who obey. Equality of nature, equality of supernatural privileges, and equal eternal destiny (Iriarte, 1817, p. 273).

While in the Spanish Catechism the equality of individuals was clouded to highlight vertical social stratification, in the Republican Catholic sermons, equality was the underpinning normative assumption. Theological reasons, though different from the ones in the Catechism of the State, such as the equal eternal destiny, were given to support a more republican notion of equality. In the transition from being a Spanish colony to an independent country, a more progressive Catholic notion of equality helped to transform the power relations in the early Argentinean Republic.

Regarding citizenship status, the absences are also relevant. No matter the fact that in Buenos Aires Blacks constituted thirty percent of the population in 1806, throughout the Catholic sermons (seven hundred pages of speeches), I did not find one reference to African Americans. And what is more surprising about this silence is the fact that the government passed, in 1813, the Freedom of Wombs Law, establishing that all the children born from slaves would be considered free citizens. In contrast to the Indians or to the Creoles, the *status quo* of Blacks was not an issue in the analyzed compilation of Catholic sermons. Following the research of George Reid Andrews (1980), the *The Afro-Argentines of Buenos Aires, 1800-1900*, the explanation of such silence is straightforward: the “disappearance” of African Americans as opposed to Indians could be explained by the effort of later liberal historiography to depict Argentina as white and European. Carranza’s edition<sup>14</sup> of the analyzed Catholic sermons from 1907 can be included in such a liberal tradition that aimed to whiten the “glorious” Argentinean past. Recent studies of scholars such as Alex Borucki (2004) and Silvia Mallo (2010) portrayed a broader and more nuanced description of the presence and sociability of African Americans during nascent Argentina.

---

<sup>14</sup> Bertoni (2001, p. 291) pointed out the fact that during the debate about the construction of a monument honoring Falucho, a Black soldier of the Independence, as a national hero, Carranza praised the role of Blacks in the independence war. Hence, the absence of Blacks in the Catholic Sermons might be related to their role and presence in distinguished religious celebrations. Probably, Blacks were not the target of the priest’s sermons during the solemn national religious celebrations.

Lastly, one feature of the Argentinean citizen that it is taken for granted in the Catholic sermons is gender. Throughout hundreds of pages, the role of women in the Republic is absent or reduced to minor descriptions, such as the suffering mothers who lost their sons on the battlefield. On the contrary, masculine images such as brave soldiers are widely used to describe the republican citizen. Additionally, military qualities such as strength, austerity, and obedience are linked to the features of the ideal citizen. Masculinity acted almost as a condition of possibility of the republican citizen. In sum, the profile of the republican citizen would show a middle aged male soldier who is a fervent, austere Catholic, eager to obey the authority.

### ***Conclusion***

This chapter argues against mainstream approaches that emphasize the radical opposition between the secular and the theological in the construction of the republican citizen. The analysis of pedagogical devices—Catholic sermons and Catechisms—are examples of how republicans were able to order and make “sense” of the political changes, only through specific discursive patterns from Catholic rhetoric. In spite of the enormous relevance of political and institutional changes during those years, the Catholic sermons and the patriotic Catechism demonstrate that specific Catholic narratives were crucial in lending intelligibility to the emerging republican citizen. In fact, the construction of the republican citizen draws upon different discourses from within Catholic narratives in the initial years after the revolution. Specific Catholic notions of agency, historical time, and space were re-introduced as pedagogical principles in the understanding of the nascent republican citizen. These religious narratives disentangled from the institutional Church to become part of republican narratives. Catholic sermons and civic patriotic catechism are just examples of such processes, and anticipate how such reenactments of religious narratives would take place in Argentinean schools years later.

The nascent Republic acquired salvific features from Catholicism. Previous Catholic images such as the Garden of Eden, the Promised Land and the early primitive church lent their salvific connotations to the Republic. The Republic was transformed into a salvific space giving intelligibility to the republican project. The salvification of the Republic was so stark that to some extent it is still present. Even today, contemporary critics of the value of the Republic or republicanism are many times treated as if they are modern blasphemers.

The republicanization of time was also possible through Catholic narratives, the Jeremiad. The nascent republican citizen was placed within a consensual timeline, based upon a Catholic periodization of time. This pervasive historical timeline aimed to depict the Indian past as an ideal stage—life in Paradise; the recent Spanish past as dark and unfair due to original sin and the fall—and, finally, through the Jeremiad, portrayed a very weak and unstable republican present. This profoundly religious republican timeline was effective in articulating the fears of the Spaniards while instilling hopes in republican ideals.

In such a transition, there were continuities and discontinuities. As an example of continuities, during the early Republic, the notion of agency present in the Spanish colonial discourses moved to the Republic. The Catholic sermons and the patriotic Catechism describe how qualities of the early Argentinean republican citizen, strong obedience and weak agency, which were frequently promoted in colonial Catholicism, were incorporated into the Argentinean republican citizen. Both intersecting discourses, the colonial and the republican ones, shaped a powerless subject who should obediently comply with authority. As an example of discontinuities, the transition from being a Spanish colony to an independent Republic brought to the fore a more progressive, though within Catholicism, notion of equality. The emergence of equality shifted previous Spanish Colonial hierarchies. Republicanism aimed to forge a somehow more unifying society, positioning equality at the center. Nevertheless, the

assemblage of the Argentinean Republican citizen came within a whole hierarchy of subjects<sup>15</sup> (Halperín Donghi, 1972, p. 185). In such a hierarchy, Spaniards were constructed as the main enemy with evil features. Indians were described with soul but without citizenship, and, finally, the role of African Americans in the nascent republic was completely ignored by liberal historiography. Within this classification, the Creole Argentinean republican citizen emerged as a pious male soldier with minimal agency and who favored strong notions of obedience to authority.

In sum, a dual process took place in early Argentinean Republic: the sacralization of republicanism and the secularization of Catholic narratives. Catholic sermons describe how republicanism appropriated Catholic narratives becoming a holy reality created by the hand of God and engraved in the soul of citizens. The sacralization of republicanism acted as a shield to avoid any criticism and probably was a source of social legitimization for the nascent republic. The value ascribed to republicanism was such that it became the first secular dogma. In the same movement, Catholic sermons reflect a pragmatization of religious narratives. For example, descriptions of Catholic virtues as useful show how the transcendental horizon of Catholicism became secularized. Finally, the assemblage of Catholic narratives and republican elements shows the extent to which Catholic discourses were crucial to give birth to an Argentinean Republican citizen. The borders between the religious and the secular, the believer and the citizen, were very much blurred and unclear in the nascent republicanism.

---

<sup>15</sup> The work of Halperin describes how the revolution uses the term “gente decente” in several decrees describing the resilience of previous social categories in the nascent republican order.

## Chapter Three

### Catholicism and Republicanism in the Buenos Aires Enlightenment

*The ancient Motherland, they told us, expired: true  
patriotism is civilization.... In order to civilize us-- they continued-- to  
reform everything is required  
Bartolome Munoz, 1830, p. 286.*

In the midst of Napoleon's invasion of Spain, in 1810 the first national government emerged in Buenos Aires. A few years later, in 1816 the representatives of several South American provinces signed the Independence Act. From 1810 to 1820 the lack of political stability and the war against Spain was the rule in South America. However, in the 1820s, Buenos Aires experienced an Enlightenment that triggered a comprehensive set of political, cultural, economic, and religious reforms. Although José Chiaramonte (1989) poignantly described how enlightenment processes started during the colonial life within the same Spanish kingdom, a comprehensive set of enlightenment policies, enacted as a political program, was only possible during the 1820s. To illustrate, in those years the government enacted the famous Ecclesiastic Reform<sup>16</sup> (1822). This reform had lasting effects<sup>16</sup> in the nascent nation such as the elimination of ecclesiastic courts, the dissolution of monasteries and the expropriation of temples and church lands and marked a crucial milestone in the secularization process of Argentina. During this same period, the government established universal suffrage<sup>17</sup>; dictated the liberal Constitution of 1826;

---

<sup>16</sup> See Di Stefano (2004) *El Pulpito y la Plaza : clero, sociedad y política de la monarquía católica a la república rosista*. The third section of the book describes the Rivadavian period from a perspective that recognizes the political as religious and the religious as political.

<sup>17</sup> The universality was only for men who were at least twenty years old. In order to be elected, the requirements were to be at least twenty years old and owned one real state property. See *La Revolución del voto* of Maricela Ternavasio (2002) for a detailed description of the law.

founded the University of Buenos Aires, the Literary Association, and the School of Architecture; promoted innovations regarding theatre, and abolished bullfighting (Altamirano & Myers, 2008, p. 198). However, it would be a simplification to describe those years merely as an anti-Catholic period. Rivadavia described himself as a Catholic believer and established new parishes in the countryside. In addition, he also promoted the creation of a Catechism for public schools, and decreed that students in all schools of Buenos Aires should read a morning prayer (Piccirilli, 1943).

These calls for civilizing the nascent republic triggered a whole reformation process that had enlightenment narratives at its center. In those years, the enlightenment was understood as civilization, progress, or freedom from religious backwardness. Nevertheless, it is problematic to limit the scope of the term to its semantic connotations, since the implications of those enlightenment narratives changed everyday life in Buenos Aires. I approach civilization as a grid of ideas that became a new patriotism and a voice that 'kindled' the souls of Buenos Aires in which the opposition of citizen and religion can be rethought. The 1820s reflect the extent to which the intersection of enlightenment discourses with salvific narratives changed the rules according to which the citizen was constructed in Buenos Aires. The analysis considers how religious narratives became part of education shaping the enlightened republican citizen. These enlightenment reforms aimed to move post-colonial Buenos Aires from the backward Spanish heritage to the Age of the Lights, the Enlightenment. Not surprisingly, beginning in the 1820s, speeches regarding the good citizen also drastically shifted (Myers, 2003, p. 83).

Since all these enlightenment narratives were circulating in Buenos Aires, it is crucial to analyze the ways in which Catholicism, as a cultural practice, merged with the Enlightenment narratives in vogue, making possible the construction of an enlightened republican citizen. I study the experience of enlightened republicanism that happened in Buenos Aires during the 1820s. Throughout the chapter, I tackle the following questions: How did the Enlightenment ideas shape the nascent republican citizen?

What seems counter intuitive, how did Catholic religious narratives shape the nascent enlightened Republic? And, finally, what kind of republican citizen becomes constructed through republican awards given by the government to distinguished republican citizens?

In order to answer these questions, I focus on three pedagogical events: the republican awards, the national festivities and the architectural project to rebuild the façade of the Cathedral of Buenos Aires. These events emerge in the educational decrees and policies of the governments of Buenos Aires from 1821 to 1828. The republican awards were rewards—money, medals, or diplomas—that the government gave to exemplar republican citizens. The target of republican awards varied from male elementary students to housemaid widows, and the prizes ranged from monetary funds to medals and certificates. Therefore, because of the scope and goal of these rewards for merit, I prefer to describe them as republican awards rather than merely educational awards. These awards present a unique opportunity to explore the ways in which the ideas of the good society and the good citizen were enacted and a republican soteriology was born. In addition to decrees and policies, I examine the newspaper *Argos de Buenos Aires* from 1821 to 1825. *The Argos*—frequently published in English, French and Portuguese—was a newspaper aligned with this civilizing reform (Gallo, 2012, p. 107) that acted as a supporter of Enlightenment ideas from all around the world.

My focus on what I call a Buenos Aires Enlightenment responds to a strategic methodological choice that “...argues against treating modernity as an epochal concept of uniformities in social experiences and instead focuses on non-uniform differences, distinctions, and divisions” (Popkewitz, 2005, p. 32). I am aware of the “influence” of certain European figures, such as Bentham, Rousseau, or Destutt de Tracy in Argentina. However, my interest in relevant European Enlightenment figures is as indigenous foreigners (Popkewitz, 2005) and focus on how they are “used” within Argentinean debates rather than as autonomous authors who travel to Argentina. I am interested in the ways enlightened

narratives merged with previous Catholic narratives shaping a ‘civilized’ republican citizen. Hence, I focus on the emergence of predominant grids of discourses that had Enlightenment ideas at their center<sup>18</sup>. The three analyzed events—republican awards, national festivities and the façade of the Cathedral—are interesting spaces to show how Catholic and Enlightenment narratives merged in the construction of the Argentinean republican citizen.

### ***Republican Awards***

The authorities in Buenos Aires believed republican awards were the best devices to disseminate the republican ethos (1823, p. 445). Through republican awards a specific understanding of virtue and morality were displayed in the narratives of the republican citizen. By referring to notions of morality, the republican awards linked to Catholic religious notions, such as the soul; thus, salvific narratives previously attached to the Spanish monarchy moved to republicanism. In this section, I highlight how republican awards became entangled with the soul of citizens and how a salvific narrative became tied to the “exemplar” republican citizen.

During the Buenos Aires’s Enlightenment, republican awards gained remarkable relevance. Although, there are some references to banners with inscriptions that read: Award to virtue<sup>19</sup> during the *fiestas mayas* of 1811 (Núñez, 1857, p. 337 quoted by Garavaglia), the relevance given to republican awards, from the 1820s, during the Buenos Aires Enlightenment, immediately captured my attention. While reading the numerous governmental educational decrees of those years, I was surprised with the number and length of decrees about republican awards. In fact, already as the first President of Argentina, and immersed in a hectic political crisis that would end with his resignation, Rivadavia wrote a meticulous protocol about prize-giving ceremonies. The exhaustive descriptions of the prize-giving

---

<sup>18</sup> It is widely accepted that the peak of such movement took place from 1821 up to 1827.

<sup>19</sup> Mona Ozouf in her book *Festivals and the French Revolution* mentions how the in the festivals of the French Revolution were present the ritual of distributing awards to the virtuous (1991, p. 163)

ceremonies included the length of each speaker's speech, the distribution of seats, the exact hour prescribed for the ceremonies and, dozens of seemingly unimportant details. Such lengthy descriptions encouraged me to reflect on the significance attributed to such awards in the nascent enlightened Republic. Rivadavia claimed that republican awards were one of the most powerful means to foster virtue and laudable desires.

From 1821 to 1828 different governments published *twelve* decrees<sup>20</sup> regarding republican awards. Many of these rewards of merit went beyond the borders of the schools. After the May revolution in 1810 the first mention of an award appeared in the *Gaceta de Buenos Aires*<sup>21</sup> in 1821. After a series of exams (Math, French, and Nautical), the authorities decided to recognize with awards two outstanding students. Interestingly, already in this first granting of awards the government explained the rationality of such awards entangling the awards with the Enlightenment. In the decree, the government explains:

The youth is the hope of the fathers and they announce the progresses of the Enlightenment and culture of the country, but in order to stimulate them, it is necessary to reward them with awards that recognize the efforts of distinguished students (p.234).

---

<sup>20</sup>(1821) Decree of Rodriguez that established prizes for Academic merit to students after exams.  
 (1822) N. 576 Rivadavia established six Educational Awards: 2 Literary Society of Buenos Aires; 2 University of BA; 2 Medicine Academy  
 (1822) N. 621 Rodriguez established the administrative guidelines to receive Military Awards  
 (1822) N.592 Rivadavia established Educational Awards for publications from the University of Buenos Aires  
 (1823) N. 671 Rivadavia established 6 Educational Awards for Women. The Beneficence Society was the responsible grantor for such awards.  
 (1823)N. 727 Rivadavia established 12 Educational Awards [6 Moral][6 Hard Work] for high school students  
 (1824) N 746 Rivadavia established Educational Awards for the six Women's Schools  
 (1825) N. 802 De las Heras established 3 Educational Awards for elementary public school students  
 (1827) N. 948 Rivadavia established a protocol for Women's Educational Awards  
 (1827) N. 949 Rivadavia established a final protocol for Women's Educational Awards  
 (1828) N. 1014 Dorrego established that the schools of the countryside should follow the same award policy of those in the capital.  
 (1828) N. 1045 Dorrego established Educational Awards for the University of Buenos Aires.

<sup>21</sup> The *Gaceta de Buenos Aires* (1810-1821) was the "newspaper" that gave publicity to the government actions.

In a similar vein, Rivadavia explained the utilitarian rationality of such interest, “Prize awarded to real merit, if not a tribute of rigorous justice, is surely one of the most useful tools to promote social improvement” (1823, p. 382). In those days, the nascent Republic assumed the pastorate role of guiding the souls of citizens. The republican pastorate included a set of techniques and procedures, such as the republican awards, that aimed to shepherd the citizens toward the verdant pastures of social advancement. The role the Catholic Church had been playing from its inception was reenacted in the domain of republicanism. In such a transition Catholic narratives—e.g. the virtuous citizen-- reemerged in the understanding of who the exemplar republican citizen should be. In such a shift, the republican virtue, though a public one that relied on the free choice of the citizen, was embedded with Catholic salvific narratives. In this intersection of salvific narratives and republicanism, individuals should achieve certain qualities to become “good” republican citizens.

The dates in which these awards were distributed describe the extent to which awards were intrinsically tangled with republicanism. In 1822, the government of Buenos Aires announced that the prize-giving ceremonies should be the 24<sup>th</sup> of May--one day before the anniversary of the May Revolution, and the 8<sup>th</sup> of July--one day before the anniversary of the Argentinean Independence. The dates reflect the inextricable relationship between republicanism and such awards.

A crucial feature linked to republican awards was their publicity. In order to foster the desires of imitation throughout the citizens of Buenos Aires, publicity became a key issue. Therefore, the government decreed: “The Beneficence Society [in charge of women’s education] must publish with anticipation in the city and in the countryside the awards that will be given each year” (Rivadavia, 1827, p.234). Along the same lines, *The Argos* reflected the relevance of publicity devoting two of its four pages to explain the award process<sup>22</sup> (candidates, criteria of selection, short bio of the winners, etc.).

---

<sup>22</sup> The Argos’s newspaper even included a copy of the Act Number Seven issued by the awards commission.

The ritual of rewards of merit has a long, religious tradition. American Puritans developed awards to instill in students their theological teachings. One of the reasons of such awards was the relevance of literacy and the printing word in order to read the Bible (Fenn, 1994, p.39). Interestingly, Rivadavia's model of rewards resembled the classical referenced in the book *The Literary Game* by John Brinsley<sup>23</sup> (1612). John Brinsley was a Puritan schoolmaster who fostered in England the education of the common man. The Rivadavia's rewards ritual added republican notions that aimed to portray the awardees as "republican" saints. For example, while delivering each prize, the protocol established that the authority shall repeat a verbal 'formula':

The Beneficence Society gives you this award through which the paternal zeal of the Republic rewards you. This prize shall be a powerful stimulus so that you continue developing and becoming even more deserving of public appreciation (Rivadavia, 1827, p. 235).

The "Beneficence" society, the "paternal" zeal, and to "deserve" are examples of how religious notions were reinserted within the nascent Republican pastorate. The paternal zeal would no longer be that of the clerical minister or the church but the republican government. The authority of the nascent Republic resembles the authority the church used to have during the colonial years. In a similar way, as in the colonial church, with the Father and the believer, the nascent Republic portrayed a strong hierarchical relationship between the government's authority and the citizen.

Rivadavia's exhortation, aimed to foster republican virtue, also drew upon a religious notion of ascetics and evangelization. Following the republican awards formula, acquiring republican virtue implied an individual journey of self-sacrifice in favor of the Republic— the new deity—that acted as a

---

<sup>23</sup> Brinsley says "... to encourage them, and all the rest of them by their ensample to strive at length to come unto Victorshippe, because then besides the honor of it, each may come to receive again more than ever the gave before (chapter 28 quoted by Fenn in p.26).

benevolent and guiding father. At the same time, the role of the citizen was to continue developing—evangelizing—with his republican virtues the society, to gain public appreciation. Republicanism became a message that citizens should transmit to others. Both movements of the republican virtue, the ascetics or self-sacrifice and the evangelization, drew upon the Catholic spirituality tandem: ascetics and evangelization.

The “republican” ritual of the awarding ceremony was framed within a Catholic sacramental tradition. The combination of the prize award ritual with a verbal formula and a material award very much resembles the Catholic sacrament services. The Catholic sacraments always include a verbal formula, usually recited by a priest, and a material reality (water, oil, bread, etc.) as a visible sign of the grace. In the republican awards, the president of the Beneficence Society was in charge of reciting—while standing-- the unchangeable formula. The certificate was the visible sign of the republican “blessing”. The verbal formula and the material sign to award republican virtues were reasonable when considered through a Catholic framework. Through the republican awards, enlightened republicanism re-articulated Catholic religious practices to convert the souls of formerly post-colonial Catholics into enlightened republicans. Since religious patterns were familiar to the citizens of Buenos Aires, the government framed the awards ceremony as a Catholic ceremony. Just before the national holidays, the new civic saints, whom I discuss in the next section, should be publicly distinguished as models of republican virtues.

*Martina Viera and Josefa Marino: Two Archetypal Republican Women*<sup>24</sup>

The republican pastorate aimed to shape citizens with specific features. In 1823, the

---

<sup>24</sup> For elementary and high school boys, the government established two awards: the Moral Award and the Hard Work Award. At the post-secondary level, the standard prize was a gold medal, and it was attributed to academic merit. However, other types of awards existed. For example, in 1821, the prize for the best students of Math and Nautical prowess was a military rank with its correspondent salary (Academia Nacional de la Historia (Argentina), 1910).

government established awards for women outside the school system. *The Argos* states: "Awards will transform women into Spartan worshipers of republican austerity" (*El Argos*, 1823, no. 22). The republican women should relate to the civic authority with adoration because the Republic was the new deity. Austerity was described as a key value related to republicanism, and in Buenos Aires republican austerity was understood as the opposite of the Spanish aristocratic flagrant use of titles and honors.

Along the same lines, in 1823, *the Argos* published an editorial about the benefits of awards for women. The editorial claimed that during the Spanish domination, women were condemned to humiliation, but since the establishment of republican awards, women would be distinguished because of "their virtues and talents" (*El Argos*, 1823, no. 22). A few years prior, previous Catholic sermons had described masculinity almost as a necessary condition to become a citizen. In fact, the citizen was usually described as a brave soldier, while female images were totally absent. However, republican enlightened narratives portrayed a radically different approach to womanhood. Along the same lines, the *Argos* says, "Women naturally love their Motherland; maybe more than men. ... The belle sex has just entered into the enjoyment of all its rights." The view of woman as republican citizen showed a radical progressive shift of her role within the nascent republic.

Rivadavia established four different awards for women: the Moral Award was the most prestigious one followed by the Industriousness Award, the Filial Love Award, and the Hard Work Award. Morality, industriousness, filial love and hard work were depicted to citizens as the new civic commandments to achieve "republican" salvation. Interestingly, republican ideals were entangled with inner dispositions of the soul. Inner dispositions understood as "civic" virtues were amalgamated with salvific narratives in order to shape republican citizens.

The Moral Award was "... awarded to the woman who has most distinguished herself by her morality and, the practice of the virtues of her sex and situation". The Industry Award was "awarded to the woman who has been more diligent in acquiring perseveringly with honesty, and through industrious work, the means for her livelihood, or her parents' or children's wellbeing." The Filial Love Award that replicates the fourth Christian commandment—to honor your father and your mother, was "awarded to the woman who has most distinguished herself for her meritorious service, respect, zeal, and love for the authors of her being." Finally, the Hard Work Award was "awarded to the woman who has distinguished herself by her talents and application" (Rivadavia, 1823, p. 382). The whole range of awards demonstrates the extent to which republican awards aimed to shepherd the inner dispositions of citizens. The new republican Decalogue for women was oriented to shape a moral, industrious, hardworking, and family bound republican woman.

Martina Viera received the Moral Award in 1824. She was depicted as a model of republican virtue. The justification the commission wrote shed light upon the qualities of the republican woman. Martina Viera was the wife of a disabled army veteran and mother of several sons. In order to assist her husband, she sold her only property and traveled thousands of miles without asking any help from neighbors or the state. The commission stated that Martina Viera, although she had financial struggles, was from the middle class. The statement reflects as positive the fact that Martina was not from the aristocracy. The key element to become a (female) republican citizen was the selfless service to the republic.

Josefa Marino received the Industrious Award in 1824. Her story is also dramatic. She was a widow full of debts. To pay her debts and to support her octogenarian mother and uncle, she worked as a full-time seamstress in her house. She devoted her day to assisting her mother and working long

hours. The commission highlighted her economic skills. The prize stressed her entrepreneurship skills and her ability to become financially self-sufficient. In other words, these austere women were being celebrated because they were serving the republic by not being a burden to it. The scope of Argentinean republicanism is broader than in other Anglo Saxon traditions—e.g. United States—in which material prosperity might be perceived as a sign of predestination to be redeemed. In the nascent Argentinean republicanism, having financial struggles did not have a negative connotation.

In sum, the republican awards were a significant republican technology. As such, they were not uncontested. The resistance and counter attacks of this nascent republican pastorate, which I exemplified through the republican awards, came, not surprisingly, from conservative groups that used to monopolize the pastoral function in Buenos Aires. These groups still considered the Church as a perfect society with universal jurisdiction in the figure of the Roman pope (Di Stefano, 2004). In South America, the conservative group lamented the expulsion of the Jesuits, whom they saw as guarantors of religious orthodoxy and strong enough to successfully fight the enemies of Catholicism at an intellectual level. Jesuits had a relevant role in Latin America. Through schools and Universities were in charge of spreading Counter Reformation orthodoxy and religious revival in Latin America. In newspapers, the resistance to civilizing reforms was expressed through furious diatribes conducted mainly by two Fathers: Fray Cayetano Rodriguez and Fray Francisco Castañeda. In their famous newspapers, they published prayers depicting Bernardino Rivadavia as a demoniac person or as an Anglo-French monster. Also, through apocalyptic images, this religious group expressed what would be the outcome of the Ecclesiastic Reform in Buenos Aires.



*Figure 1: Figure in the newspaper printed by Fray Francisco Castañeda.*

### ***Fiestas Mayas: Argentinean National Holidays and Catholic Heritage***

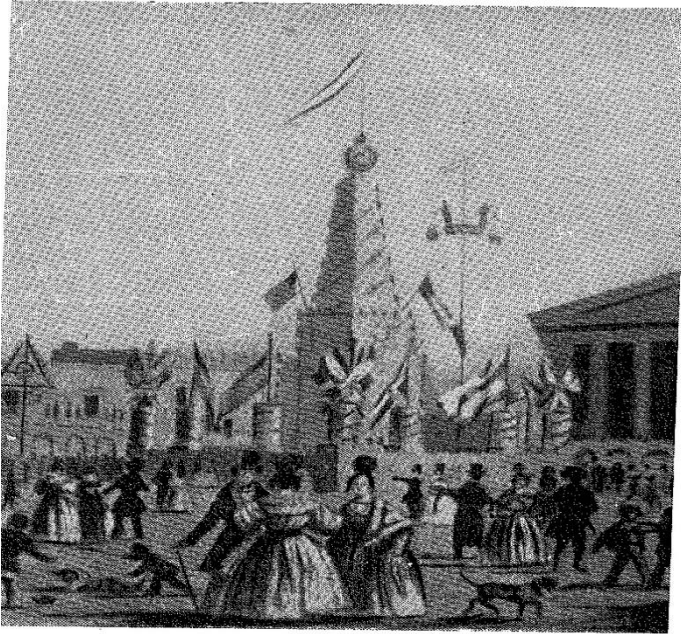
The religious or profane festivals had a relevant role in urban and rural socialization during the colonial period (Garavaglia, 2000). The national celebration, Fiestas Mayas, of the nascent Argentinean Republic emerged as a space to carve a republican soul after the May Revolution (1810). Beginning in 1811, the revolutionary government organized annual popular celebrations that lasted several days. These national festivities that celebrated milestone national events were a space aimed to shape republicanism. In 1823, the *Argos* chronicled the national festivities, describing civic responsibilities of citizens during national holidays:

Citizens, the motherland is not happy when a son of her own soil feels good coming to the temple only one time per year [for the national holiday] because of a tradition rather than a desire and he wrongly believes that with that visit he already fulfilled all his duties towards the motherland (*El Argos*, 1823, 178).

The temple as a place of republican worship refers to the May Pyramid, which is the oldest national monument in Buenos Aires. The national festivities were displayed around the May Pyramid.<sup>25</sup> The fact that the assistance to the national festivities was described as a religious mandate and the national monument was described as a holy temple portrays how Catholic narratives were enacted to give intelligibility to nascent national festivities. The Republic became sacralized as a deity who should be constantly worshipped. The temple for the Catholic tradition is a crucial element of its devotion, since all the major religious services are held at the temple. The intersections of Catholic and republican narratives transformed the national festivities into republican services that gave sacrality (Garavaglia, 2000) to nascent republicanism. Mona Ozouf, in her book *Festivals and the French Revolution* (1991), described how the festivals of the French revolution expressed what she called a *transfer of sacrality*. She stated that somehow the sacrality of Catholic and Masonic imagery was reenacted onto political and social values by the French revolutionaries (p. 282).

---

<sup>25</sup> The May Pyramid is now located at the hub of Plaza de Mayo, the main square in Buenos Aires.



Buenos Aires. Adornos de la pirámide y fiesta del 25 de mayo de 1836, según Carlos E. Pellegrini.

*Figure 2: During the Fiestas Mayas people of Buenos Aires went to the national festivity while the May Pyramid was covered with Argentinean flags.*

The urge for an exterior devotion—going to worship the Republic—and the mention of the temple as the place of worship are two particularly interesting elements to analyze. Although the Argos mentioned an inner desire citizens should have toward the Republic, the relevance of an external and continuous ritual—going to the national temple—was also crucial. The Republic would be happy *only* through a constant external practice of republican devotion from its citizens. Catholic tradition establishes for Catholic believers that it is mandatory to receive the Holy Communion at least once per year during Easter. This Catholic mandate resonates in the above exhortation from the *Argos*. However, the republican mandate aimed to supersede the Catholic mandate, encouraged citizens to constantly assist in “republican” service. The understanding of republican duty toward the Republic was possible to frame because of the Catholic sensitivity of citizens. In Buenos Aires, Catholics were already

familiar with religious duties towards the holy church. Moving forward, the Republic would assume the religious features the Catholic Church used to have. Along the same lines, Di Meglio describes how Buenos Aires's elite was concerned about the "profanation," the swearing of the lower classes during the civic festivities (2006, p. 115). Beyond the patent struggle for the control of the public space, the solemnity of republican festivities was embedded within a sacred aura linked to religious celebration. The relevance of the external rituality and the mention of the temple—May Pyramid—as a place of republican worship emerged as required condition to become good citizens. Both elements were reasonable within a Catholic perspective and reflect how a Catholic understanding of religious practice shaped the festivities of the nascent republic and the duties of citizens.

In the same chronicle of the national festivities, the *Argos* reports:

The agreeable scenes that happened [during the national holiday], covered with joy the face of the motherland; the participants applauded the fact of having so loyal sons and decided worshipers ... extending those feeling to the lowest classes knowing that even the lowest classes will maintain that sacred fire always alive and this love of motherland's worshipping always in action.

The Republic is personified as a deity that has deep feelings toward the good citizens that worship her. The citizens have to worship the republic, and there is a distance between the republic authority and them. In this personification, a hierarchical relationship is established between the Republic and the citizens. Hence, a particular citizen's agency that aligns very much with a Catholic one is present in the narratives about the republican festivities. It is relevant to highlight how agency is displayed in the above grid of ideas. The Republic appears as the only possible savior, full of agency, while the rest of the people are considered to worship and adore the Republic.

The above religious narrative implies a specific power relationship exemplified through the evangelical relationship between the pastor, who has the power, and his sheep. Hence, the space of agency and autonomy expected from citizens remains very weak. The Catholic heritage helped to forge a specific cultural sensitivity in the Argentinean citizen. This kind of citizen seems difficult to imagine in a Calvinistic tradition in which the agency of the subject reflects the grace and predilection of God. The broad scope of Argentinean republicanism can be compared with the English one. The Anglican tradition of the workhouse dealt differently with the poor or disabled. In the English tradition of the workhouse, the poor were confined to the workhouse, a government run institution known as a poorhouse. In a Calvinistic soteriology, individual poverty was perceived as a dishonorable state, and hence the role of the poor as citizens was to say the least, marginal. On the contrary, the strong clerical tradition of colonial Catholicism seems to forge a religious cultural sensitivity, that, when merged with republicanism, tends to shape a citizen more inclined to hierarchical power relations than democratic ones.

In the nascent Argentinean republic, republicanism was described as “sacred fire” that should reach all the people. The national festivities described how the sacred fire or republicanism was present also in the lowest classes of the society. In a Catholic soteriology, individual poverty was not seemed as a sinful state. Therefore, all the people, including those who were considered from the lowest classes, might be saved and hence every individual should have a role as citizens and members of the nascent republic. The low income class had to maintain the fire of republicanism. With disregard to economic status, all subjects were allowed to be republican worshippers during the national holidays. The intersection of Catholic narratives with republican ones led to a broader, more universal, notion of what it means to be a republican citizen. The relevance of the external rite, the May Pyramid as a temple, a specific notion of agency, and the role given to the lower class deployed in the national festivities are examples that describe the extent to which Catholicism shaped the nascent republican citizen.

While republicanism acquired salvific connotations, speeches about the Enlightenment reforms emerged in Buenos Aires during the 1820's. Bartolome Munoz's diatribe against Enlightenment ideas confirms how the target of the Enlightenment reforms went beyond architectural and institutional borders. The enlightenment reforms aimed to shape citizens' inner dispositions. In this way, the soul was brought into the narrative of the Republic and its debates about the good citizen.

While the reform takes place, they [the authorities] reform public institutions, procedures and even labels; they reform religious orders, church's institutions, rites, commandments and properties; they reform the army; they reform the immunities, the privileges and honors; they reform the temples, the people, the voices, the curriculum, the coins and values. In sum, under the title of reform and through the pompous voices of civilization and capitalization, everything is anew (Munoz, 1830, p. 287).

Bartolome Munoz, a conservative Catholic Father, continues describing the Enlightenment as a disease that attacked, during Rivadavia's tenure, the whole society. Even the citizens were reformed. In this way the soul or inner dispositions of the citizens were brought to the discussion, in order to merge with republican narratives.

The enlightened reforms did not aim to change merely administrative or institutional aspects of the country but the souls of citizens. A few years before becoming a relevant political figure in the Argentinean scene, Rivadavia describes the inner dimension of the Enlightenment reform, "There is little the government could be proud of, other than its efforts to promote a healthy regeneration [in people]" (Rivadavia, (1812) quoted by Piccirilli). Therefore, in Buenos Aires, the Enlightenment reform aimed at an inner republican "conversion" that would foster civic virtues like industry and hard work. The Enlightenment "regeneration" required a conversion of citizens' inner dispositions. Certainly, the civilizing reforms in Buenos Aires implied a comprehensive reform in institutions, but what was more

important, following Rivadavia, was the healthy regeneration, the reformation of citizens' inner souls. In that regard, the Enlightenment reforms resembled European reformist religious movements that aimed to regenerate the inner souls of believers.

### ***Republicanism as a Salvific Narrative: Cathedral's facade***

The intersection of salvific narratives with republicanism is written into the architecture of the nascent Republic. In the Cathedral of Buenos Aires, I find a re-articulation of Catholic narratives and Enlightenment ideas that emerged in Buenos Aires during the 1820's. In this project, religious and republican salvific narratives merge in the rebuilding of the main façade of the Cathedral of Buenos Aires, the holiest space in Buenos Aires. Rivadavia selected the Cathedral of Buenos Aires to build a national memorial to the Argentinean Army that gained the country's independence from Spain. He claims:

When the country ... guarantees to all classes, the fruit of independence, freedom and civilization, the government believes that perfecting this immortal achievement should make visible [through the façade] the feelings of gratitude and thanks to the Divine Providence because of the independence...(1821,p.184).



*Figure 3: Cathedral of Buenos Aires by Carlos Enrique Pellegrini, circa 1830*



*Figure 4: Current Image<sup>26</sup> of the Cathedral of Buenos Aires*

In the decree, Rivadavia also established that the Buenos Aires Engineering Department would manage the rebuilding project. The fact that the clerical authority was not supervising the renovation of the Cathedral's façade is telling. After the revolution and specifically during the Rivadavia's tenure, the

---

<sup>26</sup> (synotrip.com)

nascent government aimed to continue with the privileges the pope had given to the Spanish kings since the concordat of 1753 with the Holy See. In a similar way, many decades before the revolution, the doctrine of Bourbon regalism that defended the rights of the kings against the Church was widespread in the Spanish kingdom (Chiaramonte, 1989, p. 24).

The traditional Spanish colonial architecture was Baroque. The renewed façade shows a shift from Baroque Catholic Hispanic architecture. Without intending to establish a causal relationship between neoclassicism and republicanism, it is clear that at the beginning of the nineteenth century, neoclassic architecture was naturally linked to republican and democratic ideals (Myers, 1995). Hence, neoclassicism was the artistic trend that best portrayed republican ideas since Greece was depicted as the epitome of the ideal democratic Republic. Instead of campanile and statues of saints—signs of Spanish Catholicism—the cathedral’s façade, with a Greek Pantheon architecture, a Romanic portico, and twelve columns decorated in Corinthian style, represents the materialization of republican rationality that has democracy and freedom as ideals. The building without statues of saints or campanile, signs of Catholicism, aimed to emphasize civic or republican virtues (Aliata, 2006, p. 204).

The Cathedral’s façade, however, exhibits how the religious space once exclusively attributed to Catholicism, in a Hispanic monarchical tradition, merged with republican ideals represented with the neoclassic architecture. In fact, during the national celebrations the Cathedral was called the “Temple of Freedom” (Pellegrini, 1854, quoted by Aliata). Salvation narratives previously attached to the Spanish monarchy moved to notions of the democratic republic as the new space of “civic” salvation. The façade materialized how salvific narratives from the Spanish colonization—Catholic Church—sembled with republican ideas through a neoclassic architecture. Not surprisingly, after the enlightened 1820s, the Cathedral would be considered as a Greek profanity, and several projects aimed, without success, to

give the cathedral its original 'sacredness' (Asre, quoted by Aliata, 2006, p. 220) through a modification of its façade.

The façade exemplifies how salvific narratives of Catholicism merged with republican ideals, such as democracy and civilization. In the above decree, Rivadavia describes the birth of the Republic as an immortal achievement linked to God's providence. Republicanism was perceived as a holy enterprise sponsored by God's will. Republicanism acquired salvific narratives previously linked to the Spanish monarchy. Interestingly, the nascent republicanism continued the Spanish tradition of merging the secular power with the religious (e.g. Catholic Monarchs). The shift was that, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, republicanism, instead of the Spanish kings, took on a sacred aura, and even the Cathedral of Buenos Aires was meant to enact the shift. The façade shows how those Enlightenment ideas were portrayed not as opposed to Catholicism but through the core of colonial Catholicism, the religious dimension.

### ***Conclusion***

The three educational events explored in this chapter describe the experience of enlightened republicanism during the 1820s in Buenos Aires: the republican awards as the shaping of an exemplar republican soul; the emergence of national holidays as a public space oriented to carve republicanism for all; and republicanism as a salvific narrative that was materialized in the Cathedral's façade. At this point, I return to the initial question: Was Catholicism absent in the Buenos Aires Enlightenment? Some sources (Tonda, 1952; Frizzi de Longoni, 1947) placed this period as a crucial one in the secularization process of Argentina, mainly because of the Ecclesiastic reform. I do not ignore the relevance of such reform regarding the analysis of institutional secularization. However, I aim to focus on education as the interplay between the pastorate and the government.

During the 1820s the government of Buenos Aires assumed for the first time pastorate functions oriented to shape a republican citizen somehow independent from the Church with its own civic rights and duties. For example, the relevance given to the external devotion of citizens, the May Pyramid described as a “civic” temple, and a notion of agency that continues the Spanish monarchical one depict how Catholic ingredients previously attached to Spanish Catholicism were reenacted as specific pedagogical principles in the narratives of the enlightened Argentinean republic. In such process, Catholicism did not disappear but reassembled in pedagogical principles with republican narratives.

Republican awards can be understood as a pastoral technique enacted by the republican government. The emerging republican pastorate shifted the subjectivation process—the ways to become a citizen of the people in Buenos Aires. The republican ultimate goal was no more the attainment of heaven but the social advancement of the Republic. The Republic started to require individuals who were able go beyond the will of the Church. The selfless service to the republic was the key condition to becoming a citizen. The citizen should worship the Republic as a deity and republicanism was depicted as a salvific Decalogue with notions of morality, industry, and hard work that were the new salvific path to achieve republican holiness. To a large degree, the intersection of religious narratives lent its salvific narratives to republicanism.

In similar ways, the emergence of national festivities reenacted notions from Spanish Catholicism in the narratives of the Argentinean republicanism. For example, the relevance given to the external devotion of citizens, the May Pyramid described as a “civic” temple, and a notion of agency that continues the Spanish monarchical one, depict how Catholic ingredients previously attached to Spanish Catholicism were reenacted in the narratives of the nascent Argentinean Republic.

Republican narratives acquired salvific connotations and also changed the public space in Buenos Aires. The façade of the Cathedral of Buenos Aires is a profound example of such an assemblage

that included ruptures and continuities. A Pantheon façade with twelve columns, a tall portico, and a triangular pediment on the top signals represented a shift from previous Hispanic monarchical tradition. However, the fact that the government selected the Cathedral of Buenos Aires—the core of Catholicism—as a place to build the republican neoclassical façade that would become a national memorial of Argentinean independence is significant as an example of syncretism between Catholicism, previous Bourbon regalistic doctrines, and the emerging republicanism.

The installation in Argentina of a *laic* culture formed in the streams of the Enlightenment was not in rupture with Catholicism but from its intellectual censorship (Chiaramonte 1989, p. 116). It is worth noting that in such processes, Catholicism was also redefined. The scope of the ecclesiastic reform that Rivadavia enacted in 1822 is an example of such reorganization. In sum, enlightenment narratives were crucial to forge this new experience, but Catholicism was a necessary ingredient that shaped the possibilities and limits of the enlightened Argentinean republican citizen.

## Chapter Four

### Institutional Secularization and how Catholicism Became Part of the 'Ideal' Argentinean Citizen

The State has the obligation to educate citizens,  
not to educate Jews or Catholics (Wilde, 1884, p.633).

This chapter examines how, during the wave of institutional secularization in the late nineteenth century, Catholic narratives became part of the Argentinean republican citizen. My research aims to make visible the productive role religious elements had in the so called secular or liberal period of the Argentinean history. My analysis suggests that the institutional banning of Catholicism from schools did not necessarily provoke the disappearance of salvific narratives understood as cultural principles that order salvation here on Earth. On the contrary, religious narratives were reinserted through education—educational laws, school practices, and curriculum,—as salvific narratives in the shaping of the Argentinean citizen. Hence, this chapter shows how in education, Catholicism as a cultural practice did not disappear with the institutional secularization of Argentina but was reassembled in pedagogical principles shaping modern notions of the seemingly secular Argentinean republican citizen. This recycling of religious narratives is not surprising. As Anderson suggested, the nation building process “has to be understood by aligning it, not with self-consciously held political ideologies, but with the large cultural systems that preceded it, out of which -as well as against which- it came into being”(Anderson, 2006, p. 12).

The chapter analyzes several events from the second half of the nineteenth century. From 1829 to 1852, Juan Manuel de Rosas, a caudillo from Buenos Aires, ruled the Argentinean Confederation. Rosas was a strong leader with a conservative ideology backed by the lower classes. During his tenure, Rosas, with a nationalistic discourse, reduced European influence and even successfully fought against

military interventions from France and England. After decades of civil wars between Rosas' party (*federales*) and liberals (*unitarios*), Rosas was defeated in the battle of Caseros (1852). The liberal party assumed government and immediately promulgated a republican constitution inspired by the Constitution of the United States. After decades of civil wars, the Constitution was designed to frame a process of national organization. The liberal forging of the country emphasized exportation of food commodities (cattle and grain), European immigration, and compulsory elementary education to mold the 'Argentinean' citizen.

***The Republican Constitution (1853) and the ideal European citizen***

In America everything that is not European is barbarian.

(Juan Bautista Alberdi, 1852)

I explore the Argentinean citizen in the light of the European immigrant in the nascent Constitution since the role of the European immigrant somehow shaped the Constitutional debate about who the Argentinean citizen should be. Juan Bautista Alberdi was a key political figure in such a debate who believed in Europe as a political model to imitate. Alberdi, a distinguished political theorist was called "the father of the Argentine Constitution" (Schulman, 1948) and wrote the famous *Bases and Starting Points for the Political Organization of the Argentine Republic (1852)*, a book that included a preliminary project for the new Constitution. European immigration was highly encouraged in the Argentinean Constitution:

The Federal Government shall encourage European immigration, and shall not restrict, limit or obstruct by taxation of any kind the entrance into Argentine territory of foreigners ... ("Sole Chapter," 1853, p. 105).

The promotion of the European immigration had embedded ideas of the good society and the good citizen. These ideas were moral categories related to religious notions. Alberdi states:

How would the vivifying spirit of the European civilization arrive to our soil? Just, as in all the epochs: Europe will bring us its new spirit, its industrial habits, its civilizing practices through the immigrants that Europe would send us ... .Each European who comes to our shores brings us more civilization in his ways of being, which he will then pass on to our people, more than many philosophical tomes. Perfection which is not seen or personally touched is poorly understood. A working example is the most edifying catechism (Alberdi, 1852, chap. 15).

In this vision of the ideal citizen, the European immigrant was described with salvific connotations. A salvific narrative was embedded within the notion of the European immigrant. Europe was seen as the vivifying spirit. In fact, the vivifying spirit is a Christian way of naming the Holy Spirit. The European immigrant was described as a living catechism, a subject/individual who, as the ideal citizen, had the mission of spreading civilizing way of being. If millions of European immigrants came to civilize the Argentinean wild pampas, Argentina would experience an outstanding progress. Even the cult of saints, something engrained very deeply in the Argentinean sensitivity, was deployed to highlight the value of the European immigrant. Alberdi tackles the nationality of Catholic saints:

Foreigners are the saints in our altars, and our believing people kneel daily before these worthy foreign [European] saints, who never stepped on the soil of America, nor spoke Spanish. St. Edward, St. Thomas, St. Gallen, St. Ursula, St. Margaret, and many other Catholic saints, were English, and were foreign to our nation and our language (Alberdi, 1852, chap. 14).

As the Catholic ritual established with the saints, people should kneel in front of the European immigrants. At the same time, this grid of narratives that sacralized the European immigrant as the perfect citizen was accompanied by a strong stigmatization of everything that was deemed local or native, like the gaucho or the Indian. All the local elements or traditions were considered barbarian and were barred from the qualities of the ideal Argentinean citizen. Only the European immigrant through his living example would convert the indocile gaucho into industrious citizens.

Not surprisingly, over decades, the increasing number of immigrants who arrived to Argentinean shores was a sign of political success and national pride. Embedded within this immigration process that aimed to populate and to civilize the wild Argentina was also an economic rationality. The exportation of crops and cattle would be only possible at a massive scale if the infinite landscape of the Argentinean pampas were able to produce it. Hence, the European immigrants would bring the civilization and economic progress that the native indocile gauchos and Indians lacked.

***Sarmiento, the National Educational Law and Civilization and Barbarism***

Are we Europeans? So many brown faces deny us!

Are we indigenous? Smiles of contempt of our blond ladies give us

perhaps the only answer.

Mixed? Nobody wants to be, and there are thousands that neither

Americans nor Argentineans would want to be called.

Are we a nation? Nation without an amalgam of accumulated

materials, unadjusted and, without foundation?

Argentines? To what extent and for how long it is good to be aware of it<sup>27</sup> (Sarmiento, 1883, vol. 37 p. 27).

In the mid-1880s the social atmosphere was convoluted since most of the same politicians who were the ones who promoted pro-immigrant policies started to recognize the increasing dangers regarding national cohesion. Those raising fears confirm Strath's idea (2000) that "identity thus becomes a problem when there is no feeling of cohesion or community, and this is particularly the case in situations of crisis and turbulence" (p. 20). In the midst of this situation, the national government proposed at the beginning of the 1880s an educational law that triggered one of the most interesting debates in Argentinean history, a debate about Argentinean identity.

The national law of education (Law 1420) was another milestone that shaped the Argentinean citizen. The Argentinean 1420 Law clearly resembles the French law that established the laic, free and mandatory education passed by Jules Ferry (1882) and the Belgium law of 1879 that withdrew all state support to Catholic primary schools in Belgium. Regarding the 1420 Law, dozens of studies have been conducted from Catholic and secular perspectives. However, most of the previous studies approach the 1420 Law as a war between two clear cut armies: the Liberals vs. the Catholics (Auza, 1975; Campobassi, 1961). Such institutional lenses shed light upon the role of key actors such as Estrada, the spokesman of Catholics, and Wilde, the liberal Secretary of Education who was a well-known physician. Nevertheless, such institutional approaches also cloud the analysis of a vast array of complexities. The legislators argued whether or not Catholicism was the bonding element of Argentinean national identity.

---

<sup>27</sup> The quotation starts Sarmiento's famous book *Conflict and Harmonies of Races in America* (1883). Sarmiento dedicated this book to his friend, the American educator Horace Mann.

After a tremendous debate, the Parliament approved the 1420 Law that established the mandatory, free, and secular primary education. The debate around the famous 1420 Law was one of the cornerstones of the Argentinean nation building process. Certainly, the legacy of the establishment of a mandatory, free, and secular primary education shaped generations of Argentineans. In order to analyze the ways in which the 1420 contributes to Argentinean narratives of the good citizen, I focus my analysis on Sarmiento's contributions to the debate and his most famous motto: *civilization and/or barbarism*. In the establishing of a national imaginary, Sarmiento, President of Argentina (1868-1874) had a relevant role establishing a dichotomy between the civilized European ideals represented by the metropolitan Buenos Aires and the barbarian pampas ruled by caudillos. His influence is so bold that even today his ideas shape the political debate (Svampa, 1994).

In the debate over the 1420 Law, Sarmiento claimed that a state religion can never act as a nation-building element. He asked, "In the nineteenth century can we establish the union of people on the unity of belief?" (Sarmiento, 1895, vol. 48 p.377). He pointed out that only Islam, through death and oppression, was able to establish a state based upon a religious belief. Sarmiento even states that the Inquisition was founded to establish the union of a nation through a stated religion. Along the same lines, Sarmiento believed that a religion taught by schools was synonymous with barbarism:

In Prussia, Sweden, Norway and Boston, where prevail the Reformed churches, from a hundred people, ninety-seven percent receive civil and religious instruction. In Italy, the center of churches that continued the old tradition, according to the last census, the number of children not attending schools is seventy-three percent (Sarmiento, 1895, vol. 38 p.333).

The most advanced countries show the extent to which a state religion acts against progress and civilization. Immediately, Sarmiento said that Caesar was not the state but the people, the father that pays taxes and not the Catholic Church.

In a different way, Sarmiento also described the case of the United States. In his response, he made a detailed narrative of the foundation of Maryland. He described how Lord Baltimore, a devout Catholic, was expelled from Virginia, which still had a state religion. So when he finally settled in Maryland he established in its constitution the freedom of all Christian denominations and forbade any preference of a religion among the others. Through this story, Sarmiento states that such arrangement was accepted by Catholic bishops and Fathers in Maryland. Hence, while Catholicism inaugurated tolerance and progress in North America, introducing Catholicism as a mandatory religion in public schools would inaugurate intolerance and barbarism in Argentina. Sarmiento rejected Catholicism as a state religion and his perspective eventually was the one supported by Parliament.

In spite of his secularist rhetoric, religious narratives are embedded in Sarmiento's civilizing claim. In fact, although Sarmiento fiercely critiqued the church intervention in the public school, he deployed the power of religious narratives with superb mastery. Interestingly, Sarmiento describes himself as a Christian believer. He even wrote a "prayer book" about the life of Jesus Christ for schools student's that was very used in Chile. However, his understanding of religion was somehow contrary to the institutional hierarchy of the Catholic Church. Sarmiento linked the institutional Catholic Church practices to an old fashion and womanly oriented practice. All through his speeches and books, Sarmiento constantly made use of religious images and symbols to express his ideas. For example, while inaugurating a famous park in Buenos Aires he says, "I would like to hear that the people in every town of the territory instinctively says (after contemplating the advantageous of progress-railroads, factories, schools): Here passed the vivifying breathe of the Nation" (Sarmiento, 1900, p. 198). The connotations

of (Espiritu Vivificador/Vivificante) are critical in understanding Sarmiento's discourse. In the example, Sarmiento uses the religious image of the Holy Spirit, as vivifying breath, to describe civilization and its effects in the space. He uses the symbol of the Holy Spirit to describe his understanding of civilization. The railroad would represent the *saving* civilized movement (Amante & Jitrik, 2012, p.256).

Sarmiento was arguably the Argentinean author who most poignantly and effectively articulated a liberal political project with salvific narratives in the Latin American scenario. The motto “civilization or barbarism” that he popularized transcended him and nowadays, still is a source of public debate. Many authors have studied the famous motto from different perspectives<sup>28</sup>. Paradoxically, I believe that Sarmiento’s famous motto should be analyzed via the religious rhetoric, specifically through the biblical Jeremiad rhetoric. In his famous motto, I argue that Sarmiento pushed to the extremes the biblical Jeremiad rhetoric.

As a discursive form, the Jeremiad (Bercovitch, 1978) has its origins in the old testament prophets. The prophets, who had a direct mission from God, were sent to Israel to call for repentance usually because Israelites worshipped foreign gods. The jeremiad implies an emancipating destiny or a dangerous one if not accomplishing the redeeming “reformation” demanded by God. The Old Testament prophets announced military defeats, persecutions and slavery if people do not convert to God. In the United States, “the New England Puritan inherited the jeremiad as a traditional mode of denunciation ... The New England Puritans proceeded to reconfigure this homiletic genre, in a striking reinvention of tradition, as a vehicle of their worldly mission” (Bercovitch, 2012, p. 8). Sarmiento did not invent the Jeremiad in Argentina. As I pointed out in the chapter 2, several Catholic Fathers enacted the Jeremiad rhetoric after the May revolution. Fray Pedro Luis Pacheco or Fray Pantaleon Garcia enacted

---

<sup>28</sup> See Starobinski (1993) who makes a conceptual history of the term civilization in France.

In Argentina, Pablo Ansolabehere (2012) poignantly describes in his chapter “*Escrituras de la Barbarie*” the scope of Sarmiento’s motto.

Scavino D. (1993) in his book *Barcos sobre la Pampa* describes the dichotomies of Sarmiento from his understanding of the bodies of the caudillo and the city.

the Jeremiad rhetoric in republican coding. However, their understanding of the Jeremiad was still linked to Catholic values. Those Jeremiads could be read as *if we are loyal to God, the Republic would flourish otherwise the Spanish king would enslave us again*. Hence, the Jeremiads were linked to Catholic morality. Sarmiento with his civilization and barbarism somehow completed the displacement of the Jeremiad rhetoric from the Catholic preaching setting to the republican sphere.

In Sarmiento's motto there is not an explicit series of commands to follow as in the classic Jeremiad. However, Sarmiento had the ability to comprise all the "good" commands in the word *civilization* understood as progress, schools, libraries, and culture (Sarmiento, 1868, v. 49, 283). Boston was the epitome and beacon of civilization,

The pioneer city of the modern world, the Zion of the ancient Puritans (...) the brain of the United States, the Chair of science, and the Cenacle from which they depart apostles of democracy, to bring to the Mid-West, the practice and the spirit of free institutions (Sarmiento, 1885, vol. 29 p. 71).

The salvific aura once attributed to Catholicism or the Spanish king became part of the civilizing narratives. At the same time, Sarmiento combined all the disgraces announced through the Old Testament prophets in the term *barbarian* understood as tyranny, beheading, and brut caudillos. Just as the disgraces of Israel in the Old Testament were linked to being conquered by pagan's kings, the new modern pagans were the enemies of civilization. With Sarmiento, civilization "took on a sacred aura, owing to which it could sometimes reinforce traditional religious values and at other times supplant them" (Starobinski, 1993, p. 17). In Argentina, religious narratives became part of the civilizing discourses. At the same time, the radicalism of the discursive logic indicated a dreadful future if civilization was not revered.

The double gesture of salvific narratives brought with itself a religious dogmatism that emerged as a dichotomy<sup>29</sup>. Sarmiento constantly announced the tyranny of Rosas or the absolute chaos if people did not adhere to the civilizing faith. As Starobinski pointed out, “a term fraught with sacred content demonizes its antonym. Once the word civilization ceases to denote a fact subject to judgment and becomes an incontestable value, it enters the verbal arsenal of praise and blame” (Idem, p.17). Sarmiento pushed to the maximum that Jeremiad’s dogmatism through his motto “civilization or barbarism.”

Sarmiento’s jeremiad portrayed “reality” with a binary logic in which the real looks like a black and white photo without allowing any tone of gray in the picture. The binary rationality of salvific narratives describes the two possible paths to follow always as a life or death crossroad. In the above example, civilization has all the power while the citizen’s role was just to contemplate and to venerate the ‘saving’ effects of civilization. Sarmiento’s depiction of civilization as a saving force able to transform the fruitless Argentinean land into an orchard and Sarmiento’s motto are two examples of how religious narratives became part of the Argentinean debate about citizenry.

### ***The Public School as the Civilizing Temple***

Sarmiento assured that the secular public school was the source of civilization and as such the end of barbarism. The solution that he supported to end with the barbarian was public instruction. Sarmiento claimed that without public instruction, all the vices of the current generations would continue forever in Argentina (Sarmiento, 1895, vol. 38 p.51). Therefore, public instruction and the school had the crucial role in civilizing the citizen. These thousands of immigrants who came from the most distant places of the earth should become Argentinean citizens in the public schools. Therefore, the role of the school in the forging of national identity was crucial. In a country in which immigrants

---

<sup>29</sup> Shumway (1993) analyzes the implications of the divisive ideological legacy left by Sarmiento.

were constantly arriving without any knowledge of the country, its language or its law, the school would be the space to shape an Argentinean national identity. Schooling would become the key to progress and civilization and the target of Sarmiento's efforts. In fact, during his presidency, the educational subsidies from the central government to the provinces quadrupled (Rock, 1985, p.130).

The way Sarmiento envisioned the public school can be analyzed through a religious lens. In 1845, Sarmiento was commissioned by the government of Chile to examine primary schools and teacher training schools in Europe. Describing the *Ecole normal* at Versailles where Sarmiento visited, he states, "[Schools] are certainly these other convents of our time in which [teachers] get prepared to become the poor and humble apostle of civilization, destined to bring the light of instruction to all remote extremities of the state"(p.146). As Sarmiento later explains, these normal schools aimed to keep prospective teachers away from the distractions of the world. The goal of such separation from the world was to prepare the candidates with a "different" spirit. As Ian Hunter (1994) pointed out the modern Argentinean school drew upon Christian 'spiritual discipline' to govern the self. The school and the teacher will enact this pastoral relation between the teacher and the student.

Beyond the borders of the convent, everything was wild, dangerous, and sinful. Like the monasteries during the medieval age, the normal schools were understood as fortresses against the sinfulness, now ignorance, of the modern world. The religious rationality describes how the school was understood as a church within the wild and barbarian people. The teacher was the civilizing apostle, and the attitudes of the prospective teacher articulated as poverty and humility had ascetic resemblances. These meek civic apostles were the ones that would bring the light of civilization and eventually supersede the barbarian forces.

The Jeremiad rhetoric and the way the "secular" public school was envisioned are examples that illustrate the extent to which the institutional secularization in the 1880s did not eliminate Catholicism

as an element in the making of the Argentinean citizen. In fact, Catholic salvific narratives started to appear, not only linked to the institutional Catholic Church, but also embedded within the public debate—*civilization and barbarism*- and the mission of the Argentinean public school.

In the debate about the institutional secularization the key element of salvation previously linked to the Catholic Church was reenacted into the 'secular' public school narratives that would be able to forge Argentinean citizens from a vast array of immigrants with different nationalities. Sarmiento explained how the public school would have the role of instilling the Argentinean national identity. Following the United States case Sarmiento stated:

In the United States neither are a common religion nor a common language the binding elements of the nation, since in the United States it is spoken and taught German; not even the race is the bond of union of that Babel of people, (...) but the public school without special religion is the cauldron in which the soul of the American people is made (Sarmiento, 1895, vol. 48, p. 378).

Sarmiento explained how the public school has a crucial role forging citizenship. As soon as the public school was imbued with the power to mold the Argentinean citizen, the role and status of the Argentinean public school would rise dramatically. Significantly, the public school started to become entangled with salvific narratives. As Wilde, the Secretary of Education, states:

Mandatory education, free education and secular education are things that perfectly amalgamate each other; those ideas necessarily and reciprocally need themselves. Such trinity cannot be destroyed and the whole system fails every time that one of those elements is changed (Debates parlamentarios, 1884, p. 975).

Interestingly, the new intersection of ideas about Argentinean public education--mandatory education, free education, and secular education were embedded within a salvific narrative in a very Catholic 'style'. The new public school emerged as a "holy" secular trinity that would save the Argentinean child. The categorical emphasis of the language that described the absolute importance of each feature in order to construct the public school had a clear Catholic dogmatic tone. Following Wilde, not even one element of this new trinity can be changed without the risk of a total collapse.

### ***The Argentinean National Curriculum and its Catholic Religious Features***

The Argentinean flavor of the curriculum for public schools was very peculiar. While arguing against the special schools for foreigners, Sarmiento states:

We [the Argentineans] educate as the North American, Mann; the German, Froebel; and the Italian, Pestalozzi had taught us. ... We make the students learn in a *rational* [My Italics] way everything that today is being taught in the well-organized schools all around the world (Sarmiento, 1895, vol. 36p. 56).

How could such an affirmation be possible in the midst of a debate about the ideal *Argentinean* citizen? At this point, I have to introduce an epistemological detour to explain Sarmiento's statement and the legislative debate that established the free, mandatory and secular education in Argentina. The debate about Argentinean identity was essentially an epistemological struggle between two different, though related, understandings of scientific truth. As Daston and Galison explain, in their book *Objectivity* (2007), since the second half of the nineteenth century, the scientific truth was deemed universal, abstract, and, opposed to any subjective or individual connotation. The legislative debate showed the extent to which the rationality that supported secular education was embedded in such ideas, so common since the second half of nineteenth century. The scientific truth was deemed 'objective'. In

those years “...to know objectively was to suppress subjectivity” (Daston, 2007, p.210). Such objectivity was proportional to the self-restraint of the scientist in the scientific search for the truth. Aligned with those ideals, Sarmiento was able to describe how the Argentinean public school was ‘rational’ because nothing from the local or subjective domain was included in the Argentinean public school. Sarmiento’s quotation is just a faithful example of the feigned objectivity applied to educational policy.

In Argentina, the epistemic shift that favored scientific objectivity dethroned Catholicism as the truth-maker, decrying religious truth as subjective and biased. As Wilde explains, “...the ideas that should be taught in schools must be universal in their present fashion, and no church is universal, no matter that all the churches tend to be universal” (Debates parlamentarios, 1904, p. 633). During the epistemological struggle, Catholicism started to be considered as the epitome of subjectivism, partiality, and deception. Wilde express during the legislative debate, “...the state obligation to instruct for social purposes is filled with teaching what is true in all the arts and for all men providing universal knowledge” (Debates parlamentarios, 1904, p. 633). However, it is interesting to note that a Catholic style of thinking appeared embedded in the “secular” narratives that were describing the characteristics of this new form of scientific truth called objectivity.

Although the Catholic Church has no “official” philosophy of her own, *Fides et Ratio*, the philosophical encyclical letter of Jon Paul II, signaled what was already well-known in the Catholic environment. Without hesitation, St. Thomas Aquinas can be regarded as the apostle of the Catholic truth. John Paul II states, “The realism of Thomas could recognize the objectivity of truth and produce not merely a philosophy of “what seems to be” but a philosophy of “what is” (1998, sec. 44). Catholic realism shapes an epistemology with specific features. Such epistemology states the universality of human spirit (Ibid, sec. 72). Catholic epistemology also establishes that the same essence or idea of man is present in all human beings no matter their birthing culture. Another principle that derives from the

first one is that such essence of the human spirit can be discovered by any human normal intelligence, no matter its previous culture. Along the same lines but from a different perspective Žižek places the Christian origins of modern universalisms in Saint Paul's theological views. He explains how the notion of Christian universalism has its source in Saint Paul's quote "There are no men or women, no Jews and Greeks" (2001, p. 143), in opposition to the previous Jewish exclusivist notion of the Chosen People. If there are no men and women or any other distinction there are just humans, all the people share an ontological equality. In Argentina, Sarmiento explained that there is a universal human model to educate in a rational way.

The establishment of one set of ethical rules for everyone is doable only through an understanding that people from different cultures share a similar essence. In sum, Catholicism, broadly conceived, states a theological universalism that there is only one human nature, and any human intelligence is able to know such essence. Those premises are still the base of Catholic anthropology and ethics and were widespread in Latin America through several religious orders. A different outcome happened in many European countries in which different evangelical confessions (Shilling, 1988) helped to forge national identities, in Argentina the universalism of Catholicism was not somehow limited by the emergence of competing confessions. Therefore, Catholic universalism was able to maintain its original scope, and later became a relevant ingredient of the narratives that shaped the Argentinean citizen. Interestingly, France, another country in which Catholicism had a strong cultural importance and experienced a fierce institutional secularization, also enacted a comprehensive understanding of citizenry.

In Argentina, Jesuits had a relevant role, since they were in charge of spreading Counter Reformation orthodoxy and religious revival in Latin America. They arrived to Argentina in 1581 and the

Jesuits founded the first Argentinean University in Cordoba (1613) and several prestigious schools all around the country. The Catholic universalism underlies their efforts founding several missions—also known as *reducciones* for Indians-- in the north east of the country. The history of the Jesuits in Argentina is also plagued with controversy. In fact, they were expelled several times from the country in different historical periods. However, their legacy as well-prepared defenders of Catholic orthodoxy is not under discussion. Through their academic training and their work at schools and universities, Jesuits became reliable prophets of Catholicism. Although it is difficult to trace the scope of their influence, Jesuits had a role spreading Catholic orthodoxy in areas such as science, anthropology, and politics.

Interestingly, in analyzing the Parliamentary debate, I found traits of such Catholic universalism embedded within the rationality of the seculars during the debate. For example, while explaining the curricular subjects that should be included in the school curriculum, Wilde said “The ideas that should be taught in schools should be universal” (*Debates parlamentarios*, 1904, p. 633). Within that rationality, arithmetic and geometry were the sciences *par excellence* because they are universal, abstract and accessible for a normal intelligence.

The teaching of arithmetic, for example, is teaching of the whole world; the teaching of geometry is possible wherever men exist, because its truths are, I will say, modalities of human intelligence, but the teaching of religion is not the same case, it can be rejected by dissidents on behalf of different beliefs ... .For a normal man’s intelligence there is only one arithmetic and one geometry, but several religions (*Debates parlamentarios*, 1904, p. 633).

As Wilde expressed during the debate, science was described as something self-evident that everybody without biases could not reject (Wilde, 1899, p. 56). Such ontological characteristics previously attached to Catholic epistemology emerged reinserted as features of the new scientific truth, objectivity. Nevertheless, that objectivity was born of observation and analysis of facts. The power that objectivity enacted as the only absolute truth – *only* one arithmetic and one geometry – very much resembles the dogmatism present in Catholic epistemology. Paradoxically, as Catholic epistemology once considered that the same essence (universals) was possible to be grasped by different men, now objectivity proclaimed that the ‘rational’ was at hand for all normal intelligence.

In sum, the universality and realism that used to be characteristic of Catholic thinking appears in the notion of science, understood as objective and accessible to all minds. Such Catholic insertion into what was the rationality assigned to scientific objectivity allowed Sarmiento to state that Argentineans were to be educated in the *only* one way possible: a rational one. The epistemological shift showed how, in the Argentinean debate, the Catholic universalistic premises moved to a modern notion of scientific truth. Ultimately, this shift was not as divergent as expected, and contained consistent overtones of Catholic universalism.

### ***Catholicism, Nation Building and Educational Practices in Buenos Aires’ Schools***

In 1889, two educational laws from Buenos Aires tackled issues of citizenship in public schools. The educational laws are interesting examples of how Catholic narratives were reinserted in the making of the Argentinean ‘secular’ citizen. Although I refer to the laws, my aim is not to belabor the laws but their underpinning rationality and, in particular, how a Catholic style of thinking allowed the Argentinean legislators to shape those patriotic education laws. The nation building rituals of the Argentinean Republic wanted to integrate the individual soul to a worldly nation-state, not to the

universal holy mother church. However, in such shift from the church to the state, salvific narratives previously presented in Catholicism were reenacted in the ways the national rituals were legislated. The first law required that all students sing the Argentinean National Hymn in Argentinean schools, and the second law stated that all students should participate in the ceremony of the raising of the Argentinean flag in the schools on national holidays. During the legislative debate, some legislators opposed the second law, claiming that was ridiculous and against the individual freedom of immigrants to compel them to participate in the Argentinean flag ceremony.

Eventually, the Parliament approved both laws, but the interesting element to analyze is the religious rationality used to defend those nation-building educational laws. Senator Hernandez, who was the sponsor of both laws states during the legislative debate: "All countries in the world have a state religion; however, we [Argentineans] do not have more religion than our homeland! In our country, there is freedom to practice all religions, all creeds, but it is not allowed to profess other foreign patriotic beliefs" (Buenos Aires, 1889, v.18, p. 82). Later, Hernandez concludes "As legislators, we make a very good job kindling the Argentinean nationhood feeling, which is the only religion we have to profess and to impose on people" ( p. 83). In the institutional secularization process, Argentinean republicanism was made into a "religion," reinserting a specific Catholic dogmatic emphasis. As Catholicism was previously enforced with Indians during the Spanish domination, Argentinean Republicanism should be imposed on immigrants. Catholic dogmatism appeared reinserted in the narratives about Argentinean republicanism. Paradoxically, a few years after the institutional secularization of public education that triggered a whole debate about individual freedom of conscience, the narratives about the Argentinean citizen appeared to be linked with a strong Catholic dogmatization emphasis. Argentinean republicanism was understood as a religion that the state should impose in and on citizens, no matter their prior citizenship.

Catholicism also was rearticulated in other school practices in Argentina. In 1900, on the 7<sup>th</sup> of July, two days before the Argentinean Independence Memorial, the Catholic cult of the saints was reassembled in Argentinean schools. Paradoxically, Sarmiento, the secular speaker, was the protagonist of the civic hagiography. The morning of July 7<sup>th</sup>, for the first time, more than 1,200 students went in patriotic pilgrimage to visit the statue of the new saint, Sarmiento. In the solemn event, the students put flowers on the memorial; teachers and principals made laudatory speeches about the “great apostle of the popular education” (El Monitor, 1900, p.333), and even a choir of students with an orchestra of more than thirty musicians sang a hymn to Sarmiento. Catholic narratives, again, were present since the inception of a national pantheon. In the shaping of the national pantheon schooling would have a crucial role (Bertoni, 2001).



Schools of the 8<sup>th</sup> district visiting the Memorial to Sarmiento.

*Figure 5: Caras & Caretas Magazine, July 1900*

Today, more than a century later, every eleventh of September, in commemoration of the death of Sarmiento, students in the public schools of Buenos Aires sing a hymn to Sarmiento. The hymn says,

“Glory and praise! Unmatched honor for the greatest of the great, Father of the classroom, Sarmiento immortal! Glory and praise! Unmatched honor!” I am not arguing that every funeral eulogy in the period had embedded Catholic narratives. However, I do believe that Catholic narratives, in this case the Catholic cult of saints, gave intelligibility to the construction of the Argentinean national Pantheon that included Sarmiento. In *Patriotas, Cosmopolitas y Nacionalistas* (2001) Bertoni, described, through a complex historiographical process, the forging of an “invented” Argentinean republican Pantheon. Hobsbawm & Ranger (1992) defined the invention of a tradition as “a set of practices ... which seek to inculcate certain values and norms of behavior by repetition, which automatically implies continuity with the past.” (p. 3). The Catholic sensibility that was used with the cult of saints helped to shape the dispositions of people towards these republican heroes. In such a process, the yearly school celebrations honoring Sarmiento is an example of the key role the mass school had in constructing the Argentinean soul.

### ***Conclusion***

Many studies have problematized the idea that institutional secularization played a definite role regarding nation building (Tröhler, 2011; Gorski, 2003; Hamilton, 2009; Popkewitz, & Labaree, 2011). My research merges into that trend of studies that tackled religious topics to explain nation building issues. From the initial functionalistic work of Schilling that presented the influence of religion at a macro level to the recent works of Hamilton, Gorski, and Tröhler that narrow the role of religion to specific topics – curriculum, disciplinary techniques, and languages of education—there is a sound tendency to place religion at the forefront of analysis regarding national identity.

The institutional secularization process that generated the governmental banning of Catholicism from Argentinean schools did not extinguish the power of Catholicism in shaping the Argentinean

citizen. On the contrary, I believe that such institutional banning made it more 'elusive' but no less integral in shaping the Argentinean citizen. Throughout the chapter, I describe ways in which Catholic narratives were reenacted in pedagogical principles shaping the "secular" school in Argentina. First, in the Constitution a Catholic salvific narrative was ascribed to the European immigrant, understood as a living catechism. Second, the way in which Sarmiento's Jeremiad was articulated and how the public school was described as a Holy Trinity of free, secular, and mandatory education exemplified how salvific narratives shaped the emergence of the seemingly secular Argentinean citizen. Third, the rationality deployed in the two educational laws from Buenos Aires demonstrated how Argentinean republicanism was understood as a dogmatic secular religion that the state should profess and impose upon citizens. Fourth, at the curricular level, Catholic universalistic features were reassembled into curricular subjects deemed as universal and at the same time accessible to all minds. Finally, at the level of school practices, the Catholic cult of the saints became part of the civic rituals in the civic pilgrimages and the cult of the Argentinean pantheon. In sum, the above analysis suggests that Catholic traits did not disappear but were reinserted through education into the construction of the Argentinean citizen in the so called "secularization period" of Argentinean history.

I would like to end this chapter with a quotation from Borges about religion and national identity. In *"El Libro de arena"* the main characters have a short dialogue, "She asked me in a thoughtful manner: 'What is it to be Colombian?' 'I don't know,' I answered. 'It is an act of faith, As being Norwegian.' She nodded" (Borges, 1975, p. 27). The analysis of the Argentinean educational scenario at the end of the nineteenth century exemplifies the extent to which the Argentinean republican citizen was constructed within a Catholic religious style of thinking. As Borges expressed with poetic intuition, Argentinean citizenship has embedded from its inception, a religious aura that is not exclusively a catholic one. In the next chapter, I will analyze how the Jewish immigrant represents a new complexity in the intersection of religious narratives that shaped the Argentinean republican citizen.

## Chapter Five

### "Catholic" Secularism and the Jewish Gaucho in the School: The Argentinean Citizen and the Salvation Themes of Republicanism<sup>30</sup>

#### *The Anti-Argentinean Schools Controversy*

*"I would like to believe that (...) on the second centennial of Argentine independence, my children's children will hear praises of Jewish pioneers sung under the cathedral's sacred arches, after the Catholic Te Deum."(Gerchunoff, 1910, p. 132)*

In 1908 a passionate controversy pervaded the titles of Argentinean newspapers. The "Anti-Argentinean Schools" was the name editors selected to describe it. The Jewish and Russian schools were being attacked by the mainstream media and national educational authorities. The criticisms were based on the fact that such schools were being partially funded by the state and did not teach even a minimum of Argentinean instruction-Spanish language, history, geography. In the midst of this controversy the well-known Argentinean nationalist Ricardo Rojas stated: "The danger in Jewish schools comes with their fanaticism which implies the Anti-Semitic matter that happily wasn't present here [Argentina] but will emerge as soon as the immigrant's Semitic son would prefer to be a Jew instead of an Argentinean" (Rojas, 1909, p. 341). The quotation explains the extent to which Rojas attributed the whole responsibility of the Anti-Semitic matter to Jews' religious fanaticism. Throughout the chapter I argue that although at an institutional level Jewish religious heritage was perceived as a threat to Argentinean "purity" a deeper historical analysis shows how Jewish narratives shaped the grids of discourses that forged the seemingly "secular" Argentinean citizen. In this chapter, first, I provide a brief

---

<sup>30</sup> I am deeply grateful to the Mosse/Weinstein Center for Jewish Studies of the University of Wisconsin Madison for the Weinstein Distinguished Graduate Fellowship I received during 2012-2013.

historical context of the Argentinean social and political events related to immigration at the beginning of the twentieth century. Second, I describe how the Jewish Schools acted as the kaleidoscope space through which identity tensions emerged. Later, in order to explore how these tensions were perceived by Jewish immigrants, I analyze the book, *Los gauchos judíos* (1910), by the Jewish-Argentinean writer Alberto Gerchunoff. The book was a best seller with ten editions and has been translated to English and Hebrew<sup>31</sup>.

The chapter shows how opposite the roles attributed to Jewish religion were in shaping notions of citizenship in the beginning of the twentieth century. The national educational authorities and their educational journal-El Monitor- do not hesitate in describing the Jews as fanatics, incapable of being assimilated. On the other hand, Gerchunoff's book aimed to depict the everyday life of Jewish colonists and portrayed a completely different picture. Following Gerchunoff's stories, Jewish religion heritage helped to shape the Argentinean citizen. The aim of this piece is to explore how Jewish religious notions play out in the seemingly secular construction of the Argentinean school. Educational authorities claimed that Jewish narratives were incompatible with the "secular" Argentinean citizen. Throughout the chapter I problematize such assertions by arguing that the transformation of religion into secular notions of the citizen is a constant changing process. The notion of Argentinean citizen has been changing since its emergence at the beginning of the nineteenth century. Within this, different religious narratives have been playing diverse roles shaping through education the "secular" citizen in different historical moments. Central in this formation of the Argentinean citizen were Catholic salvation narratives that move into the civic realm in the making of the citizen (Gomez Caride, 2014). In this chapter I describe how religious particularities-Jewish religious discourses were connected with but gave a particular nuance in the making of the Argentinean citizen.

---

<sup>31</sup> The book is included in the list of the 100 Greatest Works of Modern Hebrew Literature established by the National Yiddish Book Center (2001).

### ***Immigration as a National Policy- To Govern is to Populate***

The Argentinean Constitution (1853) highly encouraged European immigration. The liberal policies of the end of the twentieth century focused on fostering European immigration. During decades (1860-1910), the yearly number of immigrants who arrived to Argentinean shores was a sign of political success and national pride. Behind this process was an economic rationality. The exportation of crops and cattle would be only possible at a massive scale if the infinite landscape of the Argentinean pampa was able to produce it. Hence, to fulfill this national strategy a vast increase in manpower was necessary. Between 1889-1914 over 2.5 million of immigrants arrived in Argentina (Faulk, 2008, p. 53).

A relevant layer of this national policy was the focus on schooling. These vast populations who came from the most distant places of the earth should become Argentinean citizens through public education. Therefore, the role of the school in the forging of national identity was crucial. In a country in which immigrants were constantly arriving without any knowledge of the country, its language, or its law, the school was the space to shape an Argentinean citizen.

The dream of these liberal policies was to construct a white, European, civilized Argentina. However, for several reasons, at the beginning of the twentieth century immigration's landscape drastically changed. For instance, the immigrants were not the expected and hoped for civilized Europeans but the lower illiterate classes mostly from Italy and Spain. The utopic dream of the melting pot lost its ground. In fact, in the beginning of the twentieth century national authorities were beginning to evaluate the negative social outcome of its massive immigration policies (Avni, 1991a, p. 42). In this complex environment the whole wave of Jewish immigration surpassed 100,000 Jews.

Throughout the chapter, I focus on the province of Entre Rios since it was the main province which the Jewish Colonization Association (ICA) acted upon. Entre Rios is a central province located in the Mesopotamia region. Entre Rios's subtropical weather and its almost completely flat land make the

region a worthy place for agricultural development. In the first decade of the twentieth century from a population of 435,000 about 100,000 were foreigners. In some regions of the province the foreigners were a clear majority such as in Villaguay, Genacito, Molino, etc. From those 100,000 about 10,000 were Jewish from Eastern Europe, mostly from Russia. The whole immigration process of Jewish colonies was sponsored by the ICA that in 1913 had bought about 1,432,394 acres of land (Avni, 1991a, p. 60).

The ICA was founded by Baron Hirsch in 1891. After the death of his only son he devoted his energy and fortune to improve the quality of life of the Jewry that was under attack. His aim was to create “a sort of autonomous Jewish state where our coreligionists would be protected from anti-Semitic attacks once and for all” (Avni, 1991a, p. 35). Baron Hirsch quickly realized that “the Jews of the United States, England, France, and Germany feared that the arrival of large number of impoverished and strange-looking Russian immigrants would endanger their own emancipation” (Avni, 1991a, p. 37). In addition, in 1891 Turks banned Jewish immigration to Palestine. Therefore, Argentina, a country with large extensions of land and a pro-immigration policy, appeared as the perfect choice.

### ***The Anti-Argentinean Schools and Ernesto Bavio's Report***

In 1908 Argentinean daily newspaper “*La Prensa*” titled a column called “Anti-Argentinean Schools”. A whole controversy emerged in the public opinion. The mainstream Media spread the term arguing that such schools were receiving funding from the state and not even a minimum of Spanish language was being taught. The educational magazine *El Monitor*, which was edited by national educational authorities, dedicated two articles to the topic. The first titled “*The foreign schools in Entre Rios*” affirmed that a “national political issue” was at stake. The article referred to the lack of fundamental principles of Argentinean national identity in the Jewish and Russians schools under examination. The second article (1909) had the same title but was longer with more than forty pages that tackled notions of cosmopolitanism, the role of the State, the Jewish colonization in Entre Rios, and

the work of Jewish schools. The documents and reports of such articles included voices from different actors: the national educational authorities, the educational superintendents from the province and from the Nation, Jewish colonists, the Jewish Colonial Association (ICA) and its educational superintendents.

In the region the ICA had in Entre Ríos<sup>32</sup>, the Jewish Colonial Association had 23 private schools while the province only had 3. From the 3,400 kids in ICA's region, 180 students went to province's schools and 1,450 students to Jewish schools. In these Jewish schools the majority of the students were Jewish but occasionally some sons of the Argentinean agricultural workers attended. These private schools were sponsored by the ICA that provided the building, furniture, didactic materials, teachers and even superintendents. However, the province also gave funding to those schools and this point raised the heated controversies because the Jewish schools had specific features that did not foster in their words a "teaching with national character" (Bavio E., 1908).

In the second article Juan Nissen, the General Superintendent, argued that Jewish schools should be closed for several reasons. First, Jewish schools devoted the majority of their school days to teaching Hebrew (E. Bavio, 1909, p.20). Following the report of Juan J. Nissen, in the whole school year the students had seven hours of Argentinean history instead of the fifty five required by the educational regulations. In a similar vein, students received only fourteen hours of Spanish language instead of the ninety required. Additionally, the Jewish academic calendar barely arrived to one hundred days of instruction with all the Jewish holidays-around 53. Finally, the school week running from Sunday morning to Friday noon because of the Sabbath was against the National Academic Calendar which states that on Sunday schools were supposed to be closed. In sum, officials stated that Jewish schools gave priority to Hebrew education instead of the secular or laic education fostered by the State. The

---

<sup>32</sup> In the eighty squares league of land that ICA had in Gualeguaychu, Uruguay, Colon, Villaguay y Concordia they were according to census 3400 boys that should go to school. (El Monitor, 1909, s III, p. 14)

Jewish schools favored the teaching of Hebrew, its religiosity, the ancient history and contemporary history of the Israelites (Bavio E., 1909, p. 25). Therefore, officials stated that both the Jewish and the Argentinean students attending those schools shaped a “soul totally Hebrew and mystical without any Argentinean feelings or generous instincts common in people who grow in this land of freedom [Argentina]” (Bavio E., 1909, p. 26). In fact, the superintendent mentioned that students preferred the Hebrew language rather than the Spanish one. In the Jewish schools the majority of the instruction was in Hebrew leaving behind the instruction in Spanish. Therefore, the results in Spanish language were insufficient. Following Bavio, the instruction could never be successful (1909, p31) with foreign teachers that have a weak knowledge of Spanish.

In addition, the report says that memorization was the most common method used by teachers without encouraging in students habits of observation, critical thinking or rhetoric. Besides, the rote learning approach was against the Educational Law that forbid teaching based exclusively in memorization (Bavio E., 1909, 32). The priority of Hebrew was justified by the ICA saying that the Russian colonists were extremely conservative. In Argentina, the Spanish language was the mandatory language that all the schools in Argentina should use for instruction. Within the latest pro-Hispanic nationalistic trends educational authorities believed that the appropriate medium to foster national identity was the Spanish language and without it any national education was fruitless. In this regard, Ernesto Bavio asserted “the first duty of the Argentinean elementary schools whatever the citizenship of its teachers, is to teach the country’s language that it is the most powerful bond of nationality” (Bavio E., 1909, p.599). Therefore, the instruction in Hebrew was something totally unacceptable for educational authorities. In fact, it was perceived as a threat to Argentinean nation building.

ESCUELA DE 3 MAESTROS. — EMPLEO DEL TIEMPO 1908. — 3.ª CLASE

	MAÑANA					TARDE				
	ESPAÑOL		RECREO	HEBREO		ESPAÑOL		RECREO	HEBREO	
VERANO...	8.30—9.10	9.10—9.30	9.50 — 10.10	10.10—10.50	10.50—11.30	1—1.40	1.40—2.20	2.20 — 2.40	2.40—3.20	3.20—4
INVIERNO.	9—9.35	9.35—10.10	10.10 — 10.20	10.20—10.55	10.55—11.30	12.30—1.5	1.5—1.40	1.40 — 1.50	1.50—2.25	2.25—3
Domingo.....	Lectura	I. nacional	—	Lectura	Escritura	H. nacional	Eseritura	—	Biblia	Eseritura
Lunes.....	Cálculo	Geografía	—	Biblia (gr)	Idioma	Agricultura	Costura	—	Lectura	H. sagrada
Martes.....	Lectura	I. nacional	—	»	Inst. religiosa	Lee. s/objetos	H. pos biblica	—	»	Idioma
Miércoles.....	H. nacional	Lee. s/objetos	—	»	Idioma	Geometria	Cálculo	—	»	H. sagrada
Jueves.....	I. civica	Cálculo	—	»	Inst. religiosa	Agricultura	Costura	—	Gramática	Eseritura
Viernes.....	Lectura	Eseritura	—	»	Raschi	—	—	—	—	—

Las escuelas extranjeras de Entre Ríos

Figure 6: *El Monitor de la Educación Común*, Journal (Bavio, E. 1909, p.11). The school's schedule was printed by national educational authorities and shows the activities ranging from Sunday to Friday and the bilingual approach of Hebrew and Spanish.

Some of the subjects of the national curriculum, specifically, civic education, Argentinean geography and Argentinean history were not being taught in Jewish schools. Regarding, the teaching of Spanish language, the report said that students learned more Spanish in their interactions with gauchos than in their schools. For example, different actors pointed out that the majority of the students in Jewish schools did not know the Argentinean National Anthem.

The Monitor's article that quoted the report from Angel F. Schenone, the Educational Provincial Superintendent (1908), claimed that Jews were "indolent by idiosyncrasy", "religious fanatics" and "bounded to their language"; hence he considered Jews colonists as inassimilable to the Argentinean environment (Bavio, E. 1909, p.11). In a similar vein, the Superintendent Juan Nissen states "[Jews] are adverse elements to Argentina, very different from immigrants from other countries that contribute to

our stables developments” (Bavio, E., 1909, p.13). In the same article, the Province Inspector insisted that the Jewish population was incapable of being assimilated and noncompliant to the Argentinean way of life and mores (Bavio E., 1909, p.35). In sum, from all the criticisms that Jewish schools received, their religious identity was the principal reason educational authorities used to attack them.

In the last section of the article, educational authorities propose several recommendations to ameliorate the situation. In fact, one Superintendent recommended the closing of all Jewish Schools (Bavio, E. 1909, p. 20). However, a milder solution was adopted. In order to shape “Argentinean feelings” (Bavio, E. p.39) the authorities recommended: a. Jewish religious instruction should be outside the school building; b. compulsory celebration with the singing of the National Anthem in national memorials; c. flag raising ceremony every day, d. diffusion of patriotic readings such as “Argentinean Soul” or “National events” and e. the use of an Argentinean badge during national ceremonies. In the next section, I will return to the topic of the Argentinean National Anthem.

The two articles issued by the Educational National journal describe how from an institutional perspective educational authorities were opposed to all that could be considered Jewish religious culture. The governmental approach aspired to eliminate all the singularities of the Jewish culture in favor of a homogenization that aimed to erase all kind of singularities. However, this perspective ignores the extent to which Jewish religious narratives were effectively merging within the grids of discourses that shaped Argentinean “secular” citizen. Gerchunoff’s account shows how Jewish religious narrative got assembled into “secular” notions of the Argentinean republic, and the Argentinean citizen.

Ricardo Rojas’s book *“La Restauracion Nacionalista”* (1909) is a clear example of the Argentinean nationalistic discourses that were arising in the first decade of the twentieth century. In his book, sponsored by the Secretary of Education, Rojas tackled themes of national identity and specifically he criticized the role of foreign ideas and foreign schools in Argentinean character. Regarding the Jewish

schools, Ricardo Rojas writes “one of the disadvantages of the Jewish School is that create the Jewish family and its religious culture prevent the Jewish families to melt with the rest of the families of the country” (Rojas & Rojas, 1922, p. 180). The idea of Rojas was that education was useless with such “elements.” Jewish religious practice was seen as the reason for such stubbornness.

### ***Los Gauchos Judíos***

Alberto Gerchunoff was born in Proskurov, Ukraine in 1884<sup>33</sup>. At the age of five he immigrated to Argentina with his family. His family settled in the city called Moisesville, one of the colonies sponsored by the Jewish Colonial Association (ICA). The impoverished family moved to Buenos Aires after the tragic murder of his father. In Buenos Aires, Alberto Gerchunoff rapidly excelled as a journalist and writer. His most famous book, *Los gauchos judíos*, describes through several short stories the everyday life of those first Jewish colonists with long white beards that lived in the midst of the Argentinean pampas. Gerchunoff’s book reflects the enthusiasm that these Jewish settlers had and their interactions with an entirely new environment full of challenges and opportunities.

At this point, in order to describe the extent to which religious salvific narratives silently shaped the Argentinean citizen, I change from an argument about agency and voice represented by the school authorities to one of discourse analysis. Gerchunoff is considered the founder of the Jewish Latin American writing and the founder and first president of the Argentine Writers' Association. The discourse which his “voice” I express is helpful to describe how Jewish religious narratives finely merged with “secular” discourses of the Argentinean citizen producing a different quality and nuance in the assembly of who the Argentinean citizen was. In the above section, I described how the national educational authorities perceived the Jewish colonists and specifically its religious background as an impediment to shape citizens able to respect and love Argentina. However, Gerchunoff’s stories show a

---

<sup>33</sup> See Alberto Gerchunoff in *La Nación*, (2000).

rather different perspective regarding the role of Jewish religion in the assembly of the Argentinean citizen.

*The Argentine's Passover or Zion*

The first line of the "*Los gauchos judíos*" starts with a sentence from a reading from the Passover Haggadah, "With an outreached arm the Lord delivered us from Pharaoh, in Egypt" (Gerchunoff, 1910, p. 39). The pogroms that Jewish colonists recently suffered in Russia were the "Egypt" that Jew's immigrants have experienced. Immediately after, Gerchunoff says: "Remember how, back in Russia, ye set tables to celebrate the ritual of the Passover? This [the travel to Argentina] is a greater Passover." (Gerchunoff, 1910, p. 38) Once and again the writer chooses the Passover to exemplify the situation of the Jews in Argentina. Hence, a Jewish soteriology was crucial providing intelligibility to Jews whom emigrated from Eastern Europe to Argentina. The religious Passover becomes the narrative that Gerchunoff selects to understand the colonist's journey from Russia to Argentina. Therefore, since the Passover was the journey from Russia to Argentina a whole range of expectations-later considered utopic- and feelings would arise in the subjectivity of those colonists. If Passover was their travel from Russia, Argentina became their new Promised Land, the Zion that would nurture them with care and love.

Generous is the [Argentinean] flag that succors the ancient hurts of our race, that binds its wounds with maternal care. Wandering Jews, tortured and torn, redeemed captives, let us bend the knee beneath the unfurled banner; in unison, beside choirs bejeweled by light, let us intone the song of songs that begins thus: "Hear Oh ye mortals..."[Argentinean National Anthem](Gerchunoff, 1910, p. 38)

Jewish religious discourses about the Egypt's Passover triggered in the Jewish immigrants a metamorphosis that transformed Argentina into Zion. Embedded in the stories are images that

portrayed the gratitude of Jewish immigrants toward Argentina, the Zion that gave them a land of milk and honey. Along the same lines, in 1910 Juan Alsina, the Argentinean Immigration Chief, ended his post at the Immigration Office. As a way to thank Alsina's work the Jewish community in Argentina gave him a gold medallion and an album with thousands of congratulatory messages. The cover of the album shows a wandering Jew offering up his offspring to the Republic.



Figure 7: The Jewish Hope, (Avni, 1991b, p. 50)

In the above picture Argentina is portrayed as Zion, the fertile land that with its inspiring sun was receiving the laborious Jew immigrants. The sacred figure—an angel representing the Republic is at the same time comforting the elder and showing the route to the new Zion. The image resembles-- from the book of Genesis the sacrifice of Isaac with the angel comforting Abraham. Argentina is represented through Jewish religious images as the new Zion that would nurture the Jews with its fertile lands.

In another story called *The New Immigrants*, Gerchunoff describes how the old Jews colonists were waiting in the train station of the city the arrival of the new colonists,

Everyone in the crowd relived the morning of departure from the Czar's cruel empire and the day of arrival in the Promised Land, in the Jerusalem extolled in sermons and acclaimed in leaflets whose Russian verses, printed under the portrait of Baron Hirsch, praised the excellence of the soil:

*To Palestine and to the Argentine,*

*We'll go, to sow,*

*We'll go, brothers and friends,*

*To live and be free...*(Gerchunoff, 1910, p. 58)

Suddenly, Argentina was coupled with Palestine as the holy land of Hebrew history. Its soil and freedom made it the new Zion, the announced Jerusalem in the rabbinic preaching. Argentina acquiring features of the Promised Land is a theme that was already present through Catholic narratives. In the nascent Argentinean republic (1810-1830) the Promised Land shaped the grids of discourses of the Argentinean republic (Carranza, 1907). Hence, the theme of Argentina as a salvific space was already incorporated in the narratives of the "secular" republic. However, in this case the Jewish "sacralization" of Argentina has a new nuance. In the Jewish tradition Zion is at the same time a holy place and a real city. On the contrary, in the Catholic tradition the Promised Land is a super natural space beyond the earthly life—the heaven. Hence, from a Catholic perspective the Promised Land is always a future project—an eschatological reality never fully achieved in the earth.

By pointing out Argentina as the new Zion—the Jewish tradition shaped an even bolder sacralization of the Argentinean republic. Argentina was the *actual* Zion for Jew's colonists. The Jewish

religious tradition of Zion helped to give even more gleam to the Argentinean exceptionalism that although already secularized, ironically, came from Catholic narratives.<sup>34</sup>

*The Archetypical Jewish Farmer*

During the early 20<sup>th</sup> century the Zionist movement fostered all around the world the stereotype of the Jewish farmer and his virtues. In the chapter in which Gerchunoff describes the genesis of the Jewish immigration to Argentina he claims,

In Spain, Jews stopped tilling the earth and shepherding their flocks. Do not forget, my dear rabbi, what it says in Zeroim, the first book of the Mischnais, about life on the land: It alone is wholesome and worthy of God's grace. That's why, when Rabbi Zadock Kahn informed me about immigration to Argentina, I forgot the return to Zion in the midst of my joy, and remembered the words of Yehudah Halevi: Zion is wherever peace and happiness reign. (Gerchunoff, 1910, p. 43)

During thousands of years Jewish religious tradition praised the austere and graceful life of those who live of their flocks and harvest. Baron Hirsch believed that the Jewish renaissance would come through the work on the land (Elkin, 2011, p. 107). The above quotation describes that the reason for the Jewish expulsion from Spain was that Jews stopped their farming activities. One of the ICA goals was to "accomplish the moral and physical regeneration of the Jews through agricultural labor" (Elkin, 1980, p. 127). In fact, for Baron Maurice de Hirsch international migration provided the means to foster the Jewish regeneration. Argentina provided an atmosphere of infinite pampas and religious tolerance that allowed the fulfillment of such dreams. Gerchunoff's narratives about the sacredness of the pastoral life intersected perfectly with the narratives about the ideal of pastoral life that the emerging Hispanic

---

<sup>34</sup> United States is another example of how salvific connotations (Bercovitch, 1978) moved to national narratives. In the United States, with even a bigger wave of Jewish immigrants, the American exceptionalism—the new Zion rhetoric although combined with a Calvinistic frame is even stronger and more resilient than in Argentina.

nationalistic movement was looking for, a peaceful and laborious immigrant eager to cultivate the sacred soil and herd the cattle. The “good” immigrant: a docile, austere and hardworking farmer that loves the sowing of the earth and the shepherding of the cattle was portrayed in the pampas. Interestingly, the religious virtues of the archetypal Jew assembled with the ideal virtues of the secular “good” citizen that should be austere, laborious, and politically meek.

Gerchunoff assembled rabbinic religious narratives about the hardworking farmer with the now utopian space of the Argentinean pampas that was started to be described as the core of the Argentinean identity<sup>35</sup>. In the establishing of a national imaginary, Sarmiento, President of Argentina (1868-1874) had a relevant role through his famous book *Facundo, Civilización y Baarbarie* (1845) in which he established a dichotomy between the civilized European ideals represented by the metropolitan Buenos Aires and the barbarian archetype caudillo: Facundo Quiroga. In the first decades of the twentieth century, the Sarmiento’s barbarian theme moved from the pampas to the urban technical space. In such a transition, the pampas was considered by the nationalistic movement as the true Argentina while the modern Buenos Aires, the urban city, was the savage space. Buenos Aires’s cosmopolitanism threatened “Argentinean” pureness (Sarlo, 1988, p. 34). The true republic would be the Hispanic colonial provinces not the modern Buenos Aires.

From the twentieth century, nationalistic narratives started a call to return to “golden ages” represented in the value of the pampas and the figure of the native gaucho. As Antony Smith, explained in “Chosen People” (2003) the “golden age” rhetoric has religious roots. Through the narratives that proclaim the return to the golden ages of Argentina, the citizen, a “secular” kind of person, was shaped by religious salvific themes that transmogrify those of Catholicism into seemingly ones of the “true”

---

<sup>35</sup> The extraordinary success of *Los gauchos Judios* can be explained because the author was able to reconcile the pastoral ideal with a type of peaceful and laborious immigrant against the technical urban fears of dissolution of those years and the politically engaged immigrant of the city. The pastoral ideal of a golden past will shape the emerging Argentinean nationalistic narratives.

republic. Catholic images such as the Garden of Eden, the Promised Land and the early Primitive Church lent their salvific connotations to the nascent Republic. The Republic got transformed into a salvific space giving intelligibility to the republican project.

The moment when the Jewish identity is given as a citizen, these religious salvific themes were so naturalized so as to go unnoticed but were crucial to assemble the secular Argentinean citizen with the Jewish religious stereotype of the Jewish farmer that admired the Argentinean gaucho (Gerchunoff, 1910, p. 113).

#### *National Anthem and the Argentine Independence Day*

In the last chapter Gerchunoff describes how the settlers found out about the Argentinean Independence day. In one trip to the city, they saw that the main street of the city called Gualeguay was decorated with Argentinean flags and arches. So, after a meeting of the elders they decided to hold the celebration and prepared their first national celebration. Gerchunoff describes the scene and the rationality Jews used to celebrate the Argentinean civic celebration,

The colony realized that 25<sup>th</sup> was Argentine Independence day. The day was approaching and the elders gathered to decide if they will hold a celebration. They decided to celebrate. The dialogue between two colonists says: "I remember" he said, "how after the massacre of Jews in the city of Elizabetgrad, we closed the synagogue because we didn't want to bless the czar. Here, no one is forcing us to bless the republic and its president; we do so gladly, of our own free will." No one knew who the president was, but that did not matter very much (Gerchunoff, 1910, p. 168).

The description reflects another feature of the Jewish religious experience, their immemorial sufferings and oppressions. The Russian pogroms were still very fresh in the memories of the colonists. The fact

that Argentina was, so far, a safe place moves the colony to celebrate and adhere to the civic ceremony.

After the words of Jacobo representing the Jewish colony, the civic authority answers:

In response, Don Benito [colony's police chief], recited several stanzas of the national anthem. The Jews did not understand what was saying, but the sound of the word "liberty" rekindled bitter memories of centuries of suffering. With their hearts and their mouths, just as they did in the synagogue, they responded with a resounding "Amen!" (Gerchunoff, 1910, p. 169)

The civic dimension represented by the National Anthem and the religious one characterized in the Amen get completely intertwined. The Jewish colonist expressed a religious obedience to the civic republican hymn. The republican adherence of Jews was a religious one because their religious language was the bridge that helped them to become republican citizens. In the above scene, the borders between the secular civic realm and the religious one that educational authorities proclaimed disappeared. In that moment the Jewish religious heritage of the Jewish immigrants made possible their acceptance of the Argentinean republican dogma. The National Anthem and the Amen of the Jewish immigrants merged and the term liberty had a crucial significance.

Liberty, a word that in the Argentinean anthem repeats several times, becomes the impossible space, the space of encounter between persecuted Jews and the Argentinean civic authorities. Liberty raised and kindled the spirits of persecuted Jews that were eager to sing and celebrate the civic National ceremony while liberty was granted to them. In that sense, liberty became the new language for both. While liberty was granted to Jews it did not matter who the Argentinean president was. A new civic and somehow religious contract based on liberty was established between Jews and Argentina.

The "Amen" of Jewish immigrants shows how the Republic was treated as a deity and describes one crucial aspect of Jewish soteriology, the importance of developing an ethical life. In Jewish ethics

religious freedom, such as practicing the Sabbath, is essential. In a similar vein as with the Promised Land, at the beginning of the May revolution (1810), Catholic narratives also helped to shape the republic as a salvific space. The Jewish religious narratives merged with such salvific narratives toward the republic but with a somehow different horizon. During the colonial domination, liberty was a prevalent theme of republicans against Spain. However, once the threat of Spain was superseded, liberty lost its momentum in the public debate. The notion of liberty brought by Jews was broader and, hence their understanding of liberty incorporated a new nuance to the narratives about the Argentinean citizen. Jews' acceptance of the Argentinean republic was dependent on the freedom of religious persecution they experienced. In the Argentinization of Jews, the Jewish narratives brought to the table a dimension of religious liberty that was somehow new in the Argentinean scenario in which Christians—Catholics and Evangelicals were the clear majority. It is interesting to compare the critiques that educational authorities made about Jews who did not know the Argentinean National Anthem. Gerchunoff's description shows the extent to which Jews colonists were eager to comply with its civic duties.

### ***The Argentinization of Jews: the Hispanic Heritage***

Jewish narratives fused into the narratives about the Argentinean citizen. Jewish narratives about the austere hard working farmer or the perception of Argentina as the new Zion were relevant ingredients assembled with the seemingly secular Argentinean citizen. Within the assemblage, the Jewish Hispanic heritage also helped to merge Jewish narratives within the secular Argentinean citizen.

The Jewish revival of their Hispanic past is another layer of this cultural intermingling. In those years, within the anxieties that massive immigration raised, an emerging Argentinian nationalism linked to the Hispanic heritage was starting to be considered as the core of the Argentinean nationality. As I introduced above, the liberal cosmopolitanism of previous years was diminishing while Spain and

Hispanic tradition were starting to gain momentum in narratives about the Argentinean national identity. The Hispanic heritage, the Spanish language, and native elements such as the pampas or the brave gaucho started to be considered as essential ingredients of the Argentinean identity. Hence, the challenge for Jews was to somehow merge with the emerging Hispanic nationalistic trends.

In the complex Jewish immigration history a milestone was the expulsion of Jews from Spain by the Catholic Kings in 1492. Interestingly, the Argentinization process of Jews intersected with the linkage of the immigrant Jews with their Hispanic heritage. Jewish narratives started to highlight the Hispanic roots of Jews to merge with this emerging pro-Hispanic Argentinean nationalism. In a laudatory description of the old Jew colonist, Gerchunoff says, “[Guedali, an old colonist] far from suggesting a colonist or farmer, his whole manner and bearing recalled the noble Jewish doctors, scientists and poets of medieval Spain.” (Gerchunoff, 1955, p. 145) *The Jewish Gauchos* describes how the Spanish heritage of immigrant Jews was acknowledged and praised. Jews’ immigration to Argentina was described as a continuation of the Spanish tradition that was interrupted in 1492 with the expulsion of Jews from Spain. In *The Jewish Gauchos*, Gerchunoff even tells a story of a wedding feast in which the main character is called Camacho as the character-Camacho of Don Quixote, the archetypal Spanish book. Argentinean Jews claimed that “by settling in Argentina, Jews were simply recovering what was already theirs; they even learned Spanish easily, he averred, because they already possessed a Spanish spirit.”(Elkin, 2011, p. 58)

By reenacting their Spanish roots, Argentinean Jewry merged with the emerging Spanish nationalistic trend. Not surprisingly, the Argentinean poet Francisco Luis Bernardez praised Gerchunoff saying, “Being Jewish he had much of the Spaniard in him.”(quoted by Elkin, 2011, p. 58) In sum, in the Argentinization of immigrant Jews, during the first decade of the twentieth century, Catholic narratives were re-enacted as a bridge to Argentinean life but within a seemingly secular discourse or

republicanism, and the Hispanic heritage of the European Jews was deployed to validate their "right" to become "true" Argentines.

### Conclusion

The Jewish narratives represent a new complexity in the grids of narratives that shaped the Argentinean republican citizen. From an institutional perspective, Jewish religious narratives were perceived as an obstacle to national identity by Argentinean educational authorities. On the other hand, Gerchunoff's account of the everyday life in the Jewish colonies show how Jewish narratives intersected and assembled with already secularized Catholic narratives in the construction of the "secular" school and citizen. The Jewish religious narratives assembled with those about the Argentinean citizen "adding" a new nuance to the construction of the secular Argentinean citizen.

First, Argentina was described as the new Zion. Although, Catholic narratives about the Promised Land were already present in the secular understanding of the republic, the Jewish heritage gave a nuance to such sacralization of the republic. The understanding of Argentina as Zion brought all the salvific narratives not to a utopic future but to the actual Argentina that was receiving thousands of immigrants. The Jewish heritage brought to the table a bolder sacralization of the republic.

Second, is the scope of political freedom. At the beginning of the twentieth century, freedom was not an issue for Argentines. Although the Argentinean national anthem refers to freedom several times, the target of such freedom was the Spanish domination. Certainly, with a country full of Spanish immigrants the initial target of such freedom was somehow an empty space. The persecution Russian Jews suffered incorporated a new layer to the understanding of freedom. In a rather explicit way, Gerchunoff explains that Jews were eager to live in Argentina only while their religious freedom was assured.

Third, the image of the “good” farmer enacted by the Jewish religious archetypal image of the shepherd assembled extremely well with the qualities of the “good” citizen constructed by the Argentinean liberal governments and later with the Hispanic nationalistic movement at the beginning of the twentieth century. The notion of austerity and hard work that were present at the beginning of the republic during Rivadavia years (*El Argos*, 1823, no. 43) acquired new tones. The hard work and frugality praised in the Jewish tradition reenacted those nascent civic virtues but now in the context of a political project that desperately required manpower.

The fine blend of Jewish narratives with the secular Argentinean citizen was possible for several reasons. First, the secular Argentinean citizen was not as secular as it seemed. On the contrary, the seeming secularization of the Argentinean citizen implied an internalization of Catholic principles in modern notions of the citizen and the republic. To the same extent, the assemblage of Jewish narratives was possible only because previously the republic had incorporated and naturalized religious ingredients—Catholic salvific narratives in the modern understanding of the republic. Second, the Hispanic heritage of Jews also helped to validate the Jewish ingredients in the discourses about the Argentinean citizen. However, this idea of Jews as Spanish acted more like a health certificate of Jews in the context of a pro Hispanic nationalistic trend. The claim to Hispanic roots from Jews was not an idle topic but it seems that somehow was used by Argentineans--non-Jews to rationalize or explain the fine assemblage between Jewish narratives and the Argentinean republic that I explained throughout the chapter.

Finally, educational authorities’ critiques of Jewish students lack of knowledge of the Argentinean National Anthem resonates with Gerchunoff’s description of the elder Jews saying Amen at the verses of the Argentinean National Anthem. I do not want to reduce the complexity of the nation building process. Both narratives, the one of the educational authorities and Gerchunoff’s depiction of

everyday life at the colony deserve attention. Gerchunoff's stories show the extent to which religious narratives could be perceived at the same time as fanaticism and stubbornness following educational authorities account or as a complex grids of different narratives—Jewish, Catholic, etc. that intersect in the shaping of the Argentinean citizen. The different perspective relates to the understanding of religion and education in shaping the Argentinean citizen. While considering religion from a functionalist perspective, religion was perceived as a threat to Argentinean national homogeneity. On the other hand, while considering religion as a cultural practice that shapes the grid of intelligibility, Jewish religious discourses of the colonists can be understood as overlapping narratives that shape the Argentinean citizen.

## Chapter Six

### *Salvific Narratives, Invisible Winds in the Educational Landscape*

This study problematizes the modern epistemological break between religious thought and secular reason (Taylor, 2011, p.49). The institutional secularization of Argentina did not result in a cultural secularization of its citizenry. In order to analyze how religious narratives have shaped the Argentinean republican citizen I have focused on schooling. I approached religion as a pastoral narrative that functions in governing the soul of modernity which is a particular kind of human inscribed as the citizen of the republic. In the shaping of the republican citizen, the school is the messenger in producing that soul. I have approached the school not as a discrete and stable institution, but as a space through which to analyze the relationships between pastorate and government in the making of the citizen.

The above study describes how in education religious narratives have an elusive but pervasive role. Through schooling and specific pedagogical devices, such as the civic patriotic Catechisms, salvific narratives gave intelligibility to pedagogical principles that shaped the Argentinean school, and the republican citizen. Not surprisingly, in the reenactment of salvific narratives, specific religious understandings of agency, times, and power, reemerged in education forging the Argentinean republican citizen with specific nuances such as a weak agency and a strong obedience to authority. In looking to the Argentinean case, I realize the extent to which the interplay of religion and education is a required space to study the forging of the modern republican citizen.

Through the genealogical method I analyzed the singularities of milestones events from the Argentinean nation building process. My eventalization approach aimed to find, within the historical conditions and not from an imposed teleology or rationality, the set of relations, connections and blockages that make possible the Argentinean citizen. The eventalization process implied the double

process of descent and emergence. In the descendent movement I made visible how the grids that shaped the Argentinean citizen established its boundaries in order to reveal its own specific type of relations. Later, in the emergence movement I formulated how the Argentinean citizen was able to emerge (Foucault, 1972, p. 7) not as a final term of an historical sequence but as a non-place, in the sense that no one can attribute the origin of the Argentinean citizenship.

My initial question was: how do particular elements of religion, as a cultural practice, became part of the “citizen” grids of intelligibilities that make the notions of Argentinean citizenship possible? The metaphor of the wind expresses the multiple and unexpected spaces in which religion became part of the ‘citizen’ narratives.

Several times as I worked on this study I was asked and many more times I asked myself: What is my definition of religion? Purposely, I restrained myself from any shortcut answer because I was sure that any prior definition of religion would have reduced the scope of my analysis to a pre-established notion of religion. In order to minimize my preconceptions of religion, I strategically decided for a contingent foundation<sup>36</sup> (Marchart, 2007) of my understanding of religion that allowed me to avoid any absolute definition. With a contingent foundation, my perspective on religion has allowed me to track cultural principles that serve to order salvation—here on earth—related to notions of citizenship and republicanism. In some instances, in order to reflect on religious notions, I had to problematize things that were part of my “being” as a Catholic. I was aware that my Catholic background and my experience at a progressive American university were somehow present in shaping my questions and findings. Hopefully, interacting with scholars and readers with different religious affiliations and non-affiliations

---

<sup>36</sup> See Marchart (2007) who described the notion of “contingent foundations”, proposed by Butler as an alternative framing of the debate, could best be described as an ontological weakening of the status of foundation without doing away with foundations entirely. It is on its account, that what came to be called post-foundationalism should not be confused with anti-foundationalism. What distinguishes the former from the latter is that it does not assume the absence of any ground; what it assumes is the absence of an ultimate ground, since it is only on the basis of such absence that grounds, in the plural, are possible. The problem is therefore posed not in terms of no foundations (the logic of all-or-nothing), but in terms of contingent foundations (p.14).

acted as a safety net and pushed me to think religion, republicanism, and education in challenging and fresh ways.

Religion in the Argentinean nation building process can be described as the wind, and “The wind blows where it wishes, and you hear its sound, but you do not know where it comes from or where it goes” (John 3:8, English Standard Version). Many times throughout the research, I was able to grasp religious narratives through the “sound” religion left in notions of time, space, and agency that comprised the narratives about the Argentinean citizen. Throughout the Argentinean nation building process, religious winds have been crucial in forging through education the republican citizen and the republic in different and unexpected ways

My research shows how the radical distinction between the secular and the religious portrayed in the thesis of secularization theory can be described as a categorical mistake (Latour, 2013). The secularization theory based its expectations on certain conditions of veridiction based on scientific criteria. As wind, religious narratives are somehow invisible from a modernist perspective (Latour, 2013) which is only able to notice the “scientific” dimension of reality. Hence, the modernist approach overlooked the fact that religion has a different mode of existence, and needs to be approached from different ontological and epistemological premises. The ascribed disappearance of religion in the shaping of the republican citizen was based on a ‘scientific’ criterion that ignored the specificity of the religious mode of existence. My approach of religion as a wind aims to supersede that categorical mistake by acknowledging the specific mode of existence that religion has, and its role shaping the republican citizen. Throughout the chapters, I was able to describe and make visible how religious winds shaped republicanism and the narratives about the Argentinean citizen.

Through my understanding of religion as a cultural practice, I described how these saving narratives moved from the church’s settings and were reenacted in education to give intelligibility to the

nascent republic and its citizen. In the second chapter I described through the analysis of relevant pedagogical devices: patriotic sermons and civic catechisms, the sacralization of Republicanism and the republicanization of Catholic narratives. In those years the narratives of the nascent republic merged with Catholic narratives such as the Promised Land or the Garden of Eden. In this way the nascent republic gained social legitimization and somehow continued the Hispanic tradition of symbiotic Spanish relationship between the government and the pastorate. The Republic transmogrified into a salvific space giving intelligibility to the nascent Republican project. In a similar way, the republicanization of time was also possible through a Catholic rhetoric, the Jeremiad. The nascent Republican Argentinean citizen was placed within a consensual timeline based upon a Catholic periodization of time. This pervasive historical timeline aimed to depict the Indian past as an ideal time-life in Paradise, the recent Spanish past as dark and unfair-original sin and the fall- and, finally, through the Jeremiad, portrayed a very weak and unstable republican present. Against my initial thought, the independence did not imply a drastic shift regarding the Spanish colonial principles—Catholic pastorate—that had shaped the Argentinean citizen. The assemblage of Catholic narratives and nascent republican elements show the extent to which Catholic discourses were crucial to give birth to an Argentinean Republican citizen. In fact, in the nascent republicanism the borders between the religious and the secular, the believer and the citizen were very much blurred and unclear. Catholic theological patterns of ordering and interpreting human experience shaped to a large degree the conditions, possibilities and limitations of the Argentinean citizen.

In the third chapter I described how in the peak of the Enlightenment reforms in Buenos Aires, Catholic narratives were an ingredient that shaped education and the enlightened Argentinean republican citizen. First, the republican awards functioned as a republican pastoral technique enacted by the republican government. The inception of this republican pastorate is a milestone in Argentinean republicanism. The role of shepherding souls the Catholic Church had been playing from its inception

was now reenacted in the domain of a republican pastorate through schooling and specifically through the republican awards, and the national celebrations. I portrayed how in the *fiestas mayas* specific notions from Spanish Catholicism were reenacted by nascent republicanism. For example, the relevance given to the external civic devotion of citizens, the May Pyramid described as a “civic” temple, and a notion of agency that continues the Spanish monarchical one depict how Catholic ingredients previously attached to Spanish Catholicism were reenacted in the narratives of the enlightened republicanism. In a similar way, the façade of the Cathedral of Buenos Aires is a profound example of such an assemblage that included ruptures and continuities. A Pantheon facade with twelve columns, a tall portico, and a triangular pediment on the top signals represented a shift from previous Hispanic monarchical tradition. However, the fact that the government selected the Cathedral of Buenos Aires—the core of Catholicism— as a place to build the republican neoclassical façade that would become a national memorial of Argentinean independence is significant as an example of deep syncretism between Catholicism and the emerging republicanism.

In the fourth chapter I analyzed how during the establishment of the modern Argentinean school, concerned with making of the citizen, Catholic narratives were still reenacted in notions of republicanism and the republican citizen. First, in the construction of the republican citizen, salvific narratives were embedded in the Constitutional debates within the notion of the European immigrant, understood as a living “catechism” as opposed to the indolent savage native. Second, the way in which the *laic* public school was described as a Holy Trinity of free, secular, and mandatory education exemplified how religious narratives were rebuilt to describe the seemingly secular Argentinean public school. Third, the rationality deployed in the two nation building laws from Buenos Aires demonstrated how Argentinean republicanism was understood as a dogmatic civic religion that the state should profess and impose upon citizens. Fourth, at the curricular level, Catholic attributes were assembled into curricular subjects deemed as universal, and at the same time accessible to all minds. Finally, at the level

of school practices, the Catholic cult of the saints became reassembled in the construction of a national pantheon. In this regard, the public school had a crucial role shaping the civic cult to the memory of Sarmiento through activities that included civic pilgrimages, musical performances, and panegyrics.

Religious discourses, both —Catholic and Jewish—reveal the nuances and uniqueness of religion in the institutionalization of Argentinean republicanism. In chapter five I describe how Jewish narratives represented a new complexity in the grids of narratives that shaped the Argentinean republican citizen. The Jewish religious narratives assembled with those about the Argentinean citizen “adding” a new nuance to the construction of the Argentinean citizen. First, Argentina was described as the new Zion. Although Catholic narratives about the Promised Land were already naturalized in the secular understanding of the republic, the Jewish heritage gave a nuance to such sacralization of the republic. Second, the persecution Russian Jews suffered incorporated a new layer to the understanding of freedom. In a rather explicit way, Gerchunoff explains that Jews were eager to live in Argentina only while their religious freedom was assured. Third, the image of the “good” farmer enacted by the Jewish religious archetypical image of the shepherd assembled extremely well with the qualities of the “good” citizen constructed by the Argentinean liberal governments and later by the Hispanic nationalistic movement. To some extent, the fine assemblage of Jewish narratives was possible only because previously the republic and the school had incorporated and naturalized Catholic religious ingredients—catholic salvific narratives.

Although in the Argentinean case it might be possible to perceive a tendency towards an institutional differentiation between the Catholic Church and the state it is not possible to affirm the same regarding education in the shaping of the citizen. The different chapters described throughout different historical educational events the uniqueness of each assemblage. The cultural pervasiveness of Catholicism and its ability to shed intelligibility in education makes Catholicism a fascinating carrier of

different political projects or ideas. The Argentinean case demonstrated the extent to which Catholicism might be considered as a unique carrier in Argentina ideological scenario but certainly a carrier that has its own principles that are not innocuous.

***Rethinking Institutional Secularization as an (Im)possible “Reason”***

Religion as a cultural practice escapes the borders of institutions. Institutional secularization does not equal a cultural secularization. The institutionalization of republicanism in Argentina can exemplify such a dilemma. During the liberal years (1860-1910) an array of governmental liberal policies aspired to gain autonomy from the Catholic Church. As a result, a law that established institutional secularization transformed the public school in a seemingly “secular” space that welcomed immigrants with different beliefs from all around the world. However, the Anti-Argentinean school controversy describes how far away the educational state bureaucracy can be from their goal of fostering Argentinean citizenship. Through attacking Jewish schools and culture, the Argentinean authorities completely ignored how effective the Jewish heritage was in worshipping the nascent Argentinean Republic. The way religious narratives acted as scaffolding to republicanism confirms the blindness of top down governmental policies in their aim to foster national identity. Hence, institutional secularization as a governmental policy needs to be problematized.

The relationships between different religious traditions in the construction of the republican citizen show the porosity of such grids and how they are able to enact change in themselves. After centuries of Jewish persecution by the Catholic Church, one could tend to think that Catholic and Jewish narratives would be antagonist opponents competing for a prime space in the narratives that forged the Argentinean citizen. However, the analysis of the Argentinean school demonstrates how Jewish

narratives intersected and assembled with already secularized Catholic narratives in the construction of the “secular” citizen. This relationship between seemingly antagonist institutional religions proves the extent to which religion as a cultural practice does not follow patterns of institutional religion and somehow the shifting narratives about the citizen cannot be clustered.

I could enumerate a lot of examples all around the world in which institutional religious controversies around schooling arise as heated and unsettled issues. Such controversies are framed through an institutional way of thinking that includes a categorical mistake. For example, in Europe, the controversy that rose in France around the use of the hijab in schools shows to what extent western democracies are perplexed and hesitant to satisfactorily articulate values of religious pluralism with notions of citizenship. Furthermore, in the US, although the Supreme Court has barred religion promotion from schools since 1962, the institutional line of separation between the State and Religion is still being challenged. For example, the US Supreme Court refused, in December 2011, to intervene in the New York City’s prohibition on the use of religious buildings by public schools. Supporting this Court decision, Udi Ofer, the advocacy director of the New York Civil Liberties Union, stated that “the Department of Education is right to erect a wall between religious worship and our schools” (Udi Ofer, 2012). It seems that still today policy stakeholders make a category mistake (Latour, 2013) believing that religion could be easily locked in the attic. Secularization as an institutional policy can be compared with trying to grab the wind with a net.

The scope and depth of these institutional religious controversies at schools seems to proliferate. However, in the current debates regarding citizenship and religion it is possible to lose sight of how non institutional aspects of religion—like salvific narratives—still forge a ‘common’ sense about the republican citizen. A more nuanced approach, from governments and stakeholders, about the role

of religion shaping citizenry should be able to promote a more sophisticated attitude that could register how religious narratives are shaping the educational landscape. For example, which religious images or symbols can foster equity, tolerance, fairness, and eventually notions of national belonging? Such a strategic approach would imply acknowledging the power religion still has.

***Salvific Narratives: Emotional and Changing Winds Shaping Educational Landscape***

Argentina is not original in such processes. The nation building processes of late nineteenth century and early twenty century all around the world shared this process of inventing republican traditions (Hobsbawm & Ranger, 1992). In those invented traditions, religion played a crucial role as a store full of images and symbolism that appealed to large number of people. As Hobsbawm described in times of deep social and political changes, as it was the emergence of republicanism, existing traditional customary practices were modified, ritualized and institutionalized for new national purposes (Hobsbawm & Ranger, 1992, p. 6). The Argentinean school demonstrates the relevance of religion in giving intelligibility to republicanism.

Salvific narratives had a role in shaping modern republicanism all around the Western world. As the Uruguayan singer Jorge Drexler says, "Every nation believes that they are the chosen people." That said, the nuanced ways of each nation building process makes problematic any generalization. In Argentina, a far reaching idea of salvation for everyone was reenacted in the understanding of republicanism as sacred fire that should be ignited in throughout all the social classes. In a different way the Calvinistic soteriology shaped republicanism more entangled with individual agency (good works, now productivity) of subjects. In a similar vein, the Jeremiad rhetoric and its dissimilar development in Argentina and in the United States can illustrate the singularity of religious narratives in each nation building process. As discussed in chapter two and four, in Argentina, the rhetoric of the Argentinean Jeremiad momentarily disappeared a few years after the May Revolution, around 1820, until Sarmiento

reenacted the Argentinean Jeremiad transmogrified into the “civilization or barbarism” motto. On the contrary, in the United States the Jeremiad rhetoric had a more prevalent trajectory (McKnight, 2003) and still pervades most of the political debates from the entire political spectrum.

One of the most compelling features of the salvific narratives is the ability to engage the emotional or affective dispositions of citizens. Probably, because of their ability to recode the images of how to live the “good life,” salvific narratives relate to dispositions of subjects and inform the emotions and desires of citizenry. An example is the Jeremiad rhetoric that was reassembled in citizen’s narratives. In Sarmiento’s motto *civilization or barbarism* there is not an explicit series of commands to follow as in the classic Jeremiad. Sarmiento had the ability to comprise all the “good” commands in the word civilization understood as progress, schools, libraries, and culture (Sarmiento, 1868, v. 49, 283). At the same time, Sarmiento combined all the disgraces announced through the Old Testament prophets in the term barbarian understood as tyranny, beheading, and brute caudillos. The salvific aura once attributed to Catholicism or the Spanish king became part of the civilizing narratives. Salvific narratives are, following Pascal, in the realm of the heart and “The heart has its reasons of which reason knows nothing.” This different register of salvific narratives is an element many times ignored in educational research and policy makers alike. In short, salvific narratives tend to appeal and make “sense” to an emotional register.

Salvific narratives carry a double gesture. Salvific narratives imply an emancipatory destiny or a dangerous one, if citizens do not accomplish the “good” commandment. The double gesture of salvific narratives brings with itself a religious dogmatism that emerges as a binary mentality. The ways in which the Jeremiad rhetoric became part of the Argentinean civilizing narratives is an example of the binary quality. The religious salvific narrative portrays “reality” as a binary logic in which the real looks like a black and white photo without allowing any tone of gray in the picture.

Salvific narratives are present today all around the world; they take different forms and in different grids are important to understand how the school governs through practices that are neither self-evident nor singular in governing the soul. My analytical lens could help to shed light upon different national educational contexts. Finland and the United States are interesting examples to explore how salvific narratives became part of the grids of intelligibilities of schooling. In Finland, since the fifteenth century, the Finnish Lutheran Church demanded literacy as a basic requirement to obtain the license to marry (Niemi, Toom, & Kallioniemi, 2012). Within the grid of practices that shape Finnish education, Lutheran salvific narratives can be seen to play a crucial role emphasizing the significance of literacy, and later the modern public school as a saving path to the civic and religious adulthood. In the United States, in the governing of schooling, salvific narratives can currently be linked to the prowess of digital technology. In the history of curriculum of the US, the modern notion of technology has its roots in Protestant—especially Colonial Puritanical—understandings of *technologia* that provided an ethical and spiritual map that guided the subject toward “the good life” that included the internal and external worlds (McKnight & Triche, 2011). Nowadays, it is rather difficult to raise any possible drawback that technology could eventually have in saving the American student.

### ***Catholic Pastorate and the Argentinean Citizen***

As Foucault stated, “The essential aspect of this relationship [between religion and politics] is not found in the interplay between Church and the State, but rather between the pastorate and government” (Foucault, 2009, 256). Throughout the chapters, I described the extent to which education in Argentina was pervaded with these relationships between government and pastorate. As Ian Hunter pointed out, in the base of many Western educational systems there is “Christianity’s shepherd-flock

game—with its distinctive articulation of surveillance and self-examination, obedience and self-regulation—that continues to provide the core moral technology of the school” (1994, p. xxi). In Argentina, the emergence of a republican pastorate can be traced to the Rivadavian years when the republican awards were deployed as a technology that targeted the desires of people. The school was not the only space in which religion shapes citizenry. In many spaces, such as health systems or even in science, one could find religious traits shaping the reason of citizenry.

The genealogical scrutiny, throughout Argentinean history, describes the centrality of religious narratives in governing the conduct of the Argentinean citizen. In the Argentinean case, the power of religion resides in the fact that Catholic narratives are still ordering the dispositions of the Argentinean citizen. Perhaps, the religious principles are no longer linked to Catholic doctrine, but are vital ingredients as cultural principles that order salvation here on earth. Throughout the dissertation salvific narratives were my methodological lens to trace the complex relationships between pastorate and government. Religious salvific narratives can be understood as a strong wind that blows into and shapes the educational environment.

Salvific narratives have the ability to somehow invisibly amalgamate and give intelligibility to seemingly disparate discourses. For example, the idea of the Argentinean public school as a “temple” of knowledge that would save the Argentinean child from barbarism links together notions of progress, the enlightened republic, and the child as able of pedagogical intervention. When salvific narratives merged with those discourses, the idea of schooling as rescuing the defenseless child seemed reasonable. All these disparate elements are able to gain intelligibility through salvific narratives.

Interestingly, the analysis of the Argentinean citizen shows the extent to which religious principles maintain their 'original' pastoral power they had in the religious settings. As Foucault described, pastorate is "a highly specific form of power with the object of conducting men ... the way in which they behave" (Foucault, 2009, p. 259). The Argentinean case shows how this pastorate is an important element of the grids of intelligibilities that conduct the republican citizen. As saving narratives became part of republicanism and the school, they played a key role reenacting their pastoral power, now oriented to conduct the souls of citizens into the republican salvation understood as the Promised Land that would bring peace and prosperity.

As the Puritan Imperative molded an American national identity (McKnight, 2003), Catholic pastorate helped to shape an Argentinean one. In Argentina, because of its Catholic heritage the pastorate has specific features. The specificity of Catholic pastorate became part of the way how the republican citizen was governed. In Catholic pastorate it is highly relevant the relation of obedience to another person, basically the priest. While in Ascetic traditions the person imposes challenges and restrictions to himself, Catholic pastorate excels in the relation of obedience to another person. The Jesuit tradition is paradigmatic regarding the relevance given to obedience and even made famous the motto that "Jesuits shall obey as the walking cane of an old man". This Catholic pastorate became part of the republican governing of the Argentinean soul, and brought embedded specific notions of obedience and agency. As I described in chapter two, in the sacralization of republicanism, the ability to become a good republican citizen required God's assistance. Since the inception of Argentinean republicanism, a specific notion of agency was reenacted through the civic political catechisms that resembled the citizen with the Catholic believer. In a similar way, with the national festivities, the agency of citizens had clear resemblances with the Catholic pastorate that enforces obedient relationships towards the authority. In the nascent Argentinean Republic, the republican authority emerged with strong agency while the citizens shall blindly obey the civic authority—going to the

national temple and worshipping the Republic. This tradition of citizenship appears again and again. The Catholic ritual established with the saints is extended to require citizens to kneel in front of the European immigrants that would bring prosperity; the “Amen” of Jewish immigrants completes the reciting the National Hymn, positioning the Argentinean Republic as a deity that shall be worshipped. The ways in which the Argentinean republican citizen was governed resembles the patterns of a Catholic pastorate. The republican history of Argentina is somehow too familiar with patterns of messianic civic authority and disempowered citizens. In sum, the Catholic pastorate became part of the shaping of the nascent Argentinean citizen.

### Bibliography

- Academia Nacional de la Historia (Argentina). (1910). *Gaceta de Buenos Aires (1810-1821) : Reimpresión facsimilar dirigida por la Junta de historia y numismática americana en cumplimiento de la ley no. 6286 y por resolución de la Comisión nacional del centenario de la revolución de mayo*. Buenos Aires, Compañía sud-americana de billetes de banco. Retrieved from <http://archive.org/details/gacetadebuenosai06acad>
- Alberdi, J. B., & Argentina. (1966). *Bases y puntos de partida para la organización política de la República Argentina*. Buenos Aires: Editorial Universitaria de Buenos Aires.
- Alberto Gerchunoff en LA NACION. (2000). Retrieved February 12, 2013, from <http://www.lanacion.com.ar/7413-alberto-gerchunoff-en-la-nacion>
- Aliata, F. (2006). *La ciudad regular: arquitectura, programas e instituciones en el Buenos Aires posrevolucionario, 1821-1835*. Buenos Aires: Universidad Nacional de Quilmes ; Prometeo 3010.
- Altamirano, C., & Myers, J. (2008). *Historia de los intelectuales en América Latina: La ciudad letrada, de la conquista al modernismo*. Katz Editores.
- Amante, A., & Jitrik, N. (2012). *Historia crítica de la literatura argentina. 4, 4.* Buenos Aires: Emecé Ed.
- Anderson, B. R. O. (2006). *Imagined communities reflections on the origin and spread of nationalism* (Rev. ed.). London ; New York: Verso. Retrieved from <http://hdl.handle.net/2027/heh.01609>
- Andrews, G. R. (1980). *The Afro-Argentines of Buenos Aires, 1800-1900*. Madison, Wisc: University of Wisconsin Press.
- Auza, N. T. (1975). *Católicos y liberales en la generación del ochenta*. Buenos Aires: Ediciones Culturales Argentinas.
- Avni, H. (1991). *Argentina & the Jews: A History of Jewish Immigration*. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press.
- Baeza, R. S. (1996). Actores políticos en los catecismos patriotas y republicanos americanos, 1810-1827. *Historia Mexicana*, 45(3), 501–538.
- Bell, D. A. (2001). *The Cult of the Nation in France: Inventing Nationalism, 1680-1800*. Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press.

- Bellah, R. N. (1976). Response to the Panel on Civil Religion. *Sociological Analysis*, 37(2), 153–159. doi:10.2307/3709689
- Bellah, R. N. (2006). *The Robert Bellah Reader*. Durham: Duke University Press.
- Benedict, P. (2001). *The Faith and Fortunes of France's Huguenots, 1600-85*. Aldershot: Ashgate.
- Bercovitch, S. (1978). *The American Jeremiad*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.
- Bertoni, L. A. (2001). *Patriotas, Cosmopolitas Y Nacionalistas: La Construcción De La Nacionalidad Argentina a Fines Del Siglo XIX*. Buenos Aires: Fondo de cultura económica.
- Borges, J. L. (1975). *El Libro De Arena* (2. ed.). Madrid: Ultramar : distribuidor, Vector.
- Borucki, A. (2004). *Esclavitud y trabajo: un estudio sobre los afrodescendientes en la frontera uruguaya (1835-1855)*. Montevideo, Uruguay: Pulmón Ediciones.
- Bruce, S. (2002). *God is dead: secularization in the West*. Oxford, UK ; Malden, Mass: Blackwell Publishers.
- Buenos Aires (Argentina : Province). (18). Diario de sesiones., v.
- Butler, J., Habermas, J., Taylor, C., & West, C. (2011). *The Power of Religion in the Public Sphere*. (E. Mendieta & J. VanAntwerpen, Eds.). Columbia University Press.
- Campobassi, J. S. (1961). *Laicismo Y Catolicismo En La Educación Pública Argentina*. Buenos Aires: Ediciones Gure.
- Carranza, A. P. (1907). *El clero argentino de 1810 á 1830 ...* Buenos Aires,. Retrieved from <http://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015062190825>
- Casanova, J. (1994). *Public Religions in the Modern World*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Chiaromonte, J. C. (1989). *La ilustración en el Río de la Plata: cultura eclesiástica y cultura laica durante el Virreinato*. Buenos Aires, Argentina: Puntosur Editores.
- Costa, L. M. (2010). ARTE E HISTORIA EN LOS FESTEJOS DEL CENTENARIO DE LA REVOLUCIÓN DE MAYO EN BUENOS AIRES. *Historia Mexicana*, 60(1 (237)), 439–471.
- Cuczza, H. R., & Pineau, P. (2005). *Para una historia de la enseñanza de la lectura y la escritura en Argentina: del catecismo colonial a La Razón de mi vida*. Miño y Dávila.
- Daston, L. (2007). *Objectivity*. New York : Cambridge, Mass: Zone Books ; Distributed by the MIT Press.

Dawkins, R. (2006). *The God delusion*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co.

*Debates parlamentarios sobre instrucción pública. Recopilación de debates del H. Congreso nacional sobre leyes y proyectos de organización de la instrucción general y universitaria.* (1904). Buenos Aires,.

Di Stefano, R. (2000). *Historia De La Iglesia Argentina: Desde La Conquista Hasta Fines Del Siglo XX* (1. ed.). Buenos Aires: Grijalbo Mondadori.

Di Stefano, R. (2004). *El Púlpito Y La Plaza: Clero, Sociedad Y Política De La Monarquía Católica a La República Rosista*. Buenos Aires, República Argentina: Siglo Veintiuno Editores Argentina.

Dupuis, J. (1997). *Toward a Christian theology of religious pluralism*. Maryknoll, N.Y: Orbis Books.

Dussel, E. D. (1981). *A history of the church in Latin America: colonialism to liberation (1492-1979)*. Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans.

Eduardo, W. (1899). *Por mares, por tierras*. Buenos Aires: J. Peuser.

Education, E. (n.d.). European Education Journal: Religion, Governmentality, and Citizenship. Retrieved from <http://www.european-education.org/2013/11/religion-governmentality-and-citizenship.html>

*El Argos de Buenos Aires y avisador universal*. (1824). Buenos Aires: Impr. de los Expósitos.

*El Monitor de la Educación Común*. (????). Buenos Aires. Retrieved from <http://catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/010314272>

Elkin, J. L. (1980). *Jews of the Latin American republics*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.

Elkin, J. L. (2011). *The Jews of Latin America* (Rev. ed.). Ann Arbor, MI : Retrieved from <http://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015087418524>

*Europe and the other and Europe as the other*. (2000). Bruxelles ; New York: P.I.E.-Peter Lang.

Faulk, K. A. (2008). *The walls of the labyrinth: Impunity, corruption, and the limits of politics in contemporary Argentina* (Ph.D.). University of Michigan, United States -- Michigan. Retrieved from <http://search.proquest.com.ezproxy.library.wisc.edu/pqdtft/docview/304572170/abstract/13C6364AC2A2EFFF415/1?accountid=465>

Fenn, P., & Ephemera Society of America. (1994). *Rewards of merit: tokens of a child's progress and a teacher's esteem as an enduring aspect of American religious and secular*

*education*. [Schoharie, N.Y.] : Charlottesville, Va: Ephemera Society of America ; Distributed by Howell Press.

Foucault, M. (1972). *The Archaeology of Knowledge ; and, The Discourse on Language*. New York: Pantheon Books.

Foucault, M. (1977). *Language, Counter-Memory, Practice: Selected Essays and Interviews*. Ithaca, N.Y: Cornell University Press.

Foucault, M., & Collège de France. (2008). *The Birth of Biopolitics: Lectures at the Collège De France, 1978-79*. Basingstoke [England]: Palgrave Macmillan.

Friedrich, D. S. (2010). *Creating a past in the present. Memory, identity and teaching in post-dictatorship Argentina* (Ph.D.). The University of Wisconsin - Madison, United States -- Wisconsin. Retrieved from <http://search.proquest.com.ezproxy.library.wisc.edu/pqdtft/docview/819578797/abstract/13A13ADDED576F206A/1?accountid=465>

Frizzi de Longoni, H. E. (1947). *Rivadavia Y La Reforma Eclesiastica*. Buenos Aires: La Prensa Medica Argentina.

Gallo, K. (2012). *Bernardino Rivadavia: el primer presidente argentino* (1a. ed.). Buenos Aires: Edhasa.

Gerchunoff, A. (1955). *The Jewish Gauchos of the pampas*. New York: Abelard-Schuman.

Gerchunoff, A. (2000). *Parricide on the pampa?: a new study and translation of Alberto Gerchunoff's Los gauchos judíos*. Frankfurt am Main : Madrid: Vervuert ; Iberoamericana.

Gorski, P. S. (2003). *The Disciplinary Revolution: Calvinism and the Rise of the State in Early Modern Europe*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Gorski, P. S., & Altnord, A. (2008). After Secularization? *Annual Review of Sociology*, 34(1), 55–85. doi:10.1146/annurev.soc.34.040507.134740

GRANADOS, M. (2010). *CREAR LA NACION: LOS NOMBRES DE LOS PAISES DE AMERICA LATINA* (1st Ed.). Plaza Janés.

Hacking, I. (2006, August 17). Making Up People. *London Review of Books*, pp. 23–26.

Halperín Donghi, T. (1972). *Revolución y guerra ; formación de una élite dirigente en la Argentina criolla* ([1. ed.). Buenos Aires]: Siglo Veintiuno Argentina.

Harris, J. (1998). Bernardino Rivadavia and Benthamite “Discipleship.” *Latin American Research Review*, 33(1), 129–149. doi:10.2307/2503901

- Hobsbawm, E. J., & Ranger, T. O. (Eds.). (1992). *The Invention of tradition*. Cambridge ; New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Howard, T. A. (2006). *Religion and the Rise of Historicism: W. M. L. de Wette, Jacob Burckhardt, and the Theological Origins of Nineteenth-Century Historical Consciousness*. Cambridge University Press.
- Hunter, I. (1994). *Rethinking the School: Subjectivity, Bureaucracy, Criticism*. New York: St. Martin's Press.
- Iglesias, F. (1998). A Collective Biography of the Rio de la Plata Clergy, 1806-1827. *Latin American Research Review*, 33(2), 166–183.
- Inventing the Modern Self and John Dewey: Modernities and the Traveling of Pragmatism in Education*. (2005) (1st ed.). New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- John Paul. (1998). *Encyclical letter, Fides et ratio, of the supreme pontiff John Paul II: to the bishops of the Catholic Church on the relationship between faith and reason*. Boston: Pauline Books and media.
- Latour, B. (2013). *An Inquiry into Modes of Existence*. Harvard University Press.
- Marchart, O. (2007). *Post-Foundational Political Thought: Political Difference in Nancy, Lefort, Badiou and Laclau*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Margulis, M. (1999). *La segregación negada: cultura y discriminación social* (1ra ed.). Buenos Aires, Argentina: Editorial Biblos.
- McKnight, D. (2003). *Schooling, the Puritan Imperative, and the Molding of an American National Identity: Education's "errand into the Wilderness."* Mahwah, N.J: L. Erlbaum Associates.
- McKnight, D., & Triche, S. (2011). Puritan Origins of Technological Understanding in the USA: From William Ames's Technologia to Technicism. *Journal of Curriculum Theorizing*, 27(3). Retrieved from <http://journal.jctonline.org/index.php/jct/article/view/228>
- Meglio, G. D. (2006). *Viva el bajo pueblo!: la plebe urbana de Buenos Aires y la política entre la revolución de Mayo y el rosismo (1810-1829)*. Prometeo Libros Editorial.
- Milchman, A., & Rosenberg, A. (2005). Review Essay: Michel Foucault: Crises and Problemizations. *The Review of Politics*, 67(2), 335–351.
- Murphy, A. R. (2009). Longing, Nostalgia, and Golden Age Politics: The American Jeremiad and the Power of the Past. *Perspectives on Politics*, 7(1), 125–141. doi:10.2307/40407220

- Myers, J. (1995). *Orden y virtud: el discurso republicano en el régimen rosista*. Buenos Aires: Universidad Nacional de Quilmes.
- “Negros de la Patria”: los afrodescendientes en las luchas por la independencia en el antiguo Virreinato del Río de la Plata. (2010) (1a ed.). Buenos Aires: Editorial SB.
- New curriculum history*. (2009). Rotterdam ; Boston: Sense Publishers.
- Niemi, H., Toom, A., & Kallioniemi, A. (2012). *Miracle of Education: The Principles and Practices of Teaching and Learning in Finnish Schools*. Springer.
- Norris, P., & Inglehart, R. (2011). *Sacred and secular: religion and politics worldwide*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Núñez, I. B. (1857). *Noticias históricas de la República Argentina*. Buenos Aires,. Retrieved from [http://hdl.handle.net/2027/uc1.\\$b709837](http://hdl.handle.net/2027/uc1.$b709837)
- Ocampo López, J. (2010). *El cura Juan Fernández de Sotomayor y Picón y los catecismos de la Independencia* (1. ed.). Bogotá: Universidad del Rosario.
- Ozouf, M. (1991). *Festivals and the French Revolution*. Harvard University Press.
- Piccirilli, R. (1943). *Rivadavia Y Su Tiempo*. Buenos Aires: Editores Peuser Ida.
- Popkewitz, T. (2004). The Alchemy of the Mathematics Curriculum: Inscriptions and the Fabrication of the Child. *American Educational Research Journal*, 41(1), 3–34.
- Popkewitz, T. S. (1997a). A Changing Terrain of Knowledge and Power: A Social Epistemology of Educational Research. *Educational Researcher*, 26(9), 18–29. doi:10.2307/1176272
- Popkewitz, T. S. (1997b). *Foucault’s Challenge: Discourse, Knowledge, and Power in Education*. (T. S. Popkewitz & M. Brennan, Eds.). Teachers College Press.
- Popkewitz, T. S. (1997c). The production of reason and power: curriculum history and intellectual traditions. *Journal of Curriculum Studies*, 29(2), 131–164. doi:10.1080/002202797184107
- Rock, D. (1985). *Argentina, 1516-1982: from Spanish colonization to the Falklands War*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Rojas, R. (1909). *La restauración nacionalista, informe sobre educación*. Buenos Aires,. Retrieved from <http://hdl.handle.net/2027/loc.ark:/13960/t6c25qb6h>
- Rojas, R., & Rojas, R. (1922). *La restauración nacionalista; crítica de la educación argentina y bases para una reforma en el estudio de las humanidades modernas* (2. ed. (1. millar.)). Buenos Aires: J. Roldán y c.a.

- Sarlo, B. (1988). *Una modernidad periférica: Buenos Aires 1920 y 1930*. Buenos Aires: Ediciones Nueva Visión.
- Sarmiento, D. F. (1895). *Obras de D. F. Sarmiento*. Paris: Belin.
- Sarmiento, D. F., Montt, L., & Belin Sarmiento, A. (1885). *Obras de D. F. Sarmiento ...* Santiago de Chile, Imprenta Gutenberg. Retrieved from <http://catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/001875231>
- Scavino, D. F. (1993). *Barcos sobre la pampa: las formas de la guerra en Sarmiento*. Buenos Aires Argentina: Ediciones El Cielo por Asalto.
- Schulman, S. (1948). Juan Bautista Alberdi and His Influence on Immigration Policy in the Argentine Constitution of 1853. *The Americas*, 5(1), 3–17. doi:10.2307/978129
- Shumway, N. (1993). *The Invention of Argentina*. University of California Press.
- Smith, A. D. (2003). *Chosen Peoples: Sacred Sources of National Identity*. Oxford ; New York: Oxford University Press.
- Sorkin, D. J. (2008). *The Religious Enlightenment: Protestants, Jews, and Catholics from London to Vienna*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Stark, R. (1999). Secularization, R.I.P. *Sociology of Religion*, 60(3), 249–273. doi:10.2307/3711936
- Starobinski, J. (1993). *Blessings in disguise, or, The morality of evil*. Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press.
- Stefano, R. D. (2000). Entre Dios y el cesar: El clero secular rioplatense de las reformas borbonicas a la Revolucion de Independencia. *Latin American Research Review*, 35(2), 130–159.
- Svampa, M. (1994). *El dilema argentino: civilización o barbarie: de Sarmiento al revisionismo peronista*. Buenos Aires: El Cielo por Asalto, Imago Mundi.
- Ternavasio, M. (2002). *La revolución del voto: política y elecciones en Buenos Aires, 1810-1852*. Buenos Aires: Siglo Veintiuno Editores Argentina.
- The Church in Latin America, 1492-1992*. (1992). Tunbridge Wells, Kent [England]: Burns & Oates.
- The Holy Bible: English Standard version, containing the Old and New Testaments*. (2011). Wheaton, Ill.: Crossway.
- Tonda, A. A. (1952). *Rivadavia Y Medrano; Sus Actuaciones En La Reforma Eclesiástica*. Santa Fe, Argentina: Castellví.

Tröhler, D. (2011). *Languages of Education: Protestant Legacies, National Identities, and Global Aspirations* (1st ed.). Routledge.

Tröhler, D., Popkewitz, T. S., & Labaree, D. F. (Eds.). (2011). *Schooling and the Making of Citizens in the Long Nineteenth Century: Comparative Visions* (1st ed.). Routledge.

Villanueva, J. L. (1793). *Catecismo del Estado, según los principios de la religión ...* Madrid,. Retrieved from <http://hdl.handle.net/2027/njp.32101069175535>

Žižek, S. (2001). *On belief*. London; New York: Routledge.