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Elenco dei periodici dell'Università Johns Hopkins Biblioteca di Bologna

Il presente elenco rappresenta il totale dei periodici (inteso nel senso estensivo, comprendente cioè anche quotidiani, riviste, atti, annuali, documenti, ecc.) della collezione della Biblioteca del Centro di Bologna della Scuola Superiore di Studi Internazionali della università americana Johns Hopkins.

Elenchi simili a questo sono stati precedentemente pubblicati a Bologna dal Centro di Documentazione - Istituto per le Scienze Religiose (*La Biblioteca e le riviste del Centro di Documentazione*, Bologna, 1961), dall'Istituto Rizzoli (*Elenco delle riviste, volumi in continuazione ed atti di Congressi nelle Biblioteche scientifiche dell'Istituto ortopedico Rizzoli*, Bologna, 1961); e della Facoltà Medico-Chirurgica (*Periodici medici nelle biblioteche di Bologna*, Bologna, 1928). Fra breve seguirà anche l'elenco dei periodici della maggiore biblioteca cittadina, quella dell'Archiginnasio. Possiamo pertanto sperare di giungere gradualmente ad un catalogo unico dei periodici esistenti nelle biblioteche bolognesi simile a quelli già stampati per varie biblioteche di Roma, di Firenze, della Lombardia e di Modena.

Dato che il nostro elenco rappresenta praticamente una trascrizione del catalogo dei periodici della biblioteca Johns Hopkins, abbiamo mantenuto lo stile bibliografico e tutte le caratteristiche usate negli Stati Uniti per simili pubblicazioni: la denominazione delle organizzazioni e delle associazioni precede il titolo dei bollettini, degli atti e dei documenti. Nell'alfabetizzazione tutte le parole del titolo vengono prese in considerazione, eccezione fatta per l'articolo iniziale in qualsiasi lingua. Per esempio nel titolo *The Journal of the history of ideas* non viene considerato solamente l'articolo determinato iniziale *The*. Abbiamo anche adottato il principio di alfabetizzazione « parola per parola » piuttosto che « lettera per lettera »: cioè *New York* viene prima di *Newark*.

L'ordine delle voci è il seguente: titolo, sottotitolo, luogo di pubblicazione, frequenza, data di inizio della pubblicazione, classifica decimale, volumi ed annate in collezione. La parentesi quadra indica il volume e l'anno incompleto, mentre il - (trattino) dopo il volume e l'anno indica che la biblioteca possiede una collezione completa del periodico dall'anno indicato a tutt'oggi e che il periodico è attualmente in corso.

Desidero cogliere questa occasione per ringraziare la Biblioteca dell'Archiginnasio e il suo Direttore Dottor Gino Nenzioni non solamente per aver accettato di pubblicare il presente elenco, ma anche e soprattutto per la preziosa e continua collaborazione che si protrae ormai da vari anni.

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RICHARD C. LEWANSKI

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Echi in Bologna del Concilio Vaticano I e dell' Anticoncilio

Accingendoci a rievocare le ripercussioni in Bologna di avvenimenti lontani da noi ormai di un secolo, diciamo subito di seguire il metodo del distacco da essi. E lo facciamo nella convinzione che sia erroneo giudicare con la nostra mentalità atteggiamenti su questioni delle cui decisioni noi ora conosciamo le conseguenze, mentre, ovviamente, così non era per quelli di allora.

Per chiarire l'idea, portiamo un solo esempio: secondo Ferdinando Petruccelli della Gattina (1815-1890), « il Concilio di Roma era il Solferino del potere spirituale »⁽¹⁾, ossia l'ultima prova di un'istituzione morente; eppure, se egli ritornasse al mondo, vedrebbe quale prova di vita sta offrendo ora la Chiesa nel Concilio Vaticano II.

Pertanto, non ritenendo giusto l'uso della conoscenza *a posteriori*, resteremo nell'ambito di una succinta ricerca sulla eco che, nella stampa e nell'azione, ebbero il Concilio e l'Anticoncilio nella nostra Bologna.

Naturalmente, questi echi ci sono conservati dalla stampa che, in materia, espresse le varie correnti della città fin da quando Pio IX annunciò ai Vescovi la convocazione del Concilio, il 29 giugno 1867, in occasione del XVIII centenario del martirio di S. Pietro. A Bologna la stampa cattolica di tinta politica era stata messa a tacere dalla legge Crispi nel 1866⁽²⁾, per cui resta-

⁽¹⁾ *Il Concilio*, ed. Treves, Milano 1869, p. 102.

⁽²⁾ Cfr. G. B. CASONI, *Cinquant'anni di giornalismo*, Bologna 1907, p. 190 ss.

vano soltanto i periodici strettamente religiosi editi dall'Acquader-
ni⁽³⁾.

La stampa laica allora sulla breccia era particolarmente costituita da « Il Monitore di Bologna » e la « Gazzetta dell'Emilia » d'indirizzo conservatore, l'« Amico del Popolo » portavoce del partito d'azione, « L'Indipendente di Bologna » avverso ai moderati, « Il Popolo » democratico, oltre i periodici umoristici lo « Staffile » e « Torre Asinelli ». Non occorre riferire minutamente (lo spazio non lo permetterebbe) sull'atteggiamento dei singoli fogli; basterà dire che i periodici cattolici, con alla testa la « Civiltà Cattolica » osannarono al Concilio, ne illustrarono gli scopi, manifestarono gioia e speranza⁽⁴⁾; gli altri, pur movendosi sulla comune piattaforma dell'avversione, si comportarono diversamente: chi simulò disinteresse, chi espresse timori e chi lo combattè apertamente.

Dal loro punto di vista, motivi di allarmi non mancarono nel travagliato 1867 per i tentativi di Garibaldi su Roma e l'intervento della Francia, decisa a far rispettare la Convenzione del settembre; altra esca fornì la bolla *Aeterni patris* del 29 giugno 1868, nella quale, rompendola con una tradizione quindici volte secolare, non erano invitati al Concilio i Principi cattolici.

La stessa stampa ligia alle Somme Chiavi manifestò obiezioni e inquietudini mosse dal timore che l'assenza favorisse l'elevazione a dogma delle proposizioni del *Sillabo* e la proclamazione dell'infalibilità pontificia: dottrine giudicate contrarie alla riconciliazione della Chiesa con la moderna civiltà ed alla costituzione degli stati⁽⁵⁾.

⁽³⁾ Vedine l'elenco in ALDO BERSELLI, *Alle origini del movimento cattolico intransigente* (1858-1866). Estr. da « Quaderni di cultura e storia sociale », Livorno, 1954, p. 26. Il 2 maggio 1868 usciva « L'Ancora » primo organo della gioventù cattolica italiana, la quale nel suo programma proclamava « di riconoscere l'assoluta infalibilità del Pontefice Romano ».

⁽⁴⁾ Tra costoro è da collocare Alfonso Rubbiani. Vedi: *Un dimenticato scritto del Rubbiani sul Concilio Vaticano I*, in « Strenna storica Bolognese », 1963, p. 49. Anche le « Piccole letture cattoliche » pubblicarono l'opuscolo *Il Concilio Ecumenico*, ed altrettanto fece la Società per la diffusione gratuita dei buoni libri, pubblicando dalla Tip. Mareggiani *Il Concilio e il Giubileo*, in forma dialogica.

⁽⁵⁾ Il mancato invito dei Principi fu denunciato nel Parlamento francese da Emilio Ollivier (1825-1913), che vi scorgeva un pericolo contro la moderna società (Cfr. « La Civiltà Cattolica » Serie VII, vol. 3 (1868) p. 642). Nel Parlamento italiano invece i deputati Giuseppe Ferrari (1811-1876) e Pasquale Stanislao Mancini (1799-1885) chiesero al governo le misure che intendeva prendere « per mantenere inviolate le franchigie ecclesiastiche dello Stato » invitandolo a fare suo, di fronte al Concilio, « il voto nazionale che

La stampa liberale, nelle varie sue gradazioni, almanacò circa il presumibile svolgimento dei lavori, destinati secondo alcuni ad erigere a dogma il principio del potere temporale, secondo altri a proclamare l'infalibilità personale del Papa e, più spesso, indugiò a commentare incresciosi episodi, come l'esecuzione del Monti e Tognetti, il cui rumore fu enorme in Italia, e specialmente a Bologna per le roventi invettive del Carducci.

Per la verità, l'organo governativo di Bologna non ebbe peli sulla lingua nello stimmatizzare gli eccessi.

Quando mons. Gaspere Mermillod (1824-1892) arcivescovo di Ginevra, essendo ospite durante il viaggio per Roma del marchese Molza di Modena, fu maltrattato dalla plebaglia montata da un giornalucolo, il « Monitore di Bologna » non esitò a chiedere al governo severe misure contro le autorità locali « se non voleva assumersi in faccia al mondo civile la complicità di un atto selvaggio, degno del Marocco o della Tunisia »⁽⁶⁾.

Con l'avvicinarsi dell'apertura del Concilio, il quotidiano non si lasciò sfuggire occasione per metterne in evidenza l'importanza: « La riunione a Roma delle assise cristiane, che alcuni cervelli eunuchi riducono alla miserabile stregua di un fatto fazioso, è invece uno dei più grandi eventi che la storia registri, e noi da un pezzo abbiamo espresso la fede che dal Concilio parta una bene augurale parola di pace e di conciliazione »⁽⁷⁾.

Alla vigilia poi dell'inizio dei lavori presentava ai suoi lettori un quadro dei partiti italiani di fronte alla sacra assise.

Premesso che il Concilio, grazie la libertà della stampa, « ha già fatto pubblicare tanti libri ed articoli da farne, a quest'ora, una mezza biblioteca » andando incontro a tutti i gusti, « dalla papolatria degli scrittori della « Civiltà Cattolica » all'opuscolo del Petruccelli della Gattina », l'articolista vedeva delineate nell'opinione pubblica cinque correnti. Prima, « gli arrabbiati di destra » cioè gl'irremovibili dall'antica massima *aut sint ut sunt, aut omnino non sint*; seconda, « i cattolici concilianti » preoccupati di « mettere in armonia la religione colla ragione, la Chiesa e lo Stato »; terza, « uomini più di cuore che di testa, che non sono nè carne nè pesce » ancorati alla formula teorica di « libera Chiesa in libero Stato »; quarta, « i dissidenti dal cattolicesimo ma che ammettono il dogmatismo » come i protestanti e gli ortodossi;

chiedeva la soppressione del potere della Chiesa ». Vedi: STEFANO IACINI, *La politica ecclesiastica italiana da Villafranca a Porta Pia*, Bari 1938, p. 282 ss.

⁽⁶⁾ 26 novembre 1869. L'articolo di fondo è intitolato « Vergogna! ».

⁽⁷⁾ « Il Monitore » del 1° dicembre 1869.

quinta « la schiera addetta all'ateismo razionalista » rappresentata in Italia da coloro che credono il Papato o morto o morente, e veggono la ragione umana al suo posto ».

Quanto all'assemblea dei Vescovi, prevede « una Babilonia minore » cioè gl'interpreti dei cattolici intransigenti e gl'interpreti dei cattolici liberali; di essi non è prevedibile la vittoria: « forse nessuno dei due gruppi avrà completo trionfo e, come accade nelle lotte morali, si finirà colla transazione »⁽⁸⁾.

Di fronte a questa radioscopia del Concilio, eseguita da destra, accenniamo a quella fatta da sinistra, dall'« Indipendente ».

Per il giornale di sinistra « il Concilio sarà un Congresso politico in piena forma di tutti i dignitari dell'orbe cattolico, che vorrà elevare a dogma l'autorità temporale del Papa ». E continua: « La stampa clericale straordinariamente moltiplicatasi in questi ultimi tempi, tanto all'interno che all'esterno, manifesta apertamente le intenzioni pontificie ». Le quali, a suo vedere, consistevano nell'ottenere, coll'aiuto della Francia, « la restituzione al Papa di tutto ciò che gli è stato tolto dall'Italia ». Pertanto, a queste esigenze clericali, « l'Italia non ha da opporre che una sola politica diretta a rivendicare il diritto nazionale su Roma, per stabilirvi la sua capitale »⁽⁹⁾.

Per l'esattezza, occorre osservare che la stampa « straordinariamente moltiplicatasi in questi ultimi tempi, tanto all'interno che all'esterno » non era tutta « clericale », nè propugnava tutta di elevare a dogma l'autorità del Papa.

Infatti, a Torino si pubblicava « Il Concilio Ecumenico » un periodico che si occupava non solo della documentazione ufficiale, ma anche delle critiche dei dissidenti e di opere d'ogni tipo sul Concilio. Tra le altre segnalò ampiamente il volume *Il Papa e il Concilio* di Ianus, pseudonimo di teologi tedeschi, nel quale si sosteneva che la Chiesa cattolica perderebbe l'altra parte della Germania se non cedeva il potere temporale e non si purificava della zavorra medioevale della Curia.

⁽⁸⁾ « Il Monitore » 10 dicembre 1869. Gli articoli sono anonimi, ma furono scritti dal barone Franco Mistrali (1833-1884) di Parma, allora direttore del quotidiano. Egli fu pubblicista di valore, ma molto discusso per il contegno morale che lo portò al carcere, per la fede politica che fu ambigua, per la fede religiosa intinta di protestantesimo. Cfr. « Il barone Mistrali », in « Gazzetta di Parma », 2 dic. 1964.

⁽⁹⁾ « L'Indipendente di Bologna » 30 giugno 1868.

⁽¹⁰⁾ Il libro di pp. XX-368 fu edito da Ermanno Loescher, Torino-Firenze 1869; sia il volume che il periodico torinese vennero largamente propagandati dalla stampa laica di Bologna.

Ma a Bologna si passò pure all'azione, da parte cattolica: un'azione modesta compiuta dalle donne, come consigliava la difficile situazione politica della città.

La faccenda andò così. Le congregazioni mariane di Verona avevano presa l'iniziativa, caldamente appoggiata dall'« Unità Cattolica », di offrire a Pio IX « in atto d'omaggio nell'occasione del XIX Concilio ecumenico » un Album di firme accompagnate da un'offerta.

A Bologna, essendo vacante la sede arcivescovile per il negato *exsequatur* al Card. F. M. Guidi, reggeva la Diocesi, in qualità di Vicario di lui, Mons. Antonio Canzi, che era stato fatto vescovo al suo ritorno dal carcere di Pallanza⁽¹¹⁾.

A lui, dunque, il 21 settembre 1869, il Vescovo di Verona spediva una lettera, un modulo di scheda e l'estratto n. 204 dell'« Unità Cattolica ». Nella lettera raccomandava il « progetto » dal S. Padre così bene accolto che aveva onorato le promotrici di una cordiale lettera gratulatoria, e faceva voti che anche a Bologna vi aderissero « tutte le buone donne cattoliche ed in ispecialità le confraternite e le istituzioni femminili ».

Mons. Canzi si pose subito all'opera organizzando tra le pie signore gruppetti di zelatrici di offerte e di firme, di cui raccolsero 816 aderenti.

E poichè, tranne un centinaio appartenenti a confraternite femminili e una cinquantina di dame di carità e della S. Vincenzo, si trattava di donne di ogni ceto e condizione, sulle schede fu stampata un'iscrizione diversa da quella della città scaligera. Questa: *A Pio IX Pont. Mass. - in atto di omaggio - alla dignità di Vicario di G. Cristo - e alla sua augusta Persona - le donne bolognesi - in occasione del XIX Concilio Ecumenico - umiliando solenne protesta di fede cattolica - di attaccamento alla Santa Romana Chiesa - e di adesione assoluta - ai suoi insegnamenti - con tenue ma affettuoso tributo - si sottoscrivono.*

Le schede vennero rilegate in un « Libro di velluto rosso con elegante doratura e lo stemma di Pio IX »; quindi, ai primi del marzo 1870 l'omaggio venne presentato al Santo Padre, accompagnandolo con la somma raccolta di L. 4.707,18 e con un lungo Indirizzo sottoscritto dalle contesse Maria Malvasia e Barbara Valentini, dalle marchese Lucia Boschi e Giulia Marsili e dalla signora Anna Savi.

⁽¹¹⁾ Cfr. *Scontri tra autorità ecclesiastica e civile di Bologna nei primi anni dell'unità* in « Bollettino del Museo del Risorgimento » Bologna, a. V (1960) parte III.

Fra l'altro, in esso si legge che, non permettendo « le circostanze dei tempi di adoperarsi in siffatte cattoliche dimostrazioni con tutta la pubblicità che sarebbe necessaria, le sottoscrizioni erano state limitate alle amiche e conoscenti delle cooperative; e ciononostante non esitiamo a far fede a Vostra Beatitudine che esse rappresentano la universalità delle donne bolognesi essendo, la Dio grazia, ancora comune fra noi la fede e i sentimenti cattolici ».

Pochi giorni dopo il Papa affidava a Mons. Canzi una lettera in data 24 marzo 1870, per le sottoscrittrici dell'Indirizzo.

In essa si rallegrava della loro « apertissima testimonianza di rispetto, di attaccamento alla Cattedra apostolica e di venerazione per i Padri conciliari », esprimeva il suo gradimento per l'impegno di « aderire pienamente ai decreti e alle leggi del Concilio » e si augurava che, anche per le loro preghiere e il loro zelo, si possa « conseguire che l'ecclesiastico ministero fiorisca e si mantenga in codesta Vostra Città » (12).

A proposito delle « circostanze dei tempi » accennate nell'Indirizzo, è interessante conoscere, per capirne l'atmosfera, come avvenne la partecipazione di Mons. Canzi al Concilio.

Il Procuratore del Re gli aveva fatto pervenire, il 2 ottobre, l'autorizzazione del Governo per assistervi « attese le dimande fatte alle Autorità governative da alcuni Vescovi dello Stato ». Il Canzi, con immaginabile indignazione, scrisse in testa al foglio: « Non diedi nessuna risposta, nè feci neppure la ricevuta del dispaccio »; più sotto poi mise la postilla: « È falso che alcuni Vescovi dello Stato abbiano fatto questa domanda al governo » (13).

È superfluo dire che questi dispettucci erano reciproci.

Per restare in tema, ricordiamo il caso di Mons. Pietro Buffetti (1804-1877) Vescovo di Bertinoro. Come tutti i Vescovi in diocesi del mondo, anch'egli aveva scritto sul Concilio una notificazione per i suoi diocesani e ne aveva indirizzata una copia al Canzi « con mille ossequi e voti cordialissimi ». Ma la notificazione, emessa il 28 novembre, rimase bloccata per un mese. Lo stesso Buffetti ne spiegò al collega il ritardo apponendo sul larghissimo foglio questo *Nota Bene*: « La presente (mai saprei dire se per capriccio od ostilità tanto essa è innocua) ha subito un sequestro, benchè poi, deferita alla Prefettura, sia stata licenziata » (14).

(12) Vedi la lettera pontificia ne « L'Ancora » 4 giugno 1870.

(13) Archivio arcivescovile generale, posiz. R. 202, n. 15.

(14) Archivio arcivescovile generale, R. 200, n. 24. Il Buffetti era stato fatto vescovo da Pio IX durante il suo soggiorno a Bologna nell'estate 1857.

L'atmosfera inquieta in cui si aprì e lavorò il Concilio, diventò minacciosa nel luglio 1870 per lo scoppio della guerra tra la Francia e la Prussia. Si aspettava il ritiro delle truppe francesi e la conseguente rivoluzione in Roma, per cui i lavori furono sospesi non appena proclamata la infallibilità del Sommo Pontefice » (15).

* * *

Per completare la nostra rapida ricerca, dobbiamo accennare all'opera di due ecclesiastici intellettuali bolognesi: don Vincenzo Ferranti (1811-1896) e don Giacomo Cassani (1818-1899), entrambi docenti nell'Università, l'uno di storia e filosofia del diritto e l'altro di diritto Canonico (16).

Don Ferranti era giobertiano in filosofia (nella visita del filosofo a Bologna lo aveva salutato « Platone cristiano »), liberista in economia, uomo di centro in politica, per cui combattè egualmente radicali e reazionari.

Avversario dell'esclusivismo, nel lungo insegnamento propugnò una dottrina in cui s'integrassero il sistema storico e il sistema razionale, ossia l'elemento umano e l'elemento divino. Con questa sua mentalità incline alla conciliazione, con cui aveva affrontato le scottanti questioni del suo tempo, si occupò pure del Concilio. Quando Napoleone III, riprendendo un'idea già proposta nel '67, affacciò il progetto di un Congresso Europeo, don Ferranti l'abbracciò con entusiasmo e lo associò idealmente al Concilio ecumenico.

Pertanto alla ripresa delle lezioni, nell'autunno 1869, pro-

Parroco della SS. Trinità, aveva fondato nel 1845 in via Braina un Ospizio per le sordomute (Cfr. *Cenni storici sul Pio Istituto delle sordomute in Bologna*, Bologna 1907). Per quest'opera benefica e varie altre, don Buffetti si era gravato di debiti che gli furono condonati dal Papa; il sacerdote mal visto dai liberali, come attesta il BOTTICARI (*Cronaca di Bologna*, ed. Zanichelli, 1962, II, 397, A. 215), per la sua nomina fu oggetto di satira: « Che poi fatto Concistoro - fe Pastor di Bertinoro - don Buffetti parroco - quel Buffetti indipendente - che lasciò ... cosa da niente - un vistoso deficit ». La satira, anonima, stampata dalla Tip. Giovanardi-Cocchi, fa parte della *Miscellanea Grandi*, presso l'archivio arcivescovile.

(15) L'infalibilità era il punto saliente, ma non fu il solo trattato nei sette mesi di attività del Concilio. Infatti, si occupò di questioni di diritto canonico, di disciplina ecclesiastica, di azione missionaria e di altre riguardanti le chiese orientali. Per i particolari, vedi « Le Concil du Vatican I » nel vol. II di PIERRE FERNESOLE, *Pie IX*, ed. Lethilleux, Paris 1963, pp. 279-326.

(16) Sulla loro attività politico-religiosa, vedi ALDO BERSELLI, *Aspetti e figure dal movimento conciliatorista nelle ex legazioni*, estr. dall'« Archivio storico italiano » a. CXII (1954) disp. I.

pose ai colleghi che si facesse voto « per la convocazione di un Congresso civile europeo che, mosso dallo stesso spirito conciliativo, vedesse di por termine a una lotta tanto pernicioso all'umanità, sciansando così entrambe le funeste conseguenze della teocrazia ieratica e dell'autocrazia civile, del sanfedismo radicale e del radicalismo liberale » (17).

La stampa di opposizione gridò allo scandalo, biasimando che « nel tempio delle scienze siasi propugnato il Concilio ecumenico » (18); ma egli tirò avanti imperturbato e nella primavera del 1870 scrisse il volume *Il Concilio Ecumenico e il Congresso civile europeo, ossia Religione e Civiltà* (parte I, Bologna, Tip. G. Vitali, 1870).

Per le solite diffidenze dei governi, il Congresso non ebbe luogo ed il Ferranti prese lo spunto dal fallimento sia per fare un confronto tra l'iniziativa laica naufragata « per causa degli interessi nazionali » e l'iniziativa religiosa attuata « a conforto degli interessi universali e religiosi », sia per studiare le cause dell'antinomia fra il mondo civile e il mondo religioso.

Egli lamentava il naufragio del Congresso il quale, oltre che motivo di speranza, sarebbe stato utile fiancheggiatore del Concilio « dato che Stato e Chiesa, benchè abbiano compiti diversi, non li hanno per altro opposti, governando entrambi tutto l'uomo sotto diversi aspetti che pur debbono collimare ».

Prospettata la preoccupante situazione politica dell'Europa, lacerata da passioni e da interessi opposti, egli rilevava quanto sia dannoso alla società civile che la religione non possa esercitarvi la sua benefica influenza a causa della stolta presunzione che sia avversaria del progresso, proprio quella religione cattolica che dell'Europa gettò le basi della civiltà.

Quindi, passate in rassegna le varie dottrine sui rapporti tra Stato e Chiesa, concludeva, in armonia con lo spirito ecumenico del Concilio, con l'auspicare che « laicato e sacerdozio, Stato e Chiesa diano opera di conserva per la soluzione dello stesso problema supremo, cioè come indurre debita attinenza fra l'ordine soprannaturale e l'ordine naturale, tenendoli distinti senza scinderli, collegarli senza confonderli, combinandosi insieme l'autonomia ossequiente dell'uno col primato avvalorativo dell'altro ».

In questo modo, a suo giudizio, si avrà « la concordanza così

(17) « Il Monitore di Bologna » 25 novembre 1869.

(18) « L'Indipendente di Bologna » 20 novembre 1869. Il giornale aveva combattuto l'idea dell'Imperatore già nel 1867 per questa ragione: « Il Napoleone I volle esercitare sull'Europa il primato militare, il Napoleone III vuole esercitare su di essa il primato morale » (13 novembre 1867).

sospirata fra fede e ragione, fra autorità e libertà, e conseguentemente fra mondo moderno, che posa sulla ragione, sulla libertà e sull'umano, e il cattolicesimo fondato sull'autorità, sulla fede e sul divino » (19).

Passiamo ora a dar un cenno dell'azione di don Cassani.

Anch'egli era partito dalla posizione giobertiana, ma poi, essendogli apparso il programma del filosofo « seducente utopia », agì con un indirizzo diverso dal collega; anzi il suo atteggiamento fu tale che lo mise in un insanabile disaccordo con l'autorità ecclesiastica da cui si staccò disciplinarmente nel 1860 accettando una cattedra all'Università (20).

Don Cassani si occupò del Concilio dopo che i lavori erano stati sospesi, trattandone in lungo e in largo l'opera nel periodico « Il rinnovamento cattolico » da lui diretto, stampato a Bologna dal 1871 al 1875.

La pubblicazione nei cinque anni di vita, mise insieme otto volumi di 500 pagine ognuno, scritti da « un'estesa associazione di collaboratori » che mantennero quasi sempre l'anonimo. Secondo il programma, « Il rinnovamento » riguardava tre campi: religioso, sociale e politico; accettava anche la polemica « a condizione che sia informata da quello spirito di rispetto e di carità vicendevole che non deve mai mancare in chi cerca la verità in buona fede ed è animato dal desiderio di bene » (21).

Negli scritti di lui predomina la critica, soprattutto nei riguardi della infallibilità, nella preoccupazione « di raggiungere la ricomposizione dell'unità religiosa » compromessa dalla « improvvida definizione di Roma ». Benchè audace nelle proposte di riforme, il periodico fu più temperato di altri affini, che si pubblicavano in alcune città, i quali avevano una tinta protestanteggiante (22). Infatti, don Cassani, pur battendosi per le idee liberali, era rimasto attaccato alla fede cattolica e, come sacer-

(19) V. FERRANTI, *Il concilio ecumenico e il Congresso civile europeo*, cit. p. 256. Nel suo lungo studio, don Ferranti combattè pure la tesi sostenuta nel sopracitato libro di Janus, al quale rimproverava di voler confondere « l'infallibilità dottrinale col centralismo amministrativo il più esasperato introdotto dalla dittatura papale » (p. 178).

(20) Cfr. *Sacerdoti bolognesi liberali dal 1848 all'unità nazionale* in « Bollettino del Museo del Risorgimento » Bologna, a. V (1960), parte seconda, p. 451.

(21) Cfr. Programma, in data 20 novembre 1870 (in copertina).

(22) Periodici conciliatoristi o riformisti erano « Il mediatore » di Torino, diretto dal P. Carlo Passaglia, il « Conciliatore » di Milano, diretto dal Can. G. B. Avignone; l'« Esaminatore » di Firenze, diretto prima da Stanislao Biancardi e poi da Chauny Langdon, pastore americano della chiesa episcopale.

dote, compì, insieme al gruppetto dei preti suoi amici, le cerimonie religiose nelle quali si rifiutava il clero disciplinato. Ma quasi tutti prima del Concilio, erano ritornati all'ovile; lo stesso battagliero don Cassani chiuse l'irrequita sua esistenza riconciliato con la Chiesa (23).

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L'Anticoncilio fu organizzato dal conte Giuseppe Ricciardi (1808-1882), deputato del Collegio di Foggia, il quale si fece forte dell'adesione di Giuseppe Garibaldi (24). Per assecondare la loro azione s'impegnò a fondo anche Alessandro Gavazzi (1809-1889) fattosi pastore evangelico durante l'esilio in Inghilterra; stabilitosi poi a Firenze, condusse un'ardente campagna, insieme con i Valdesi, per promuovere un'alleanza evangelica mondiale contro il Concilio (25). Su di esso, poi, scrisse il libello *La decembiade Mastai*, spiegazione al popolo del Concilio Vaticano 1869 e della camorra loiolesca (Firenze 1869, pp. 80) e il volume *Dei Concili Ecumenici*, trattato di Alessandro Gavazzi, ministro evangelico, come introduzione a un corso di trattati sul Credo di Pio IV (Firenze 1869, pp. 313). Quest'azione denigratrice del Papato, svolta in quegli anni dall'ex barnabita, a Bologna era accompagnata da manifestazioni anticlericali.

Nel 1868 l'amministrazione Casarini si occupava, il 31 gennaio, di togliere la colonna recante la statua di S. Domenico; il 20 marzo di concorrere alle spese per il monumento al Savonarola in Ferrara; il 16 dicembre di sottoscrivere in favore delle famiglie del Monti e Tognetti « decapitati in Roma », infine il 22 dicembre approvava di intitolare ad Ugo Bassi la vecchia strada dei Vetturini (26).

Il nuovo nome venne collocato il 1° aprile 1869. Per l'8 agosto il Carducci pubblicava il sonetto *Via Ugo Bassi* che, stampato in grandi fogli, venne affisso ai muri con l'epigrafe: « Questa

(23) Cfr. D. LUIGI BREVENTANI, *Raccolta delle distrazioni sull'origine vera della decima di Cento*, Bologna, Tip. Gamberini e Parmeggiani, 1900, p. 62.

(24) Il gesto di Garibaldi non piacque al « *Monitore* » che il 4 dicembre 1869 scriveva: « Noi diciamo che Garibaldi lo rispettiamo e lo onoriamo, ma quando pone avanti il suo nome dove è competente, come in fatto di guerra, del resto dichiariamo che idolatrie non ne vogliamo di nessuna parte ».

(25) Cfr. ROBERT SYLVAIN, *Clerc, Garibaldien prêchant des Deux mondes: Alessandro Gavazzi*, Le Centre Pédagogique, Place de l'Institut Canadien, Québec, 1962, II, 492.

(26) Cfr. Verbali del Consiglio comunale di Bologna 1866-69. Allora fu cominciata pure la discussione per sopprimere il catechismo nelle scuole elementari del Comune (cfr. « *L'osservatore romano* » 2 febbraio 1961).

via - o Bolognesi - prende nome da un concittadino - fucilato perchè amava la patria - dai soldati di un imperatore - complici i preti - Ricordatelo (27).

Di fronte a tutto ciò, è immaginabile la reazione dei cattolici. Come per rifarsene, avevano pensato a speciali cerimonie per l'8 dicembre, festa dell'Immacolata e giorno dell'inaugurazione del Concilio. Esse dovevano compiersi, com'era tradizionale, nella basilica di S. Petronio; ma la Fabbriceria non permise la funzione per il Concilio « nel timore di commovimenti di piazza » (28).

Intanto il 7 dicembre sul giornale democratico « *Il popolo* » si leggeva: « Domani, giorno in cui viene aperto in Roma il Concilio Ecumenico bandito da Papa Mastai, noi pubblicheremo l'*Inno a Satana* di Enotrio Romano. Il canto ispirato del grande poeta della rivoluzione è la protesta che noi crediamo sia la più efficace a commuovere il popolo contro i responsi della nera congrega che, protetta dalle bandiere franco-italiane, congiura contro la patria e l'umanità » (29).

Ma in Bologna non ci fu nessuna commozione. Sotto l'8 dicembre, con evidente soddisfazione, il Bottrigari annotò: « Nessuna dimostrazione anticlericale preconizzata o temuta in questo giorno a Bologna, in causa dell'inaugurazione del Concilio Ecumenico, ha realmente avuto luogo. La città è rimasta tranquilla ed i cattolici reazionari hanno celebrata la loro funzione in S. Petronio, accompagnando entro il Tempio la processione della B.V. Immacolata con sfarzo di torcie » (30).

La ristampa dell'inno provocò la nota polemica col Filopanti che, tra l'altro, rimproverava al Carducci d'aver reso « un segnalato servizio al sedicente Concilio Ecumenico » (31). Inoltre, l'inno messo in circolazione in un fascicoletto, presentava l'autore nelle vesti poco onorate di poeta di Satana, suscitandogli antipatie e reazioni (32).

(27) Nel sonetto il poeta inviava, come monito ai padri conciliari, il nome e l'ombra di Ugo Bassi: *Ma lascia tu nel gran concilio sgombra - Roma, una sedia: a te Bologna invia - Tra' carnefici suoi del Bassi l'ombra*.

(28) La disposizione, lodata dalla stampa governativa (cfr. « *Monitore* » del 26 novembre), fu aspramente commentata da « *L'ancora* » nell'articolo *Schiavi perfino in chiesa!* (numero del 1° dicembre 1869).

(29) L'inno, composto nel settembre 1863, era stato distribuito dal Carducci in poche copie agli amici due anni dopo: poi era apparso qua e là, senza autorizzazione dell'autore, su vari giornali.

(30) *Cronaca di Bologna*, cit. IV, 119.

(31) Per la polemica, vedi: CARDUCCI, *Opere*, ediz. naz., vol. XXIV, p. 85-116.

(32) Cfr. MARIO BIAGINI, *Il Poeta della terza Italia*, Milano, Murgia, 1961.