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			Newsletter, published by the Reading Primers SIG of the International Society for Historical and Systematic Research on Textbooks and Educational Media		

□ Editorial

Dear readers,

So far most of the activities of the RP-SIG have been virtual. In November, 2015, a group of researchers, many of them members of the RP-SIG network, met in Braunschweig (Germany). They took part in a workshop, hosted by the Georg Eckert Institute for International Textbook Research, to discuss first post-World War II editions of reading primers published in various European countries, in both a comparative and a transnational perspective. We would like to thank the GEI and especially Simona Szakacs who coordinated the event. You will find more details on the issues discussed in Braunschweig in this newsletter, and we look forward to a book based on the conference proceedings, an annotated bibliography of 1945 primers published in European countries and to the future cooperation in primer research projects

Madrid/Essen/Wroclaw, May 2016

Kira Mahamud Angulo
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November 13-14, 2015: Workshop on Primers 1945 in Europe

The workshop ***After the War – A New Beginning? A Comparative Examination of Reading Primers Published and Used in 1945 in Europe*** in Braunschweig was sponsored by the Georg Eckert Institute for International Textbook Research (GEI), the Research Library for the History of Education (BBF) at the German Institute for International Educational Research, Berlin, and the RP-SIG. GEI was represented at the event by Eckardt Fuchs (director), Sandra Mass (deputy director), Simona Szakacs (organiser of the workshop), Anke Hertling (head of the Research library) and a number of staff members who acted as commentators of individual papers. Representatives of the BBF included Joachim Scholz (head of research), Gert Geißler (senior researcher) and Stefan Cramme (head of library). Anke Hertling and her team had prepared an exhibition of primers, based on holdings of the GEI and BBF libraries. Finally, RP-SIG members involved in the event included Alberto Barausse (Molise), Luciana Bellatalla (Ferrara), Vitaly Bezrogov (Moscow), Dorena Caroli (Macerata), Sylvia Schütze (Hannover/Bielefeld), Niki Sioki (Nicosia), Wendelin Sroka (Essen), Evita Wiecki (Munich) and Joanna Wojdon (Wrocław). The RP-SIG wishes to sincerely thank the directors of the co-sponsoring institutions for their willingness to cooperate and all those who have actively and in various ways contributed to this inspiring event.

The programme of the workshop is published on the web, and the organisers plan to publish a book based on the conference proceedings. Rather than presenting another conference report, please find here a summary by Joanna Wojdon (Wrocław) and comments on the workshop from various perspectives by Gert Geißler (Berlin) and Eckhart Fuchs/Simona Szakacs (Braunschweig).

http://www.gei.de/fileadmin/gei.de/bilder/presse/Veranstaltungen/A_Primers_1945_Programme_20151110.pdf

Workshop summary (Joanna Wojdon)

The workshop gathered about twenty researchers, representing various countries, research fields and approaches. The “examination” or rather analysis was not limited to texts, but included also pictures, covers, fonts, type-sets and printing techniques. General overviews were presented alongside detailed analyses of individual pages, pictures, colors, details. Both techniques of reading instruction and content were taken into consideration (though content prevailed). Some presentations went beyond mere textbook analysis. Archival sources reflecting decision-making process were also analysed (such as the documents of the ministries of education or censorship office) as well as secondary literature. The possibilities to expand the sources were discussed, especially in search of those that would reflect the actual role of the primers and their implementation in the school practice.

The research questions concentrated around the topic of the representation of war in reading primers – which differed considerably between the countries: from detailed emotional description of military operations and terror to total negligence. In some cases, however, many similarities were noticed which raised the issues of mutual impact (or the Soviet domination in case of Eastern Europe) and the flow of patterns. The notion of creating “a new man” seems particularly interesting, as it appeared in both Western and Eastern textbooks (it was mentioned particularly by the researchers of Albanian, Italian and Polish primers), disregarding the dominant ideology of the book and of the system of education. The question is if it was a result of the impact of ideology or of the more universal notion of progress/enlightenment to be pursued by school education. The features of the “new man” were also discussed. Other issues included the image(s) of the political leaders and their cult in the textbooks, turning points in the educational changes in various countries, images of schools and co-relation between the primers and reality. The process of primers development was presented with focus drawn on various stages: from the political decisions on the national level to the typeset-

□ **RP-SIG: Developments and plans (continued)**

ting techniques. Prominent textbook authors were presented – it turns out that many countries enjoyed considerable sustainability of the reading primers authors and illustrators (even if their products changed over time) who became celebrities themselves.

Perspectives for the future publication and further research were also drawn though it turned out not to be easy to agree on the common timeframe, methods or analytical frameworks. The initial concept of “Anno Zero” set in 1945 was questioned by some discussants who pointed out that in their countries the real changes in the primers started later, e.g. in 1948/49 and the books then-developed lasted until the mid-1956. Others, however, suggested that those changes could be a topic of a separate research projects while concentrating on 1945 in this initial study would give an interesting comparative perspective. During the closing discussion prof. Eckhardt Fuchs, director of Georg-Eckert Institute, pointed out to the entanglement between the analyzed primers and suggested implementing a transnational rather than comparative approach.

‘Such expertise alive in that many places’ (Gert Geißler)

The workshop was well organized, and I was deeply impressed by the presentations. It was amazing to see how those small textbooks, with paper grades and design features often reflecting the hardships of the immediate post-war period, can open a view on social and political conditions, on cultures, actors and educational realities in schools around 1945. In Germany, historical educational research, reflecting on pedagogy and education in other countries, more often than not has a focus on Western and Central Europe or the US. From this background, the papers on historical circumstances in South and Eastern Europe as they were delivered at the workshop are highly beneficial for historical educational research. I was very pleased, if I may say so, to see such expertise alive in that many places. And I doubt that in Germany more recently another conference took place, uniting historians and educationalists from Latvia, Poland and Russia to Macedonia, Greece and Italy. It is highly desirable that communication as initiated by the workshop can be preserved and extended.

Casting a wider net: the case for a comparative framework with a transnational twist (Eckhardt Fuchs and Simona Szakács)

At the end of the vibrant international workshop held at the Georg Eckert Institute in November 2015 which addressed both the contexts, forms, and contents, and the production, distribution, and use of reading primers in and around 1945 Europe, a couple of important questions seem to be key for pushing our fruitful exchange forwards toward a comparative direction.

First, the question of “WHY”? Why should primers be compared? How does a comparative perspective help us move beyond what we already know about reading primers and about their role in forging new ‘European’ citizens after 1945? It is to be noted that the primers analysed during the workshop pertained to a wide constellation of cases and offered an impressively rich understanding of different aspects of primers in 1945 across Europe, starting from their imagistic and textual contents, continuing with the contexts of their appearance, diffusion, and use in different localities, moving on to their lesser or more well-known authors, to reach material aspects such as their production technologies and design.

A comparative framework within which all of these contributions could be made sense of *together* should, in our view, involve *casting a wider net* in both (i) time and (ii) space. In relation to time, this would mean expanding the meaning of “1945” from a mere point in time (a calendar-year, a post-war *anno-zero*) to a broader period of post-war change anchored in various

¹ Text by Simona Szakács, based on Eckhardt Fuchs’ comments delivered at the end of the Workshop held in Braunschweig in November 2015.

□ **RP-SIG: Developments and plans (continued)**

time-points depending on differentiated local contexts. Take, for instance, the discrepant cases of post-war Yugoslavia and Romania; while the new Macedonian primer was planned, elaborated, and set in use by the partisans already in 1945, a complete revision of primers reflecting the post-war order happened in Romania only with the 1948 Soviet reform of the education system. Without a wider concept of post-war change, these two cases would hardly be able to speak to each other. In relation to space, casting a wider net would mean an extension of the comparative horizon beyond the Eurocentric view that dominates discussions about the post-war world. Reflecting on the role of primers in inculcating the values of a new societal order would have to take into account, for instance, the time span needed for learning how to read and write, which, in the case of some Asian languages and cultures, may take more than a single school year. Comparisons beyond Europe would then have to take differentiated school rhythms into account as well as sensitivity towards various learning cultures.

Second, the question of "HOW"? How does one go about comparing cases? How can a comparison become meaningful beyond the constructed borderlines erected over 100 years of academic practice? Calls for a renewed vision transcending the mere juxtaposition of 'national' cases are in full swing across various disciplines. There is no doubt that a transnational perspective moving the field of researching primers beyond methodological nationalism is also urgently needed. Drawing on recent developments in the disciplines of history, comparative education, and sociology, we suggest four ways in which a transnational direction could be embraced in the study of reading primers; each involves engaging with different types of research foci or narratives that have already been successfully used in other areas of study: (i) divergence; (ii) convergence; (iii) contagion; and (iv) entanglement. If taking the first suggestion (i.e. *divergence*) seriously, a key question for the development of post-1945 primers in Europe might be that of why have dominant models (such as the Soviet model) been adopted and implemented differently in various societal contexts? Focusing on *convergence*, in contrast, would lead to the question of why have some models become dominant in the first place, and why are similarities solidly in place despite a myriad of differentiated configurations that characterize local contexts? Dwelling on *contagion* would require analyzing the conditions for such models' spread as well as processes of diffusion across different contexts, while, finally, a consideration of *entanglement(s)* would center on the steady interactions, interdependencies and cross-cutting relationships between models, their contexts, actors, and enactments. All of these foci start from the premise that the 'national' should not be the main unit of analysis for comparison. Instead, processes, actors, and exchanges or flows that subvert the nation-state logic both horizontally and vertically would be ideally chosen and explored in depth.

After seeing the richness of the papers presented at the workshop, it is clear that there is scope for such developments in the study of reading primers, particularly in what regards the Soviet space, but also across the Iron Curtain, a development in the field that we are looking forward to seeing: a net that is cast ever wider and broader for better and richer "fish".

New Project: Annotated and Illustrated Bibliography of Reading Primers Published in 1945 in European Countries

For understandable reasons the Braunschweig workshop 'Primers 1945' has concentrated on the situation in a selected number of European countries, with a focus on primers on 'state' languages. Bibliographic research undertaken as part of the preparations to the Braunschweig event has revealed that in 1945, despite the great economic and political challenges many countries were faced with, an amazing number and variety of primers has been published. This fact, and also the experience gained by RP-SIG members some years ago when they prepared an exhibition catalogue with descriptions of pri-

□ **RP-SIG: Developments and plans (continued)**

mers from various countries (*'Lesen lernen - mehrsprachig'*), has been the starting point a project idea, aimed at collecting data and describing, based on a common framework, primers published in European countries in 1945.

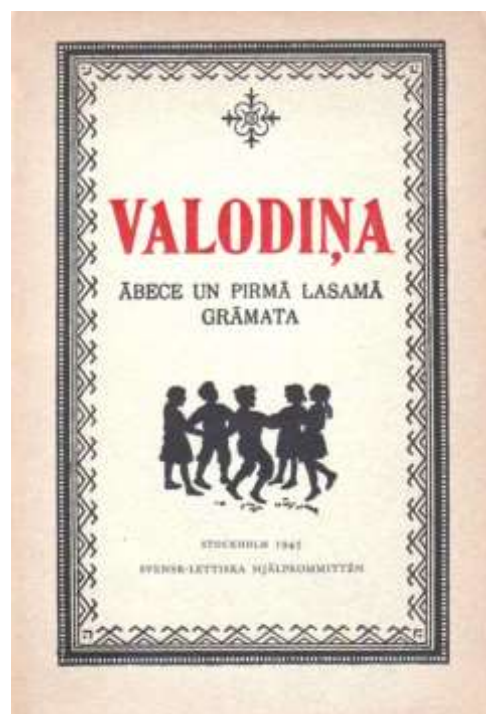
The first purpose of the bibliography is to present a) solid bibliographic data and b) criteria-led and evidence-based information in English language about basic features of reading primers published in European countries in 1945, i.e. in the pivotal year when World War II came to its end, marking a turning point for much of Europe and the world. The bibliography might eventually allow a broad, Europe-wide overview of a specific type of textbook created by those in power in 1945 under enormously various political, economic and social conditions, published in most cases for use by children entering school in the 1945/46 school year and in some cases for beginning reading instruction of illiterate adults.

A second purpose of the bibliography is to exemplarily demonstrate the richness of reading primers published in the course of one particular year – rich in terms of languages, target groups, designs, content and contexts. As far as languages are concerned, for example, the bibliography might include primers in lesser used languages, be they primers in languages of autochthonous minorities or of refugees and displaced persons.

Finally, a third purpose is to bring together expertise on primers from a variety of European countries and academic backgrounds and strengthen international collaboration in this particular field.

There is no doubt that a project of this scope and design has its limits. First, it does certainly not replace in-depth historical research, including national research on the history of primers. Second, the restriction to textbooks published in 1945 does not even cover what is regarded in a number of countries as the immediate post-war period, i.e. 1945-1949. Moreover, in a historical perspective other post-war years may be more important in individual countries as regards innovations in school textbook development than 1945. Yet we trust that the broad synchronic approach applied in this project may provide an enormous variety of findings and thus will justify the basic restriction to textbooks published in one year. In addition, both introductions to "territorial unit chapters" and annotations to individual textbooks will give room for historical contextualisation.

The project idea has so far been presented and discussed twice: at the RP-SIG meeting, October 10, 2015, in Ichenhausen and at the workshop in Braunschweig mentioned above. While the discussion in Braunschweig has shed light on the limits of such an endeavour, a number of colleagues trust that the project is worth to be done. Supporters of the project idea so far include Vladimir Kaljevic, Vrbas (Serbia), Walter Kissling, Vienna (Austria), Petr Knecht, Brno (Czech Republic), Kira Mahamud Angulo, Madrid (Spain), Eva Matthes, (Augsburg), Germany, Sylvia Schütze, Hannover/Bielefeld (Germany) and Wendelin Sroka, Essen (Germany). Readers who wish to learn more about the project are kindly asked to write to [rp-sig\(at\)arcor.de](mailto:rp-sig(at)arcor.de).



Picture: Title page of a Latvian primer published in Sweden in 1945 – Jānis Ezeriņš, Jānis Grīns: *Valodiņa. Ābece un pirmā lasamā grāmata I klasei*. Stockholm: Svensk-Lettiska Hjälpkommittén 1945.

Members' news

Juris Cibuļs, Riga (Latvia), has published a new book: *Valodu un tautu brīnumainā pasaule* [The wondrous world of languages and peoples], Riga: Raudava 2016. The book, written in Latvian, furnishes various information on many peoples (their traditions, customs, beliefs and their language, orthography and ABC-books and primers) in the alphabetical order of their names in the Latvian language: Abkhazians, Chelkans, Desano, the peoples of Ethiopia, the peoples of Canada, Karamojong, Koreans, Kurds, the peoples of China, Seto, Toda, Tuvians and Uighurs. Everyday life phenomena and events (parents, relatives, clothing, meals and drinks, surrounding plants and animals, daily activities, holidays) considered in ABC-books and primers of all the peoples are described in this book from an original point of view.



'*Die aufgezwungene Sprache: Deutsch in galizischen Schulen (1772-1848)* [The imposed language: German in Galician schools (1772-1848)] is the title of a new book by **Anna Maria Harbig**, Białystok (Poland). The book, to be published later this year by *Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu w Białymstoku*, the University of Białystok's publishing house, describes in great detail and thoroughly analyses sociolinguistic, political and educational conditions as well as curricular concepts, methods and educational media for teaching German in the first half of Habsburg Galicia, i.e. from the year when Galicia was annexed to the Habsburg Empire to the 1848 revolution. Among others, the study considers various types of school textbooks, including primers, language books and grammars.

Kira Mahamud Angulo, Madrid (Spain) has coordinated, in collaboration with Miguel Somoza Rodríguez and Heloisa Pimenta Rocha, issue nº 2 (2015) of *Historia y Memoria de la Educación*, the new journal of the Spanish Society for the History of Education. The issue is dedicated to "*La transmisión de emociones y sentimientos. Subjetividad y socialización* [The transmission of emotions and sentiments. Subjectivity and socialization]", and it includes a number of articles on primers, reading books and other textbooks. All articles, most of them in Spanish, can be downloaded for free from <http://revistas.uned.es/index.php/HMe/issue/view/906/showToc>

Eva Matthes, Augsburg (Germany) and **Sylvia Schütze**, Hannover/Bielefeld (Germany) have jointly edited the conference volume '*1989' und Bildungsmedien / '1989' and Educational Media*. Bad Heilbrunn: Klinkhardt 2016. The book includes selected papers presented at the 2014 IGsBi conference. Four more RP-SIG members are represented in this volume with contributions as follows. **Luciana Bellatalla**, Ferrara (Italy): What Germany? What Europe? A Diacronic Analysis of Italian History Schoolbooks (1950–2014). **Falko Pfalzgraf**, London (United Kingdom): *Diskurse zum Mauerfall und zur deutschen Wiedervereinigung in englischen Geschichtsbüchern für allgemeinbildende Schulen* [Discourses about the Fall of the Wall and about German reunification in English history textbooks for schools providing general education]. **Alla Salnikova**, Kazan (Russia): White Swans instead of Lenin's Portrait. Educational Media Changes in the Multiethnic Republic of Tatarstan, Russia, after 1991. **Simona Szakács**, Braunschweig (Germany): 1989 as Gateway to the World? The Universalisation of Diversity and the Construction of the 'New' Citizen in Romanian Civic Education.

□ Members' news (continued)

In October 2015, at the occasion of the annual IGSBi conference in Ichenhausen (Germany), **Alla Salnikova**, Kazan (Tatarstan/Russia) was awarded the Arsen-Djurovic-Price for Historical Research on Textbooks. The laureate is professor of history, head of the Department of Historiography and Source Studies at Kazan Federal University, and also a longstanding member of the RP-SIG network. As **Eva Matthes**, president of IGSBi, pointed out in her award presentation, the price was given to Alla Salnikova first in foremost in recognition of her numerous and excellent studies on Tatar primers, published in various countries, among them the book '*Tatarskaja 'Alifba'. Nacional'nyj bukvar' v mul'tikul'turnom prostranstve (konec XIX – načalo XXI vv.)*' [The Tatar 'Alifba'. A National Primer in a Multicultural Environment]', written in collaboration with Dilyara M. Galiullina and published in Moscow 2014. The RP-SIG sincerely congratulates!



Joanna Wojdon, Wrocław (Poland) has published her book about reading primers in countries of the Soviet bloc. For more information about this book, please see Krzysztof Ruchniewicz's review on pp. **XX-XX** of this newsletter. Moreover she has published a paper in English on the system of textbook approval in Poland under the communist regime in '*Paedagogica Historica*' (2015), and readers who wish to receive a free copy of this paper should feel encouraged to contact the author (joanna.wojdon@uwr.edu.pl). Joanna Wojdon is also author of the first public history MA program in Poland which is in operation at the University of Wrocław since 2014. The program will have the first graduates this year. Finally, Joanna Wojdon has recently joined the line of Core Authors of 'Public History Weekly', a plurilingual blog journal (with entries so far mainly in English and German) aimed at supporting the public debate on 'history' worldwide: <http://public-history-weekly.oldenbourg-verlag.de/>

□ New members

Dr. **Walter Kissling** studied Music Education, German and Education at the University of Music and Performing Arts in Vienna and at the Universities of Vienna and Frankfurt/Main (Germany). His doctoral thesis focused on the status of school textbook research in Austria. His research interests include the history of school textbook in Austria since the 18th century. Walter Kissling became a Lecturer at the Department of Education at the University of Vienna, in 1990, where he worked as an Assistant Professor from 2001 to 2013. In 2014 he succeeded in establishing a new long-term repository for the Austrian Federal Ministry of Education's extensive collection of textbooks and school reports. In 2015/16 he organised a series of seminars on the "Approval of textbooks by the Federal Ministry of Education and by the Allies in the post-war period (1945–1955)". Dr Kissling is a member of the Austrian Society for Research on Children's and Youth Literature, of the German Educational Research Association and of the International Society for Historical and Systematic Research on Textbooks and Educational Media. Web:



<https://bildungswissenschaft.univie.ac.at/schul-undbildungsforschung/start/personal/kissling/>
E-Mail: walter.kissling(at)univie.ac.at

□ New members (continued)

Sylvia Schütze studied German and English language and literature, as well as Educational science at the University of Düsseldorf (Germany). Since 1987 she has worked as a research assistant at the Education and History departments of the Universities of Düsseldorf, Siegen, Dortmund, and Hannover. Since 2008, she has been a member of the Institute of Educational Science at the Leibniz University, Hannover, and since 2015 additionally at the University of Bielefeld. She is co-editor of the Collected Works and Letters by the Swiss pedagogue Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi on CD-ROM (1994), co-editor of the Collected Works and Letters by the Prussian pedagogue and teacher educator Friedrich Adolph Wilhelm Diesterweg (print, 5 volumes since 1996), and assistant to the editorial boards of the journal "Die Deutsche Schule" [The German School – Journal for Educational Science, Politics, and Practice] and the projected "Journal of Educational Governance". Her main focus of research lies on the history of education (especially 18th and 19th centuries, and progressive education), on the historical-critical edition of sources from the history of education, and on research on textbooks and educational media, both historical and topical (mainly textbooks for German literature, history, and social studies). She is member of the managing board of the International Society for Historical and Systematic Research on Textbooks and Educational Media (secretary and treasurer) and co-editor of its book series.



Website: http://www.iew.phil.uni-hannover.de/sylvia_schuetze.html

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Dr **Niki Sioki** has worked in the scientific and academic publishing field for over 20 years. She holds a PhD in Typography and Graphic Communication from the University of Reading (UK). At present she is Assistant Professor of Typography & Graphic Communication in the Department of Design & Multimedia at the University of Nicosia (Cyprus). Her research focuses on the changes in the design and production of Greek reading primers from the 18th to the first decades of the 20th century. She approaches reading primers as design artefacts whose visual appearance was shaped by a) educational authorities, b) the pedagogic theories applied in reading instruction, c) the technology of print production, and d) the people involved in the making of the books. She is currently working on the production of reading primers during the inter-war period in Greece. For an overview of her work visit <https://unic.academia.edu/NikiSioki>



E-Mail: [sioki.n\(at\)unic.ac.cy](mailto:sioki.n(at)unic.ac.cy)

□ Note by editors

Next issue of RPI

The next issue of RPI will be published in January 2017. In this issue we will continue our series started in issue 11 on recent developments of primers in individual countries with an article by Verena Stürmer, Würzburg (Germany) on 'Primers as tools of Germany reading instruction – historical developments and modern tendencies'. Among others this issue will also contain a comment on the inclusion of a Spanish antifascist primer, published in 1937, in the EUROPEANA ART HISTORY collections.

Articles

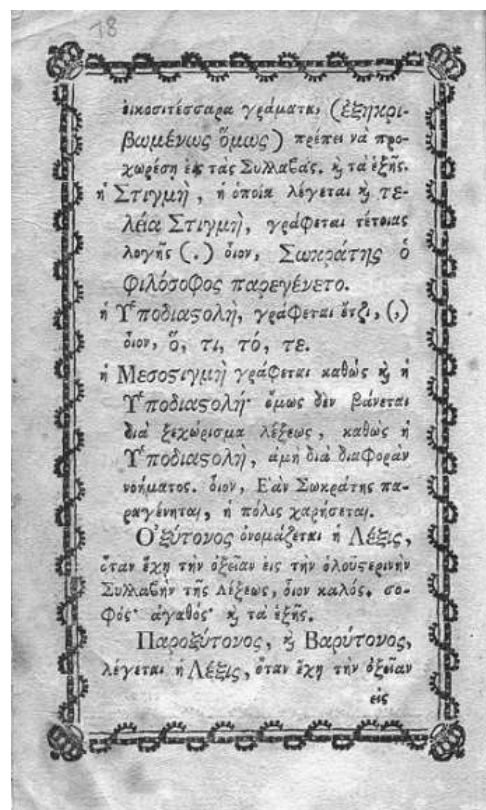
History of the design of primers

Researching the history of the design of Greek reading primers

Niki Sioki, Nicosia (Cyprus)

Acting as publicity manager for the British branch of Monotype Corporation Beatrice Warde fiercely advocated for the importance of the presentation of reading matter: 'Look, look at this printed thing you have in your hands; this isn't just reading matter. It's a physical object too; and it really does make a difference how it's dressed, how it's presented!' (1959, p. 29). In her widely referenced article entitled 'Improving the compulsory book' she declared that 'nobody ever sees a schoolbook' (1950, p. 37). There Warde drew attention to the fact that although the schoolbook is much neglected by the press, the booksellers and the libraries, it is this book that shapes the 'aesthetic sense of fitness and taste' of 'few millions of citizens', and for this reason its typographic and printed quality should not be overlooked. She then went on discussing the typographic characteristics of a few of these reading primers available in the market, be it the typeface used, the justification of the texts, the word spacing, the use of colour and illustrations, and underlying how they could be possibly improved for the benefit of little children who learn to read. Thus she shed light on the importance of the schoolbook's typographic quality, an issue much neglected by scholarly work.

In the years that followed the end of the 1st World War, schoolbooks started to become the research topic of scholars working in different disciplines such as history, linguistics, sociology, pedagogy, and psychology. Their composite nature has been extensively discussed (Baker & Freebody 1989, Issitt 1993, Stray 1994, Johnsen 1993) and reference was also made to the significance of exploring them as printed artefacts. Johnsen (1993, p. 296) recognizing the fact that textual and typographic techniques can contribute to the visual impact of the written text, considered the production process of textbooks as a research area worth of attention (where production encompasses factors such as format, number of pages, binding, paper quality, use of color, layout,



M. Papageorgiou (1771). *To méga alfabηtάριον* (The grand alphabet book), Vienna, 36 leaves, 103 x 167mm (single pages), Aristotle University of Thessaloniki Library.

□ History of the design of primers (continued)

choice of raw materials). For Stray, who approached schoolbooks as cultural commodities whose meanings 'were the product of the convergence of distinct codes' (1994, p. 5), their appearance is one of those codes which expresses specific views about the visual articulation of content on the printed page by means of the graphic language. Issitt claimed that schoolbooks can act as a source for exploring 'the interface between the graphic design and the presentation of knowledge on the page' (2004, p. 10). However, although it was acknowledged that the study of their visual appearance could significantly contribute to their history, their development as printed artefacts, with very few exceptions, still remains a neglected research area.

Historical research on the Greek reading primer consists of fragmentary works which, in the main, do not pay attention to the visual appearance of the books. It seems that the gap in research that had been identified by Koulouri and Ventouras has not been covered; in 1994 they claimed that 'To our knowledge there is no study of the evolution of textbooks as physical objects and no systematic analysis of their typographical features [...], (and) the techniques used to produce them [...]' (1994, p. 29). This is the main reason behind my decision to explore the history of the design of Greek reading primers. In my research on schoolbooks I use the term design in two ways: as a noun it describes the physical characteristics of the books, i.e. their size, format, bulk, binding, and quality of paper. It also refers to the typographic presentation of the page, i.e. the layout and the choice and use of typefaces which are employed in order to articulate the content and its structural organisation. As a verb it describes the activity which encompasses all those decisions that inform the graphic presentation of a book's content.

Chronologically the research starts in 1771, when the oldest known Greek reading primer appeared, and spans until the first decades of the 20th century when it emerged as the embodiment of a new view for the modernisation of the primary school. Geographically the enquiry includes those books which were produced in European commercial centres where Greek merchant communities were founded in the course of the eighteenth century, in Greek territories of the Ottoman Empire, and titles which were produced in the independent Greek State that was established in 1827. This diachronic research in book design addresses changes in the presentation of what was read by children and it has a dual purpose: a) to explore the reasons why books and texts took the form in which they were presented to readers, and b) to inventory and analyse the typographic attributes and layout of the printed pages children encountered when they first learned how to read. An additional strand which is also examined is how the typography and layout supported or obstructed the development of children's reading skills. A fundamental specificity of those book pages was that they were addressed to both the eye and the ear since young learners were obliged to read aloud the printed text.

I approach the design of the books through three different lenses: the history of reading instruction in Greece, the history of Greek reading textbooks, and the history of Greek printing. Thus the main question I am addressing is to investigate how the morphology of the reading primer was shaped as a response to changes across time in state regulations and constraints, teaching methods, educational policies towards teaching books, and the available printing technology. Approaching the morphology of the books, i.e. their material and formal characteristics, as the visual manifestation of the intentions of different agents allows me to uncover part of the process through which books were made. Approaching the printed page as a device through which learning how to read was imparted allows me to explore the typographic conventions and visual organisation which underpinned the various teaching methods.

Reading primers were made to be read in a specific context: in the classroom and always under an adult's surveillance. In my research attention is paid not

□ History of the design of primers (continued)

only to the books as products but also to how decisions about the graphic articulation of the content of books were informed and applied. In some cases the physical evidence provided by the book pages can be interpreted through related primary records and unveils aspects of the collaboration between the main participants in the book making process. Research about responses to the way book pages were designed is confined to the teachers' views, because only this evidence was recorded in relevant primary sources. As McDowell claimed, any attempt to access the children's experience of their interaction with the printed page is 'notoriously difficult' (2007, p. 240) because of the absence of historical records such as diaries, notebooks, correspondence or other evidence on the pages in the form of readers' marks. In a similar vein, R. Kinross in his discussion about the state of typographic history pointed out that 'the major absence in all works of typographic history is the reader or the user of printing' (2004, p. 18).

Describing the design of books

Various researchers of typography (Twyman 1979, Norrish 1987, Waller 1987, Walker 2001, 2006, 2012) subscribed to the notion that the study of the graphic language used for the content articulation of documents requires a descriptive methodology following linguists who claimed that 'description is a necessary prelude to understanding' (Twyman 1979, p. 119). Such researchers considered the description of the visual characteristics of a document to be necessary as a preamble to the analysis of the design approach adopted and as a prerequisite for the understanding of the decisions which defined its visual appearance. To this aim they developed particular working tools determined by the typographic language and the nature of the artefacts they researched. Taking into consideration the existing descriptive models, a framework was developed which allows to describe and analyse the physical and visual characteristics of the reading primers in a consistent and structured way. The identical manner of describing each book enables: a) an exploration of changes in the visual appearance of books over a period of time, b) the identification of typical visual characteristics among books of a particular period, c) the recognition of trends in the design applied, and d) light to



G. Konstantinidis (1860). *Αλφαβητάριον κατὰ νέαν μέθοδον* (Alphabet book based on a new method). Athens, pp.117, 125 x 160mm, ELIA Library, Athens

□ History of the design of primers (continued)

be shed on the decisions that might have influenced the design and production of the books. The focus of the description is directed to those features encountered in each book that related to the physical characteristics of the books, the organisation of their content, and the use of the verbal and the pictorial graphic language.

The framework applied in the present research benefits from the one which was developed for the 'Typographic Design for Children' project (1999-2005). This project, directed by researchers at the Department of Typography and Graphic Communication, University of Reading (UK), and funded by the Arts and Humanities Research Board, was the collaborative work of typographers and psychologists. It aimed at reviewing the typographic and layout characteristics of children's books, and it included a historical survey of the typographic features of children's reading primers produced in the UK from 1830 to 1950. The framework contains seven main sections. Each section provides a list of relevant features for description and in some cases measurements.

Bibliographic information [book title, author(s), illustrator, publisher, printer, date of publication, place of publication, edition/reprint, language]: The aim here is to collect information regarding the identity of each book. An additional feature which was also recorded because of its significant role in the history of the books concerned the form of the Greek language which was used in the text. The form of the written Greek language used in reading primers depended on political decisions and official policies. The information collected in this section mainly concerns contextual factors that may have influenced the design of a book. Thus it provides answers to questions such as whether the illustrator was a well-known artist or not, whether the printer had a specialisation in a specific printing method, whether the book was printed in Athens or in a provincial city.

Material attributes [size, format, number of pages, type of cover, binding, spine, paper, printing process, use of colour]: Under this section features related to the physical appearance of the books are recorded. The data collected allows me to identify changes in the physical characteristics of books throughout a period of time and explore the contextual factors which influenced them. This data could also be used to assess whether design decisions considered the needs of children.

Document structure [front matter, body matter, basic text unit, back matter]: The traditional approach adopted by book designers regarding the structure of books was considered as the most appropriate for describing the structure of the books under examination. For the book designer a book consists of three parts: the part which precedes the main text, the part which follows after it and the main text. Thus all pages before the main text are described as the front matter, all pages after the main text are described as the end matter, and the main text is labelled 'body matter' following Norrish's terminology (1987, p. 10). The particular content of the books dictated the introduction of a feature labelled the 'basic text unit'. The aim of the feature is to describe how the content of the book is structured. This feature is used in books produced after the middle of the 19th century; it was from then onwards that the content of books started to be separated into lessons.

In the current research the discussion of the structure of the books focused merely on the body matter, for this part was essentially the one which was addressed directly to pupils. As to the front and back matter, they were addressed to teachers and/or parents; for this reason the information recorded concerned their presence or absence.

The information collected through this section is used to address the following questions:

- Is there a common structure which characterises alphabet books as a typographic genre?

□ History of the design of primers (continued)

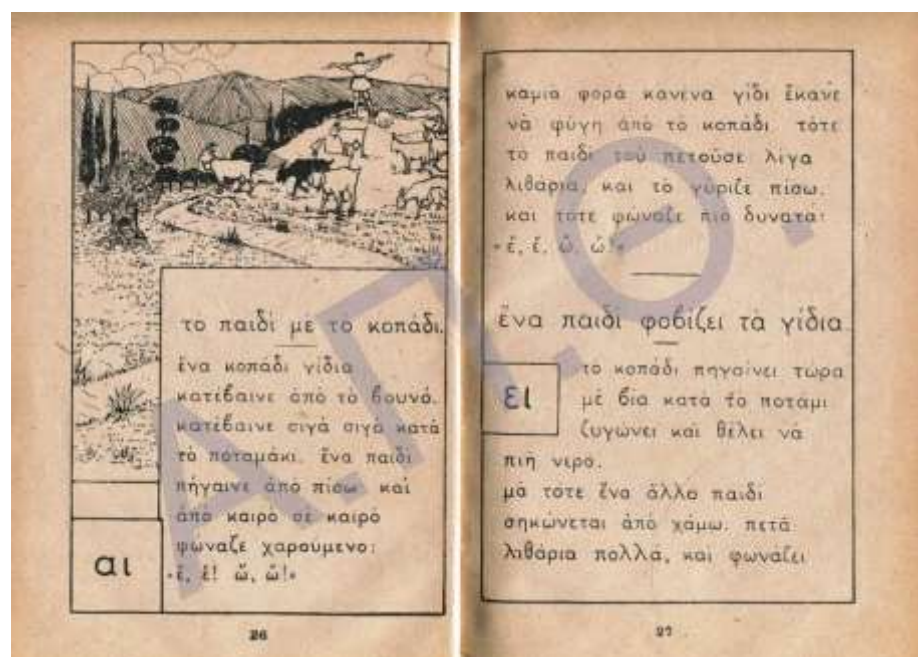
- Does the structure of the books comply with the conventions of book design applied by Greek printers? (e.g. the position of the contents page at the back of the book)
- How the structure was typographically articulated?
- Was the structure adopted 'rule-bound' (e.g. recommended by educational authorities)?

Page layout [mode of symbolization, mode of configuration, grid, margins, page entities, page breaks, consistency of page layout]: The first two features of the section follow Twyman's model and describe the graphic language applied to the articulation of content and the way in which content is organised; additional features which are recorded are the grid and the margins. Because of the instructional nature of the books it was decided to include a description of the way the page was used. Thus two features labelled 'page entities' and 'page breaks' are also included (Gillieson, 2008, pp. 143-145); the first is used to describe whether each page was conceived as a single entity or if two pages were planned as a visual unit; the second feature is employed to record whether page breaks were arbitrary or they signified the end of a unit of text such as the lesson.

The data collected through this section is used in order to address the following questions:

- To what extent the needs of the readers influenced the choice of the size and the format of the page?
- How the technical constraints, the teaching method, and the books' purpose affected the layout?
- How typical to teaching methods is the layout used and to what extent does its organisation determine the reading strategy adopted by the reader?

Typography [of new reading element, of main text]: This section focuses on the description of the typographic attributes and variables applied for the articulation of the text which appeared in the main part of the book. The description focused on the intrinsic and the extrinsic features of the language as they were determined in Twyman's model for describing the verbal graphic language. Measurements are taken of the size of the text area, the type size, the leading, and the number of characters per line. Data is then examined to discuss how type was used for the setting of text, how official re-



Editorial Committee (1919). *Το αλφαβητάρι με τον ήλιο (The primer with the sun)*, Athens, pp.104, 154 x 231mm, Aristotle University of Thessaloniki Library

□ History of the design of primers (continued)

gulations regarding the production of books were applied, and whether decisions regarding the type size employed considered the needs of readers and the specific purpose of the books.

Special attention is given to a characteristic feature inherent in the alphabet books under examination. I called it the 'new reading element' and the term describes the new element of the language to which pupils were introduced in every new lesson. According to the teaching method applied, this could be either a new letter or a new word. It usually constituted the focal point of the lesson and accordingly its typographic treatment involved a set of decisions in relation to the main text or the picture. For this reason its description was considered necessary. Finally, a set of graphic and spatial conventions are also described. Graphic conventions such as the use of alternative letterforms are considered significant to record as they reside in the Greek language; spatial conventions such as paragraphing and text alignment are recorded as attributes of the typeset text which children encountered for the first time on printed pages.

Visual attributes [type of picture, technique used, treatment of picture, picture-text relationship, use of colour, frequency of picture usage]: The section describes particular characteristics of the visual elements used in the books; these characteristics relate to the appearance and handling of the pictures and not to their content. Therefore the focus is on the type (pictorial or schematic), the technique (line drawing/shaded drawing/photograph), and the treatment (squared up, cut out, vignette) of the pictures, as well as their positioning in relation to the text, and the use of colour. The data collected through this section is used in the discussion of how the new technical means influenced the articulation of the content and the printer's skills in planning a more complicated page layout.

Contextual factors [educational policy, technology available, publishing practices, teaching reading]: This section describes the contextual factors which influenced the appearance of the books and for which evidence was provided by the books themselves. The data collected is further explored through the primary sources available. It contributed significantly to the discussion of the design decisions surrounding the making of books verifying Walker's claim that 'No description of visual organisation, or indeed effective designing, can take place without knowing something about the intended readers, circumstances of use, means of production, and the content of the information, as each of these parameters offers its own constraints and opportunities' (2001, p. 3).

The outcome of my research is a historical account of the evolution of the Greek reading primer as a design artefact whose production and use remain rather neglected areas of research. It confirms Dimaras' (2013, p. 71) description of the history of the Greek textbook as '...long, dense and complex...'. The study sheds light on the development of the Greek reading primer as a design artefact whose visual appearance, having a significant role in the reading instruction in primary school, was shaped by a) the state imperatives regarding the role of the primer in the teaching practice and consequently the control of the educational market, b) the pedagogic theories applied in reading instruction, c) the technology of print production, and d) the people involved in the making of the book. The primer emerges as a typographic genre in which the organisation of content was dictated by the primer's didactic purpose and was articulated through typical design features which changed over time as new regulations were applied, new pedagogic views were adopted, and technical innovations were introduced. Thus the pages of books under examination are charted as a field where an array of official decisions, technical and artistic skills, and educators' views were intersected over the years.

The images presented in this article depict titles which represent significant turning points in the history of the Greek reading primer. *Το μέγα αλφαβητά-*

□ History of the design of primers (continued) □

Πριον (The grand alphabet book) by Michael Papageorgiou (1727-1796) appeared in 1771 in Vienna and is considered to be the earliest known printed Greek reading primer. Printed by Joseph Kurzböck (1757-1792), it can be considered an original product of the Greek Enlightenment mainly because it was tailor-made for reading instruction, and signified the abandonment of traditional reading tools such as liturgical books.

George Konstantinidis' *Αλφαβητάριον κατὰ νέαν μέθοδον* (Alphabet book based on a new method) initiated a new approach in the making of reading primers. It is considered to be the first title in this category of books in which pictures were introduced as a functional component of learning. In the first part of the book 24 original wood engravings were used to introduce the capital letterforms. This was also the first Greek reading primer for which illustrations were provided by an artist, Ioannis Platys (1838-1928), and were not re-usable stock blocks selected by the printer.

Το αλφαβητάρι με τον ήλιο (The primer with the sun) was not the work of a single author but of an editorial committee which consisted of six specialists in fields such as pedagogy, teaching, literature, and art. It could be characterised as a rupture in the long tradition of state control teaching books. It differed from its predecessors and thoroughly influenced the titles produced after its publication by changing the appearance of the first book children learned to read. Its physical characteristics, its typographic design and its production quality were the result of collaborative work between the Editorial Committee and the publisher within a liberal administrative and political context which allowed them to address the needs of the child reader.

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□ **A primer from Galicia**

Bukvar' narodnoho ruskoho jazyjka: a trilingual – or rather quadrilingual – primer, published around 1840 in Austrian Galicia

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As of March 2016, the database of RP-SIG's ongoing project 'Primers German-Slavonic' includes bibliographical data of 106 plurilingual primers with German and at least one Slavonic language. While all of these textbooks have their specific features, some of them can be considered extraordinary, and this is certainly true for the primer we are going to present in this article. It is a booklet of less than 100 pages, with several editions published from the late 1830s to the 1840s, developed and printed for use in Austrian Galicia, the easternmost crownland of the Habsburg Empire. It has attracted our attention for various reasons, among them the combination of languages employed, the way that content is presented, the specific conditions of the primer's development and use, and also the fate this textbook has experienced in later years in bibliographical and other works.

So far we were able to identify copies of three editions of the primer in question, printed in 1838, 1842 and 1845, with the presentation of the titles of the last two editions slightly varying (see pictures 1 and 2). Moreover we have access to copies of the latter two editions: of the 1842 edition kept by the University Library in Poznań (Poland) and of a 1845 version held by the Austrian National Library in Vienna (Austria), with a digital copy provided online: <http://data.onb.ac.at/rec/AC09747798>. The title of the 1842 edition is

Bukvar' narodnoho ruskoho jazyjka v królevstvax Halycjiy, y Lodomerjiy oužyvanoho, oraz nemeckoho y pol'skoho, dlja škôl parafjal'nyjx ruskyx. V'' Peremyjšly, v'' Tipografij Episkopskoj pry cobornom'' Xrame Roždestva C. Ioanna Krestytelja P. B. AСMB [Primer in the Ruthenian national language, for use in the Kingdoms of Galicia and Lodomeria, also in German and Polish, for Ruthenian parish schools. Przemyśl: Episcopal printing shop at the Cathedral Nativity of St John the Baptist, A.D. 1842].



Picture 1 (left): *Bukvar' ...*, Przemyśl 1842, title page (University Library Poznań).
Picture 2 (right): *Bukvar' ...*, Przemyśl 1845, title page (Austrian National Library).

□ A primer from Galicia (cont.)

East Slavonic texts in primers published in Austrian Galicia in the 19th century have more recently been examined as sources of the history of the Ukrainian language, and in great detail so by Michael Moser, an Austrian Slavist (Moser 2001, Moser 2005, Moser n.d.). While we can draw from Moser's studies enormously, our interest is in the characteristics of plurilingual primers. We therefore apply categories of historical school textbook research, and, more specifically, of the analytical framework of the 'Primers German-Slavonic' project (Sroka 2014).

Przemyśl, the place of publication of the textbook, is nowadays a provincial town in the *Podkarpatskie* Voivodship in south-eastern Poland, close to the Ukrainian border. In the first half of the 19th century it served as a prominent cultural and religious centre in Galicia, then part of the Habsburg Monarchy. Przemyśl not only accommodated a synagogue – the Old Synagogue, completed in 1594 – for the numerous Jewish population, but also residences of two Christian authorities: a Roman Catholic and a Greek Catholic bishop. The latter was the head of the Przemyśl eparchy (diocese) of the Greek Catholic (Uniate) Church – an Eastern Rite church in full communion with the Holy See, and it was under the rule of this bishop that the *bukvar* came out, published in the episcopal printing shop in Przemyśl.

Along with religious diversity in Galicia went a plurality of home languages, including Yiddish, Polish and a variety of Ukrainian. This variety was commonly referred to in East Slavonic terminology as *jezyk ruski*, and in German, the compiler of our primer called it *ruskische Sprache* [Rusian language]. However, in wider Austria the language for much of the 19th century was termed *Ruthenisch*, and for our purposes we use the term 'Ruthenian', stressing its character as a variety of Western Ukrainian used in 19th century Galicia.

At the eve of the 1948 revolution, Przemyśl played a major role in what later was described as 'the Ruthenian cultural awakening', and it is this context that our primer has to be situated: The Ruthenian awakening was reflected not least in efforts of the Greek Catholic church to promote Ruthenian as a literary language and thus to develop and implement standards for written Ruthenian and to push the alphabetisation of the population in Ruthenian.

Already in the late 18th century Galicia's Greek Catholic Church had been authorised by the central government of the Habsburg empire to maintain its parish schools. The system of Greek Catholic parish schools in Galicia that eventually emerged was largely independent from the system of the public '*kaiserlich-königliche Normal-, Haupt- und Trivialschulen*' [imperial-royal normal, main and trivial schools], governed by the authorities in Vienna, and this also applied to the development, approval and dissemination of school textbooks. In Galicia, consistories for school matters were established in the eparchies (dioceses) of the Greek Catholic Church. In the Przemyśl eparchy in 1818 an *Institutum cantoribus et magistrorum scholae* was founded, aimed at providing initial training for cantors who also served as elementary teachers in local parish schools (Mark 1994, p. 39). Already



Picture 3: *Bukvar* ..., Przemyśl 1842, p. 3

□ A primer from Galicia (cont.)

three years earlier Ivan Mohyl'nyc'kyj had been appointed as consultant of the Przemyśl consistory, and it was Mohyl'nyc'kyj who, among others, compiled a primer for use in Greek Catholic parish schools: *Bukvar' slaveno-ruskago jazyjka*. This primer, published in various editions between 1816 and 1837, was a bilingual – Ruthenian-Polish – textbook (Moser 2001, p. 109). Like Mohyl'nyc'kyj's primer, the *Bukvar' narodnoho ruskoho jazyjka* has its title only in one language, and, according to Moser, it is in fact a revised and extended version of Mohyl'nyc'kyj's textbook (2005, p. 195). No reference is made in the title page or elsewhere in the booklet to its author or editor, but contemporary sources refer to Ivan Lavrivs'kyj as the compiler. Born in rural Western Galicia, Lavrivs'kyj (1773-1846) was a priest of the Greek Catholic church. From 1814 to 1820 he taught Church Slavonic and Ruthenian at the seminary in Lviv, followed by a post as canon at the Przemyśl cathedral chapter. Lavrivs'kyj is known, among others, as author of a grammar of the Ruthenian language, written in German (*Versuch über die Sprachlehre der Ruskischen Sprache, wie solche sammt ihren Unter-Mundarten in den Königreichen Galizien und Lodomerien gesprochen wird*), and also of a Ruthenian-Polish-German dictionary which remained unpublished (Voznjak 1909; Moser 2001).

Bukvar' or Elementarz, Ruthenian or Russian? A bibliographic adventure trip

One of the objectives of the 'Primers German-Slavonic' project is to compile an evidence based bibliography of plurilingual primers with German and at least one Slavonic language. While we make all efforts to inspect individual items, we also consider existing secondary literature, including relevant bibliographies. When we started the PGS-project three years ago, we examined, among others, a Polish and a German bibliography of primers, both published in 2003 (Pilarczyk 2003; Teistler 2003). The way our *bukvar'* is presented in these and some other secondary sources is worth telling.

Table 1: Bibliographical entries, related to the *Bukvar' narodnoho ruskoho jazyjka*, Przemyśl

Bib. Source	Entry, note (N), if any and stated source of entry (SoE), if any
Pilarczyk 2003, no. 1106	'Ławrowskij Jan, Elementarz ruski, niemiecki i polski dla szkół parafialnych w Galicji. Przemyśl 1838' SoE: Estreicher 1876, p. 8
Teistler 2003, no. 1317	'Ławrowski, Jan: Elementarz ruski, niemiecki i polski dla szkół parafialnych w Galicji. Przemyśl 1838' N: 'In russ., poln. und dt. Sprache [In Russian, Polish and German]' SoE: Estreicher 1876, p. 8; Pilarczyk 1990, no. 1103
Pilarczyk 1990, no. 1103	'Ławrowskij Jan, Elementarz ruski, niemiecki i polski dla szkół parafialnych w Galicji. Przemyśl 1838' SoE: Estreicher 1876, p. 8
Baranowski & Parasiewicz 1898, p. 58	'Bukwar narodnoho ruskoho jazyjka w korolewstwach Hałycii i Lodomerii używanoho, oraz nimeckoho i posilkoho dla skół parafialnych ruskych. Przemyśl, 1842., str. 72.' N: 'Do str. 43 tekst ruski, do str. 63 niemiecki, do str. 72 polski [Text to p. 43 Russian, to p. 63 German, to p. 72 Polish]'
Estreicher 1876, p. 8	'Ławrowskij Jan († 1846 roku). Elementarz ruski, niemiecki i polski dla Szkół parafialnych w Galicji. Przemyśl, 1838, w 8ce'

The two bibliographical works do have an entry of a trilingual primer, published in Przemyśl in 1838, but both publications provide a book title in Polish: *Elementarz ruski, niemiecki i polski dla szkół parafialnych w Galicji* (for details, see table 1). Both entries are not based on direct inspection of the items. Rather, they refer to volume III of the *Bibliografia Polska*, published by Karol Estreicher in 1876, and indeed this early source gives a book title in Polish, in conjunction with a Polish version of the author's name (Jan Ławrowskij). We do have no proof whatsoever of the existence of a book entitled *Elementarz ruski, niemiecki ...* Apparently the creator of the source that

□ A primer from Galicia (cont.)

Estreicher relied on did not quote the original title; his intention was to explain in brief the textbook's content and function for Polish-speaking readers.

Another Polish bibliography, published in 1898 and devoted to school textbooks formerly used in Galicia, provides a different message: It contains an entry of the 1842 edition of the *bukvar*, with the original title transliterated in Latin script (Baranowski & Parasiewicz 1898, p. 58). But this bibliography is hardly taken into account so far in historical studies, and the Polish language reference to the textbook as presented by Estreicher survives as a book title up to the present: It is quoted that way by Stanisław Stępień, an expert of 19th century culture in Western Galicia, who stresses that Lavriv'skyj published his primer 'in Polish' (Stępień 2005, p. 59), and even in the entry about Lavriv'skyj in the Ukrainian language *Encyklopedija istorii Ukraïni* [Encyclopedia of the history of Ukraine] (EIU 2009).

But even that is not yet the end of bibliography based language confusion: In an effort to explain the supposed Polish 'title' to German speaking readers, the entry in the German bibliography mentioned above notes that it is a primer '*In russ., poln. und dt. Sprache* [In Russian, Polish and German]', erroneously translating the Polish term '*ruski*' as 'Russian' (Polish: '*rosyjski*'). – This brief trip through the jungle of bibliographic and other references to our *bukvar* may teach us that we are well advised to attain direct evidence in bibliographical projects.

Bukvar' narodnoho ruskoho jazyjka 1842: structure and content

The 1842 edition of Lavriv'skyj's primer comprises 72 pages, and its content is structured in three ways: First, individual sections, usually encompassing one page or less, are presented in serially numbered paragraphs, from § 1 (p. 3) to § 111 (pp. 71-72). Second, the *bukvar* is made of three parts, with each part basically organised in one of the languages as indicated in the title: Ruthenian (pp. 3-44), German (pp. 45-63) and Polish (pp. 64-72). The first part, however, is special in that even two languages are employed: Ruthenian and Church Slavonic. It is for this reason that, other than the title of the textbook implies, we classify the primer as quadrilingual. Third, the three parts of the primer are structured in a very similar way: they start with the alphabet, followed by tables with syllables, word-lists with the words split up in syllables and, finally, short sentences. Altogether three scripts are employed: Cyrillic script for Church Slavonic and Ruthenian, Gothic print for German and Roman script for Polish.

As to the share of Church Slavonic text in the first part, this share is less than it used to be in Ruthenian primers of the early 19th century. Nevertheless Church Slavonic is still quite visible: § 1 (p. 3) presents *imena liter* [the names of the letters] of the Church Slavonic alphabet with upper case and lower case letters, from *azъ* to *ŭžica* (see picture 3), followed by sections with syllables in §§ 2-22. §§ 61-64 contain word lists of terms used in Orthodox liturgy,



Picture 4: *Bukvar'...*, Przemyśl 1842, p. 36

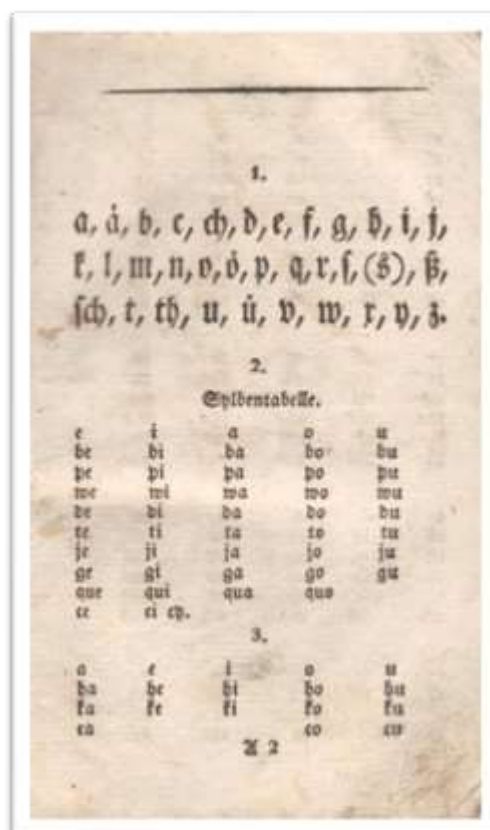
□ A primer from Galicia (cont.)

with the Church Slavonic notation on the left and the Ruthenian notation on the right (see picture 4). This is followed by prayers and catechetical texts, including the Lord's Prayer.

At the same time many sections, written in Ruthenian, are devoted to secular subject matter. § 24, for example, entitled *čelověk* [human being], presents the names of body parts. Also, in contrast to the German and Polish chapter, this part contains directions for the teacher and explanations of grammar and spelling, but not as old Ruthenian primers do, in Church Slavonic, but in Ruthenian. Yet despite Lavrivs'kyj's efforts to be as close as possible to popular speech, a considerable number of words in the Ruthenian part of the primer are of Polish origin. This was in contrast to the official language policy of the Przemyśl cathedral chapter, aimed at stressing the difference between Ruthenian and Polish (Moser n.d.).

The German part of the primer comprises less than half of the Ruthenian/Church Slavonic part. 10 tables with syllables and 3 word lists with further 450 syllables approximately are provided for spelling. Basically, these exercises follow the model found in the contemporary primers for pupils with German mother tongue in the Austrian Empire, called *Namenbüchlein* [booklet of names]. For a comparison of *Sylbentabellen* in the *bukvar*' and in a *Namenbüchlein* published in 1835 see pictures 5 and 6). At the same time the German exercises in the *bukvar*' represent just a fraction not only of those in the primers for German mother tongue instruction, but also of those in German primers for Polish children in Galicia.

A specific feature of the German part in the *bukvar*' is that, starting with the word-lists in § 83, all German phrases are accompanied by a Ruthenian translation. The first word-list contains 30 monosyllabic adjectives and adverbs, for example *alt* [old], *bald* [soon], *lang* (long), followed by a list of 80 monosyllabic nouns and numerals and a very brief third list with disyllabic nouns.



Picture 5 (left): *Bukvar' narodnoho ruskoho jazyjka*, Przemyśl 1842, p. 45. Picture 6 (right): *Namenbüchlein zum Gebrauche der Stadtschulen in den kaiserl. königl. Staaten*, Prag 1835, p. 3.

□ A primer from Galicia (cont.)

The last section of the German part (pp. 51-63) contains single sentences, again given with Ruthenian translation. Most of these sentences present rules of conduct and/or popular wisdom of a moral nature aimed at teaching children to be modest, obedient, industrious and satisfied with one's role: *Geben ist seliger, als empfangen* [Much more happiness comes from giving than from receiving] (p. 52). *Arbeit entfernt von uns drei große Übel: die lange Weile, das Laster und die Noth* [Work disburdens us from three major evils: boredom, vice and hardship] (p. 56). *Besser ein Stückchen Brod mit Zufriedenheit, als ein großer Reichthum mit Unruhe und Gewissensangst* [Better a piece of bread with satisfaction than immense wealth with restlessness and fear of conscience] (p. 63). These sentences are taken either from the *Namenbüchlein* or from Austrian readers.

Overall, the linguistic material presented in the German part is very limited. And this is basically also true for the last, i.e. the Polish part of the primer, comprising only 9 pages. Yet in contrast to the Ruthenian/Church Slavonic and German parts the sections containing sentences – provided after alphabet, syllables and wordlists – have titles that refer to content. Both titles and texts are noteworthy, as most of it is political, from "Our duties as subjects towards the monarch" to "the love of the homeland" (see table 2).

Table 2: Titles of sections with sentences in the Polish part of the *Bukvar*, *Przemyśl* 1842

§§	title (Polish original, without hyphenation)	title (English translation)
107 - 108	Nauki dla dzieci z pisma świętego	Lessons for children from the Holy Script
109	Powinności nasze jako poddanych względem Monarchy	Our duties as subjects towards the monarch
110	Powinności poddanych względem Zwierzchności od Monarchy postanowionych	Duties of the subjects towards the authorities mandated by the monarch
111	O miłości ojczyzny	About the love of the homeland
112	Cóż powinien ten czynić, który swoją ojczynę kocha	What he should do, who loves his country
113	Zład wypływają następujące obowiązki	Out of it arise the following responsibilities

The sections dedicated to the subjects' duties do not make any reference to the monarch, i.e. to the emperor of the Habsburg monarchy. Similarly, the sections on the love of the homeland do not mention a specific country or region. Rather, these topics are dealt with in a very general way, with a primary focus on why "one owes gratitude, love and affection to the homeland" (p. 72) and why one has duties against the monarch and his representatives. In the latter case it is argued that the duties are based on the word of god. Therefore these sections shed light on the interaction of political and religious socialization as construed under particular historical circumstances, and on the primer as a tool developed and used by those in power to support such socialization in the process of schooling. The section 'Duties of the subjects towards the authorities mandated by the monarch', for example, states (p. 70-71):

The first duty is to respect the authorities mandated by the monarch, because they have the mandate from the monarch, and they replace him. The Holy Scripture commands: Pay your obligations to everyone: taxes to those you owe taxes, tolls to those you owe tolls, respect to those you owe respect, and honor to those you owe honor. (Romans 13-7; translation into English based on Holman Christian Standard Bible).

The second duty is that the subjects are obliged to execute the regulations and orders of the superiors willingly, strictly and always, as the Holy Scripture clearly commands (...)

The third duty is that every subject is obliged to wish his superior all good and pray for him to God; because the superiors strive to maintain good order, peace, unity and security in the country.

□ A primer from Galicia (cont.)

Altogether no less than eight quotes from the New Testament are presented in §§ 109 – 110 to demonstrate to young learners that subjects have to obey the monarch and the superiors.

It seems that the text presented in §§ 109 – 113 is a fragmentary translation from a section of a German reading book for grade 2, published in Lviv/Lemberg, i.e. of the section entitled '*Pflichten der Unterthanen gegen ihren Landesfürsten, gegen die von ihm angeordneten Obrigkeiten, und gegen das Vaterland* [Duties of the subjects towards their sovereign, towards the authorities mandated by him, and against the homeland] (Lesebuch 1831, pp. 161-162). The original was definitely not written for use in beginning reading instruction but for instruction of pupils with basic reading literacy.

A comparison of editions 1842 and 1845 of the bukvar'

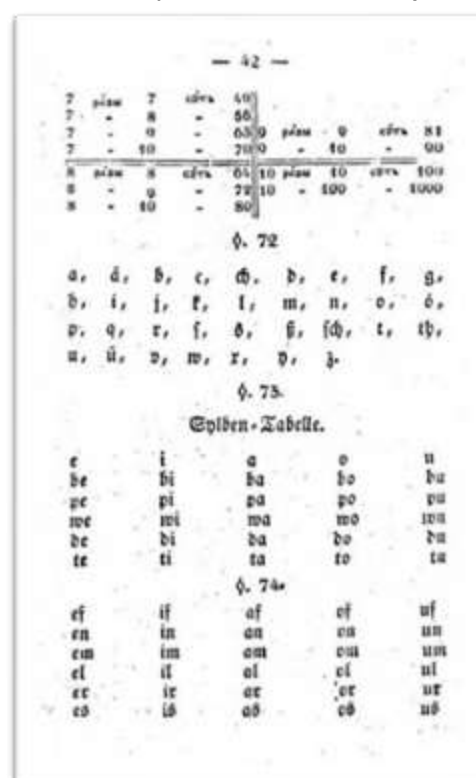
After this overview of the 1842 edition we now check this version against the 1845 edition, again printed at the Episcopal Printing Shop in Przemyśl. A first finding is that in the 1845 edition both structure and content of the earlier version have basically been preserved. Again, the sections are presented from § 1 to § 112, and the individual reading exercises and phrases contained in the three parts of the textbook remain unchanged.

Second, however, the entire text of the primer has been typeset anew for the 1845 edition. Page layout and smaller print in this edition allows more content per page, and the number of pages is 64, down from 72. For the distribution of the three parts in the two editions see table 3.

Table 3: Distribution of parts and paragraphs in the bukvar', Przemyśl, 1842 and 1845

part	§§	pages, 1842 edition	pages, 1845 edition
Ruthenian/Church Slavonic	1-71	3-43	3-42
German	72-96	44-63	42-55
Polish	98-112	64-72	56-64

The typographic characteristics of our bukvar' as well as the comparison of these features in the two editions would be worth a special examination (for the usefulness of this approach see Niki Sioki's article in this newsletter, pp. 9-15). Here we only mention one point, i.e. the arrangement of the three main parts of the book. As can be concluded from the data provided in table 4 (column 3), in the 1842 edition a page brake is made at the end of each part, and the following part starts on a new page. This is not always the case, however, in the 1845 edition. Here, p. 42 not only presents the end of the Ruthenian/Church Slavonic part, i.e. the last lines of a multiplication table, but also the start of the German part (see picture 7). Such page layout is very unusual in 19th century plurilingual primers with chapters separated according to language. In addition, not any further typographic or textual indication is provided of the fact that with paragraph 72 a new part of the book begins and a new language is introduced. We are tempted to argue that at this stage the typesetter may



Picture 7: Bukvar'..., Przemyśl 1845, p. 36

■ A primer from Galicia (cont.)

simply have wished to fill the page, and he quite mechanically did so. Amazingly this is not the case on p. 55 where the German part ends: This page has a type area with text only in the upper third, and the two other thirds left blank, as to allow the start of the Polish part on a new page.

A third finding of our comparative effort relates to the area of spelling and lexis. The 1845 edition provides some improvements of German text, in the sense of corrections of mistakes included in the 1842 version, e.g. plural '*mit den Geschwistern*' [with the siblings] (1845, p. 48) instead of singular '*mit dem Geschwister*' (1842, p. 53). What is really noteworthy, however, is the amount and the nature of changes made in Ruthenian text, affecting title page and Ruthenian/Church Slavonic part, but also translations of German phrases into Ruthenian in the German part. Again, these changes of Ruthenian spelling and lexis would be worth a specific study, based on expertise of the history of Ruthenian/Ukrainian we are lacking. We confine ourselves to some illustrative changes apparent on the title page and in a section of the Ruthenian/Church Slavonic part. Innovation of written language is visible on the title page of the 1845 edition in three areas (see pictures 1 and 2). One is the rigorous replacement of the Church Slavonic letter *Ot*'' or *Omega* – capital 'Ъ' and small 'ѡ' – by the Cyrillic letter *On*'' – capital 'О' and small 'о' – in genitive singular.



Picture 8 (left): *Bukvar*, Przemyśl 1842, p. 41. Picture 9 (right): *Bukvar*, Przemyśl 1845, p. 39.

Furthermore, the term used in the 1842 edition for 'also', i.e. '*ѡразъ*' = *oraz*'', is replaced by '*также*' = *takže*. And finally, whereas the publication date in the 1842 edition is provided in Church Slavonic script, it is given in Arabic script in the 1845 edition. All these changes can be seen as efforts to modernize written Ruthenian.

The lack of a standard for Ruthenian terms of numbers is another issue that becomes apparent. In §§ 67-68, the 1842 edition provides numbers in Arabic and Church Slavonic script (see picture 8). The terms in Ruthenian are given in an 'ordinary' notation, and, for '1', '7' and double digit numbers, in addition in an alternative notation, set in brackets. '11', for example, is written

□ **A primer from Galicia (cont.)**

as *edinadesját'* (ordinary) and *edináicjat'* (alternative). Three years later the situation is different: On the one hand, readers of the 1845 edition are only faced with a single notation of terms for '1' and '7'. In the case of '1', the earlier ordinary notation has survived (*edín*), but not so in the case of '7' where *sěm'* now has defeated *sedm'*. On the other hand, with *edinádsjat'* a third version is introduced as ordinary notation for '11', and *edinadesját'* has moved from ordinary to alternative position. – These examples may give at least an impression of the challenges both teachers and learners in Greek Catholic parish schools were faced with in the 1840s when trying to cope with Ruthenian as a written language without a defined standard.

Greek Catholic parish schools in Galicia in the 1840s as a place for early literacy acquisition in four languages?

Which concept of literacy is represented in the *bukvar'*, and what made Lavrivs'kyj think that pupils in Greek Catholic parish schools should acquire basic literacy in four languages, i.e. Church Slavonic, Ruthenian, German and Polish? First, we have to state that the textbook is designed as a reading primer in the narrow sense: It only addresses reading literacy, and reading literacy only covers reading of printed matter. This is in contrast to contemporary German language primers for use in Austria's '*kaiserlich-königliche Normal-, Haupt- und Trivialschulen*' which also include sections with scripts in handwriting. Whereas users of the *bukvar'* were supposed to learn three scripts (Cyrillic, Gothic and Roman print), the *Namenbüchlein* offer text in four scripts (Gothic print, Roman type, Gothic handwriting, Roman handwriting).

Second, the concept of reading literacy in four languages responds to educational needs in Greek Catholic parish schools as defined by the authorities of the Greek Catholic Church and as perceived by Lavrivs'kyj. In this context, the mandatory character of three of the four languages was undisputed. This included Church Slavonic as the traditional language not only of liturgy and prayers, but also of catechesis inside and outside the parish school. It also included Ruthenian as the children's home language, despite the fact that it was represented by different western dialects of the Ukrainian vernacular and that there was no widely accepted standard of written Ruthenian (Ptashnyk 2007). As mentioned above, in his Ruthenian writings Lavrivs'kyj often makes use of terms of Polish origin. This was in contrast to the official language policy of the Przemyśl cathedral chapter, aimed at stressing the difference between Ruthenian and Polish. Moser therefore concludes that the variety of Ruthenian presented by Lavrivs'kyj did not have a greater impact on language use in Galicia (Moser n.d.).

Next, Polish as the home language of a great percentage of the population and not least of Galicia's aristocracy – and thus often of the landlords of Ruthenian-speaking peasants – was a mandatory language as well in Greek Catholic parish schools. In addition, Polish played the role of a mediator between Ruthenian and German in education, because up to 1848 it exclusively served as the departure language for German language instruction in Galicia's secondary schools. In contrast to the German part the Polish part does not provide a translation into Ruthenian, hinting to the fact that it was designed as teaching Polish as a second rather than as a foreign language. Finally, in the Galician villages the Polish language was perceived as the language of the local authorities, and this is also reflected by such themes as 'duties of the subjects towards the authorities mandated by the monarch' and 'love of the homeland'. German, on the other hand, was not mandatory in Greek Catholic parish schools – despite the fact that it was the language not only of the state officials in Galicia, but also – until 1870 – the language of instruction in higher education. Therefore it could be useful for all those who were able to continue their education after having completed parish school.

The sequence of languages and the length of the respective parts applied in the *bukvar'* represent a hierarchy of languages. Why then is the Polish part

□ A primer from Galicia (cont.)

in the *bukvar*' positioned at the end of the primer and not between the Ruthenian and the German part? In any case this position is caused neither by didactical nor by legal provisions, and it may rather be result of language policy considerations of the Greek Catholic Church. In didactical terms, neither the German nor the Polish part present content that is suitable for beginning reading instruction in less familiar or foreign languages. The thematic-lexical material is outside the children's world, and it does not respond to their curiosity or motivation. And even the reference to the monarch presents itself as very theoretical and is not made in the German, but in the Polish part.

Preliminary conclusions

Little is known so far about the practice of beginning reading instruction in Galicia's Greek Catholic parish schools in the 1840s in general, and nothing about the ways that teachers and learners have used Lavrivs'kyj's *bukvar*' in particular (for the weekly schedule of parish school in 1843, see Harbig n.d.). Taking into account both the lack of qualified teachers and the level of teacher education in those years, teaching proficiency in the four languages was a major challenge in classroom work, and the characteristics of the three parts of the primer as described above did not contribute much to effective learning progress. This applies especially for instruction in German and Polish, and the cantor-teachers may more often than not have concentrated on the Ruthenian-Church-Slavonic part.

On the other hand, not only has Lavrivs'kyj's *bukvar*' had at least three editions. It also demonstrates a step in the development of written Ruthenian/Ukrainian, distinguishing it from neighbouring Slavonic languages and presenting it as a language of instruction. And, strange as some results may seem to us today, it is a testimony of a serious effort to respond to societal multilingualism. Finally, next to considerable numbers of Croatian-German, Czech-German, Polish-German and Slovenian-German textbooks, within RPSIG's 'Primers German-Slavonic' database Lavrivs'kyj's *bukvar*' is the only primer so far combining Ukrainian and German – one more reason to further examine both the content and the context of this unique textbook.

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Galicia (cont.)**

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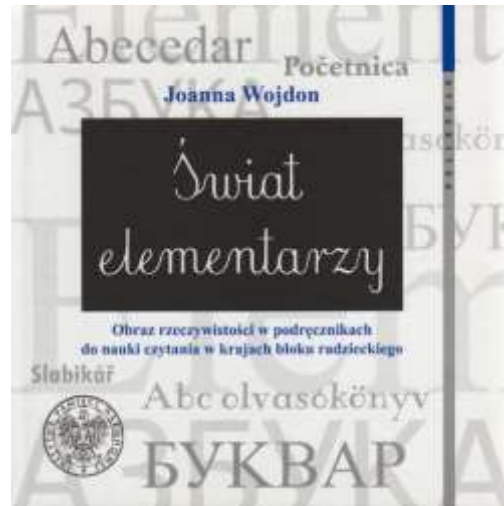
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□ Book review

□ Primers of the Soviet Bloc

Joanna Wojdon: *Świat elementarzy. Obraz rzeczywistości w podręcznikach do nauki czytania w krajach bloku radzieckiego* [The world of reading primers. The image of reality in reading instruction textbooks in the countries of the Soviet bloc]. Warszawa: Instytut Pamięci Narodowej 2015, 246 p. (seria „Dydaktyka historii, historia dydaktyki”, t. 2)

Krzysztof Ruchniewicz, Wrocław (Poland)



Before the IT revolution a paper textbook was a basic educational tool at schools. It served as a main source of information and helped to practice skills and competencies according to didactical principles of the time. It also had certain civic obligations since educating citizens was one of the important goals of school. Education was maintained by state and was supposed to serve the state. In the course of time textbooks were changing, also for political reasons. It seems that totalitarian and authoritarian regimes paid particular attention to the contents of textbooks. They did not hesitate to

use school and textbooks as a means of indoctrination, of winning support from the new generations of the followers of the “new deal”. Textbooks thus served as a tool of the state ideology.

There were two reasons behind the high position of education in the USSR and in the countries that fell under its influence after 1945 and were at least partially Sovietized. On the one hand the authorities needed to eliminate illiteracy and increase the level of education. But on the other hand they tended to shape the future members of the socialist community from their earliest years. The process was starting already in the first grade (let us leave aside the emerging pre-school education). Due to the political goals of education every teaching material, every book used at school was carefully controlled and influenced by the dominating master narrative. It started already with the reading primers. A reading primer was, as a rule, the first book that a child read, usually together with and with the help of his or her parents. Therefore they, too, became the addressees of its content. From the point of view of the regime, the usefulness of this material to shape appropriate attitudes and the world view was beyond any doubt. Thus, a child learnt not only the first letters of the alphabet but also the first principles of the political program of the Communist party.

Joanna Wojdon, a historian from Wrocław and a well-known researcher of the history of Polish education, undertook an ambitious task of researching reading primers as a political tool of the Communist regimes. Her goal was to analyze the primers from the USSR and the countries of the Soviet bloc as a means of creating and propagating certain image of the world. She found a wide range of reading primers in the Georg-Eckert Institute in Braunschweig (Germany), a leading institution in the research of didactics in various countries of the world. The collection of primers in the GEI library includes about 5000 copies from all over the world. The author initially selected 300 of them, and then – after dropping out books addressed to the national minorities and children with disabilities – thoroughly analyzed sixty-four. A primer – thanks to its naturally simplified form and numerous illustrations – was a bit easier to analyze than other books. In order to verify her research hypotheses, the author used also primers from the democratic countries.

□ Primers of the Soviet Bloc

Wojdon applied both comparative and transnational methods of analysis which turned out to be the right choice. On the one hand, it was bearable for a single researcher, but at the same time it can become an introduction to a much broader research project that would include textbooks for various disciplines and levels of education.

As a result we have an interesting book, consisting of six chapters, introduction, summary and bibliography. The first chapter characterizes the image of the communist state: definitions of fatherland, national symbols, history and its heroes, and the way the state works. The second chapter concentrates on the issue of modernization of the socialist society, including transportation, industry, household appliances and agriculture. The third discusses the family model created by the primers. It shows how the relations between a pupil and his family were presented, how the state wanted to stimulate the change in the traditional model of family. The author paid a lot of attention to the professional activities of parents. The next chapter is devoted to school life, starting from the way to school, through the presentation of lessons, lesson breaks and free time. The last two chapters deal with the private life of children and with holidays. The analysis is enriched with numerous citations and illustrations.

The author's conclusions are well grounded. She found all the analyzed textbooks – disregarding the country – used by the local regimes to indoctrinate pupils. It was particularly the case during the Stalinist period (1948-1956 in East-Central Europe), with the level of indoctrination gradually decreasing in the following years. The author stresses, however, that the primers were not written by the propagandists but often by the experienced pedagogues. Since all the publications, including textbooks, were rigorously censored, school textbooks were often a compromise between the author and the regime. Wojdon points out that despite the pressure of the authorities in some countries local traditions of textbook writing survived, such as the Polish primer by Marian Falski. As a result of the decreasing pressure of the authorities in the 1970s and 1980s less attention was paid to the content and patterns set by the regime, while more to the methodology of reading instruction.

Although the author has no doubts about the indoctrinating character of many textbook elements, she notices ambiguity of some cases, such as a boy watching pictures with Yuri Gagarin. On the one hand, the propaganda goal is quite obvious, but on the other hand the boys of his age (and the girls most likely as well) were naturally fascinated with aeronautics and studied the biographies of astronauts whom they wanted to follow. The situation on the other side of the "iron curtain" was no different. The author stresses that despite all the efforts and caution, the authorities could not always totally control all the content and all the levels of primers' narratives. For example, although the official image of modern socialist society included promotion of women's empowerment, the families from the primers' illustrations very often represented traditional gender roles with a woman cooking in a kitchen and a man with children sitting at a table.

The analysis of the primers used "behind the iron curtain" by Joanna Wojdon should be appreciated. The author managed to present these books in a comparative and transnational perspective. She collected interesting material. Probably, in the future it will be possible to enhance her analysis beyond the "iron curtain". Perhaps, despite all the differences resulting from the political sphere, it will be possible to find common elements. The author points to some of them, but it is merely an impulse for new analyses. Wojdon's book proves that it is a promising research area. Let us hope that translating her work into English will help introduce her interesting and pioneering findings to larger audiences. It is even more important in the view that such research prepares us better to present-day debates on the content and practice of education, and on the role of the state in the process of education.

□ Country note

□ Estonia

Kodavere Uavits – the first primer in the Kodavere dialect

Mare Mürsepp, Tallinn (Estonia)

Although the population of the people speaking Estonian is relatively small – approximately 1 million –, there is a remarkable tendency in Estonia to publish primers in dialects of different areas of this country. Two primers in the Kihnu dialect, published in 2009 and 2011, have already been described in the RP-SIG's Brixen/Bressanone exhibition catalogue (Mürsepp 2009), and primers in other dialects have been introduced in the article about modern primers in Estonia, published in RPI 10 (Mürsepp 2013). The goal of all these books is to support children whose home language is very different from written Estonian; in particular, the primers are seen as tools to strengthen the connection between different generations and, finally, to save the unique features of local cultural life.



Kodavere Uavits, front cover

In 2015 a new booklet of 47 pages for beginning readers was issued: *Kodavere uavits*. Published by the *Liivi Museum*, homeplace of Juhan Liiv (1864–1913), a well-known Estonian poet, it is compiled in the dialect spoken in Kodavere, the parish near Lake Peipus (Estonian: *Peipsi järv*). Kodavere's dialect is described as similar to the Votic language belonging to the Finnish branch of Uralic languages. Thus the vocabulary and expressions in Kodavere's dialect are rather distinguished from the official Estonian written language. For example the hare is *jānes* in Estonian, but *letu* in Kodavere, and Estonian *nutma* [to cry] is *itkmä*.



Kodavere Uavits, pp. 14-15

□ Estonia (continued)

Kodavere uavits, a booklet of 48 pages, is based on deep research work in Kodavere's dialect; the authors of the primer are Eevi Treial, a folklorist who has already compiled collections of texts in the Kodavere dialect, and Mari Niitra, a semiotic and critic of children's literature.

The booklet is structured as an abc book, and a double page containing an illustration, vocabulary and short sentences is devoted to each letter. Themes have been selected that are thought to be relevant for the children living near the lake, and living in families with a long tradition of fishing. The themes are mostly fishing (in different seasons), flowers and other plants, animals, traditions in the family and in the village, kids' games and jokes. Also works of writers in Kodavere's dialect are included in the primer, like those by Juhan Liiv.

Designer and illustrator Pusa (Piret Bergman), winner, among others, of the Ants Laikmaa Young Artist Award, has given a specially bright and charming form for the primer. Pusa has spent her childhood summers in Kodavere, and her pictures express her devotion to this place. They are very detailed, humorous and lyric at the same time.

The primer in Kodavere dialect includes a dictionary and links to the web dictionary, thus the teachers and other users of the primer can follow the sources to enrich their teaching and learning with the words and expressions they would need.



Kodavere Uavits, pp. 22-21

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