

INSTITUTIONAL STRATEGIES AND POLITICAL MECHANISMS/ STRATÉGIES INSTITUTIONNELS ET MÉCANISMES POLITIQUES

THE CHILD'S IDENTITY IN THE VIEW OF THE ROMANIAN PEDAGOGY OF THE 19TH CENTURY TRANSYLVANIA

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Abstract: The present study invites to a more attentive approach of Romanian Pedagogy from the 19th century Transylvania. If the pedagogical vocation is a constant trait of the Transylvanian intellectual's profile, however it's difficult to make a correct evaluation of the models, especially for a historiography that continues to make confusions between political and intellectual spheres.

Keywords: cultural history, 19th Century Transylvania, Romanian pedagogy, cultural models.

The importance of education in the nation's socio-cultural emancipation is a recurrent theme in the public discourse of most of the Transylvanian politicians and learned men, and the pedagogical vocation is a constant trait of the Transylvanian intellectual's profile, an aspect numerous past and present historiographic researches have underlined. However, a frequent tendency among the Romanian historians is confusing the vision of education in the political sphere with that in the specialized institutions. The programmes of the 'forty-eightist' (*pașoptist*) generation and the ideas put forward by the journalists writing for the Romanian political papers have encompassed only a part of the discourse on school and education. What the historians have failed to take into consideration is the profusion of ideas found in the pedagogues' treatises. *The school's contribution to the social and cultural emancipation of the nation*, the favourite motto of the Transylvanian intellectuals of the 19th century, became *the school's contribution to the struggle for national unity*

in the post-1960 historiography, thus reducing the pedagogical discourse to a single one of its dimensions. Creating a one-dimensional image of the school's social role determined the loss of certain aspects which were not connected with politics.

In the present study I set out to present the most representative Transylvanian pedagogues' conception on the role of the school education and to identify the image they had of the child. The field of research will be limited exclusively to the specialized writings in order to separate the more complex didactical discourse from the political one. The main authors I have researched are Visarion Roman¹, Ioan Popescu², Vasile Petri³, Petru Pîpoș⁴ and Petru Șpan⁵,

¹ **Visarion Roman** (1833-1885) graduated the Theological-pedagogical Institute in Sibiu where he also taught as a substitute professor of pedagogy for a year (1854-1855). In 1855-1857 he was a teacher in Rășinari. He translated arithmetic and geography schoolbooks from German, and in 1862 he published the first reading manual for the primary school in Transylvania, written by a Romanian author. In 1860-1865 he edited the first Romanian pedagogy review, *Amicul Școalei*. He was editor of two other reviews: *Amicul poporului* and *Albina Carpaților*. In 1870 he specialized in bank crediting in Vienna. Together with other Romanian intellectuals he founded *Banca Albina* in 1871 – he was the bank's general manager from 1873 to 1884 (the bank closed in 1948). In 1877 he was elected correspondent member of the Romanian Academy.

² **Ioan Popescu** (1832-1892) studied pedagogy in Sibiu and Leipzig. At the Leipzig University he studied under Tuiskon Ziller, one of the most famous Herbartians. He carried out his didactical carrier in the Theological-pedagogical Institute in Sibiu, where he taught psychology, logic, pedagogy and canon law. In 1888-1891 he was also the principal of the Astra School for girls in Sibiu. He was also a priest, a protopope, and a member of the National Ecclesiastic Council. As secretary at Astra he was also editor of its journal, *Transylvania*. In 1877 he became correspondent member of the Romanian Academy. Ioan Popescu is one of the most important Romanian pedagogues in Transylvania. He published the first pedagogy compendium in 1868 and the first psychology in Romanian (1881); one of his works was published posthumously in 1892: a pedagogy *written on the ethical and psychological bases of the Herbartian realism*. In 1863 he edited the review entitled *Organ pedagogic*, which contained a series of pedagogy lectures. He had a rich activity in the sphere of didactical literature: the first illustrated Romanian spelling book (1st edition in 1870, the 18th in 1911), two reading books (one in 1874 and the other in the 1880's – the year of the first edition is unknown), a book on the method of teaching arithmetic (1864) and another on teaching spelling (1870).

³ **Vasile Petri** (1833-1905) graduated the 6 months preparatory school in Năsăud and from 1853-1857 he attended the courses of the Pedagogical Institute in Prague, with excellent results. He was a teacher at the normal school in Sângeorz, then at the superior primary school in Năsăud; from 1860 to 1869, and from 1870 to 1871 he was a professor of the Preparatory school of Năsăud, and Deva, respectively. Due to health problems he had to abandon his didactical activity and devote himself after 1871 until 1885 to work as a school inspector (in the areas of Orlat and Rodna). At that time he was considered *the best Romanian method expert in Transylvania*. But his most important activity has been that of schoolbooks' author for the primary education. His didactical literature has been published until the First World War in a record number of editions: *Elementariul* (1861), *Noul*

the creators of Romanian systematic pedagogy in Transylvania in the second half of the 19th century. I have also used the anonymous work entitled *Manuductor pentru învățătorii școlasticești* [Guide to school teaching] (Buda, 1818), one I consider illustrative for the spirit of school didactics of the first half of the century. The *Manuductor* is a compilation that makes use of previous works published in German at the turn of the 18th and the beginning of the 19th centuries, favouring the figure of A. H. Niemeyer, the most popular German pedagogue at that time. In fact, the professors teaching in the Romanian preparatory schools until 1850's held this illustrious forerunner of the modern pedagogy for their role model, just as they will regard the work of J. F. Herbart, the founder of scientific pedagogy, in the next period.

School was steadily becoming a factor that was able to create an identity as the system of primary education gradually became generalised, and all those involved in the process of decision-making for this educational segment were well aware of that. In the social psychology of nowadays a theory has asserted itself, namely one that states that each individual has more than one identity whose actualisation depends on the historical, social and cultural milieu. A person's identity consists of a *social self* – the introversion of his social roles and a *psychological self* – the *psyche*'s reaction to the others' attitudes. Therefore, the *personal identity* and the *social one* thus formed are closely interrelated, depending on the complex interactions between man and society. To conclude, each individual is a member of

Abecedar românesc [The new Romanian spelling book] (1878) was published in 17 editions until 1908, *Legendarul* of 1878 reached its 13th edition in 1904. Another remarkable work was his method book on how to teach spelling, entitled *Scriptologia* (1872). He edited the pedagogical reviews *Magazin pedagogic* [Pedagogical magazine] (Năsăud, 1867), *Școala practică* [The practical school] (Năsăud, 1882-1886) and *Școala română* [The Romanian school] (Sibiu, 1875-1879, Năsăud, 1881), where he published many theoretical articles expanding on his conception of education.

⁴ **Petru Pipoș** (1859-1913) studied philosophy in Cluj (received his Ph.D. title in 1882), he taught pedagogy at the preparatory school in Arad, where he published a series of manuals, in multiple editions: *Didactica* (1887), *Metodica* (1889), *Psihologia* (1896), *Pedagogia* (1900).

⁵ **Petru Șpan** (1860-1911) studied pedagogy in Sibiu, Vienna and Jena (where he studied under Wilhelm Rein). In 1877 he became a Ph. D. with a thesis entitled *Dezvoltarea pedagogiei lui Herbart de către Ziller* [Ziller's development of Herbart's pedagogy]. He was a professor at the Theological-pedagogical Institute in Sibiu. Some of his most important works: *Întrebări de educațiune și instrucțiune* [Questions on education and instruction] (1891), *Treptele formale ale învățământului* [The formal steps of education] (1898), *Idei pregătitoare în pedagogie* [Preliminary ideas for pedagogy] (1902), *Poveștile în educația școlară* [Stories in school education] (1905), *Lecții de didactică în uzul școlilor pedagogice* [Didactic lessons for the use of pedagogical schools] (1906), *Lecții de psihologie în uzul școlilor pedagogice* [Psychology lessons for the use of pedagogical schools] (1906), *Lecții de pedagogie* [Pedagogy lessons] (1908).

various groups in the social reality and he can present himself as part of one or the other groups depending on how his perception is structured⁶.

With these theoretical perspectives in view I intend to study the ways in which social and personal identities were constructed in 19th century education. One could naturally ask if the psycho-sociologic model above mentioned once applied to a society which was mentally different from the one in which it was created would lead to an artificial dichotomy which would only complicate the restitution of the historical past. The answer is “no” and to support this approach there are many arguments to be found even in the texts of that time where there is often talk of what today’s sociologists call multiple identity. The 1818 *Manductor* explains the use of the public school in view of *a better fulfilment of the necessary duties* of the peasant *in all his states as a citizen, husband, parent, it* [i.e. the school] *advises him towards a wiser conduct, making him more respectable and ennobling all his life*⁷. These *states* are none other than the various social roles in modern psychology. Visarion Roman in his *Method* of 1853, a work preserved as a manuscript, believes that the education’s aim is to *make people good Christians and good citizens*⁸. Petru Pipoș multiplies the number of groups one individual can belong to when in his teaching methods of 1887 he argues the necessity to promote in the elementary school a *human general culture* on the base of which the student will become a *true Christian, a good citizen, a faithful son of his nation, and a practical man ready to work*⁹. Ioan Popescu, in the first Romanian psychology work in Transylvania, even sketches a short theoretical approach to the multiple identity:

the most relevant changes among those occurring in the self-awareness are those issuing from the alteration of the self-idea when it is divided in more than one parts, each of which represents another self [...]. This is how a given person may consider himself to be divided in as many self’s as his callings, having for example a different self-awareness as a man of state, another one as a writer and another as head of a family¹⁰.

The role of the education in the pedagogical thought of 19th century.

The main goal of education in the 19th century pedagogy was to impose moral guidelines, whereas passing on knowledge was secondary. This idea can

⁶ See Maria Nicoleta Turliuc, *Imaginar, identitate și reprezentări sociale. Imaginea elementului alogen în mentalul colectiv românesc*, Iași, Editura Universității “Alexandru Ioan Cuza”, 2004, chap. “Identitatea socială și condiționările sale multiple”, pp. 51-106.

⁷ *Manductor pentru învățătorii sholasticești sau îndreptare către cuviincioasa împlinire a direcțiilor învățătoarești*, Buda, Tipografia Universității Ungariei, 1818, p. 63.

⁸ Visarion Roman, *Methodul*, 1853, manuscript, State Archives, Cluj, fond Visarion Roman, file 58, 118v.

⁹ Pipoș, *Metodica școalei populare*, vol. I, Arad, Tipografia Diecesană, 1887, p. 14.

¹⁰ Ioan Popescu, *Psihologia empirică sau știința despre suflet între marginile observației*, Sibiu, Tipografia lui S. Filtsch (W. Kraft), 1881.

be found with all the Romanian Transylvanian authors¹¹, in a form close to the words of Petru Pipoș:

the public school is called upon to awaken and to strengthen the whole of the student's spiritual activity, to guide their souls towards all that is good and noble, so that their culture may culminate in what is called a "moral character", which is the supreme aim of education¹².

Herbart had laid down the principle of *educating instruction* showing that true moral teaching is based on a systematic intellectual culture; the final aim of literary, scientific and aesthetic education is forming the pupil's character due to their influence on his will. Through this principle Herbart changed the means by which moral education was formed; before him, the moral framework was constructed through sayings, parables, advices, stories with exemplary values. The Herbartian school stressed the intellectual culture in moral formation to such an extent, that at the end of the 19th century the schoolbooks had become instruments of erudition rather than education. As a consequence, the ratio of moral and intellectual education had practically tilted towards the latter, despite the fact that the pedagogues were stating the contrary.

As we assess the theme of moral education in the pedagogical literature of Transylvania we may observe there are two theoretical directions: one in which the moral education comes under the religious one, and a second, which identifies the two. The former follows the German pedagogical school of Niemeyer and Herbart which is based on Kant's moral philosophy – the categorical imperative and the will's autonomy – in which God is no longer the moral source, but man himself. As Kant said,

the practical or moral education is that through which the one becomes learned, so that one may become a being acting freely. (We call practical all that is connected with freedom). The practical education is the education of the personality, of a free autonomous being who can be a member of society and have at the same time an inner value, for itself¹³.

¹¹ See Visarion Roman, *cited work*, 118 r-v; Ioan Popescu, "Organ pedagogic pentru educație și instrucție", I, 1863, p. 13; Petru Șpan, *Întrebări de educație și instrucție*, Sibiu, Tipografia Arhidieceșană, 1891, p. 11.

¹² Petru Pipoș, *cited work*, Ist vol, p. 12.

¹³ See *Din istoria gândirii pedagogice universale. Antologie*, Ist vol., București, Editura Didactică și pedagogică, 1959, p. 204.

Following the Kantian philosophy Herbart believes that *the true end of pedagogy is to promote virtue. It is the idea of inner freedom, constantly developed and made manifest in a person*¹⁴.

This type of moral education filtered to adapt to school needs, regards religion as playing a fundamental role in forming the moral conscience but not as being identical to it. In the Transylvanian pedagogy this orientation is to be found in the 1818 *Manuductor* as well as in the works of the Herbartian Ioan Popescu – in his later works – Petru Pipoș and Petru Șpan. The *Manuductor* places the *moral sense in close connection with the religious sense*, the latter being *a very helpful power for the moral sense*¹⁵. Ioan Popescu writes in his *Compendiu de pedagogie* [Pedagogy compendium] that *the supreme aim of education is morality and religiosity*¹⁶. Petru Pipoș believes that education should allow the pupil to follow *the path of righteousness and virtue towards moral freedom*¹⁷. Șpan is an advocate of the educational plan proposed by Ziller (the foremost representative of the Herbartian school) in which the ethical-religious sciences are at the very centre of education. To support his choice he argues that *the foundation of character lies with the will*¹⁸.

Although the Romanian pedagogy in Transylvania is dominated by this rationalistic trend originated in the German pedagogy, I believe that if seen from a practical angle its spirit is actually far closer to that direction which identifies the moral with the religious education. My assessment is based on the frequency of the articles published in pedagogical papers – many of which written by teachers – in which religion is the basis of a sound and efficient moral education. What's more, even the texts used in the books for the primary schools point to an education in which *righteousness* has all the coordinates of biblical pedagogy and finds its meaning in relation with God and not with a concept as abstract as the autonomy of human will. From this perspective the purport of education is the accomplishment of the human being, following the Saviour's command *Be ye therefore perfect, even as your Father which is in heaven is perfect*. This recurrent biblical verse in the pedagogical press and literature¹⁹ is fully put to use in the articles of Visarion Roman, editor in chief of "*Amicului școalei*" [The friend of the school] the first pedagogical paper in Transylvania. Visarion Roman – the single one of the preeminent Romanian pedagogues who had not

¹⁴ Johann Frierdrich Herbart, *Prelegeri pedagogice*, București, Editura Didactică și Pedagogică, 1976, p. 6.

¹⁵ *Manuductor...*, cited work, p. 145.

¹⁶ Ioan Popescu, *Compendiu de pedagogie pentru părinți, educatori și toți bărbaiții de școală*, Sibiu, Tipografia arhidieceșană, 1868, p. 57.

¹⁷ Petru Pipoș, cited work, Ist, p. 13.

¹⁸ Petru Șpan, cited work, p. 39.

¹⁹ *Amicul școalei*, III, 1862, p. 62; *Organ pedagogic pentru educație și instrucție*, I, 1863, p. 12; *Sionul românesc*, II, 1866, p. 132, Zaharia Boiu, *Manuducere pentru învățători la întrebuișarea abțidarului*, Sibiu, Tipografia diecesană, 1862, p. 11.

studied abroad, a self-taught teacher who remained faithful to the theological-pedagogical school of Sibiu – is the link between the German pedagogical school, too rigid and grave for a people of peasants deeply attached to the Christian faith, and the Transylvanian rural world. Regardless of their denomination, the Romanian teachers may easier approach their pupils with the principle stating that *God is the apex and higher point of our thought. We live, we are and we move in God*²⁰.

The obvious ideal of the Christian life is that of perfection, namely of holiness, as preached by the Holy Fathers of the Eastern Church; the way to spiritual perfection was presented in a didactical form by St. John Climax in his famous *Ladder of Paradise*. In his view, the goal of this life is neither “the good man”, nor “the virtuous man”, but “the holy man” who is united with God by the means of the three virtues of faith, hope and love which represent the lack of passions and reaching the highest degree of spirituality²¹. Visarion Roman saw the school as a place where the youth prepare themselves for both the eternal life and the citizen one. The education strives to promote everything that develops the powers of the soul and those of the body and gives them a direction that is pleasing to God, and on the contrary it tries to hinder anything that could add leaven to the rise of evil²².

In the wake of these observations the Orthodox Theology and the German pedagogy may be deemed the poles of the Transylvanian educational philosophy. What is the purpose of human life as seen from a Christian perspective? How is the human as an individual perceived and what is his social role in this world? Where do the German rationalistic pedagogy of the 19th century and the Orthodox dogma converge and diverge with regard to the identity perception of the child? The answers to these questions are indispensable for understanding the educational model in Transylvania. We will begin by analysing the two perspectives on individual identity: the personal and the social one.

Personal identity

Even though the human is perceived as a dual being of body and soul, the pedagogues' entire attention is focused on perfecting the spirit, the body needing merely be preserved. Physical exercises had been nominated as a compulsory object by some pedagogues such as Locke, Basedow, Rousseau or Pestalozzi. Even more so, from the pedagogical method of Petru Pipoș we learn that the first theoretical paper on physical education in schools dates back to 1816 and was

²⁰ “Opiniuni mai noue despre spiritul omenesc”, în *Amicul școalei*, IV, 1863, p. 154.

²¹ See the introductory study in Ioan Scărarul, *Scara Raiului*, ed. IV, translation, introduction and notes by metropolitan archbishop Nicolae Corneanu, Timișoara, Editura Amarcord, 2000, pp. 53-54.

²² Visarion Roman, *cited work*, 118v.

written by Ludovic Jah²³. All these isolated theoretical initiatives have no spectacular practical consequences in the 19th century. The body's inferiority with regard to the spirit is explained by Ioan Popescu in the following way:

As to the development of the physical life, it somehow serves as a base for the development of the spiritual life and it precedes it at the very beginning. Even so, the body becomes in time greatly inferior to the soul, and this happens because the body's development is restricted to certain known limits while the spirit is capable of a growth whose limits cannot be foreseen. The spirit in its development manages to have the body as an instrument, as its organ [...] the spirit is the means given the human in order to progress towards perfection more and more, oriented towards the ideal of all perfection, towards God in whose image and resemblance he is created²⁴.

But he also believes that completely ignoring the body is also a serious mistake by mentioning the Latin adage *mens sana in corpora sano*²⁵.

At the beginning of the 19th century the physical education is limited in Transylvania to elementary rules of hygiene; the 1818 *Manuductor* has a short chapter entitled "On the education of the body" providing some information on the clothes' and the body's cleanliness, on the parts of the human body, on the role fresh air, rest, balanced eating etc. have²⁶. This "theoretical" niveau of the physical education will be surpassed only at the half of the century by Ioan Popescu, who recommends exercising. He explains that gymnastics is meant to help develop one's body harmoniously but also to *strengthen one morally*, because a child is thusly *less subjected to the bad inclinations which are born out of weakness and indolence*²⁷. Besides gymnastics he also suggests playing, riding and swimming and produces medical arguments to support this revolutionary idea:

moving the whole body has a propitious influence on the blood circulation, breathing and digestion; it is therefore obvious that exercising helps preserve the body because it facilitates and promotes the functions which determine the body's health²⁸.

Popescu's initiative is very important because it introduces a different view of the body in the Romanian pedagogy. If up until then one of the "sacred" duties of a school-child had been to pay attention (this implying sitting in a

²³ Petru Pipoș, *Metodica...*, 2nd vol., Arad, Tipografia Diecezană, 1887, p. 159.

²⁴ Ioan Popescu, *Compendiu...*, cited edition, pp. 1-2.

²⁵ *Ibid*, p. 54.

²⁶ *Manuductor...*, cited edition, pp. 100-105.

²⁷ *Ibid*, p. 99.

²⁸ Ioan Popescu, *Compendiu...*, cited edition, p. 93.

position as static as possible), Ioan Popescu shows that movement is a normal attitude for a child: *there is nothing more unnatural than to prevent the pupil to move as he pleases, to play*²⁹. In the method book written by Petru Pipoș physical education is endowed with a practical dimension, when he describes various types of gymnastics exercises: free exercises, exercises for the head, for the trunk or for the extremities, which the children were performing on rhythm; order exercises, in which the individual is regarded *as a tactical unit of a group of individuals*; exercises with various instruments during which the hands, arms and legs have to assume different positions³⁰.

While the issue of the body is quickly done away with, the problem of the spirit becomes the object of debates among the pedagogues. Firstly there is a distinction made in the literature between *soul* and *spirit*: *seen as different from the body, the soul is thusly called because of its relation to the body, but when seen as an immaterial substance it is called a spirit*³¹. This separation is pedagogically irrelevant, but it does, however, prove a certain amount of compatibility between 19th century psychology and Christian theology since both consider the spirit to be eternal. By studying the Orthodox conception on how man was created and the on the traits of the human psyche we may find a key to explaining some aspects of the identity model put forward by the 19th century Romanian school.

The first thing we will notice is how deeply the dogma of the original sin is rooted in the minds of the people. Visarion Roman argues the importance of education by appealing to the theological explanation of human imperfection.

The man has taken from God various bodily and spiritual faculties and powers so that he may reach his aim and his end. These powers had been in themselves so fine created that they were able to guide the man towards God, but they were weakened by the original sin and their good orientation ceased so that man can reach his completion solely with the help of Christ our Saviour. But for this end the youth need help from the learned people [...] so that they may live and work in all circumstances abiding by God's commandments. This help is called upbringing or education³².

The Christian theology has explained the evil's existence in the world through the original sin. Saint John Climax – just as the whole Orthodox ascetics – sees it as metaphysical power capable of transforming the human being a fact which makes the divine intervention indispensable – an intervention which

²⁹ *Ibid*, p. 94.

³⁰ Petru Pipoș, *Metodica...*, 2nd vol., *cited edition*, pp. 157-159.

³¹ Ioan Popescu, *Psichologia...*, *cited edition*, p. 21; a similar explanation can be found in the following article: "Spiritul și sufletul", in *Amicul școalei*, IV, no. 22, June 1st, 1863, p. 169.

³² *Ibid*, 118r-v.

sanctifies the human and helps him to achieve deification. The result of the sin is presented in the *Ladder* as a pathology of evil, as Metropolitan Nicolae Corneanu explains, and the key element in this pathology is the passion. Any passion is an illness of the soul and all passions have their own causes, symptoms, diagnostics, and therapy³³.

Father Dumitru Stăniloae in his work *Ascetics and Mystic of the Orthodox Church*³⁴ illustrates the eastern conception of the human psyche by analysing the passion. The most frequently quoted patristic texts belong to Saint Maximus the Confessor. The spiritual life is divided into an *active phase* aimed at freeing the human from passions and a *contemplative phase* of silently contemplating God. Only he who has cleansed his soul of passions is able to aim at gnosis or at contemplation³⁵. The passions are as low as a human being can fall, depriving it of its will and enslaving it. The man loses his rationality precisely because although he knows that the finite things cannot fulfil his aspiration for the infinite – an awareness filling him with boredom and despair – he lets himself be carried away by his egocentric passion. The passions hold the human being in the darkness of ignorance by the means of their irrationality³⁶. The possibility of the passions being born is given by the existence of natural affects Saint Maximus the Confessor calls *the natural affects*. They belong to the sphere of our nature and not our will and that is why they are not to be blamed, nevertheless they are not part of the original structure of our nature but have entered after the sin. *The affects can become passions just as they can become good inclinations, just as the man's thirst for infinity orients itself either towards the world or towards God*³⁷. The eastern ascetics isn't opposed to the biological life: it is a *break and a discipline for the body, it does not fight to exterminate it* because when it refrains and limits the material pleasures there occurs a transfer of our being's energies in favour of our spirit³⁸.

The German pedagogue J. F. Herbart fundamentals his educational guidelines on a conception of the human nature which resembles the biblical one; even though he does not mention the original sin his idea that in any child there is a natural tendency towards disorder leads him to draw the traditional conclusions regarding the aim and the role of the education.

The true light-mindedness which is made manifest in forgetfulness, disorder, instability, jokes is inherent to the individual dispositions and it does not allow for a radical cure; it is nevertheless possible that later on we may be able to

³³ Ioan Scărarul, *cited edition*, p. 52.

³⁴ Dumitru Stăniloae, *Ascetica și mistica Bisericii ortodoxe*, București, Editura Institutului Biblic și de Misiune al Bisericii Ortodoxe Române, 2002.

³⁵ *Ibid*, pp. 66-67.

³⁶ *Ibid*, pp.75-78.

³⁷ *Ibid*, p. 84.

³⁸ *Ibid*, p. 85.

make it disappear through numerous admonishments and precautions against exterior excitements. The moral education (meant to protect the individual) is even more necessary here in order to avoid the consequences of evil or at least to attenuate them. Because once the frivolous individual begins to feel pleasure in their actions, he will begin to rebel against order and perseverance and to think of ways to gain his freedom and live a life with no rules³⁹.

The same Herbart points out the danger lurking in constant and recurrent desires which may turn to passions if they are not curbed⁴⁰.

We will now turn our attention to how Ioan Popescu and Petru Pipoș, who follow Herbart's principles, explain how passions are formed. Popescu presents a gradual evolution of the *sensual needs* from *goads*, to *instincts*, *desires*, *passions and addictions*. He calls "goad" what modern language designates through "instinct"; however, in his psychology work the instinct is thought to be an unconscious movement of the body determined by a "goad". *The desires are the consequences of the satisfied goads*, as each time a goad is taken heed of a desire is born. The more often the desires are satisfied, the more their numbers and intensity grow. Completely reprimanding them is not recommended, because this *damages the organism*, but neither is partially satisfying them because in this case they intensify⁴¹. The solution is offered by the psychology of the time: *he who does not wish to be overwhelmed by desires – writes Popescu – must learn to be moderate in his needs and not to satisfy them*⁴². The same idea is shared by Petru Pipoș who believes that the desires become more numerous, the more frequent they are satisfied. In his manual there are many practical advices for tempering desires: avoiding the objects which excite them, focusing on serious occupations such as studying, and especially avoiding the ways in which these needs are satisfied⁴³.

The passions originate in *the desires, inclinations and interests which prevail in the spiritual life*. They are based on very strong and permanently active stimuli; for the *sensual desires* these stimuli lie with the *natural goads* and that is why the desires may easily turn to passions, especially the man does not satisfies them in a rational fashion: gluttony, drunkenness, and other passions are thusly born⁴⁴. The passions are seen in a negative light and they are deemed by 19th century psychology and the Christian thought as the cause of ignorance and limitation of the human freedom:

³⁹ Johann Friedrich Herbart, *cited edition*, p. 61.

⁴⁰ *Ibid*, p. 65, 69, 107.

⁴¹ Ioan Popescu, *Psichologia...*, *cited edition*, pp. 245-251.

⁴² *Ibid*, p. 251.

⁴³ Petru Pipoș, *Psihologia pentru instituttele pedagogice și școalele medii*, Arad, Editura Autorului, 1896, p. 168.

⁴⁴ *Ibid*, pp. 275-276.

one hears often of noble passions in one's life. But this beautiful epithet cannot be correctly applied to the actual passions because even if the aim of such passions were a noble one, on the count of their being passions they do not allow the subject to freely chose moral means to fulfil them, any means are good as long as they are practical in achieving the purpose⁴⁵.

The passions make the man blind with their vehemence; they oppose the freedom of the will and are therefore unsound psychological states⁴⁶.

Other extreme psychological states are the *affects* which are placed by Popescu in the *sentiments*' category, as opposed to the passions which are dealt with in the chapter dedicated to desires. The affects are very powerful sentiments which lead to a complete loss of temper; someone who is seized by them *looks as if he were out of his mind*⁴⁷. The affects can be *sthenic*: joy, wonder, enthusiasm, hope etc. or *asthenic*: sadness, melancholy, fear, apathy, shame etc.⁴⁸. In his psychology manual for secondary schools Petru Pipoș presents the main differences and resemblances between passions and addictions (the origin of passions is psychological, that of addictions is physical; the addiction clouds the judgement and takes the means for purpose), as well as those between passions and affects (affects are temporary, passions are durative; the affect's intensity diminishes in time, but the passion's increases; the affect makes a person lose his temper, the passion does not block reason, but makes work for its ends)⁴⁹.

The psychological processes and their connection with moral education

Prior to 1860 when the experimental school appeared the views on psychological life belonged to the framework of Associationism – Herbart was one of its most illustrious figures. Its followers thought that any superior psychological process or formation is the result of a chain or of associative combinations; psychological life was explained as an association of irreducible elements: the association of sensations forms the perceptions, whose association forms the representations, whose association forms the concepts and so on⁵⁰. Experimental psychology meant elaborating techniques, procedures and methods to investigate psychological processes and to express them by the means of mathematical symbols⁵¹, proving among other things, the Associationist theories

⁴⁵ *Ibid*, p. 279.

⁴⁶ *Ibid*, pp. 280-281.

⁴⁷ *Ibid*, p. 232; the same idea is found in Petru Pipoș, *Psihologia...*, cited edition, p. 155.

⁴⁸ Ioan Popescu, *Psichologia...*, cited edition, p. 233.

⁴⁹ Petru Pipoș, *Psihologia...*, cited edition, pp. 174-175.

⁵⁰ Rodica Popa, *Istoria psihologiei. Curente, școli, direcții, perspective*, Timișoara, Editura Eurostampa, 2000, p. 52.

⁵¹ Petroman, *Incursiune în istoria psihologiei universale și românești de la origini până în prezent*, Timișoara, Editura Eurobit, 1996, chap. "Metoda experimentală – experimentalismul", pp. 117-135.

wrong. The entire pedagogical literature in Transylvania, including Ioan Popescu, makes use of the Associationist psychology's concepts and notions. The first one to use the literature of the experimental school in his psychology paper for secondary education is Petru Pipoș, but he does not break off completely from Associationism.

Taking into consideration that most of the assertions of the pupil's identity were based on the scientific assessments of the human psyche we will illustrate the notion the pedagogues had on the psychological processes and their characteristics. Ioan Popescu describes how the *ideas* of the surrounding world are formed. The sense organs record information on objects, which they relay to the spirit; they are deposited in the spirit and after the *impressions* which had generated them have stopped, they are accessed whenever necessary in the form of ideas. A consequence of amassing a multitude of information is forgetting them: the ideas form strains of association in which the first ideas grow dimmer, and are gradually lost because others are added after them. An idea can be remembered if a given object exerts a similar *impression* on us to that which had generated the idea the first time⁵². In pedagogical praxis this associationist theory on how ideas are formed is mirrored by intuitive learning, a method created by Pestalozzi based on carefully observing objects with the use of the five senses, describing their constituent parts and the connections they form with one another.

The spiritual education of the pupil – the one mainly responsible with structuring his identity – is based on a series of considerations concerning the psychological processes: memory, imagination, attention, will. **The memory** is the most important of them in the 19th century school, proving the Latin proverb *the man knows as much as he can remember* right⁵³. The *Manductor* believes the *memory, which guards all that it receives from the outer and inner senses*⁵⁴, is essential for the process of instruction. Ioan Popescu explains how the memory is formed and why it is so important:

it is the recreation of ideas such as those that had associated with each other. [...] the better the ideas are associated, the more precisely can they be reproduced and the better and more accurate is the memory⁵⁵. The clearer the ideas are to begin with and the more frequent repeated in the same order, the better will they be associated with one another⁵⁶.

Visarion Roman addresses in one of his articles the practical effectiveness of a good memory regardless of the day-to-day interests of each person: the memory should be carefully trained in school because its lack leads

⁵² Ioan Popescu, *Compendiu...*, cited edition, p. 17-19.

⁵³ *Ibid*, p. 21.

⁵⁴ *Manductor...*, cited edition, p. 113.

⁵⁵ Ioan Popescu, *Compendiu...*, cited edition, pp. 20-21.

⁵⁶ *Ibid*, p. 111.

to inconveniences, damages, time squandering. The article underlines the importance of memorizing moral sentences, a guarantee for a life-long exemplary behaviour: *he who in his childhood has enriched his mind with moral religious sentences has in them a shield against temptations, a soothing balm in unhappiness, and a good advice in uncertainties*⁵⁷. Nonetheless, the pedagogues constantly draw attention on the fact that something should be firstly understood and only then memorized, and that memorizing without understanding is useless. The intuitive method was considered to be an efficient way to improve the memory logically and not mechanically, the way it was done in the traditional school.

The imagination, called *fantasy* at that time, had a different status in the 19th century educational theory and praxis than it does today. Fantasy is useful up to a point, but when let to run unbridled it may become harmful because an excess in this direction is a sure way to immorality and it may even damage the intellectual development! The 1818 *Manuductor* shows that the child's *capacity to imagine* is useful for re-actualizing the image of absent objects but also that it should not be encouraged in the village schools because *these states are damaging* as they are the cause of fanaticism and immorality⁵⁸. These arguments, born out of an aristocratic society's fears during the revolutionary changes at the end of the 18th century were no longer valid 50 years later.

Ioan Popescu in line with the pedagogical researches of his time defines imagination as the reproduction of modified ideas. Depending on the ideas' degree of originality there are several forms of fantasy: abstractive (it reproduces essential ideas), determinative (it adds to the general ideas), combinative (it combines the abstractive and determinative fantasies, both omitting and adding)⁵⁹. When exactly is the imagination good and when is it bad? Popescu states that "a well organized fantasy can become the source of enthusiasm for everything beautiful, noble, and great, but a unruly fantasy gives birth to superstitious characters, weird talents, the so-called extravagant spirits and to a multitude of utopias and passions"⁶⁰.

This assessment of the imagination is presented in a clearer form in his pedagogy paper of 1868. He believes an unfortunate consequence of imagination is to believe in monsters, ghosts, and spectres and a positive result are the arts⁶¹.

If the pupil is allowed to form combinations as he pleases these combinations might *hinder the formation of the memory and consequently the*

⁵⁷ "Este oare de folos memorisarea în școalele poporale?", in *Amicul școalei*, III, no. 17, 28 April, 1862, p. 133.

⁵⁸ *Manuductor...*, cited edition, p. 112.

⁵⁹ Ioan Popescu, *Psichologia...*, pp. 115-117.

⁶⁰ *Ibid*, p. 122.

⁶¹ *Idem, Compendiu...*, cited edition, pp. 22-23.

*development of his intelligence*⁶². In order to properly develop the imagination he recommends games and toys which show *the pupil's intellectual productivity* for the first time, fables, poems, and stories, but only those through which “the pupil is not likely to go astray. In fables the pupil is able to distinguish fiction more easily, whereas in stories, just like in novels, everything is presented in a more credible fashion and therefore in most cases they can seduce him and make him fanciful”⁶³.

In fact the harmful imagination is considered to be the one that transforms the person into an irrational being.

The attention is one of the mental processes the 19th century education favours, as it is the first condition for learning successfully. Visarion Roman affirms that attention is important because the teacher's effort *would be futile if he taught one thing and the mind of the pupil were wondering about*⁶⁴. Popescu in his turn said that in order to make the pupil understand he must first pay attention to what he is being taught⁶⁵. In the 1818 guide and in the book Visarion Roman wrote on pedagogical methods there are sensible advices to getting the children's attention: the matter being taught should be adapted to their level of understanding, the explanations should not be too long, the children should not be stressed with more subject matters at a time⁶⁶, anything that is likely to distract their attention should be removed from the school, the pupils *should not sit too closely*, they should be asked randomly and not in turns⁶⁷ etc. Ioan Popescu recommends explaining any new notion by relating it to the notions the pupil has already learned⁶⁸.

The will is the psychological process responsible for the moral and intellectual education. The *Manductor* perceives *training the will faculty* as identical to moral education and it suggests that a child should be taught to want only *what the sound mind knows to be good* and to stay away from what it *knows to be bad*⁶⁹. Ioan Popescu sees it as a *power within the spirit* which guides the thought and the movement nerves, setting the whole body in movement in order to act.

Before the will becomes action a judgement awakens in the spirit deciding to begin with whether the deed is good or bad, and after that whether a given means by which the deed may be done is appropriate or inappropriate, practical or

⁶² *Ibid*, p. 115.

⁶³ *Ibid*, pp. 116-117.

⁶⁴ Visarion Roman, *cited work*, D. 58, f. 124v – 125r.

⁶⁵ Ioan Popescu, *Compendiu...*, *cited edition*, p. 30.

⁶⁶ *Methodul...*, *cited edition*, p. 111.

⁶⁷ Visarion Roman, *cited work*, D. 58, f. 125r-v.

⁶⁸ Ioan Popescu, *Compendiu...*, *cited edition*, p. 32.

⁶⁹ *Methodul...*, *cited edition*, p. 124.

impractical. The first judgement proceeds from the conscience, the second from the skilfulness the man has acquired through experience⁷⁰.

It is necessary to develop the conscience more than the skilfulness *because a moral will shall later grow from it, vanquishing the lower, egoistical, and sensual interests and impelling the man towards moral deeds*⁷¹.

Petru Pipoş designates the differences between will and the other tendencies as impulses, desires, and wishes which appear unbeknownst to us and aren't always followed by appropriate actions. The will is conscientious and it is followed by a deed. *We want something only when we think we can achieve that; without this conviction there is no will*⁷².

It can be observed that 19th century pedagogy is concerned with grasping the child's psychology only so that it could correct what it believes to be excessive impulses and not in order to nurture the child's individuality. Personal identity requires the existence of a body which has to be kept healthy. The views regarding the body change with time depending on the evolution of knowledge on how to take care of it: at the beginning of the century this knowledge is merely a collection of elementary hygiene rules, whereas in the second half physical exercises will be added. All the same, the body will remain inferior to the spirit, a relation which constitutes one of the fundamental rules of school education. The goal of the education is forming a well balanced spirit, namely one devoid of passions and addictions; the child should be taught to control all types of physical and psychological excesses his human nature may prompt him to. In order to benefit from all the opportunities the instruction process has to offer, the pupil's attention and memory have to be the first things trained. Attention is directly connected to the educator's ability to attract the children's interest by structuring his explanations with the help of notions they have already learned. The memory does not only mean remembering a large amount of information, it also requires a technique of learning things logically. In order for the imagination to be useful for the learning process it must not trespass certain rational limits, otherwise it becomes harmful. The pupil's will has to be educated in accordance to the morality.

The social identity

A slogan frequently used especially during the first half of the 19th century said that the school should educate the pupils to become good Christians and good citizens. Both dimensions of the educational purpose foster mainly the social identity just as the personal identity is built clearly in view of social integration. Being a good Christian essentially means loving God and behaving

⁷⁰ Ioan Popescu, *Compendiu...*, cited edition, p. 43.

⁷¹ *Ibid*, pp. 43-44.

⁷² Petru Pipoş, *Psihologia ...*, cited edition, p. 177.

properly with regard to your neighbour, a fact abundantly substantiated by the texts in the primary school textbooks.

The idea that there is a distinction to be made between social and individual identity is clearly theorised only Petru Şpan's work of 1891 *Questions on education and instruction*. According to Herbartian pedagogy, one of the education's priorities is to develop a multilateral interest explained by Şpan as everything regarding natural and human life. He shows that the individuality opposes this principle "because it favours certain spheres in which it likes to move, it is dominated by certain penchants, desires, and wishes which determine its interest for the world and all what goes on around it. The individuality is restricted to its circle, does not like to move outside of it, and moreover, it is not in the very least interested of what happens outside of itself"⁷³.

Şpan then asks himself how can *these two powerful adversaries*, namely the purpose of education and the individuality, get along. He therefore formulates in a very unambiguous manner one of the characteristics of the 19th century education: the pedagogues effort to limit the pupil's personality and to interest him in honouring and perpetuating the social norms. He specifies that a society, in order to exist,

must aspire to resemble a cultural system in which all the members know there are certain higher principles which demand the society's organism be based on relations of coordination and subordination⁷⁴.

A specificity of Şpan's work is his attempt to strike a balance between the conflicting tendencies manifested by the education's theoreticians, between idealists and materialists, the representatives of ethics and those of science. He attempts the same thing in the context of the link between personal and social identity by stating that the individual character *which based on the physical organism and which is known in pedagogy as the innate talent [...] cannot be suppressed by any human force*, and the society is *not interested in oppressing the individual predilections* because it needs talents⁷⁵. The ideal solutions would be for the society to distribute the occupations of the human life according to individual preferences. Nevertheless, in those schools which try to form a general culture – namely the primary schools – the individuality must be subjected to the purpose of the education, otherwise the education would produce *unilaterally* developed people.

At the beginning of the 19th century the school aimed at educating the children in accordance to the needs and the duties of their respective social class. The *Manductor* considered that the peasant's instruction *has its limits* because *his occupation, his poverty and dependence, as well as many other wants of his*

⁷³ Petru Şpan, *cited work*, p. 53.

⁷⁴ *Ibid*, p. 54.

⁷⁵ *Ibid*, p. 55.

*life impair the free development of his spirit*⁷⁶. This guide also mentions the negative effects an attempt to educate the peasant beyond his needs could have: this would make him *unsatisfied with his state*, it would give him *unjust ideas*, and it would fill him *with much pretence*, or would make him rise *above his sphere*⁷⁷. The same book proposes a studies' plan for every type of school: rural, urban, and schools for girls. For instance, in the rural schools it was advised to teach the fundamentals of morale, knowing the laws, the body, and the nature *so that they could teach others*, the pupils were supposed to know their country and their land, their rights and duties, to read and count *as much as is needed to live together with others*⁷⁸.

This slightly ambiguous inventory of types of knowledge is merely the reflection of an educational ideal because actually the pupils in the rural schools barely learned writing, counting and the catechism. The urban schools held the languages (the mother tongue, Latin, German, and Hungarian) for important, then the history and geography of the country and of the *cultivated nations*, nature's history and drawing. A clear reminder of the mediaeval education is the recommendation that the craftsmen and traders' sons should mostly pursue their parents' trades. The urban schools emphasised religion and virtue, and the girls were obviously educated to be mothers and housewives⁷⁹.

In the middle of the 19th century the perspective on the social role of the school changes. The fundamental principle is pointed out by Ioan Popescu in his compendium: the pupil is to be provided with a general culture *which should be able to serve him in his life for any calling, any profession*⁸⁰. He also explains that the moral and religious education make the child *a both useful and happy member*⁸¹ of the society. The same ideas are to be found with Petru Pipoș: he shows that each human has to attain a certain degree of culture so that he may live *a life worthy of the noble nature of the human being* and become *a useful member of the society, working together with others for the common good*⁸².

As we approach the end of the century, the educational ideal is increasingly marked by the encyclopaedic spirit: *the elementary culture* – sais Pipoș – *may be regarded as a small universe as compared to the greater universe of the human culture [...] the education imitates on a smaller scale the greater historical development of the human culture*⁸³. This evolution is mainly due to the generalization of the Herbartian pedagogy, which was later criticised

⁷⁶ *Manuductor...*, cited edition, p. 63.

⁷⁷ *Ibid*, pp. 63-64.

⁷⁸ *Ibid*, pp. 72-73.

⁷⁹ *Ibid*, pp. 78-89.

⁸⁰ Ioan Popescu, *Compendiu...*, cited edition, p. 53.

⁸¹ *Ibid*, p. 57.

⁸² Petru Pipoș, *Metodica...*, cited edition., p. 11.

⁸³ *Ibid*, p. 25.

for the exaggerations manifested in the direction we have just mentioned. Herbart imposed principles such as educating instruction or multilateral interest transforming the schoolbooks in small encyclopaedias. Petru Şpan explains the dimensions of the multilateral culture as follows:

its intention is that the spirit should have a general view of natural and human life, that it may resonate to everything the culture of a given time has produced, that it should not be ignorant of any cultural current of a nation's or of a people's spiritual life, or even of that of the whole humankind⁸⁴.

Some pedagogues' fantasy reached unbelievable heights in idealizing the children's capacities to assimilate knowledge, if we look at the utopian operational objectives mentioned by the Swiss professor Thomas Scherr, who Petru Pipoş enthusiastically quotes. Thus, at the end of the school years, the pupil knows

how to read works of general culture, knows to remember the things read and heard, knows to distinguish truth from fallacy with accuracy [...]he knows to solve the problems of every-day life [...]. He knows in detail the position and the nature of his country and no country on the face of the earth is unknown to him, he admires the celestial bodies in the sky, the gleaming worlds eternally rotating in their gigantic orbits. He is aware of the brave deeds of the ancestors of our national history, and he reads about them eagerly, he knows the memorable events in the history of humankind. The nature with its wonders is an open book to him. [...] His hearing knows to discern accurately the tones of the harmonies [...] He contemplates the arts with aesthetic taste and his hand can skilfully paint the traits of simple objects⁸⁵.

In order for the pupil to fulfil his duties to society he must learn which are the proper relations established between him and the other people, *the social references* as Ioan Popescu calls them. The parents and the teachers are responsible for this education: their duty is to instil *love, piety, reverence, thankfulness, obedience and submission* in their child. They are the first who should show the child their *love, benevolence, parental care, seriousness and manly constancy* so that their offspring may gain these virtues. Honour and emulation should be emphasised in the relationships among brothers. The parents' duty is be just and loving towards their children, so as not to give way to hatred and rivalry between them⁸⁶.

Popescu then underlines the *friendship references* which in time become as important as those connecting brothers, reason enough for the parents and the teachers to make sure the pupils find *dignified friends*. So as not to fall victim to

⁸⁴ Petru Şpan, *cited work*, p. 53.

⁸⁵ Petru Pipoş, *Metodica...*, *cited edition*, pp. 39-40.

⁸⁶ Ioan Popescu, *Compendiu...*, *cited edition*, pp. 126-127.

bad company, the teacher should also introduce the pupil to those he is not friends with *making him manifest kindness and Christian love towards all people, regardless of their state, religion or nationality*⁸⁷. The goal of education is precisely this Christian love the teacher should inculcate in his pupils

through the humanity and the compassion shown to those who suffer, through acts of charity, by helping the needy, through magnanimity and generosity, by forgiving the harm done unto them, by speaking well of people, and even by protecting their right and their honour from those who attack them.

National education is mentioned in the Romanian pedagogical literature only in the second half of the 19th century when not only translations, but also works written by Romanian authors are being published. However, this aspect is dealt with only tangentially in the classical works such as those belonging to Ioan Popescu and Petru Pipoș. There is another state of facts if we analyse the numerous pedagogical reviews of Transylvania, where the entire educational “philosophy” is centred on the national issues. The first articles of this sort appeared, obviously, in *Amicul școalei*, the first Romanian pedagogical review. *The teacher’s duty inside and outside of the school is to awaken and strengthen patriotism*⁸⁸ is an illustrative title for how the purpose of the school was thought to be in creating the national identity. Visarion Roman avows that *loving one’s country is a classical virtue of the free peoples* (adjoining a most evocative addition: *the slave does not love the country in which the rods that whip him grow*); not only the submitted nations lack this quality but also those for which *the material gain is their unique and egoistic condition of life*⁸⁹. The author brings to the foreground the issue of what we call multiple identities saying that *the school must provide the man with everything he needs to be, and because he must be, among other things, a good patriot and a good nationalist, these characteristics too*⁹⁰.

The responsibility of accomplishing this mission naturally belongs to the teacher. Visarion Roman stipulates a series of tasks in order to fulfil this goal: he must firstly be himself a patriot, he must then form the national sense by recounting the events of the county’s history, underlining the endeavours *of those men who illustrate the true Romanian character*, he must teach the mother tongue with utmost seriousness, because it is *the people’s sanctuary*⁹¹, and must see to it that the national customs do not die out, but become more firmly rooted. Roman relates to the nation in Herder’s terms, and the whole text is a testimony to this, especially the fragment where he talks of the role the language plays in

⁸⁷ *Ibid*, p. 128.

⁸⁸ *Amicul școalei*, I, 1860, pp. 329-332.

⁸⁹ *Ibid*, p. 330.

⁹⁰ *Ibid*.

⁹¹ *Ibid*, p. 331.

forming the identity: *the people is alive in its language, therein is its spirit embodied, the language is the type, the expression of its inner being*⁹².

During the dualist period the political national discourse became more radical, a fact reflected in the Romanian pedagogical reviews. The article *Educațiunea să fie națională*⁹³ [Let the education be national] published in “Școala Română” [The Romanian school] (1879) and written by Vasile Petri, gives in my opinion a clear image of the new combative spirit. It begins with a polemic tone:

All who have seriously dealt with and still deal with our history admit that ever since Trajan settled us in these regions, never has our existence so menaced as it is now. We have lived together with our Hungarian brothers for almost a thousand years, for better and for worse, without them thinking of assimilating us. There have passed 40 years since their aim in this matter has completely changed. They have found out all of a sudden that their number is a small one and that it is a great disaster not all the inhabitants of this country are Hungarians⁹⁴.

Education is the most important element in preserving identity, and therefore the school’s institution becomes exclusively the bearer of the national message:

the schools are organs by the help of which the nation who founded and supports them wants to ensure its cultural interests. Under no circumstance are they allowed to become the channel, and even less so the instrument of an anti-national culture; their single reason to be is being organs promoting that nation’s own life⁹⁵.

Once again we are faced with the paradigm of the hereditary nation, because national education means *raising the young generation in the views, the feelings and the customs of the forefathers*, fostering their virtues and eliminating their vices⁹⁶.

The author then presents the key means achieving national education depends on. The first one is the *teacher’s personality*: he should be *Romanian in his heart, his word, his deeds*. Then comes *the education*, the principles of which should be nurturing the pupils’ will, attention, interest, and understanding of what they’ve learned so that they can apply those notions in real life, as well as their sense for everything true, beautiful and good. The study matters contributing to the development of national conscience are language, history,

⁹² *Ibid*, p. 332.

⁹³ *Școala Română*, III, 1879, pp. 481-496.

⁹⁴ *Ibid*, p. 481.

⁹⁵ *Ibid*, p. 483.

⁹⁶ *Ibid*, p. 484.

geography, religion, and... gymnastics! The arguments in favour for the first three are the usual ones of the national discourse, and therefore we will concentrate on the rarely mentioned religion and gymnastics. Christianity offers in this case too an exemplary model in Jesus Christ, who before sending his apostles in the world, offered salvation to his own people. Moreover, he regarded them with love even when they persecuted him. With respect to gymnastics, it is important for forming a healthy people just as the Latin adage says: *mens sana in corpora sano*.

To the end of the 19th century Ioan Popescu in his work *Pedagogy* (1892) signalizes the need to limit excesses in forming national education; he openly states that the idea of humanity is superior to that of the nationality. Beginning with the mission of education as conceived by the pedagogical science – namely offering the pupil *a humanistic general culture, meant to increase his personal value and dignity*⁹⁷ – Popescu wonders whether it may have a national character. His positive answer is based on the idea that the most relevant group appurtenance of the pupil, one which is encoded in his genes, is the one connecting him to his national community:

in reality none of the pupils presents himself as an abstract person, as one who does not belong to a race or to a nationality. The pupil's nationality, namely the total of characteristics he is endowed with by his origin, is thusly a starting point for the teacher, indicated in his very nature⁹⁸.

Consequently, the national culture is the basis of the human culture *of general ethic character* and is the only natural and rational education, because it begins in the first years of childhood through the contact the child has with its parents. But the educators must prevent excesses, because exaggerating this type of education may lead to hating and despising other nationalities, a fact which denies the principle of morality

and as such that tragic exaggeration is both pedagogically and humanly blameable just as denationalisation. It should be noted that if it were heard say that the culture, which is to be given the people through education, will level national differences, this levelling cannot be understood as identical to the erasure of ethnic particularities which separate a nation from the others, but only to remove their separatist tendencies meant to turn them against one another⁹⁹.

It must be taken into account that not everything what's been deposited in a nation's psyche, beliefs, and hopes is worthy of being passed on to the youth

⁹⁷ Ioan Popescu, *Pedagogia lucrată pe bazele psihologice și etice ale realismului Herbartian*, Sibiu, Tipografia lui W. Krafft, 1892, p. 38.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 43.

because there are not only virtues but also vices in a nation's life. Among those vices Ioan Popescu mentions the national pride which often degenerates in hatred and intolerance.

In order to stop [...] the development of national selfishness the national education itself should make sure that as the development of the national consciousness progresses in the youth the human and ethical consciousness should simultaneously do the same. It must be observed that the idea of humanity is superior to that of nationality¹⁰⁰.

Though seldom, the pedagogues speak of the structuring of self-consciousness in a child. In Ioan Popescu's opinion the pupil should be made to reflect on his self often, to assess his thoughts and actions because this exercise of knowing one's self is the path towards one of the most beautiful virtues: modesty¹⁰¹. He also underlines the importance of developing the child's self-confidence¹⁰², however without giving details on how to actually achieve that. This omission actually reflects the fact that this aspect was marginalised in pedagogical practice. Closely connected to accepting a child's self-consciousness is the principle of respecting a pupil's individuality, the most frequently proclaimed principle from Comenius to this day, yet, the most difficult one to apply. In order to make it comprehensible Ioan Popescu explains the way in which the pupil's personality (*nature*) restricts the influence of the educational act. The factors the educator has to take into consideration to make it more efficient are age, family, and social milieu (*the outer circumstances*) of origin¹⁰³. The pedagogical works give us an image of the ideal pupil which is valid throughout the 19th century. His qualities are: obedience and submission, attention, diligence, seriousness, perseverance, constancy, love, modesty, gratefulness. His flaws are idleness, disobedience, lying, ill-will, selfishness¹⁰⁴.

Conclusion

The Romanian pedagogical literature in 19th century Transylvania follows the European direction of pedagogy's affirmation as a science, a process which occurred when psychology notions were used in the elaboration of education theories. The conceptions on human personality explained in the above-mentioned works had been taken from the rationalist German pedagogy. The model of personal and social identity proposed on those scientific bases largely corresponds to the one inherited from the religious tradition: the pre-eminence of

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*

¹⁰¹ Ioan Popescu, *Compendiu...*, p. 131.

¹⁰² See "Organ pedagogic pentru educatiune și instructiune", I, 1863, p. 253; Ioan Popescu, *Compendiu...*, p. 65.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, pp. 80-87.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 140-153.

the social identity over the personal one, and that of the spiritual over the physical one. Despite the fact that in the Orthodoxy introspection should play a crucial role in the constitution of a human personality, constantly exercised in the act of confession, this side remained secondary in the educational practice, where the duty to the community, and so, the social identity, have prevailed.

Nevertheless, how can it be explained that the two educational models studied, generated by two apparently different philosophies – rationalism and Orthodoxy – find themselves in such close proximity? A possible answer is to be found in Ernst Cassirer's book *The Philosophy of the Enlightenment*. He writes that evil's existence in our world was explained by all Christian denominations through the original sin. The philosophy of the Enlightenment rejected this psycho-social model but wasn't able to establish a possible cause for it, for a long time. Rousseau suggested an alternative to the original sin, believing that the first impulses of human nature are good and innocent. Herbart's and Niemeyer's German pedagogy although it does not support its demonstration on this dogma does assume it by perceiving the child's nature as permanently predisposed to disorder and rebellion.