

Introduction

Reading Primers and Political Change in European Countries around 1945

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Abstract • This introduction addresses the origins, general assumptions and intentions of the special issue. The guest editors show how reading primers published and used around the end of the Second World War in several European countries may serve as an object of study in different disciplinary contexts. They present a broad working definition of the reading primer as an educational medium that lends itself to interdisciplinary research which takes into account aspects such as visual and textual content, materiality, and societal contexts of production, distribution and usage. The editors further highlight characteristics of current research into primers and argue in favor of more comparative approaches that reveal transnational dimensions of textbooks designed to teach children how to read and write.

Keywords • Europe, literacy, multidisciplinary, primers, war

The reading primer is a textbook designed to help children to learn to read. Primers have existed in many societies since the early modern era and are often the first books that children receive when they begin school. In addition to providing the technical basis for literacy in a given language and script, primers embody worldviews and values considered worthy of being passed on to the next generation by those in a position to define educational content. Like other textbooks designed to impart knowledge that may prove instrumental in the legitimization and propagation of certain worldviews (such as history, geography, or civics textbooks), primers are particularly significant in times of political and societal change, when dominant views appear to be in a state of flux. Since children are thought to embody hope for a better future, educational reforms are often considered central to establishing a new societal order.

After the end of the Second World War, European countries experienced various degrees of political and social change that also influenced the educational sector, including the economy and the politics of textbook production, distribution, and use. While characteristics of textbooks in periods of political transition have been investigated in the past, most such studies focused on history and civics textbooks.¹ This special issue,



by contrast, focuses on reading primers. The contributions to this issue also consider, to a certain extent, the context of the development and use of primers around the end of the Second World War, when profound social and political changes were underway across the European continent.² The articles examine primers from six European countries—Germany, Greece, Yugoslavia (Macedonia), Poland, Romania, and Soviet Russia. The basic questions underlying these articles are as follows: What developments did the year 1945 bring in the history of the reading primer? Could a “new beginning” be discerned once the clouds of war were dispelled? More specifically, the articles explore the question of whether the primers’ contents, methods, and production processes reflect an ideological break with the past (and the recently ended war), and they investigate the various forms that these transformations or, as the case may have been, inertias assumed in each context.

Beyond their common interest in the ways in which the educational landscapes of these countries changed in the aftermath of the war, the authors also share a common purpose, which is to consolidate the nascent field of research into primers. Our programmatic purpose, in this sense, is twofold. First, we aim to define and delimit. We consider reading primers as objects of study, but in a broader disciplinary perspective than has hitherto been accorded them. Via a brief overview of the efforts that have already been made to develop this fragmentary area of interest into a more consistent field of research, we indicate the difficulties faced by current research and propose a working definition of the reading primer that allows for an interdisciplinary investigation of its various aspects—from its purpose, authorship, and usership, through its materiality and layout, to its didactic method, value content, production context, and use.³ By drawing on a wide range of disciplinary perspectives and engaging with these various aspects, the contributions to this special issue reveal the possibilities offered by focusing on the reading primer as a primary object of study.

Second, we aim to transgress and compare. We seek to overcome dominant primer research practices by transcending their inherently national and compartmentalized nature. European scholars have produced numerous studies of reading primers that reflect a variety of disciplinary perspectives and methodological approaches.⁴ Yet these studies tend to be fragmented and only loosely connected to each other and to major research areas. In addition, the history of reading primers is usually approached as part of a national history of education and/or educational media, and studies of primers (with few exceptions, primarily in the case of Romance-speaking countries)⁵ are often based on national narratives. Two major Czech and Slovenian publications on primer history, for example, use the construction “our primers” in their

titles, suggesting an implicitly national (and thus exclusive) community of readers, teachers, and scholars.⁶

Research into primers is overwhelmingly conducted in national contexts, published in national languages in national outlets, and written for (and usually read by) national audiences. While such nationally framed research is legitimate and has its advantages, it hinders the exploration of cross-border influences, limits systematic comparisons and cross-fertilization, and reinforces a view of scholarship in the field of primers as consisting of sporadic investigations by lone enthusiasts rather than of a coherent body of research.⁷ This special issue aims to contribute to research into reading primers by making its articles available to an international audience.

By juxtaposing individual articles focusing on one country or one language, this special issue takes one further step toward a comparative approach and lays the groundwork for future investigations of the *transnational* aspects of postwar reading instruction.⁸ While all of the articles included here focus on characteristics of reading primers published around the end of the Second World War, examining the political and educational transformations occasioned by this period of change in various local contexts, each article sheds light on the specific political, social, and economic conditions of schoolbook development in one particular country, thereby offering a unique approach to the problems of postwar primer production. Although the articles as a rule do not individually address convergences and divergences or affinities and differences between countries, the collection as a whole allows for reflections on cross-national contexts, case comparisons, and insights into possible transnational dynamics.

Read together, these seemingly disparate articles will hopefully contribute to a better understanding of the nexus between education, ideology, and change in various contexts across post-1945 Europe, as well as to the development of the study of reading primers, a nascent field that, due to its fragmentary nature, has yet to become established within the domain of educational scholarship.

The Origins of this Special Issue

The articles in this issue were produced for an international workshop organized in Braunschweig in November 2015 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 Reading Primers Special Interest Group (RP-SIG) of the International Society for Historical and

Systematic Research on Textbooks and Educational Media. The workshop, titled “After the War—A New Beginning? A Comparative Examination of Reading Primers Published and Used in 1945 in Europe,” was organized by the guest editors of this issue and addressed the development, design, content, and use of reading primers in European countries in and around 1945. Scholars from Albania, Cyprus, Germany, Italy, Macedonia, Poland, Romania, and Russia contributed eleven case studies,⁹ six of which appear in this issue. The purpose of the workshop, held on the seventieth anniversary of the end of the Second World War, was to shed light on reading primers developed and used in those years and, specifically, to demonstrate how reading primers used during the 1945–1946 school year reflected the political and social conditions in each country at that time.

The year 1945 was a pivotal year when the Second World War ended and a “new world” began. It is a year that is sometimes referred to as “Year Zero.”¹⁰ But did it also represent a break in the history of the reading primer? The workshop addressed this question from various angles, discussing several key aspects of the primers, including their authorship (were the textbooks used in 1945 compiled by new authors, or were they reissued or revised editions of wartime or prewar primers?); the educational, political, and economic contexts of their development, publication, and dissemination; their thematic content (specifically, the degree to which they reflect postwar political doctrines and power structures as well as attitudes toward the war and reconstruction); and, finally, the similarities and differences between them.

Over the course of the workshop, the original focus on primers in 1945 was broadened in several ways. The first shift in focus involved the historical period under consideration. While most of the articles cover the period of the war and the early postwar years, several others (including those on Romania and Russia) also consider the last years before the war, in order to demonstrate developments over time. Each author approaches the historicization and contextualization of the topic in a different way, depending on their focus and disciplinary perspective. The title of this special issue does justice to this fact. The second shift involved a broadening of the definition of the term “reading primer” to include other educational materials, such as reading books for later stages of reading development, sometimes called “basal readers,” in primary school.¹¹

In addition to serving to answer specific questions, these modifications also reflected the need to discuss, across national borders, the terminology of early reading didactic materials and, specifically, the need to clarify the terminology relating to the reading primer, a point that we will address in the following section.

Reading Primers and Basal Readers: Delimiting and Defining the Field

Throughout the modern era and until the last quarter of the twentieth century, the first textbook that many European children received was a reading primer. From the Estonian *aabits*, the Romanian *abecedar*, the Greek *alfabetarion*, and the Russian and Serbian *bukvar'* to the Polish *elementarz*, the German *Fibel*, the Italian *sillabario*, and the Slovenian *začetnica*, we encounter a specific type of textbook with common characteristics. Although many European languages have a specific term (in some cases, several terms) for the type of textbook that we refer to as “reading primer,” a closer, multidisciplinary examination of the common characteristics of the genre is necessary. Therefore, in consideration of previous attempts to define or delimit this object of study,¹² we propose a working definition of reading primers as educational media that are (a) published either in book form or digitally; (b) developed, produced, and disseminated as tools for early literacy instruction and learning in one or more languages; and (c) based on a specific method of early literacy instruction.

Regarding (a), our working definition covers material characteristics, suggesting that the reading primer is a printed book, booklet or series of booklets, or a digital tool. We stress the fact that printed primers are presented as books or booklets to distinguish them from other printed works produced for the same educational purpose, such as the “wall primer” (*Wandfibel*, in contradistinction to the *Handfibel*, a primer “placed in the hands of learners”) or the “reading box” (*coffret de lecture*, *Lesekasten*, *stavnica*)—an educational tool enabling children to build words and short sentences with their hands by arranging letters, syllables, and punctuation marks printed on cards.¹³

Regarding (b), we focus on three important aspects of the reading primer. First, we look at the fact that it is understood as a tool designed for and used by fledgling readers to help them progress from illiteracy to basic literacy. The history of early reading instruction provides two basic approaches to describe this development: the first, primarily found in educational history up to and including the twentieth century, distinguishes between a stage of early literacy and one in which basic literacy is already achieved, while the second, contemporary approach, presents this process as a continuous development. As a result, various terms exist for the educational materials used in this process. In the first case, a distinction is suggested between “reading primer” and “first reader,” a distinction that is sometimes expressed in the book title “primer and first reader.”¹⁴ This distinction is not found in the second case; here, the term “primer” is often avoided in the book title in favor of “first reader.”

The second aspect regarding (b) is that the reading primer is considered a tool for both instructors (classroom teachers, private tutors,

parents, or others) and learners (children or adults). In this context, we stress the fact that reading primers were historically used not only at school but also at home, and that they were also designed and used to teach reading to illiterate adults.

The third aspect regarding (b) is that primers are tools for the acquisition of written language skills. The language aspect covers a wide spectrum ranging from national to minority and heritage languages. While most modern primers are monolingual, a significant number of historical primers are multilingual, implying that learners were expected to acquire reading proficiency in more than one language. Thus, generations of children in early modern France and the Kingdom of Hungary were taught to read Latin and the national language concomitantly. In multilingual states like Prussia or the Habsburg Monarchy, children with a family language other than German often learned to read both languages with the help of a bilingual, trilingual, or even quadrilingual primer.¹⁵

Regarding (c), it should be noted that reading primers adopt various methods of early reading instruction based, for example, on the spelling of the alphabet, on the representation of sounds, or on a whole-language approach. The question of what constitutes the best early reading instruction method continues to generate intense debate today, and it has inspired numerous historical studies focusing on the representation and development of teaching methods.

Finally, as mentioned above, the importance of reading primers (and of textbooks more generally) goes well beyond their explicit purpose. Historically, primers also addressed other areas of literacy, especially writing and counting. More importantly, far from being innocent or objective vessels for the transmission of knowledge or skills,¹⁶ primers also transmit values and thereby construct particular worldviews. The primer's origins in early modern Europe are strongly linked to religious catechesis (the transmission of canonical religious beliefs).¹⁷ As religious content in primers diminished in the wake of the Enlightenment, other (moral, political, and especially national) worldviews started to play an important role in early reading instruction; with time, primers came to contribute to the construction of national cultural identity by implicitly providing answers to the question of "who are we?" In this sense, primers often function not only as tools for reading instruction meant to teach learners "how to read a text," but also, in one way or another, as manuals on "how to read the world."

Research into Reading Primers

Research into reading primers is multifaceted and discipline-bound. Didactic research, for example, focuses primarily on identifying the best method of reading instruction. A significant number of historical studies also focus on the development of didactic methods.¹⁸ Another classic approach, often linked to cultural and national history, is book history, in which primers are studied as early examples of printing (primers were among the first books printed in several languages, including Finnish and Slovenian).¹⁹ In yet another approach, framed by perspectives from the history of education, primers are seen as reflecting educational thinking under specific societal and political conditions.²⁰ Alternately, primers are analyzed in their role as tools of socialization, often with a focus on a particular issue such as political socialization, nation-building, family, or gender roles.²¹ Another area of study is the analysis of illustrations in primers, whether in general or with a specific thematic focus.²² Finally, a more recent addition to the spectrum of approaches is historical linguistics, including historical sociolinguistics, which examines primers as tools of language standardization and policy.²³

Despite the multifaceted nature of the primer indicated by this variety of approaches, the study of the reading primer tends to occupy a marginal place in studies of educational media history. The newsletter *Reading Primers International (RPI)*, which has been published since 2009 by the RP-SIG, provides information about historical research into primers from an international perspective, while the same group's *International Bibliography of Studies on Reading Primers and Basal Readers (IBSP)*, which was issued in 2011, contains 412 references and also offers English translations of titles.²⁴ Although limited in scope, these publications nevertheless allow us to draw some general conclusions regarding research in this field.

First, most historical studies on primers are devoted to textbooks in individual countries written in the respective national language. Of the 412 entries in the *IBSP*, 387 refer to studies on primers and basal readers in individual countries, and only 25 to international and/or comparative studies. While general works on the history of primers up to the Second World War are available for some countries (Estonia, Lithuania, Poland, Slovakia, and Slovenia), this is not the case for most countries.

Second, in terms of content, the studies cover a broad range of topics, from general histories and case studies of primers in specific periods of the early modern or modern age, in particular regions and/or contexts, to examinations of specific aspects of textbook content (politics, religion, gender, language, illustrations) and issues of textbook policy, supply, and markets.

Third, although historical studies on reading primers are informed by a considerable number of academic disciplines and subdisciplines—including reading instruction history, education history, general history, social and political history, history of religion, book history (materiality, design, typography, publishing, and the book trade), and historical sociolinguistics—monodisciplinary approaches prevail, with the result that scholarship in other disciplines is usually not considered. While monodisciplinary approaches are certainly valid and can be advantageous (when justified by the research question), they tend to obscure the multifaceted nature of the reading primer—for example, when the history of reading instruction and learning is characterized as being “first and foremost” a history of didactic methods.²⁵

Lastly, studies of the history of primers are usually produced by lone researchers as secondary projects in addition to their regular professional commitments, with little collaboration between them. This situation hinders the development of quality standards and interaction with other areas of research. One exception to this is to be found in Russia, where the research network Culture of Childhood: Norms, Values, and Practices (*Kultura detstva: normy, cennosti, praktiki*) has contributed significantly to the study of the history of reading primers.²⁶

Reading Primers and Political Change in European Countries around 1945

We situate this special issue within this varied and fragmented research landscape, and thereby attempt to bridge some of the gaps described above. Apart from the various geographical and geopolitical contexts to which they refer (on both sides of the Iron Curtain and both “winning” and “losing” sides of the war), the time frames of the analyses vary from periods as brief as the 1945–1946 school year (Leitner-Stojanov, Sioki) to longer periods spanning the war years and the prewar and/or postwar periods (Szakács-Behling and Rusu, Wojdon, Bezrogov and Caroli, Stürmer).

The contributions also differ in their approach to the question of the development of reading primers after the war. These differences are most evident in the following aspects of the analyses: (1) the disciplines in which they are grounded; these include typography and design (Sioki), sociology (Szakács-Behling and Rusu), educational science (Stürmer), and history/history of education (Bezrogov and Caroli, Leitner-Stojanov, Wojdon); (2) the methods of data analysis used; these include open-coded qualitative content analysis of visuals and text (most of the studies), comparative analysis of typographic design and production (Sioki), and archival work and historical analysis (Leitner-Stojanov, Bezrogov and Caroli, Stürmer); (3) the data sources, which consist of one or

more editions of a particular primer in addition to archival documents (Bezrogov and Caroli, Sioki, Stürmer) and teachers' memoirs (Sioki, Leitner-Stojanov); and finally (4) the research methodologies, which include diachronic comparisons of different books (Szakács-Behling and Rusu), diachronic comparisons of different editions of the same book (Wojdon), and synchronic comparisons of several books published within a short time span in different ideological contexts (Stürmer, Sioki).

In terms of content analysis, the thematic focus of many of the articles bears directly on the main topic of the special issue, revolving, as it does, around the significance of the year 1945 in educational content: the portrayal of war or militarism in primers during and after the war (Bezrogov and Caroli, Leitner-Stojanov, Wojdon); other, more general, themes of textbook research such as "nation" and "patriotism" (Szakács-Behling and Rusu) and "childhood," "family," and "nature" (Stürmer) are also explored.

Finally, considering the multifaceted and multimodal character of reading primers and textbooks in general,²⁷ it is not surprising that the articles in this issue address highly diverse aspects of reading primers. While all of the articles engage with primers' content, some also explore additional aspects such as methods of reading instruction (Bezrogov and Caroli); political and economic contexts of production, approval, and distribution (Bezrogov and Caroli, Leitner-Stojanov, Stürmer); language policy (Leitner-Stojanov); the longevity, authority, or legitimacy of a particular book or author (Wojdon, Stürmer), and the materiality of primers, revealing, beyond ideological context, the broader societal and economic conditions of their production (Bezrogov and Caroli, Sioki).

The contributions in this special issue demonstrate that postwar European reading primers reflect anything but uniformity in textbook policy. The remarkable extent of variation in the development of textbook content and production, which is characterized by fluctuating degrees of continuity and change, indicates a variety of "new beginnings" at various points in time. Some of these "beginnings" occurred immediately after the war, and they included more or less dramatic changes, ranging from the republication of primers designed before the war (Germany), to the publication of textbooks elaborated during the war (Greece, Russia) or in a liminal period between "war" and "peace" (Macedonia). In other cases, while minor adjustments were made in the early postwar period to reflect new political realities, the most significant changes were implemented only some years later (Poland, Romania). A comparative consideration of the content of postwar primers across particular contexts explored by the various contributions to this issue reveals striking differences in the visibility of politics and war in European reading primers around the year 1945. Finally, the articles suggest that it was precisely in times of material shortages that the policies of textbook production began to take new paths.

As mentioned above, this special issue aims to “transgress and compare.” In this sense, taken together, the contributions gathered here also reveal the challenges and *desiderata* of future research in the field of postwar reading primers. These *desiderata* include, *inter alia*, more theory-based elaboration of analytical frameworks (on specific topics such as war); a deepened political contextualization of textbook development in federal unions such as the Soviet Union or Yugoslavia; and more systematic analysis, using various comparative analytical techniques, of cross-border influences. And finally, beyond theoretical development and methodological sophistication, we plead for more interdisciplinary approaches and communication across and beyond national boundaries. We trust that this special issue demonstrates the significance of multidisciplinary research into reading primers as a stimulating scientific field, the transnational quality of which has yet to be fully realized.

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Notes

1. See the collection of articles in the 2017 special issue of the *Journal of Educational Media, Memory and Society* (9, no. 1) entitled “Textbooks in Periods of Political Transition after the Second World War.”
2. It should be noted, however, that the primary focus of this special issue is on the primers themselves as interdisciplinary objects of study rather than on the historical contexts in which they were produced.
3. In indicating these aspects of primers, we are echoing the latest developments in textbook research. See Eckhardt Fuchs and Annkatrin Bock, eds., *The Palgrave Handbook of Textbook Studies* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018).
4. Vitaly Bezrogov, Kira Mahamud Angulo, Wendelin Sroka, and Joanna Wojdon, eds., *International Bibliography of Studies on Reading Primers and Basal Readers (IBSP)* (Bonn: Reading Primers Special Interest Group, 2011), https://www.philso.uni-augsburg.de/de/lehrstuehle/paedagogik/igschub/downloads/International_Bibliography.pdf.
5. See, for example, Anne-Marie Chartier and Elsie Rockwell, “Apprendre à lire aux débutants dans les pays de langue romane (1750–1950),” *Histoire de l'éducation* 138, no. 2 (2013).

6. Josef Kubálek, Josef Hendrich, and František Šimek, *Naše slabikáře: Od nejstarší doby do konce století XVIII* [Our primers: From the earliest times to the end of the eighteenth century] (Prague: Státní nakladatelství, 1929) and Ivan Andoljšek, *Naš začetni bralni pouk in učbeniki zanj I: 1550–1869* [Our beginning reading instruction and its textbooks I: 1550–1869] (Ljubljana: Univerzum, 1978). Similarly, a history of the Estonian primer published in 1993 begins with the observation that “our primer dates back to the sixteenth century.” Lembit Andresen, *Eesti aabits reformatioonist iseseisvusajani* [The Estonian primer from the Reformation period to independence] (Tallinn: Koolibri, 1993), 3.
7. Wendelin Sroka, “Research on the History of Primers: A Call for Enhanced Cross-Border Cooperation,” *History of Education & Children’s Literature* 9, no. 2 (2014): 221–231.
8. A consistent, extensive, transnational body of comparative scholarship focused on the reading primer has yet to emerge. A notable step in this direction was taken by the authors of the following study of representations of national territory in post-Soviet primers: Iveta Silova, Michael Mead Yaqub, and Garine Palandjian, “Pedagogies of Space: (Re)Mapping National Territories, Borders, and Identities in Post-Soviet Textbooks,” in *(Re)Constructing Memory: School Textbooks and the Imagination of the Nation*, ed. James H. Williams (Rotterdam: Sense Publishers, 2014), 103–130.
9. For accounts of the workshop, see Anna Ascenzi, Kira Mahamud, and Elisabetta Patrizi, “Two Recent International Events on Textbook Research: The Symposium ‘Education in Periods of Political Transition’ and the Workshop ‘After the War—A New Beginning?’” *Rassegne critiche, Discussioni, Recensioni e Bibliografia* [History of education and children’s literature] 11, no. 2 (2016): 573–587; and Sylvia Schütze, “‘After the War—A New Beginning? A Comparative Examination of Reading Primers Published and Used in 1945 in Europe.’ Workshop vom 13. bis 14. November 2015 in Braunschweig,” in *Berichte, Sektion 1: Historische Bildungsforschung der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Erziehungswissenschaft (DGfE)*, accessed 5 December 2017, http://www.dgfe.de/fileadmin/OrdnerRedakteure/Sektionen/Sek01_HBF/16-08_Tagungsbericht_Fibel.pdf.
10. Ian Buruma, *Year Zero: A History of 1945* (London: Atlantic Books, 2013).
11. See Bezrogov et al., *International Bibliography*, 10–11.
12. For other working definitions of equivalents of the term “reading primer,” see Franciszek Pilarczyk, *Elementarze polskie od ich XVI-wiecznych początków do II wojny światowej: próba monografii księgoznawczej* [Polish primers from their beginnings in the sixteenth century until the Second World War: An attempt at a monography on book studies] (Zielona Góra: Oficyna Wydawnicza Uniwersytetu Zielonogórskiego, 2003), 15–24; Magdalena Karčiauskienė, “Lietuviškų elementorių raida” [The development of the Lithuanian primer], in *Lietuviški elementoriai*, ed. Aurelija Rabačiauskaitė and Ingrida Korsakaitė (Kaunas: Šviesa, 2000), 11; and Gisela Teistler, *Fibel-Findbuch: Deutschsprachige Fibeln von den Anfängen bis 1944. Eine Bibliographie* [German-language primers from their beginnings until 1944: A bibliography] (Osnabrück: Wenner, 2003), 11–12.

13. The development and use of non-book materials for early literacy instruction has received little scholarly attention. For an overview of such materials developed in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Germany, see Horst Schiffler, "Von Lesemaschinen, Buchstabentabellen und Musterbüchern: Hilfsmittel für den Lese- und Schreibunterricht im 18. und 19. Jahrhundert" [On reading machines, letter tables, and pattern books: Tools for reading and writing instruction in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries], in *Kindheit: eine Erfindung des 19. Jahrhunderts*, ed. Matthias Winzen (Oberhausen: Athena, 2013), 139–171.
14. See the Macedonian *Bukvar so čitanka* [Primer with a reader] analyzed in this issue by Darko Leitner-Stojanov.
15. Gert Geißler, Wendelin Sroka, and Joanna Wojdon, eds., *Lesen lernen . . . mehrsprachig! Fibeln und Lesebücher aus Europa und Amerika* [Learning to read . . . multilingually! Primers and reading books from Europe and America] (Bonn: Selbstverlag, 2011).
16. Allan Luke, "Social Perspectives on Primers and Textbooks," in *Literacy: An International Handbook*, ed. Daniel A. Wagner, Richard Venezky, and Brian V. Street (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1999), 186–191.
17. On the German catechism primer (*Katechismusfibel*), see Gisela Teistler, "Die Elementarisierung des Elementarlesebuches: Von der Katechismusfibel zur Fibel 'vom Kinde aus'" [The elementarization of the elementary reading book: From the catechism primer to the primer "from the child's perspective"], in *Elementarisierung im Schulbuch*, ed. Eva Matthes and Carsten Heinze (Bad Heilbrunn: Klinkhardt, 2006), 37–58. Norwegian catechism primers are addressed by Dagrun Skjelbred, *Norske ABC-bøker 1777–1997* [Norwegian ABC-books 1777–1997] (Tønsberg: Høgskolen i Vestfold, 2000), 35–37.
18. See Heinrich Fechner, *Die Methoden des ersten Leseunterrichts: Eine quellenmäßige Darstellung ihrer Entwicklung* [The methods of beginning reading instruction: A source-based presentation of their development] (Berlin: Wiegandt und Grieben, 1882); Edmund Burke Huey, *The Psychology and Pedagogy of Reading; with a Review of the History of Reading and Writing and of Methods, Texts, and Hygiene in Reading* (New York: Macmillan, 1908); and Rudolph R. Reeder, *The Historical Development of School Readers and Method in Teaching Reading* (New York: Macmillan, 1900).
19. Wendelin Sroka, "Fibeln und Fibel-Forschung in Europa: eine Annäherung" [Primers and primer research in Europe: An approach], *Bildung und Erziehung* 64, no. 1 (2011): 23–38, 25.
20. See Paul Gabele, *Pädagogische Epochen im Abbild der Fibel* [Pedagogical eras as depicted in primers] (Munich: List, 1962); and Antonio Viñao Frago, "Aprender a leer en el Antiguo Régimen: cartillas, silabarios y catones" [Learning to read in the Ancient Regime: Primers, syllabaries and *Cato's Distichs*], in *Historia ilustrada del libro escolar en España: Del Antiguo Régimen a la Segunda República* [Illustrated history of the schoolbook in Spain: From the Ancient Regime to the Second Republic], ed. Agustín Escolano (Madrid: Fundación Germán Sánchez Ruipérez, 1997), 149–191. *Catones* refers to the moral sayings in Latin of the third- or fourth-century AD author Dionysius Cato. The Works were usually known as *Cato's Distichs*.

21. See Rafael Valls Montés, “Gott, Vaterland, Reich und Miliz: Die politische Sozialisation in den Fibeln der ersten Jahre der Franco-Diktatur (1936–1951)” [God, fatherland, empire and militia: Political socialization in the primers of the first years of the Franco dictatorship (1936–1951)], in *Lesen lernen in Diktaturen der 1930er und 1940er Jahre: Fibeln in Deutschland, Italien und Spanien* [Learning to read in the dictatorships of the 1930s and 1940s: Primers in Germany, Italy and Spain], ed. Gisela Teistler (Hanover: Hahnsche Buchhandlung, 2006), 217–226; Bevelyn Dube, “Illustrations as Vehicles of Gender Stereotyping: An Analysis of Selected Primary School Readers in Zimbabwe and South Africa,” (lecture, FOTIM Gender Studies Conference, Pretoria, 17 to 19 January 2006), http://www.fotim.ac.za/fotim_conferences/genderconf/papers/dube_paper.pdf; Sue Jackson, “She Might Not Have the Right Tools . . . and He Does: Children’s Sensemaking of Gender, Work and Abilities in Early School Readers,” *Gender and Education* 19, no. 1 (2007): 61–77; Silova et al., *Pedagogies of Space*; and Cosima Rughiniş, Laura Grünberg, and Raluca Popescu, eds., “Alice în Țara Manualelor: O explorare a personajelor care îi inspiră pe copii în școală” [Alice in textbook-land: An exploration of the characters that inspire children in school] (research report, University of Bucharest, 2015), <http://doctorat-sociologie.ro/wp-content/uploads/2017/09/Alice-in-Tara-Manualelor.pdf>.
22. See, for example, Ségolène Le Men, *Les Abécédaires français illustrés du XIXe siècle* [Illustrated French primers of the nineteenth century] (Paris: Promodis, 1984); and Franciszek Pilarczyk, *Ilustracje e elementarzech polskich* [Illustrations in Polish primers] (Zielona Góra: Oficyna Wydawnicza Andrzej Buck, 1998).
23. See Michael Moser, “Ruthenische” (ukrainische) *Sprach- und Vorstellungswelten in den galizischen Volksschullesebüchern der Jahre 1871 und 1872* [“Ruthenian” (Ukrainian) worlds of languages and presentations in Galician school readers from 1871 and 1872] (Vienna: Lit-Verlag, 2007); and Dragica Malić: “Jezik glagoljičke početnice Jurja iz Slavonije” [The language of the Glagolitic primer by Juraj from Slavonia], *Filologija, časopis Razreda za filološke znanosti Hrvatske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti u Zagrebu* [Philology: Journal of the department of philological sciences of the Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts in Zagreb] 1, no. 26 (1996): 25–40.
24. Bezrogov et al., *International Bibliography*.
25. Jenny Wozilka, “Lesenlernen im 16. Jahrhundert: Valentin Ickelsamer” [Learning to read in the sixteenth century: Valentin Ickelsamer], in *Geschichte der Fibel* [History of the primer], ed. Arnold Grömminger (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2002), 201–216, 201.
26. Natalya Barannikova, Vitaly Bezrogov, and Maria Kozlova, eds., “Kartinki v moem bukvarě”: *Pedagoškičeskaja semantika ilustracij v učebnike dlja načal’noj školy. Sbornik naučnih trudov i materialov* [“Pictures in my primer”: The pedagogical semantics of the illustration in the elementary school textbook. A collection of scholarly works and materials] (Moscow: TehGrupp, 2013).
27. Theo van Leeuwen, “The Schoolbook as a Multimodal Text,” *International Textbook Research* 14, no. 1 (1992): 35–58.