

Revisiting *Orbis Sensualium Pictus*: An Iconographical Reading in Light of the Pampaedia of J. A. Comenius

Jeong-Gil Woo¹

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Abstract *Orbis Sensualium Pictus* by Comenius is historical evidence of the revolutionary development of language didactic in the seventeenth century. However, this book is not only a simple encyclopedic Latin study book with pictures, but a little theology work containing Christian cosmological universalism as well as a pedagogy which provides principles for educational practice and social realizations of a theological ideal in a very new and creative form of iconography. While studying Latin seems to be the main purpose of his work, the authentic intention of the author lies in a panpedagogical call to a religious-educational mission for rebuilding humanity and society during and after the 30 Years War. In this article, we will show the historical and pedagogical meaning of this book through component analysis, framework analysis and iconographical interpretation. In addition, we will also approach Comenius' concept of Pampaedia through an iconographical shortcut, highlighting a picture in “Invitatio” and “Clausula”, which is presented twice in this book.

Keywords Johann Amos Comenius · *Orbis Sensualium Pictus* · Pampaedia · Iconography

Introduction

Orbis Sensualium Pictus, which has also been called a revolutionary invention for language didactics, a continuous bestseller with more than 250 revised and enlarged editions,¹ the

¹ According to Smith (cf. Smith 2000: 225), this book went through 21 editions in the seventeenth century, 43 in the eighteenth, 33 in the nineteenth and 9 in the twentieth. It was translated into at least 12 European and 7 Asiatic languages (Arabic, Turkish, Persian, Mongolian, Chinese, Korean and Japanese).

✉ Jeong-Gil Woo
woossia@khu.ac.kr

¹ Graduate School of Education, Kyung Hee University, 26 Kyungheedae-ro, Dongdaemun-gu, Seoul 130-701, Korea

first school book with picture² and Goethe's favorite book as a childhood (cf. Čapková 1970: 7; Laufhülle 2004: 641; Sturm and Groenendijk 2006: 115), became an inspiration for sensual didactics and a repository for research in science and culture in Europe during the seventeenth century following its publication. We can find three main streams of thought in regards to the research done on *Orbis Sensualium Pictus*. First, most research reports how the work was a positive contribution to language didactics (specifically Latin or foreign language) (cf. Michel 1992: 244). Library sciences have also been devoted to investigating the formulation of Comenius' work.³ Third, there has been research that has focused on the panpedagogical meaning of his work, which highlights the sharing point between theology and pedagogy.⁴ This article is closely connected to the last case. Based on previous research, this article aims to demonstrate that *Orbis Sensualium Pictus* is a theological and panpedagogical project rather than a simple language textbook. This is probably a well-known hypothesis due to the fact that Comenius has been unexceptionally vocal with *Pampaedia*, the main idea focusing on a "practical theology" (Schaller 1958: 15), "Christian philosophy and theological setting" (Smith 2000: 207f) and "Christian cosmological universalism" (Woo 2009).

As we will present in the main part of this article, *Orbis Sensualium Pictus* is composed of particular elements and content which are not found in a common language book. This book reveals the essential idea of *Pampaedia* in a more intensive and didactically effective way than any other works by Comenius, namely through the iconographical method. However, the connection between *Pampaedia* and *Orbis Sensualium Pictus* has not been intensely investigated previously, specifically in a way that we are trying to perform in this article. What we are going to do in this article can be summarized as follows: First, we will make a component analysis. While previous studies have contributed to showing an overview suggesting a kind of encyclopedic systematic of the book,⁵ we will try to reveal the intention of the author by analyzing it into so called "threefold frames" [Mundus, Theologia, *Pampaedia*; cf. (Fig. 13)]. Second, we will make an iconographical analysis⁶ on

² It is true that *Orbis Sensualium Pictus* has been one of the most frequently used school books for a century following Comenius' death in Europe (Reble 1995: 114; Sturm and Groenendijk 2006: 114f). However the question if it was the first school book with pictures worldwide is a matter of debate. For example, the historical fact that two books with pictures, namely 入學圖說 (IpHakDoSeol 1390; Kwon 1990) (Fig. 1) and 三綱行實圖 (SamGangHengSilDo: 1434/1490; Seol 2008) (Fig. 2), have been around two centuries earlier than *Orbis Sensualium Pictus*, which was used in East Asia for propagating Neo-Confucianism and ethics (cf. Jang 2000).

³ Cf. Toischer (1913), Alt (1970), Turnbull (1975), Laufhülle (2004), Havelka and Sládek (2005).

⁴ 4. Representatively, Čapková defines *Orbis Sensualium Pictus* by Comenius as "a little Bible for children" (1970: 23) and she makes remarks on how it is a representation about the "connection between didactics and pansophy on a mediaeval religious setting" (1970: 15f). Also the study by Smith (2000) with focus on the harmonious interrelation of reason, the study by Schwarz and Martin (2002) on Comenius in the context of contemporary public education in America, and by Woo (2009) with focus on the Christian cosmological universalism by Comenius belong to this research tradition.

⁵ Čapková (1970: 13f) analyses them into four categories (God, the World, Terrestrial Nature, Man, Providence and the Last Judgment), Menck (2000: 98) into six categories (God, the World, Nature, Man, Providence, the Judgment), and Müller (2010: 374) into ten categories (De Deo, ontological perspective, nature area, domestic area, space development, book/school/science/virtue, man in an ordered system, urban life, aspect of kingdom, religion/Judgment).

⁶ Due to the fact that the so called "iconographical method" has been settled down as a meaningful research method in contemporary pedagogy these last few decades (cf. Herrlitz and Rittelmeyer 1993; Lippitz 1993; Mollenhauer 1983; Mollenhauer 1986; Mollenhauer 2003; Rittelmeyer and Wiersing 1991; Schulze 1990; Schulze 1993; Woo 2008a, b; Wünsche 1991), an extra comment on it will not be given in this article. Just a few things in the context of this article needs to be mentioned; (a) if we cast back to the origin of this

the concept of education, the teaching profession and educational relationship which are repeatedly proposed by Comenius in *Orbis Sensualium Pictus* through a picture in the “Invitatio” and “Clausula.” Through our analysis, we will suggest a balanced perspective to define *Orbis Sensualium Pictus* simply as a language book, and secondly, but more importantly, as a panpedagogical work with a religious, social and pedagogical purpose to rebuild humanity and society. Considering the historical fact that *Pampaedia* did not get published until the middle of the twentieth century (cf. Comenius 1991: 301f) and that *Orbis Sensualium Pictus*, in contrast to *Pampaedia*, has found millions of readers through centuries around the world (cf. [Footnote1]), the iconographical detour through *Orbis Sensualium Pictus* into the idea of Comenius’ *Pampaedia* in a meaningful way. The essential structure of *Pampaedia* will be in use in form of a schematic summary in Chapter IV in this article (Fig. 16) in order to show the philosophical and pedagogical correspondence and consistency between *Pampaedia* and *Orbis Sensualium Pictus*.

Component of *Orbis Sensualium Pictus*

As mentioned in [footnote5], previous studies were mainly interested in showing the systematic arrangement of 150 categories of *Orbis Sensualium Pictus*. This book has the hallmarks of an encyclopedia. However it is constituted not only of 150 categories of representations of the world, but also a few meaningful elements before and after the main issue as seen in Table 1.

1. The first remarkable element in the context of this article is Part A.⁷ This quotation from the Book of Genesis in the Old Testament describes the naming process of the created world. This scene is still relevant with the concept of *Orbis Sensualium Pictus* as a language study book, because it is about learning new things and words, namely an associative activity between reality and symbol. Nevertheless it is highly noticeable that readers of this book do not first encounter a picture with a corresponding textual account, which is the distinguishing characteristic of this book, or general information about the book, but a phrase from the Bible. Considering the official purpose and target reader, and even the fact that one of the main reader groups are preschool children who do not know the alphabet, the first component, namely Part A does not seem to have been aimed at teaching Latin. It would be rather natural to understand the intention of the author that he plainly stated a philosophical foundation for writing and understanding this book. Part A can be understood as a compass to show where true wisdom and knowledge in this book originate. This is a theological and pedagogical orientation as well as a prime proposition of *Orbis Sensualium Pictus*.

Footnote 6 continued

method, we can meet Comenius, (b) while researchers in pedagogy in the last few decades were mostly in a passive role simply to interpret classic masterpieces or pictures drawn by children, Comenius played an active role to create an original source for hermeneutical work through converting language texts into picture texts, (c) this became, at the same time, a source for pedagogical practice, and as a consequence of it, (d) this became an important motive for dissolving the border between pedagogical interpretation and pedagogical practice.

⁷ “So out of ground the Lord God formed every animal of the field and every bird of the air, and brought them to the man to see what he would call them; and whatever the man called every living creature, that was its name. The man gave names to all cattle, and to the birds of the air, and to every animal of the field.”(Genesis 2:19-20: The Holy Bible 1989).

Table 1 Component of *Orbis Sensualium Pictus*

Order	Title	Content	Compositional function
A	Genesis2: 19–20	The major proposition	
B	To the reader	Use guidance	
C	Invitatio	Introduction	<i>Introduction</i>
D	Alphabet learning	Preparatory learning	
E	150 categories	150 pictures	Main issue
F	Clausula	The close	The close

2. While Part A, B, C and D belong to a so called “Introduction”, Part E can be seen as the main portion of this book. In Part E, Comenius classified the world, human beings and culture into 150 categories. As mentioned above, though there have been critical voices that this classification is a result of an arbitrary speculation of the author,⁸ the one hundred and fifty topics with pictures are an important historical repository to reveal how science, religion and culture were in the seventeenth century. What is most remarkable in the main issue in the context of this article is Category 1 and Category 150. *Orbis Sensualium Pictus* begins with “God” (cat. 1, Fig. 3) and ends with “The Last Judgment” (cat. 150, Fig. 12). Comenius presents the world and humans in a frame of Godly beginning and divine Ending (cf. Menck 2000: 98f). This frame is in accordance with the structure of the Bible which begins with Genesis and ends with Revelations including The Last Judgment. Suppose that *Orbis Sensualium Pictus* were really conceptualized as a little Bible, as Čapková (1970: 23) defines, the theological frame of this book can be taken for granted and if we take the audience of this book into account, the theological frame in Part E can be seen as evidence that the intention of the author is not limited to studying language. In fact, a few pictures, paradoxically, produce adverse effects, which intensifies the difficulty in teaching and learning (e.g. “God”, cat.1, Fig. 3) or retards language study (e.g. “The Last Judgment”, cat.150, Fig. 12). Extreme symbolism is the reason in the former case, whereas the inevitability of storytelling is the reason in the latter. Even though we can refer to Christian art that utilizes icons such as circles and triangles to symbolize God (cf. De Chapeaurouge 1987; Bieger 2011), there is no direct indication to connect these icons with God. Only when we apply the “principle of synchronic and diachronic interpretation” which is suggested by iconographical research in contemporary pedagogy (cf. Mollenhauer 1983; Wünsche 1991) to all the pictures in *Orbis Sensualium Pictus*, then we are approximately able to reach their symbolic meaning. There is no hermeneutic investigation on the four icons at the center of Fig. 3 with only

⁸ It is not clear whether the decision on the amount of categories (150) in *Orbis Sensualium Pictus* was based on the panpedagogical belief of the author or rather on the consultation of the publisher in consideration of the commercial ground (cf. Toischer 1913: 172). However there must have been critical reactions, even in the seventeenth century, towards the medieval-oriented cosmological concept of order and the corresponding categorization in *Orbis Sensualium Pictus*. According to Ballauff & Schaller, “the pansophy by Comenius and his pedagogy proved not to be contemporary any more. His idea and project in its essence did not get agreement from his contemporaries and even from his admirers.” (Ballauff and Schaller 1970: 189) The enlargement of categories from 150 to 320 categories and removal of the theological frame (God & The Last Judgment) in *Orbis Sensualium Pictus* by Gailer (1835; cf. Gailer 1979) provide a skeptical motive in terms of the universality of the cosmological universalism presented in *Orbis Sensualium Pictus* by Comenius.

one exception (Leis-Schindler 1991: 230),⁹ whether they symbolize a certain attribute of God or if they are simply errors in the process of engraving or printing. If this highly symbolic and abstract picture is the first depiction in a Latin study book for preschool children, it would not be difficult to imagine what the reaction of the child would be like to open this book for the first time. The latter case, (Fig. 12), cannot be easily understood by children either. In order to understand this picture, it is required to have some background knowledge on Christianity, namely on the myth of creation, historicity of the world and Christian eschatology, religious belief and judgment, death and resurrection, the relationship between God and man, etc. A long, religious and even highly abstract storytelling seems to be also required for “Man” (cat.35, Fig. 7), “Christianity” (cat.147, Fig. 10) and “God’s Providence” (cat.149, Fig. 11). Comenius had probably well anticipated these difficulties in using this book as study material for Latin. At the same time, Comenius, who was an enthusiastic protestant and devoted pastor of the Bohemian Brethren, must have been well aware of Christianity principles that any attempt to make an image of God is idolatry.¹⁰ The symbolic image of God in Fig. 3 is not a direct copy of God. The so called divergent rays as a symbol of God in Figs. 7 and 11 are the same case. Comenius seems to be very careful even with his personified description of God in the picture.¹¹ Because God in Christianity is an absolute being that is forbidden to be made into an image, there is no other way to present it without symbols and metaphors. The fact that Comenius, in spite of this dilemmatic difficulty, put “God” at the first page of the main issue, tells us that religious belief has the highest priority in his panpedagogical system as well as in *Orbis Sensualium Pictus*. In addition, we need to be more sensitive to the intention of the author in regards to the topic, which cannot be easily expressed with either picture or language, at the beginning and ending of *Orbis Sensualium Pictus*.¹² The ostensible

⁹ Leis-Schindler calls three of four symbols in the middle of Fig. 3 “three Hebrew J in the third inner circle” and interprets them as symbol of God. But he does not offer an explanation about the associative connection between this Hebrew letter and God. Perhaps he might have thought that this Hebrew letter has a similar sound with the German word “Gott” in seventeenth century or in a certain dialect of contemporary German. Nevertheless the fourth symbol “τ” of [Fig. 3] still remains unexplained, which means that the hypothesis by Leis-Schindler was not fully identified. Another possibility, that these four symbols were a form of tetragrammaton, needs also to be taken into consideration.

¹⁰ Second Commandment: “You shall not make for yourself an idol, whether in the form of anything that is in heaven above, or that is on the earth beneath, or that is in the water under the earth.”(Exodus 20:4; Deuteronomy 5: 8. The Holy Bible 1989).

¹¹ One evidence for this argument is the fact that an image of a human face is to be seen in the picture “Invitatio” of the test printing (1653: Fig. 15), which was made under the title of *Vestibuli et Januae Lucidarium*, but not in Fig. 14 in *Orbis Sensualium Pictus* (1658). The anthropomorphism skill appears twice in *Orbis Sensualium Pictus* (Figs. 6, 11). However a whole face appears just once in Fig. 6 as the core of the cloud, while there is only “one big eye” as the core of the sun in Fig. 11. It is not clear what was the intention of this anthropomorphism, whether to evoke friendliness in children or something else. And based on the comment of Comenius himself on Fig. 11 that the “one big eye” is “the provident eye of God”, this seems not to be a personification, but an instrument to stress the all-knowing attribute of God through the symbolic functionality of an eye.

¹² The explanation by Čapková, that “religion education was practiced from early childhood at home in seventeenth century and therefore the construction of *Orbis Sensualium Pictus*, which might seem to be unusual from today’s perspective, was possibly not that strange for the people in that time” (cf. Čapková 1970: 21), seems to be reasonable at first glance. But at the same time, it is necessary to take the academic tendency of Descartes, who was one of Comenius’ contemporaries in the beginning period of modern science and who has met Comenius once for an academic dialogue (cf. Heesakkers 1996), and also the critical reactions to the medieval setting of *Orbis Sensualium Pictus* from the contemporaries of Comenius (cf. [footnote8]) into consideration.

purpose of this book was language study, but the latent and prior intention of the author lies in the educational realization of his theological ideal (cf. Čapková 1970: 19, 27). For Comenius, after a brutal and inhumane experience of the 30 Years War, the religious motive was at the same time an educational one to restore humanity and rebuild a society in a way that reflects the moment of God's creation.

3. The frame work in *Orbis Sensualium Pictus*, in a certain sense means more than what it contains in itself, does not end within Part E, the main issue. The main issue itself was put in a bigger frame (cf. Figure 13).

As seen in Table 1 and Fig. 13, the Main Issue (E) is positioned between Introduction (A–D) and Conclusion (F). However the Introduction (A–D) is, on a closer view, consists of four different elements; the major proposition (A), user guidance (B), introduction to the main issue (C) and preparatory learning (D). Among them, most distinctively, Part C assumes the character of an *introduction* in its literal sense, while others sets up the basic tone or provides background information of this book (cf. Table 1). This is the reason why Part C, E and F have a unified format (picture text plus language text) because these three parts can be seen as essential elements for the construction of *Orbis Sensualium Pictus*. What is very remarkable here is the fact that the same picture was used twice in Part C and F. It is generally known that *Orbis Sensualium Pictus* is constituted of 150 pictures to represent the world. However, there is one more picture in it. Among these one hundred and fifty one pictures, only one picture was used twice, that is Fig. 14, which appears in Part C and F (cf. Thompson 1994: 177; Menck 2000: 98). This means the following:

- a. It is the same framework as Part E, main issue, which begins with “God” and ends with “The Last Judgment”, transporting the Christian view of time and history. As investigated above, Comenius never deviates from this theological model which begins with God, the origin of true wisdom and knowledge, and returns to God. *Orbis Sensualium Pictus* has three frameworks that imply a Godly beginning and a divine ending in the same way.
- b. This framework can be possibly interpreted as an intention by Comenius to transfer and enlarge the theological construction into a panpedagogical one. It reflects on one hand the historical situation when the Middle Ages and modern times intersect and a complex identity of Comenius himself as a theologian, pastor and educator simultaneously. *Orbis Sensualium Pictus* is not a simple language study book. In addition, it is a repository of everyday life in the panpedagogical framework and a theology book for beginners at the same time.
- c. In this sense, the picture in the “Invitatio” and “Clausula” (Fig. 14) is of greater importance than the rest of the one hundred and fifty pictures in Part E. Based on the three fold frame work (cf. Figure 13), it can be said that Fig. 14 is de facto a highlight of *Orbis Sensualium Pictus*, because it shows the order system of the created world, a theological setting of the world and a panpedagogical ideal in a condensed way.

According to these reasons, we think that Comenius included a certain critical message for his contemporaries as well as for his descendants in *Orbis Sensualium Pictus* in a very condensed way, especially in Fig. 14. In the following sections, we would like to get closer to his intention through an iconographical investigation.

Education and the Teacher Profession by Comenius

1. Cloud and Sun: While there is cloud on the top left side of Fig. 14, there is a sun on the right side. The “cloud” icon appears in every picture with the sky in *Orbis Sensualium*

Pictus and is portrayed in most cases as a negative icon by blocking the sunshine, representing destruction and separation. This icon plays an active role in the category of “heaven” (cat.3, Fig. 5) and “air” (cat.5, Fig. 6). In Fig. 5, it functions as a sort of cover which blocks sunlight towards Earth and Comenius comments, “Howsoever dark Clouds, may take it [the sun] from us.” The cloud at the left side of Fig. 6 is portrayed as a “pillar of a cloud” with descriptions such as “throwing down of trees” or “earthquake.” A rather passive role is played by the clouds in “the world” (cat.2, Fig. 4), “Gods providence” (cat.149, Fig. 11) and “The Last Judgment” (cat.150, Fig. 12). In Fig. 4 the cloud, in its static form, functions as a vertical separation unit in the air. The cloud in Figs. 11 and 12 is separated into two by the sun center top as if it gives up its post to the sun or it assists the sun. What is clear here is that the cloud cannot hide the sunlight any more (Figs. 7, 8, 9).¹³ In contrast to the icon of the cloud, the sun is always positioned at the upper right side (Fig. 14), upper center of the picture (Figs. 5, 8, 10, 11, 12) or portrayed as a complete autonomous perfection by itself (Fig. 3). The most significant characteristic about the sun is its dynamic and abstractness. The icon of the sun in *Orbis Sensualium Pictus*, which does not provide a separate category to this topic, does not indicate a natural or scientific phenomenon, but functions as a metaphysical or theological metaphor to express a certain absoluteness (Fig. 13).¹⁴ The sun in *Orbis Sensualium Pictus* primarily symbolizes God, and secondly, Godly authority and order, Godly wisdom and knowledge. It is not an accident that Fig. 3 (cat.1, “God”) is perceived as a sun by readers in most cases. In fact, three fold circles and a triangle are, strictly speaking, not a copy of the sun, but just abstract symbols. It is due to the diverging rays, which connect these separate abstract icons, that these symbols are perceived as a sun. These rays let the sun be seen not as a static thing, but as a dynamic substance. As the sun shines and glows, the authority and power of God is alive and working in and around the world. Comenius comments on this picture that “a light inaccessible, and yet all in all.” The diverging rays were used to not only directly describe God, but also to tell a story. In the category “Man” (Fig. 7), which tells the story of man’s creation and the Garden of Eden, God is portrayed as a glittering being. In Fig. 11, God is described as a glittering eye in the upper center of heaven.¹⁵

¹³ Surely this kind of semantic feature assignment is done on a symbolic-metaphoric dimension. Leis-Schindler defines the symbolic-metaphoric function of cloud in *Orbis Sensualium Pictus* as “separation of the sublunary and translunary world or a spiritual world of God which lies above the stars” (1991: 228). What he gives as additional examples for the “concealment of God” is the “scene of Moses with the Ten Commandments on the mountain Sinai” (cat. 146) and the “scene of baptism and the Second Coming of Jesus” (Fig. 10). However the former was not illustrated in *Orbis Sensualium Pictus*, and the latter is one of six pictures in Fig. 10 and is therefore of relatively little importance. Apart from these cases, there is also a case in which Comenius describes the cloud as a natural phenomenon in a very neutral and dry, namely in a natural and scientific way (cat.7, “the clouds”).

¹⁴ One example is Category 101 “Philosophy” (Fig. 8). In this picture, the “sun” is portrayed ambiguously, namely as a “symbol of God and God’s creature at the same time.” A nature scientist points to the sun in this picture and Comenius comments on it that “The naturalist vieweth all the works of God in the World.” However it is not clear whether it is the sun as God or as a creature which is pointed to by the nature scientist in the picture.

¹⁵ In the Christian art history, the icon “eye” symbolizes “the all-knowing God.” While this icon appears normally pairs of two, Comenius presents it in singularly, namely as “one big eye” in Fig. 11 in *Orbis Sensualium Pictus*. According De Chapeaurouge, it belongs, strictly speaking, not to the tradition of Christianity, but to the ancient Egyptian tradition, even though it is not clear how it came into Christian art. He assumes that “one big eye at the center of an equilateral triangle means in most cases an all-knowing and all-mighty God of wisdom and of trinity” and that this sort of symbolization began to appear more

2. Nature and Culture: In the vertical-middle part of Fig. 14, the grass and trees are on the left side and houses and buildings are on the right side. The grass and trees are not in a pruned state, while the other side presents constructions made of natural materials from the left side. This is a Comenian dualism of nature and culture which is also related with his concept of education. In other words, the fact that he put unrefined nature as an uncivilized state of the world under the clouds, namely a symbol of darkness, whereas he put the icons of culture and civilization under the sun, namely the source of light and wisdom, reveals how Comenius thought where education should begin and what its mission is. It is well known that the concept of *Orbis Sensualium Pictus* traces back to the 1620s. Since Comenius had experienced the *Janua Linguarum* by Jesuit priests, he developed his own language didactic and brought his ideas into *Janua Linguarum Reserata* (1629–1631), *Janua Linguarum Reserata* (1629–1631), *Janua Linguarum Vestibulum* (1633) and *Janua Linguarum reserata* (1652). Based on these works, he conceptualized *Orbis Sensualium Pictus* already before 1653. He was introduced to the publisher Michael-Endter-Verlag in Nürnberg, the center of publishing in Europe during the seventeenth century, through an acquaintance and established a professional relationship with them. Five years before the publication of *Orbis Sensualium Pictus*, a test printing was made in 1653 with the first five pictures. The engraving pictures were made by Paul Kreuzberger. These five pictures were corrected by Comenius himself in order to be put into *Orbis Sensualium Pictus*.¹⁶ Therefore, the difference between (Figs. 14, 15) is neither a personal intention of the engraver nor a coincidence. The first five pictures in the test printing including (Fig. 12) surely reflect the very intention of Comenius. In this sense, the dualistic contrast in the vertical-middle part of (Fig. 12), namely nature versus culture, is within the boundaries of consensus.

With regard to the concept of dualism and particularly to Comenius' concept of nature, several things require clarification. First, the basic structure of the Pampaedia is dualistic, because the theological basis on which it is grounded in. This can be seen in the Comenius' works as "light versus darkness" (Comenius, 1986: 22, 76, 86, 98f; 1992: 15f), "truth and deception" (Comenius, 1986: 50f), "the present life and the life eternal" (Comenius, 1986: 33), "the good and the evil" (Comenius, 1986: 52f; 1992: 16f). This dualistic perspective functions as a structural background in his other works *The Way of Light* (light vs. darkness: Comenius, 1997) and *The Labyrinth of the World and the Paradise of the Heart* (Labyrinth vs. Paradise: Comenius, 1970).¹⁷ Second, however, this dualism does not mean

Footnote 15 continued

frequently in Christian art in the seventeenth century. The earliest example for it is in a picture (1683) in the Church in the City of Blaubeuren. But he seems to have ignored the example 25 years earlier in *Orbis Sensualium Pictus* by Comenius (cf. De Chapeaurouge 1987: 145f). By the way, Fig. 3 can also be seen as a metaphor for "one big eye."

¹⁶ Not all of the pictures in *Orbis Sensualium Pictus* seem to have been sketched by Comenius. According to previous studies (cf. Toischer, 1913: 175f; Laufhülle, 2004: 644f), they were probably made by P. Kreuzberger and other anonymous helpers. It is also said that Comenius could not do the proofreading and even that the German text was not written by Comenius but by a certain Sigmund von Birken. In spite of all these blind spots which weakens the reliability of this book to a certain degree, one thing is clear; there have been direct intervention of the author to the picture in the "invitation" and "the close." The differences between the test printing and its regular publication in detail, please see Turnbull (1957).

¹⁷ There are, if rarely, even statements which seems to be rather aggressive; "truly, sincerely and seriously wish for the banishment of darkness everywhere and the increase of Light in men's mind." (Comenius, 1986: 22) or "Things are subject to human dominion, to be managed only by men who are wise in the fullest sense of the word" (Comenius 1986: 39).

there is an eternal separation between two different worlds. This dualism, which might be called a metaphorical contrast, implies rather, as seen in the schematic presentation by Schaller (1958: 14; Fig. 16), a continuum from a dark, unculturalized and uneducated world towards an enlightened, cultured and educated world. The anthropological position of human beings is defined by education. From this viewpoint, Smith points out the relationship between these dualistic worlds that “culture does not threaten or spoil nature, but rather brings it from an unformed beginning to its intended fruitfulness.” (Smith 2000: 210). What is important in the Comenian dualism is therefore not the concept of dualistic worlds itself, but the role of education and educator. For him, education is not an instrument to determine these two contrastive worlds, but rather a constructive mechanism to bring them into reconciliation. In this sense, the terminology “dualism” here means a status of a tentative separation as well as a potential unification, but neither a definite contrast between anthropological image of perfection and deficit nor right or prescription of how culture controls nature. Third, nevertheless, in the case of the nature-culture dualism, it seems to be necessary to have a more differentiated perspective, due to the fact that Comenius does not regard nature as simply (A) an object of human dominion and (B) as a status of unculturedness, but rather, he uses the word as (C) a status to which depraved human beings ought to return to (Comenius 1992: 31–40) and (D) as a general principle of education (Comenius 1992: 96–118). Different from the case of A and B, which imply nature-culture as a conflicting dualism, C and D present a harmonious relationship between nature and culture. In the latter case, “Comenius embraces curriculum and pedagogy that honored both nature and culture.” (Schwarz and Martin 2002: 49). Therefore, the concept of nature in the present study needs to be understood in a confined sense of unculturedness.

3. Student and Teacher: Two people in [Fig. 14] provide an interesting contrast. There is a child on the left side and an adult on the right side. The child has taken his hat off, has it in his hand and expresses a rather kind face. On the other hand, the adult has put on a cape and hat, and he has a stick (or a cane¹⁸) in his hand. Through it, Comenius describes a child, who shows politeness and respect, and an adult with experience, wisdom and authority. They are, as Comenius writes, a student and teacher. They are in the following conversation. “M: Come Boy, learn to be wise./P: What doth this mean, to be wise?/M: To understand rightly, to do rightly, and to speak out rightly all that are necessary./P: Who will teach me this?/M: I, by God’s help..../P: See, here I am; lead me in the name of God”(Comenius, 1658: 1f).¹⁹ In this dialogue, the Comenian dualistic structure of nature-culture is also found. A teacher who says to his student, who (still) does not know rightness in understanding, doing and speaking, and has come to learn and be wise—the student is portrayed as a being of deficit, immaturity and plasticity, while the teacher appears as a representative of wisdom, knowledge, experience and authority. In this dualistic-pedagogical anthropology, which is typical in modern pedagogy,²⁰ education works one-sidedly on the

¹⁸ Compare with the “stick” in the category 97 “School” in *Orbis Sensualium Pictus*.

¹⁹ I follow the English translation by Hoole and Bardeen (1887). However, the sentence “I, by God’s help” is not the correct translation from the original German version by Comenius. It was originally “Ich/mit Gott” (Ego, cum Deo: I, with God) and both of them are semantically not the same. The Korean translation (Nam 1999) and Japanese translation (Inoguchi 1998) show the same translation as the one by Hoole & Bardeen.

²⁰ In regards to discussions on “children as a being of deficit” and “asymmetrical relationship in education”, see Kant (1998: 697f), Masschelein (1991: 126f), Ricken (1999: 94f), Woo (2007).

asymmetric basis of maturity, autonomy, wisdom and knowledge. This concept of asymmetry, namely the contrast between deficit and completion, is possibly imagined if only an ideal state of perfect education exists. The reason why Comenius can say “Ego, cum Deo” (I, with God) with such strong conviction is because he presupposes an image of perfect wisdom and complete order. In this picture, the teacher as a representative of this Godly creation in the pedagogical practice confronts the child as an incomplete and deficit being.

4. Sun and Teacher Profession: As investigated above, Fig. 14 is divided into two different kinds of worlds and human beings which are positioned on the left and right side. It is well known that the left-and-right contrast is an important metaphor in Christianity.²¹ Comenius is a faithful follower of this tradition (cf. Leis-Schindler, 1991: 230f). For example, in category 35 “Man” (Fig. 7), he positioned the Tree of Knowledge in Genesis at the center of the picture and divides evil and good into left and right. There are a serpent and a woman, depicting the troublesome life of Adam and Eve after eating the forbidden fruit and getting expelled from the Garden on the left side, whereas there is the first creation of man and woman, Adam and Eve are in a happy mood and there is an indefinable bright being at the background on the right side of the picture. The left and right side show a radical contrast in terms of light and shade, a bright and dark atmosphere (cf. Fig. 16), and happy and tragic stories. Another example is category 149 “The Last Judgment” (Fig. 12), in which the chosen and others were divided into the right and left side of Jesus, not from the perspective of the reader but from the perspective of Jesus.²² In the category 109 “Moral Philosophy” (Fig. 9) Comenius uses the Pythagoras character Y as a metaphor for a moral fork and encourages readers not to take the left way (the way to evil) but the right way (the way of good). The metaphor “Y” was also used in Category 35 “Man” (Fig. 7) as a boundary between the left dark world and the right bright world, and as a fork towards the evil or good deed. Considering the fact that the principle of the left–right contrast throughout the pictures of *Orbis Sensualium Pictus* is not a coincidence, it is highly reasonable to think that Comenius held fast to this principle, unexceptionally in Fig. 14.²³

What is interesting is that there is one element in Fig. 14 which crosses these two different worlds: sunlight. The icon starts from the upper-right side and draws a diagonal line towards the face of the student through the head of the teacher. It cannot be ignored

²¹ Cf. Representatively, “New Testament, Luke 23” and “New Testament, The Book of Revelations of St. John 2.” In regards to a historical study of Christian Art, see De Chapeaurouge (1987: 31–38), Bieger (2011: 147).

²² For this change of perspectives in the case of Fig. 12 (“The Last Judgment”), we need to refer to the description of the scene in the Bible. “When the Son of Man comes in his glory, and all the angels with him, then he will sit on the throne of his glory. All the nations will be gathered before him, and he will separate people one from another as a shepherd separates the sheep from the goats, and he will put the sheep at his right hand and the goats at the left.” (Mathew 25:31, The Holy Bible 1989). It should be assumed that there is no audience, but all people are participants in The Last Judgment. As a consequence, this picture needs to be read not from the reader’s perspective but from God’s (i.e. “the Son of Man” in Fig. 12) perspective.

²³ In this sense, the interpretation by Schulze that the topic of Fig. 14 is “strolling of a student and a teacher” is possibly a superficial understanding without a systematic consideration of the iconographical context of *Orbis Sensualium Pictus*. As Bagley (2010) rightly pointed out, Fig. 12 should be read rather as a metaphor, not as a sketch of a real situation. The hypothesis by Schulze that Comenius has corrected the left and right side of Fig. 15 (1653) into a reverse direction in Fig. 14 (1658) due to a simple reason of a visually bilateral symmetry seems to be rarely provable (cf. Schulze 1993: 157; Schulze 1990: 111f).

that Comenius paid careful attention to the correction of the picture, if we compare Fig. 14 with Fig. 15. The direction of sunlight of Fig. 15 is similar with the direction in Fig. 14, but is not exactly towards the head of the teacher and the face of the student like in Fig. 14.²⁴ Comenius suggests a classical prototype of an educational relationship adhering to the sun as a source of light and to the Godly revelation as an origin of wisdom.²⁵ The authority and responsibility of an educator comes from an understanding that he is a representative of God. There is no place on Earth where the sunlight does not reach, and the wisdom from the sun should be a universal norm of the world. A so called divine right of education is universal and unavoidable. There is no exception for this education. The only remedy for the dark and uncultured world on the left side with the deficit of light and order is the Godly wisdom from the right world. “For the darkness of human confusion, there can be no better effective remedy than a universal light.” (Comenius 1997: 41) Only through the teacher, through education, can it reach the uncivilized student. Armed with the wisdom of Godly light, to enter into the dark world of disorder, to enter among uncivilized people, to light the darkness and to cure the lack of enlightenment—was Comenius’ diagnosis and remedy for the misery of the world during and after the 30 Years War.²⁶ This must have been his first motive for publishing *Orbis Sensualium Pictus*. Comenius, who had been compelled to pilgrimize the “labyrinth of the world” (cf. Comenius 1970) his whole life, casts his anchor, having the Godly sun shine at his back, in the light world on the right side of the first and last picture of *Orbis Sensualium Pictus*, and declares to the world of darkness; “Come and learn to be wise. I will teach you, with God.”²⁷

²⁴ In regards to the change of icons of the “hat” from Fig. 15 into Fig. 14, another interpretation by Bagley (2010) needs to be mentioned. “Comenius ... replaced it with one in a style long associated with St. James in his role as pilgrim. The teacher now has an appearance reminiscent of the Saint whose church in Santiago de Compostela was for centuries a destination of pilgrims from all over Europe” This interpretation seems to be reasonable in its historical context considering the pilgrimage movement during the second half of the seventeenth century in Europe. However this interpretation seems to be difficult to be included in the present study. The focus on pilgrimage does not match the idea of the present study, namely the collinearity system (sun—teacher’s head—student’s head).

²⁵ “God has created the sun not to be observed alone, but to enable us to observe His other works, that is, not to blind us but to provide us with light” (Comenius 1986: 93).

²⁶ Wedgewood writes about the meaninglessness of the miserable Thirty Years War as follows; “There was no compulsion towards a conflict... The war solved no problem. Its effect, both immediate and indirect, was either negative or disastrous. Morally subversive, economically destructive, socially degrading, confused in its causes, devious in its course, futile in its result, it is the outstanding example in European history of meaningless conflict.”(Wedgewood 1949: 526) From Comenius’ perspective, this historically miserable situation was a disorderly labyrinth which was caused by the greed and mistake of human being (cf. Comenius 1997: 41f; Comenius 1970).

²⁷ A further investigation about the so called Lucis-philosophy of Comenius and its influence on the history of pedagogy will not be made in this article due to the limits of space. However it is necessary to remark that Comenius has shown his great affection for contrast of light-darkness not only in *Orbis Sensualium Pictus* but in all of his works. His late work *Via Lucis* (1668; Comenius 1997) is a good example to see his dualistic viewpoint in terms of light and darkness, order and disorder, the educatedness and uneducatedness: “Light as a remedy for disorder—there is no more effective remedy than the cosmological light for the cure of dark disorder of human beings” (Comenius 1997: 41). The contrast between order and disorder is also a basic motive in his work *Labyrinth of the world and the paradise of the heart* (1623; Comenius 1970). The title itself presents his dualistic viewpoint. As proposed in the present article, there are icons which imply dualistic viewpoint regarding brightness and darkness, order and disorder, right and left in *Orbis Sensualium Pictus*. It is noteworthy to remark that the function of education or the role of the educator, through which the two different worlds can and should be lead into a homogeneous world (cf. Woo 2009).

It is important to imagine how the situation in Fig. 14 is perceived by the student from his perspective. The student in Fig. 14 is standing with his body open to teacher and the audience (reader). He has his hat in his hand showing respect and politeness, and his face and finger portray seemingly a moment of an aha-experience. He seems to be ready to learn and is possibly already in the process of learning through dialogue with his teacher (cf. Thompson 1994: 177f). If so, what does the sun mean to him? In the picture, which was, to mention again, corrected by Comenius himself, the sun is not visible to the student. The sun, head of the teacher and face of the student are in collinearity.²⁸ What is seen to the student is not the sun, but the face of the teacher having the sun at the back of his head. The sun light has still not reached the student's face and the teacher says with his stern face, pointing his finger with a stick in his hand; "I will teach you, with God." The expression "I, with God", which has been modified in later editions and was translated differently in foreign languages (cf. [Footnote19] in this article), we can find a clue on how seriously Comenius thought of the teacher profession and to what extent he regarded the authority and responsibility of the educator. He did not exclude the possibility that a teacher can be understood as a colleague of God, not a simple messenger of God, by the student in an educational situation. According to this core picture in *Orbis Sensualium Pictus*, the teacher plays the role as the God of education, assigned with the mission to be an educational creator. What kind of impression would a student get when he looks upon the face of the teacher surrounded by a halo as he claims, "I will teach you, with God"? Perhaps we can even say that the main icon in Fig. 14 is not the sun but the teacher. It is possible to imagine Fig. 14 without the sun, but Fig. 14 without the teacher shows a serious deficit. In this sense, *Orbis Sensualium Pictus*, or more specifically Fig. 14, is a historical place where medieval pedagogy and modern pedagogy intersect. Considering Comenius was living during early modernity and before the Enlightenment, perhaps Comenius was the youngest child of the Middle Age who opened an era of modern pedagogy,²⁹ perhaps neither with planning nor with noticing what he was doing.

Iconography of Panpedagogy in *Orbis Sensualium Pictus*

The investigation on Fig. 14 shows Comenius' dualism in his view of the world and values, and in pedagogical anthropology. A cluster of icons "cloud, nature, student" on the left side and another cluster of icons "sun, culture, teacher" on the right demonstrate his thought. This kind of dualism is in fact a Comenian structure which is repeatedly found in all works by him. He classifies the world into two different kinds; one is a world of darkness, disorder, chaos, ignorance and uneducatedness, and the other is a world of bright, order, culture, wisdom, cultivation and educatedness. This is, as Schaller evidently shows in Fig. 16, the basic structure of Comenius' Pampaedia.

²⁸ This collinearity (the sunshine—head of teacher—head of student) can also be read as an iconographical indicator to show how Comenius conceived (a) the relationship between the divine light and human reason ("reason is in the divine light in man": Comenius 1986: 33; cf. Comenius 1986: 23) and (b) the position of educator between the God and the student. In regards to the dualistic interpretation of Fig. 14, especially in terms of "teacher versus student" and "culture versus nature", is that there is no definite irreconcilable status of two separate worlds, but a process of becoming (or being expected to be) homogeneous through education and institutions: "truly, sincerely and seriously wish for the banishment of darkness everywhere and the increase of Light in men's mind" (Comenius 1986: 22).

²⁹ In order to inquire more about the historical and philosophical between-character of Comenius, see Scheuerl (1979: 67f), Schaller (1958: 3); Schaller (2003: 52f).

Exactly 300 years after the publication of *Orbis Sensualium Pictus*, Schaller shows us the main structure of Comenius' *Pampaedia* in a simple figure. The world and human being is dualistic for Comenius; the world of darkness and the world of brightness, and non-human-being and human-being. Through education, which Comenius calls "educatio and institutio," the difference between the two worlds and between the two human beings will decrease. This difference will ultimately disappear and the two different worlds and people will become homogeneous at the end. For Comenius, these two worlds were not in a conflicting relationship from the beginning. As clouds cannot hide the sun, nature and non-human-beings as a state of deficit will be and should be civilized and humanized through education with the help of sunshine. In this sense, the dualistic view of the world and human beings by Comenius does not mean a coexistence of the two different worlds and human beings, but implies as well as aims to model a teleological universalism. The realization of this philosophy of panpedagogical totality, or the rebuilding of such a society, will be achieved through education, more exactly, through an educator.

An investigation on the concrete system and contents of Comenius' *Pampaedia* Comenius goes beyond the limits of this article. What is remarkable in the context of the present study is that the core picture of *Orbis Sensualium Pictus* coincides in its structure with Schaller's summary of Comenius' idea of *Pampaedia*. Comenius spreads his theological view of the world and his panpedagogical principle not only through the work of *Pampaedia*, but also, perhaps more effectively and latently, through *Orbis Sensualium Pictus*. The core idea of this book has been transported to future generations in an iconographically condensed way till today.

Conclusion

Comenius has been the very figure of revolutionary development in language didactics, which has been a main area of research based on Comenius since his time. He was a theologian as well as a priest, pedagogist and school reformer. However, these appellations imply more than a dry title of what he was and what he did. They contain an unhappy complex of historically miserable situations and biographically troubling hardships. As a protestant pastor, he lost his homeland at the start of the Thirty Years War and did not have any other option than living in religious and political exile for most of his life. Due to this reason, he painfully lived the life of an educator and reformer, perhaps willingly or unwillingly, who sought for restoration in the world through the theological and educational rehabilitation of human beings. The core of his work, namely the main idea of his education for a secular realization of divine order, was a "representation of the world" as Mollenhauer puts it (Mollenhauer 2003: 52f). He wanted people to look at, learn and restore the world as it had been created by God. This was the best he could suggest for rebuilding society and rehabilitating his contemporaries during and after the Thirty Years War. His project of this representation was clearly and easily seen in his *Orbis Sensualium Pictus* than in any other works by him. While studying Latin is the apparent purpose of his work, the authentic intention of the author lies in a panpedagogical call to perform a religious-educational mission. For him, the pedagogical ideal and religious motive are truly identical with each other. Religious motives became a calling for him as an educator, and this constituted his complex identity as a theological pedagogist. In this sense, *Orbis Sensualium Pictus* is primarily an encyclopedic Latin study book with pictures, but at the same time, a little theology book containing Christian cosmological universalism as well as a pedagogy book which provides principles for educational practices and social

realizations of this theological ideal in a very new and creative way of iconography. If this book were a constant bestseller as modern pedagogy testifies, the philosophical and educational influence of this book must have been huge and consistent. This is why it is necessary to revisit *Orbis Sensualium Pictus* in a multilateral way today.

Fig. 1 IpHakDoSeol (Kwon 1390)

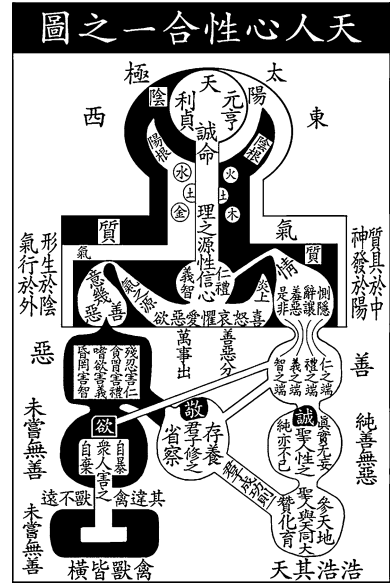


Fig. 2 SamGangHengSilDo (Seol et al. 1434/1490)



Fig. 3 God (Category 1)

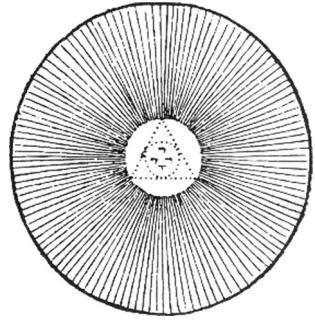


Fig. 4 The World (Category 2)



Fig. 5 The Heaven (Category 3)

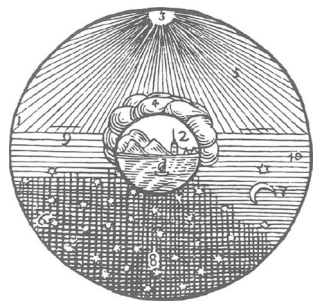


Fig. 6 The Air (Category 5)



Fig. 7 Man (Category 35)



Fig. 8 Philosophy (Category 101)



Fig. 9 Moral Philosophy (Category 109)



Fig. 10 Christianity (Category 147)



Fig. 11 Gods Providence (Category 149)



Fig. 12 The Last Judgment
(Category 150)

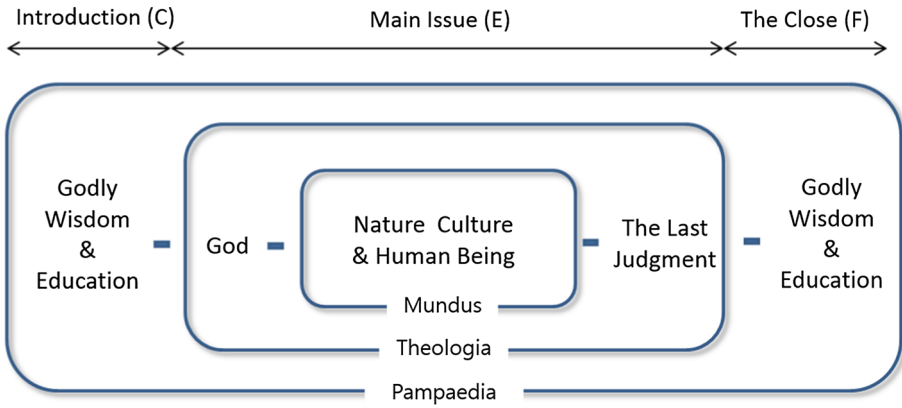


Fig. 13 Framework of *Orbis Sensualium Pictus*

Fig. 14 Invitatio & Clausula
(1658)



Fig. 15 Invitatio (1653, Test
Printing)



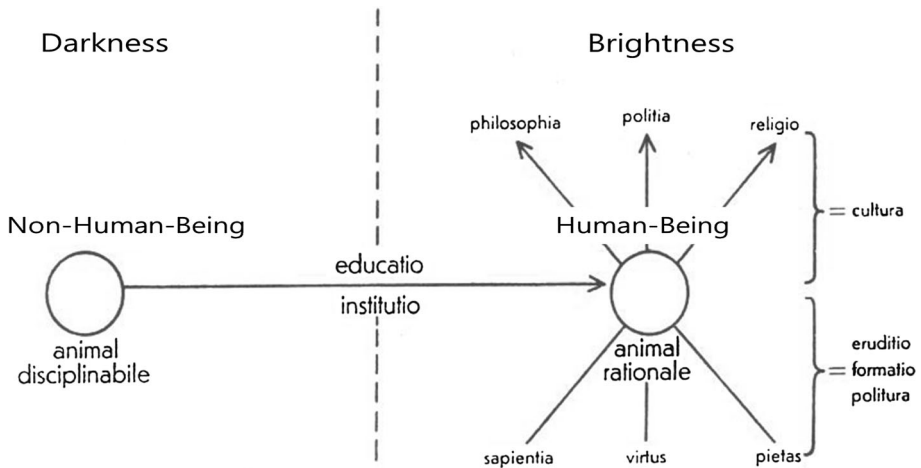


Fig. 16 The Process of the Pampaedia (Schaller 1958: 14)

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