



# Catalan Social Sciences Review

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Secció de Filosofia i Ciències Socials - Institut d'Estudis Catalans

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## **Usefulness and uselessness of history: History, memory and the contemporaneity of faith according to S. Kierkegaard**

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Translated from Catalan by Mary Black

### **Abstract**

*According to Kierkegaard, history can be considered in two ways: On the one hand, it is useless in its pure objectivity of data and dates, casual deeds and events; on the other hand, it is essential if we consider the fact that the eternal has become present in it, hence that God has become part of it. Thus, Kierkegaard differs from both Socrates and Lessing by thinking about reason, truth and the eternal as present in history. The instant is the category with which Kierkegaard tries to think about this historical convergence of the historical and the eternal.*

**Key words:** History, Kierkegaard, Christianity, memory, Socrates, Lessing

In a society defined as post-traditional, in which tradition therefore plays no part, we must consider whether it is necessary to interact with tradition, and if so, how we can. However, since things are rarely a matter of simply yes or no but rather the measure and manner in which they are done, in meaning and differentiation, we should ask what is unrenounceable in tradition and what is an accessory or even what is a disturbing burden, and to what extent or in what aspects should a tradition be continued or interrupted.

To grapple with this question we shall examine Kierkegaard, since he pondered it extensively. According to this philosopher, what is at stake in this question is the authenticity of Christianity, its revitalisation: what role does history play in faith, or framed in terms of Lessing's challenge, which Kierkegaard himself mentions, how can casual historical truths be the foundation of eternal truths of reason? (Lessing, 1969: 34). Kierkegaard reformulated this challenge in these terms: how can casual historical truths, or historical deeds, be the place or object where eternal happiness is decided? (Kierkegaard, 1981a: 13, vol. I). Here what is being questioned is the value of the historical, which ranges from the life of Jesus (the question, so disputed today, of the value of the historical Jesus) to the history of the Church, the testimonials of so many believers which are significant milestones in the history of faith expressed in the

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theological terms that Kierkegaard made his own: namely the Bible, Tradition and the Church itself as the institution that makes the Bible and Tradition present today.

The question, as can be seen, is posed by Kierkegaard in clearly Christian theological terms, yet in it we can also glimpse the broader question about the place and importance of tradition in its broader cultural sense: can we begin from scratch? Or, conversely, is the reference to history indispensable; that is, is it necessary to have been first formed in order to be a creator? Is it necessary to have appropriated a tradition in order to do away with its established rules? And when we ask about the role of history and tradition, we are also questioning the role of memory, which ranges from the study of the past to the attempts to bring it into the present, either through commemorative festivals or operative or institutional projects.

Kierkegaard's discourse is totally centred around faith, around becoming Christian, and his history refers to the history of Christ. Around this central question we shall see him deploy an entire dialectic that reveals an essential dimension of history, yet also shows extrinsic, superfluous or even erroneous, false, distorted and disorienting aspects.

This is the major question he examines in several works, yet mainly in *Philosophical Fragments* (1844) and *Postscriptum* (1846), in addition to some pages in *Practice in Christianity* (1848-50). It is the question that is often very briefly presented with the terms of faith as contemporaneity with Christ, leading us to believe that contemporaneity is established by faith and that therefore history has nothing to do with it. Though this statement is truthful, it is not exact; it requires major clarifications since history plays an essential role; for this reason we must shade and distinguish the different meanings of history. Christianity, or its core fact (man-God, Jesus Christ), is an essentially historical deed, and in this sense history is supremely relevant for Christianity and distinguishes it from speculative or scientific systems. Yet at the same time, the historical deed holds no interest in and of itself, in its immediacy; there is no (historical or scientific) data that can ground, demonstrate or justify faith. What is more, a historical consideration of Christianity may entail its dissolution. Therefore, we shall consider the complexity of the relations between Christianity and history.

What is at issue in these considerations is access to faith, and therefore access to God through Jesus Christ; what is at issue is Christianity, which shifts between being a tradition and its experience, which can be explained as integration into a tradition, into a history or even into a culture,<sup>1</sup> while also being a subjective and immediate act of faith with neither cultural (symbolic) or social (inter-subjective and institutional) mediation. By extrapolating the terms that Kierkegaard uses, yet also making use of all the sustaining material and structure, the question can be understood as access to the truth, to the truth of existence (Pieper, 1968: 30).

We shall begin by examining the role played by Socratic memory, which has nothing historical about it (1), and then we shall consider historical memory as presented by objective knowledge (history or a historical view of Christianity) (2). Based on these two considerations, we can begin to see what Kierkegaard means by contemporaneity (3) and the place of history in Christianity (4). In the second part, which is a bit more systematic, we shall examine the different ways of considering history and contemporaneity that Kierkegaard offers (5) and the different kinds of knowledge that must be distinguished in order to differentiate the Christian faith (6).

<sup>1</sup> This aspect of religion was revisited by sociologist Danièle Hervieu-Léger (1993).



Finally, we shall summarise Kierkegaard's position by distinguishing it from those of his interlocutors: Socrates and Lessing (7).

### 1. The insufficiency of Socratic memory

In *Philosophical Fragments* (1844), as we shall examine further on, the question is: "Can there be a historical point of departure for an eternal conscience; to what extent could such a historical point of departure be more interesting than purely historically; can eternal happiness be founded upon historical knowledge?" (Kierkegaard, 1981a: 13). In his examination of this question, Kierkegaard begins by recalling the Socratic theory of memory, which is Socrates' response to the problem of to what extent can virtue – or truth in general, as posed by Kierkegaard – be taught. To Socrates,<sup>2</sup> all learning and searching is a form of recollection. Furthermore, to Socrates, the significance of this recollection is that the truth should not come from the outside, but that each person can find it within himself. For this very reason, the teacher can do nothing more than help each person bring from inside, engender and bring to light the truth he carries inside himself, making the job of the teacher similar to that of a midwife.

However, the question and the conception of the terms at stake prevent Kierkegaard from following the Socratic approach. In effect, in the case of Christianity, or of man with regard to God in general, that is, of whoever wants to be Christian,<sup>3</sup> we find that when he returns to himself, the learner, as Kierkegaard calls it, can only discover the non-truth. So what is achieved by remembering? Nothing; it is not enough (Pieper, 2000: 82s, 85s). One must leave oneself, and outside help is needed; a teacher is needed who can not only help but also engender. Because the teacher, who is needed here, must provide two things: truth and the condition for being able to understand the truth. And obviously these two things (providing the truth and the condition) come not from a teacher but from God. In this case, God would not save the learner from returning to himself, but what he would discover would not be the truth but the non-truth, which is a non-truth through his own fault, that is, sin.<sup>4</sup> By providing the truth and the condition for understanding it, God appears as a saviour, a liberator (Kierkegaard, 1981b: 7-15), and as the learner accepts it, decides in favour of it, he will appear as a new man, reborn (Kierkegaard, 1981b: 84-88).

The point of departure is, as always, Socratic, but it is soon exceeded. The Socratic theory of memory refers to oneself, and the teacher is nothing more than a helper, a midwife. In contrast, in Kierkegaard's approach, one must emerge from Socratic interiority and open oneself up to the outside, to the action and contribution of

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<sup>2</sup> Kierkegaard's Socrates is the one presented by Plato, so in general terms we could say that Kierkegaard does not distinguish between the two. What is more, his understanding of the principle of the Socratic-Platonic theory of knowledge seems to have been taken from Hegel, as he outlines them in his *Lectures on the Philosophy of History*. (Hegel, 1989: 127-181; Kierkegaard, 1981b: 168-170).

<sup>3</sup> It would be very complex to examine the question of to what extent this serves for existential training processes. In Kierkegaard's terms, Socratic memory is enough to take the step from the aesthetic state to the ethical state; however, it is insufficient for taking the step from the ethical to the religious. Yet to what extent can the religious state have a purely existential version?

<sup>4</sup> *Only God can teach and trigger awareness of sin, just as only He can engender, because it is the shift from non-being to being and because his love engenders life, while what is common and supreme to man is helping* (Kierkegaard, 1981b: pp. 9, 29, 45).

someone else,<sup>5</sup> with a clear reference to History, an outside deed which he makes present from the outset with the concept of the ‘instant’, the instant of release, an instant in which God’s action becomes present, an instant which is temporary and fleeting “yet nonetheless decisive, and nonetheless full of the eternal. Such an instant should be called by a special name; let us call it the plenitude of time” (Kierkegaard, 1981b: 16). Thus, this reference to the instant already marks a difference with respect to Socrates. “Inasmuch as we do not accept the instant, we go back to Socrates, and he is precisely what we would like to leave to discover something new.”<sup>6</sup> The newness stems from the fact that the ethical being was accustomed to thinking about the eternal as something extra-temporal, supra-temporal, always valid, and now we must recognise anything that appears as a historical deed, which as such is linked to the conditions of space and time, as eternal. And precisely this casual historical deed must be the condition through which man emerges from his non-truth and attains the truth (Pieper, 2000: 87s). “Inasmuch as the eternal has become a fleeting moment, the individual being does not manage to interact with the eternal in time [...]; rather *in time* he manages to interact with the eternal in time” (Kierkegaard, 1981a: 282, vol. II). As we come upon this convergence of history and eternity with the instant, we face a paradox. The paradox appears because the contribution of the truth begins with the discovery of the non-truth because this happens in time, and yet a dimension of eternity is contained in it because God appears in the humblest human form: as a slave (Kierkegaard, 1981b: 49). With this paradox comes outrage, too, which cannot be an invention of understanding; thus, outrage can be considered mediate proof of the rectitude of the paradox. However the central point around which it revolves is the instant (Kierkegaard, 1981b: 48). In the instant, the learner learns his non-truth; instead of self-knowledge, he acquires awareness of sin; and instead of establishing the self-reference, reference to another is given: God.

Therefore, the instant pinpoints the difference with “Socratic memory” (Kierkegaard, 1981b: 59). To Socrates, instants are only occasions that can lead to memory, whereas here the instant is first the human decision to open up and to welcome, and secondly God’s action which provides the truth and the condition for understanding it. There is interiority in Socrates, but no history; there is an encounter or return to oneself, but no reference to the other, to exteriority, while in Kierkegaard there is not only interiority but also exteriority, reference to the other and to the exteriority of history.

What breaks the schema of Socratic memory and yet makes it go beyond it, therefore, is the fact that God has become present in history, meaning that history has undergone a substantial change: it ceases to be a temporary, casual, fleeting occasion (to be remembered and for knowledge and self-knowledge) to become the presence of eternity, to harbour the dimension of eternity because Eternity has become present in it and because in it man’s eternal happiness is at stake (Kierkegaard, 1981b: 52-56).

This strong sense of history, which makes itself present in the instant, does not erase the vulgar meaning of history in the sense of historical information and knowledge, yet it does spotlight its insignificance.

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<sup>5</sup> Habermas praises Kierkegaard’s ethical project as “post-metaphysical”, even though he admits that it is in no way post-religious; in any event, he thinks that this religious relationship can be interpreted or translated, not in the sense of “dependence on an unavailable power” but “as an interpersonal relationship” (Habermas, 2002: 11-28).

## 2. The futility of history

Despite this major reassessment of history, in that it is inhabited by Eternity, in another sense history is futile. This title, “The futility of history”, is borrowed and perhaps exaggerated, but it is what comes to mind when one reads Kierkegaard, since what first draws the reader’s attention in these questions is the disdain he shows for the historical. At first his position seems to closely resemble that of Nietzsche: history does not interest us; life does (Nietzsche, 1980: 242-243). Let us examine what this position consists of and on what it is based.

In his *Postscriptum*, he continues, reframes and radicalises the question examined in *Philosophical Fragments*. Here, at least at first, the interlocutor is Lessing, with his celebrated claim that “casual historical truths can never become the proof for necessary [or absolute] truths of reason” (Lessing, 1969: 34). Despite the “word of gratitude” and praise addressed to this interlocutor (Kierkegaard, 1981a: 55s, vol. I), just like with Socrates, Kierkegaard will partly follow him and partly depart from him. Let us note that in this text – not only is it much longer (it is the longest in his output along with *The Alternative*, 1843) but it is also one of Kierkegaard’s most important – the same question of history is situated in a much broader context; specifically the question of truth, the insufficiency of objective truth since “truth is subjectivity” (Kierkegaard: 1981a: 179, vol. I) is the subject, along with the appropriation made of it and therefore the pathway, the process, the way it is experienced.<sup>7</sup> Within this broader framework, history is yet another case of objective truth. There are two forms in which the objective truth is presented: history and philosophy. Historical truth is considered that which refers to facts and deeds from the past, which is achieved through critical discussion of the different deeds. The question as to philosophical truth affects the relationship between what has historically been given and recognised as valid doctrine and eternal truth. While in the former, historical truth, personal interest is nonexistent, in the latter, philosophical truth, an interest begins to emerge, although the subject is not yet infinitely interested in it yet; eternal happiness is not at stake in it (Kierkegaard, 1981a: 17, vol. I); that is, existence is not at stake. In addition to these two forms of objective truth, at other times Kierkegaard also includes within it the natural sciences and especially mathematics, which seems to be for him a paradigmatic example of a kind of thinking that is both exact and indifferent to existence (Kierkegaard: 1981a: 195, vol. I).

In historical truth, or the historical consideration of the truth of Christianity, what stands out is inquiry into reliable information on what constitutes authentic Christian doctrine. Therefore, historical inquiry appears, or is regarded, as inquiry into what is authentic, original and true. Regarding this historical knowledge, Kierkegaard’s position is that “the greatest certainty is only an approximation” (Kierkegaard: 1981a: 18, vol. I)<sup>8</sup>. And, in fact, the interest, inherent in subjective truth, in truth in its existential sense has nothing to do with interest in the latest scientific or theological novelty. No matter how much information can be provided, no matter how much more real and faithful an image of what happened to Jesus and his followers can be presented, it is not decisive; rather it is at most a chance for decision.

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<sup>7</sup> On the question of truth, cf. Amengual (2008).

<sup>8</sup> On this sense of approximation, cf. Pieper (1968, 130-135).

Kierkegaard saw this (objective) historical way of considering the truth in three aspects of Christianity: the Holy Scripture, Tradition and the Church. To him, what all three share is that they can be presented as a palpable objectivity which seems to show everything to be right. They are in fact three important points in all fundamental theology: what God has uttered, that this word has been faithfully conveyed to us, and that it is faithfully present and presented today by the Church. Thus, to Kierkegaard, if all this does not pertain to the world of uselessness it does pertain to what in any event can only serve as the occasion for faith to emerge, although it does not pertain to faith itself.

Regarding the Bible, Kierkegaard reminds us that even the best scholarship cannot go further than approximation and that “between this and a personally infinite interest in one’s own eternal happiness there is an essential misapprehension” (Kierkegaard, 1981a: 19, vol. I), that is, they are totally unrelated. The questions posed by biblical research do nothing more than hinder the real problem from being posed: the subjective. Therefore, they act to mask and falsify the real problem. The real questions should be posed on the level of the subject, since “faith does not stem from a simple, directly scientific inquiry; to the contrary, with such objectivity one loses the infinite personal and passionate interest which is the condition for faith” (Kierkegaard, 1981a: 25, vol. I). What is decisive for faith is passion, and passion is not compatible with certainty. The more objective the consideration of the truth is, the less fertile it is for eternal happiness. Faith is a decision and can only be rooted in subjectivity, in a passionate subjectivity (Larrañeta, 1990).

Just as the Protestants have sought protection in the Bible, using it as a refuge for their securities, the Catholics have sought protection in the Pope. However, despite this insinuation, both the paragraph on the Bible and the one on the Church target the Danish Church (Kierkegaard, 1981a: 32, vol. I). What he criticises is that in both cases, what is sought is safe footing to decide what is Christian. Regarding the Bible, which is a book that recounts things from the past, the Church is of today and therefore has the capacity to make the Biblical message relevant today. Although he recognised some truth in this, Kierkegaard retreats from it by stating that in order to do this, it has to be apostolic, that is, it has to be the same as always and therefore it is then remitted to the past; the Church itself is a historical magnitude, just as the Bible is, from which it derives its authority.

In point of fact, Kierkegaard actually questions not tradition but the existence of Christianity over the course of eighteen centuries. As is known, this has been regarded as an apologetic argument in favour of Christianity, and this argument is the one that Kierkegaard considers the least valid since “a hypothesis can become more probable if it endures for 3,000 years, but that does not make it an eternal truth, decisive for anyone’s eternal happiness” (Kierkegaard, 1981a: 43, vol. I). That is, the years can make a truth older but not eternal. His arguments are first that the duration of something is quantitative and can trigger admiration or astonishment, but in any case more time makes an idea no more credible than a single day. The other argument is that there is no direct connection between the passage of time and faith because in reality there is no direct connection between anything (neither truth nor fact nor scientific data) and faith; the only thing leading to faith is a leap.

### 3. Contemporaneity

Despite the ambiguity of history (and memory), it is present in the concept of contemporaneity, which is likewise the key to grasping believers' current relationship with Jesus Christ, that is, faith, and is therefore the key to grasping the way Kierkegaard views the relationship with the past, tradition. Kierkegaard distinguishes between two kinds of contemporaneity:<sup>9</sup> one is *immediate*, the kind that Jesus' contemporaries were able to have, those who had direct information about him, heard his words, saw his deeds, knew him, dealt with him. The other kind of contemporaneity is *real*, the kind that does not take place through anything immediate, either information or knowledge, so it is a kind of contemporaneity that anyone can access at any time. Kierkegaard would define faith as contemporaneity in this sense of real contemporaneity (Kierkegaard, 1961: 73, 111, 128, 150, 152, 160, 238, 336).

Kierkegaard introduces his distinction between the two kinds of contemporaneity using these words: "One can be contemporary without, however, being contemporary; one can be contemporary and yet, although using this advantage (in the sense of immediacy), be a non-contemporary, what else does this mean except that one simply cannot be immediately contemporary with a teacher and an event, so that the real contemporary is not that by virtue of immediate contemporaneity of real contemporaneity but by virtue of something else. Thus, despite his being contemporary, a contemporary can be a non-contemporary; the genuine contemporary is the genuine contemporary not by virtue of immediate contemporaneity; ergo the non-contemporary (in the sense of immediacy) must be able to be a contemporary by way of the something else by which a contemporary becomes a genuine contemporary" (Kierkegaard, 1981b: 64).

From the outset and therefore speaking about immediacy, contemporaneity seems to make a radical distinction between contemporaries and those who come later, the second-hand disciples, that is, between those who received the message as eyewitnesses and all of those who received and will continue to receive the same testimony from those privileged witnesses. Therefore, as obvious as this distinction may seem, the situation of both, the firsthand and second-hand, is the same. The only thing that changes is that the former have historical information, firsthand historical knowledge obtained directly, while the latter have knowledge based on the formers' testimony. However, their situations are totally identical. They both have information that in itself brings nothing; it is only the occasion for each to take his own decision. Becoming an eyewitness is easy, but this direct knowledge, which is nothing more than knowledge of historical data, does not make an eyewitness a disciple. The contemporaries' advantage is that they can go to see and hear the teacher, but that does not make them become disciples (Kierkegaard, 1981b: 60). What is more, they have their own difficulties since the eyes deceive and can easily grasp the external figure but not its meaning. Contemporaneity brings no advantage (Kierkegaard, 1981b: 63). Just like for those who come later, memory can engender the external figure but not faith (Kierkegaard, 1981b: 62). This in itself is enough proof that the historical is indifferent. Knowing the life of Christ is historical information for the contemporary, just as it is for someone today, and for both it is equally an occasion to take the step, but the step does not automatically come through knowledge of the historical information; it is

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<sup>9</sup> With these reflections, we return to Kierkegaard (1981b: 56s). The distinction can be found on page 64.

“historical, casual knowledge, a thing of memory” (Kierkegaard, 1981b: 57)<sup>10</sup>. Faith is not knowledge or an act of will; that is, it is not something that springs directly by itself from the subject. If it were, we would be in the Socratic world in which the teacher has nothing to offer (Kierkegaard, 1981b: 59).

To become a disciple, a believer (Kierkegaard, 1981b: 61), to grasp the reality that unfolds in history, the eternal and the historical should not be separated (Kierkegaard, 1981b: 57); only then does the historical stop being purely historical and becomes the instant, and then the paradox inherent to faith appears, which consists of seeing that the eternal takes place in time (Kierkegaard, 1981b: 62), or in making the historical eternal and the eternal historical (Kierkegaard, 1981b: 58). This is, in short, the real contemporary, the person who receives the condition of God to understand the truth. The understanding of the truth, therefore, does not come from pure perception, from pure narration or information on facts and doctrines, nor does it emerge simply from oneself; rather it is a gift from God to whom man opens himself with passion and interest and decision.

And so what good are history and memory? We have seen that history can only produce immediate contemporaneity, and this can only be the occasion, which depending on whether or not it is seized, which depending on the use made of it and the attitude taken to history, will give rise to the different kinds of contemporaneity. In effect, if man limits himself to immediacy, the only result will be historical knowledge. If, on the other hand, the contemporary looks at deeds socratically, he can use them to enter himself and then contemporaneity disappears. Finally, if the contemporary takes advantage of the occasion to receive the condition of God and thus be able to see the eternal in the historical, then he achieves real contemporaneity, that of faith (Kierkegaard, 1981b: 66s). In short, contemporaneity is the simultaneity that occurs in the instant in which God appears in human form, is revealed in Jesus Christ, and the instant in which man opens himself to God’s gift, accepts the revelation as a decision. Contemporaneity occurs through the simultaneity of the instant, the plenitude of time, in which God acts and man decides and makes the act of faith; in this sense it is understanding that faith is defined as contemporaneity, which comes from the instant. God’s action and man’s decision to open himself up to faith are what establish contemporaneity, a contemporaneity, therefore, that has nothing to do with memory, since in the best of cases memory is only an occasion for decision.

#### **4. The history of Christianity**

Despite the appearance that real contemporaneity, which comes from faith, seems to eliminate all historical references to situate itself on a purely spiritual or subjective plane, history and the historical are an essential part of Christianity. History enters Christianity essentially, not only through general, external considerations of a historical religion which has a place and time of birth, is expressed in a cultural world, has phases of development and therefore characteristics of the historical, but mainly for internal reasons; it is historical itself because it consists of the faith in the presence of the eternal in history so that God has to be perceived, believed, as present in history. For that same reason, it lives on historical memory and its credo is a (his)story. And more than anything, access to Christianity is historical, though not purely historical, because it

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<sup>10</sup> As much as Kierkegaard belittles memory, I find this text extremely significant in that he places memory at the level of the historical casual.

requires a condition that is not actually historical itself; it is not a deed of history but took place in history. Despite all the relativisation of history which Kierkegaard sometimes radically performs, he never forgets this essential role history plays, so that forgetting history, forgetting that 1800 years ago – as he said – Christ lived, would mean reducing it to doctrine and forgetting Christ himself (Kierkegaard, 1961: 185).

Because of this historical nature, with everything it implies about openness and otherness without losing any of its interiority, Christianity is distinguished from Socrates' maieutic project; in this, too, the shift from the aesthetic to the ethical is precisely distinguished from the shift from the ethical to the religious (Pieper, 2000: 86-88). In effect, the shift to the ethical only requires a maieutic teacher who helps to shed light on what man holds inside. The task of the maieutic teacher is to help the disciple discover his potential and show him how to use this potential. Man can make the shift to the ethical by himself. The maieutic teacher can only help everyone achieve their own autonomy, ethical autonomy, overcoming the heteronomy of the aesthete. The instant when this shift takes place is not meaningful, at least in the biographical sense, because the condition of truth has been harboured inside for eternity. In this case, there is no history except for each individual's own biography, because man carries the conditions of possibility inside himself; everyone has always possessed the conditions of truth inside himself and only has to transform them from inside-oneself to for-oneself. The condition of possibility of the truth can therefore not be lost, and the only thing missing was its actualisation.

In contrast, the shift from the ethical to the religious takes place at completely different coordinates. Man finds himself radically in non-truth, so it is not enough to discover what he carries inside himself; he does not harbour inside himself the conditions for taking the leap. A teacher is needed, but it must be more than a maieutic teacher; rather, it must be a teacher who engenders, because the conditions of possibilities to find and understand the truth, of self-realisation, must exist inside the disciple. He will be made to discover his emptiness, his lack of self, and must internalise the teacher in order to attain a self. This is a true rebirth. With this we can now see that the object of faith is not doctrine, but the teacher (Kierkegaard, 1981b: 59). The teacher is not a maieutic, but one who engenders life, a saviour, a liberator, a redeemer (Kierkegaard, 1981b: 15). The major differences with regard to the shift to the ethical is that the ethical being is used to considering the external as something outside of time, beyond time, always valid, while the religious being must now recognise what is presented to him as a historical fact, totally bound to the conditions of space and time, as eternal.

## **5. The ways of considering history and contemporaneity**

As we have seen, to Kierkegaard the question of historical truth is about what we could call the core of Christianity and faith, and ultimately it is about human existence. This historical truth is not primarily a concept but a historical deed, the fact that the eternal has become historical, thanks to which the individual re-establishes his broken relationship with God and attains his authentic and full self-realisation. This requires the individual to take a decision (Pieper, 1968: 130).

However, history is not always considered with this density, inherent to the instant, to the fullness of time. According to Kierkegaard's reflections, we can distinguish three ways of considering and using history: 1) the objective or the history

of the historical sciences, 2) the philosophical or Socratic and 3) the existential,<sup>11</sup> the one Kierkegaard proposes, which is Christian, the history pertaining to faith (Pieper, 1968: 131).

The *objective* consideration of history comes from the historical sciences, whose legitimacy is not disputed (Kierkegaard, 1981a: 85, vol. I). The criticism is targeted at the attempt to convert history into the underpinning of faith. In effect, and this is the argument, if the certainty of faith springs exclusively from the existential relationship, then all attempts to try to understand it from the outside will lead to misunderstanding (Kierkegaard, 1981a: 286, vol. I). The error of the historical consideration of faith consists of the attempt to try to ground faith upon historical knowledge, that is, on the basis of objective elements, which always remain outside of faith, such as the Bible, Tradition and the Church. The error of this approach lies in the assumption that the truth can be objectively demonstrated based on external data, things that can be impartially proven. However in relation to the historical, Kierkegaard claims that “the best certainty is only an approximation” (Kierkegaard, 1981a: 18, vol. I).

The *philosophical* consideration of history turns it into a springboard for achieving knowledge of the eternal idea. The utmost appreciation achieved by historical truth is serving as the occasion for the discovery of what was always there, eternal thinking, and in this sense it could be considered a moment in the system, on the pathway to the quest for truth. Applied to Christianity, this consideration turns it into a kind of thinking that can be absorbed by the system. The error of this consideration lies in the fact that all the reality existing behind the concept is lost, which is much more than what the concept can contain and express, and in particular the entire existential dimension of truth and history is lost, the priority of existence over thinking; likewise, everything apparently becomes absorbed in a static system that lacks all the movement of existence.

The *existential* consideration, as seen by the criticisms of the other considerations, takes history seriously, since the eternal has made its presence known in it and existence and eternal happiness are at stake in it, yet at the same time it is a dimension that escapes both the objectivity of the historian and the philosopher’s thinking, since in the end it is a history in which the subject must become personally involved through his own decision, not through scholarly or speculative considerations of the facts or concepts.

According to these three ways of considering history, we can distinguish three kinds of contemporaneity. The first is the *immediate* (Kierkegaard, 1981b: 64, 66), the kind produced by historical, objective knowledge. This contemporaneity can exist in both the contemporary, the eyewitness, the one who lived with Christ, and the second-hand disciple today, the one who has received the word of Christ’s life from the eyewitnesses. The difference between the two is merely one of amplitude or quantity, as well as the fact that the former can personally check the information while the latter has to trust the historical sources. For both, however, Lessing’s judgement that casual historical truths cannot serve as the underpinning of eternal truths of reason is valid, that is, that they are not a solid enough underpinning for deciding eternal happiness. Both

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<sup>11</sup> I call it existential with the intention of trying to express its meaning, even though the term does not come from Kierkegaard, who always speaks explicitly of faith and the believer. Pieper calls it *geschichtlich*, taking advantage of the distinction allowed in German between *historisch* and *geschichtlich*. However, actually this distinction is not Kierkegaard’s since in the same German translation *geschichtlich* is used to refer to the objective sense.



need to take the decisive step which consists of acknowledging with faith the absolute paradox of the presence of the eternal in the historical and receiving the condition of God to do this, a step which is inexplicable by both. In this sense, deeds are equally casual for both.

*Philosophical* or Socratic contemporaneity is the kind for which historical knowledge can become the occasion for knowledge of oneself, of what man has always been, so that the historical deed serves as the mediation (occasion) for knowledge of an ideal reality. The historical deed is necessary as an occasion, but it becomes superfluous as soon as knowledge is attained. For this reason in itself, there is no history for this contemporaneity and the teacher is indifferent; man already carries the truth inside him, all he needs is the occasion that triggers externalisation and awareness of that knowledge.

According to *existential*, or real, contemporaneity, as Kierkegaard called it (Kierkegaard, 1981b: 64), neither the immediate nor the philosophical have understood the historical deed, since to the former it is simply a casual fact without any further importance or meaning, while to the latter it is an eternal fact, which is a contradiction *in adjecto* (Kierkegaard, 1981b: 96), what we could call an ahistorical fact. Neither has grasped the deed. The deed in question is also not just any deed; rather it is the deed of God that must be recognised as God's, which cannot come from oneself; man cannot do this by himself, rather a condition is needed that only God can give and that comes with faith itself, so that by the believer accepting it out of faith one can cross over to one's own immanence. Existential contemporaneity is precisely the condition of the possibility of faith, which God gives. Therefore, this is a kind of contemporaneity that does not come from the simple fact of knowing the objective historical deed; rather it must be given complementariness by God. This contemporaneity is regarded by Kierkegaard as synonymous with the concept of faith. The concept of contemporaneity aims to express first that faith underpins the Christian understanding of history, and secondly and more importantly that the act of faith itself takes place in time and occurs as an 'instant'. In contemporaneity we can distinguish the same twofold nature of faith: faith *qua* (as an attitude) and faith *quae* (as the content), since contemporaneity makes it possible to recognise the deed in its true size and scope, while this deed itself is the object and underpinning of faith. With this rejection of all outside help for faith, it becomes clear that faith cannot be grounded upon either the historical or the philosophical pathway. Contemporaneity only occurs through contemporaneity; that is, existential passion is decided exclusively on contemporaneity with Christ, with which the individual interacts with God. Real religious contemporaneity comes in the personal relationship with Christ.

## 6. Historical knowledge, eternal knowledge, natural faith and Christian faith

We are facing a dual kind of knowledge.<sup>12</sup> First, there is *historical* knowledge, which is attained by the eyewitnesses through their very presence, through what they see and feel, and which subsequent generations attain thanks to the documentation available to them. This kind of knowledge is *a posteriori*; the more material man has available, the more complex the knowledge can be and consequently the more likely the knowledge is accurate. Then there is *eternal* knowledge, which is *a priori*. Its source is understanding, since it is engendered by itself, reflectively, by reconstructing the conditions of its own

<sup>12</sup> On this issue, I follow Pieper (2000, 88-89).

functioning. The historical has nothing to do with it; “having no history is part of the perfection of the eternal” (Kierkegaard, 1981b: 72). Through their sources, they are two totally different kinds of knowledge, and it is unthinkable for eternal knowledge to be grounded in the historical because this would mean grounding what is always and unconditionally valid on something that has happened in time, that has begun to be. This would be a contradiction for understanding. Therefore, if man only had his understanding to appropriate the truth, it would be impossible to ground his happiness on a historical deed. In this we must admit that Lessing was right.

However, Kierkegaard believed that man acquires knowledge not only through his intellect; instead, as a being who feels, desires and acts, he also has other means of accessing the world and is capable of other forms of knowledge. This is because the being is more than a pure being of understanding; rather he is more an interested being (*inter-esse*) and as such always hovers between the historical and the eternal. Furthermore, whatever it is that understanding separates is brought together in interest, in existential behaviour. By existing, man relates the historical to the eternal, so that he takes an infinite interest in the historical, though not theoretically, for knowledge itself, but practically, for the sake of practice.

We can distinguish between two kinds of practical interest in the historical: an ethical interest and a religious interest (Christian believer). Through ethical interest comes an interest and an appropriation of the historical as though it was one’s own history, even though I myself am not the exclusive agent. This entails taking responsibility for what has happened. Kierkegaard calls this appropriation *faith*, understood in its *natural*, not religious, sense. Through this faith, man does not attain objective knowledge, since objectively he can only know about that with which he is disassociated. Therefore, only subjectively can I appropriate the historical and act as if I myself had been the agent, and then take responsibility for it, according to the unconditional ethical demand. This natural faith, which Kierkegaard describes as a “feeling for events” or an “organ for the historical” (Kierkegaard, 1981b: 81, 78), can be understood as practical reason, which reveals its ethical interest in the good in historical deeds and actions. This ethical perspective shows that the historical can have a dimension of utter validity, of eternity, which is lacking the purely theoretical perspective, so instead of theoretical indifference (uncertainty or doubt) we have the certainty that faith can overcome all doubts by integrating the historical into one’s own history and ethically qualifying it. Therefore, existentially it is possible to relate the historical and the eternal with no contradictions in the interest of faith.

However, this interrelation between the historical and the eternal does not yet make it possible to ground eternal happiness upon any historical deed, because ethically it is taken for granted that man has an awareness of eternity and therefore by himself obeys the unconditional ethical demand, under which he appropriates the historical and takes responsibility for it. What is experienced here is the transformation of the historical, in light of the unconditional ethical demand, even though it has been subjectively conferred, by the subject who has personally accepted the responsibility. Here the historical takes on an eternal meaning, but it does not follow from that that the eternal is grounded upon the historical; rather what happens is the opposite: the historical is evaluated according to an eternal norm and laid upon its groundwork. Therefore, despite the relationship that has been established between the historical and the eternal, Lessing is still right.

So far we must conclude that man cannot ground his eternal happiness on anything historical by either thinking or believing, either intellectually or ethically. We

must always assume the eternal in order to recognise something historical as unconditionally binding. However, there is a third possibility for understanding the historical and its relationship with the eternal, namely the *Christian faith* (Kierkegaard, 1981b: 56), whose object is the instant in which the eternal becomes historical, the eternal is born from the historical moment. This is a paradox that understanding cannot grasp either theoretically or practically; rather the condition for understanding it must occur. Through this faith, an individual begins to exist as eternal, deciding to recognise sin as his own action and Jesus Christ as the condition that enables him to overcome his non-truth. The instant when this occurs is crucially important. In this instant, the believer makes the dual movement that Jesus made: the descent to Earth (corresponding to the fall into sin, recognition of one's own sin) and exaltation (resurrection) as his elevation to God (the externalisation of the historical) (Kierkegaard, 1981b: 58).

In this way, in the Christian faith man grounds his eternal happiness upon the historical deed, which becomes contemporary inasmuch as it is reproduced inside him. The very notion of the instant, designating both the moment of the historicisation of the eternal and the moment of the act of faith, of the reproduction or realisation today of the Christian mystery inside the believer, implies this contemporaneity, which has nothing to do with historical knowledge, feeling or remembrance but with bringing the existential into today.<sup>13</sup>

The simultaneity produced by the Christian faith stresses the meaning of the temporal, designating the instant in which God became man, thus yielding the truth and the condition for understanding it and the instant in which the individual accepts himself as a sinner and recognises Jesus Christ as God. Simultaneity does not mean being contemporary with Jesus; if it did, everyone who lived afterward would be at a disadvantage. Rather simultaneity means repeating the existence of Jesus Christ so that the lost eternity is recovered.

This is the aspect that Lessing did not take into account, and for this reason he was unable to grasp that a historical deed could be grounded upon an eternal truth. His consideration of the historical was ultimately solely intellectual, exterior, or it simply provides testimony of reason, which encounters a paradox for which something more than the intellect is required.

## 7. Conclusion

*Philosophical Fragments* opens with the Socratic question of whether virtue or truth can be taught. The Socratic answer is no. There is no need to teach the ethical truth because we carry it inside us; all we need is the occasion to arouse it and for us to decide to live it, to unfold the potentialities that are always harboured within us. To Socrates, history, in the best of cases, is merely this occasion. The thorny question arises when we note that man has lost (the sense of) truth and finds himself in non-truth. He can only discover the non-truth inside himself. Yet even to do this he needs to leave himself and meet with someone, a teacher, before whom he can still discover that he is only the truth of his non-truth. For this reason, a teacher who is more than maieutic, as Socrates proposed, is needed, one that engenders, that gives new life. Herein lies the limitation of Socratic memory, which is not actually memory itself but internalisation, the encounter with and discovery of oneself, because through it man does not leave himself, and in it

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<sup>13</sup> Based on the consideration of the thing we could add that it also brings the sacraments to today, although Kierkegaard makes not a single reference to them.

there is no history or otherness, exteriority, necessary in the case of the specific historical man (a sinner who has lost the truth).

However, this special teacher who brings the truth and provides the condition for understanding it is God, but a God whom one has accepted as one's one, who has appeared in human form in the humblest way possible, as a slave. Herein lies the paradox: the eternal – what the ethical, the Socratic, had thought of as eternal, that is, beyond time, similar to how Lessing thinks of truth and reason – has become temporal. This poses the question with the terms that are also formulated in the foreground of *Philosophical Fragments* (almost as if it were a subtitle or the leitmotiv of the book): “Can there be a historical point of departure for an eternal consciousness? To what extent can such a historical deed be of interest more than purely historically? Can eternal happiness be grounded upon historical knowledge?” (Kierkegaard, 1981b: 1). This is carefully examined at length in the *Postscriptum* through a dialogue with Lessing. The enlightened German Kierkegaard grants him that all historical deeds and historical knowledge and memory (as well as doctrinal and conceptual knowledge) are good for nothing, neither for the eyewitnesses nor for future generations. In this, Lessing was totally right. The contemporaneity of faith is not attained on the basis of either knowledge or memory. Divine intervention which opens the heart is needed; the condition furnished by God is needed.

However, the Danish thinker contradicts Lessing, because there is a single historical deed which is the springboard to eternity, the fact that a specific man named Jesus, Son of God, who lived humbly amongst us and in whom the eternal became historical, making the historical eternal, has given an eternal quality to history. This is a paradox that can only be accepted those who also receive the condition for it, seconded by their own decision, which has the connotation of a kind of ‘sacrifice of understanding’ or, as the Danish philosopher put it, “the crucifixion of understanding by faith” (Kierkegaard, 1981a: 276, vol. II).

Kierkegaard agrees with Socrates that the truth is decided inside, subjectively; in contrast, according to our Danish thinker, what Socrates did not take into account was that this very subjectivity has to be constituted; it cannot found itself; it must find its truth and this must come from the outside, and therefore from any external, historical event, that is, from the action of anyone capable of grounding subjectivity. Thus we find that unlike Socrates, who presents interiority without exteriority, without otherness, without history, Kierkegaard claims history, as exteriority, not only as an occasion but as a condition for attaining the truth since subjectivity by itself exists in non-truth and must be liberated.

Kierkegaard agrees Lessing that history, regarded in its pure objectivity, that is, as a series of deeds and events, as a set of data and dates, always more or less random and casual, is useless, since it has no interiority, no presence of the eternal, and therefore from history man always finds himself obligated to think about the truth as something that is atemporal or supra-temporal (as Lessing, in fact, does). With history viewed thus, in allusion to the celebrated quote by Hegel, it must be admitted that reason is not history (Hegel, 1970); history is then purely exterior. Therefore, Lessing is right that purely objective history is not decisive for the truth, for existence. Kierkegaard also recognises the coincidence of this purely objective history: the facts that constitute it do not lead to the truth. However, compared to Lessing, Kierkegaard goes on to retract two things. First, the rational, philosophical truth, too, operates on the same plane of objectivity that does not yet affect the truthful, the subject or existence.

Secondly, he retains a purely objective consideration of history, extracting the truth and reason from it and thinking about it outside of history and therefore as extra-temporal.

The new development, which distinguishes Kierkegaard's conception from both Socrates' and Lessing's, consists of thinking about reason, truth and the eternal as present in history. The category with which he tries to think about this historical convergence of the historical and the eternal is the instant, which paradigmatically takes place in two decisive moments: one is the incarnation of the Son of God, through which God becomes man and becomes present in history; and the other is the moment of the leap of faith, in which the teacher who engenders it gives the action to God and provides the condition through which the subject may access the truth and the subject's consequent decision, through which he becomes a believer. In this way, one can see that faith establishes a contemporaneity between the believer, his decision and the action of God through which he enters history and acts in the believer, engendering new life in him. In this sense, history takes on a new value: not only is it not distinct from the truth and reason (as Lessing thought, and ultimately Socrates as well, because he does away with it); but it is the condition for attaining the necessary reason and truth (in Lessing's terms): history is the condition for attaining faith and eternal happiness (in Kierkegaard's terms), for attaining a successful existence, because God has appeared in history, the eternal has become historical, so history is inhabited by eternity. History is not only the occasion (as it was in Socrates) for the return to the self but the condition for the free human decision to open oneself up to the other and to God, that is, to his action which brings the truth and the condition for understanding it and welcoming it, in short, for deciding.

Kierkegaard's contribution to the concept of history is important to the distinction between the ways it can be considered and the different levels that he establishes in it, so we can claim that history is useless yet simultaneously claim that it is essential: it is useless in its pure objectivity of data and dates, casual deeds and events; it is essential when we consider that history has been conferred a new dimension by the fact that the eternal has become present in it, hence that God has become part of it, and by the fact that the decision with which man stakes his eternal happiness is made in it. The true relationship with history obtains when history is seen as the place in which man stakes eternal happiness, existence, which has an absolute value, a necessary truth, of reason (if reason is expanded to also encompass the leap of faith and the decision), so that man opens himself up to eternity in history. This is the dimension that escaped Lessing.

By applying this Kierkegaardian concept of history to the question posed at the beginning regarding the rupture of tradition, the first thing that must be stated is the need to distinguish between a tradition made of data and dates, of external cultural values consisting of mores and customs, and a tradition that is the expression of the decision which refers to an interiority and creates the space for the choice and also provides the occasions, the conditions and the referents for the decision. We cannot lose sight of the fact that "there is a recorded tradition that is catastrophe" (Benjamin, 1991a: 591), a pure continuity made up of external deeds which therefore is not only exterior but can also suffocate the capacity to take decisions. What counts is the decision, the discovery of the truth. Yet nor can we forget that the quest for the truth must be made possible by the historical situation, by the offer of meaning that becomes present through tradition, so that solely by having interiorised and personalised tradition, man can do away with his objectivisations and past expressions, start with a *tabula rasa* and

create from scratch (Benjamin, 1991b: 215) and innovate, precisely in the most genuine spirit of tradition itself.

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## Norbert Elias: A proposed intellectual portrait for the 20<sup>th</sup> anniversary of his passing (1990-2010)

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### Abstract

*In the summer of 1990, one of the most eminent sociologists of the 20th century, the German Norbert Elias, died in Amsterdam. His profoundly interwoven life and work are a reflection of the complexity – the light and shade – of the past century. With this proposed intellectual portrait on the 20th anniversary of his death, we are attempting offer a snapshot a figure and a body of work which, because of its magnitude and originality, undoubtedly deserves to be considered among the most important in sociology. As the thread running through this portrait, we propose a combination of the physical and symbolic places, spaces and people, events and connections that marked a long life and academic career which was little known and largely unrecognised until his later years. It is a career which unquestionably constitutes one of the most outstanding and attractive legacies that the sociology of the past century has passed on to new generations of social science researchers.*

**Key words:** Norbert Elias, intellectual portrait, sociology

### 1. Breslau

If there was an author connected to the social sciences throughout the 20th century whose life seemed to have been destined for ostracism it was Norbert Elias. Elias was born in Breslau (at that time in Germany, now Wrocław, Poland) on the 22<sup>nd</sup> of June 1897 into a bourgeois German Jewish family, and death came to him on Wednesday, the 1<sup>st</sup> of August 1990 in Amsterdam, at age 93. As the author later recalled, "My father was very German, very Prussian" (Elias, 1991:15). Hermann Elias was the owner of a small industrial textile firm and Norbert's mother, Sophi, a woman who fit within the traditional model of the "harmonious difference" (Elias, 1991:17) in gender roles, was in charge of running the household and social relations. Elias drew the strength and tenacity which would be tested to the limit throughout his life from his parents, to whom he dedicated his best-known work "The Civilising Process" (Elias, 1987a), and from the seamlessly stable environment and social situation of his youth, typical of the old system. As he said (1991:23-24):

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*“It is this great feeling of security that I experienced in my childhood that explains my later perseverance in the period when I was writing books and no-one was taking any notice of me (...) I had the intuition that it would all come out right in the end and I attribute that intuition to the great feeling of security that I enjoyed as an only child, thanks to the love of my parents.”*

As a member of a Jewish family in Germany in the early 20th century, Elias was often asked about discrimination, racism and insecurity. He responded with a reflection that he also included in his work about the reinterpretation of the past (1991:22-23):

*“When I think that I lived through the growing wave of anti-Semitism from the beginning of the 20th century it seems incredible to me. At that time, we said to ourselves that this (racism and discrimination against Jews) could not happen in Germany. I felt completely safe, although from today's point of view that may seem incredible.”*

These statements are impressive ones knowing how history developed, and still more so considering that his mother died in the Auschwitz concentration camp in about 1941. To understand the point to which social representations have power over people's actions, Elias emotionally recalled (Elias, 1991:69) that on a visit his parents made to London a year before their deaths, they were still asking Norbert why on earth he had to stay in England if he did not know anyone and why they needed to be afraid of the Nazis if they had never done anything wrong. Elias incorporated all this experience and these memories into his theory when he said that past ages cannot be simplistically analysed using modern criteria. As he said (Elias, 1991:69), the belief that German Jews at that time had a collective awareness of the threat to them is no more than an *"a posteriori* projection".

Elias' military service and participation in World War I as a soldier – a soldier who experienced the war not as his own but as something imposed on him (Elias, 1991:41) - did away with the ontological security shown in his childhood and early youth. The social world had changed and so had he. As the German author recalls (1991:38-39):

*“It was a considerable break with the past. Everything had changed for me and I had changed, too. And this subject reminds me of the central role change has occupied in my thought, which could be linked to this experience.”*

It is curious that this experience of World War I as a destroyer of the old system's vast ontological security should also have been a key turning point in the life and work of another great 20th century sociologist, Alfred Schütz. The existential and academic parallels between these two authors still have to be studied in depth, but we will briefly mention them here. While Elias describes his feeling of being an outsider and his return home from the war based on the concept of change, Schütz classifies the experience of a similar return to his native Vienna after the armistice of the 11<sup>th</sup> of



November 1918 also based on the concept of the outsider. In his texts “The Outsider” and “The Return Home”<sup>1</sup> he explains in sociological terms his experience of uprootedness, of feeling like a stranger or an outsider, on his return to what felt like the different city of a different person. Based on this experience, he would later elaborate the concept of alternation. Another notable result of this political, social and ontological break with the past is R. Musil's unfinished work "The Man without Qualities". In this work, the author, who had also been strongly affected by the failure and decline of a modernity which he considered from then on to be finished and failed, shows literary astonishment at a new social situation, which he perceives as both objectively and subjectively alien.

Concerning Elias' academic career, it is interesting to highlight first that he was taught at home by a governess until he was six years old, when he went to school. There, as a good pupil, he took an interest in French and philosophy and, over the years, he came to form part of the Anonymous Philosophy Society, which was heavily influenced by Kant. Within this group, Elias decided to study philosophy and medicine, which was the pathway marked out for him. As Blomert (2002) says, the influence of this society on the study of philosophy may have been very important in providing him with an alternative view of Kant to the one that would later be imposed on him by his thesis advisor, R. Höningwald. Such an alternative view would allow him to disagree with the director's positions up to up to a point and was supported by the neo-Kantianism of E. Cassirer.

After the end of the war, between 1918 and 1924, Elias combined his studies of philosophy and medicine at Breslau: medicine out of his family's desire and philosophy through his own vocation. As Elias often made clear, his medical training had enormous influence on his thinking, and he was always very critical of the radical distinctions between ‘nature and culture’ and of sociology's reluctance to work from a perspective in which the biological aspects of people were an integral part of the basis for their social development. As mentioned in the introduction to one of his books (Elias, 1994b:20), Elias is very critical of the dualisms that often structure theoretical and methodological debates in sociology (1994b:20):

*“Elias transcends the traditional nature/culture and structure/culture dualisms, submerging them in the current of continuity in the evolution of the human species through the development of human societies with a level of integration in their own right.”*

However, he only remained in medicine until he had his diploma, and after that he concentrated on philosophy. While still in Breslau, he spent a term in Heidelberg to listen to K. Jaspers (1919) and another at Freiburg to go to a seminar on Goethe by E. Husserl (1920). He then began a dissertation with his thesis advisor, R. Höningwald, which would become his doctoral thesis (1924): *“Idea and Individual. A Critical Study of the Concept of History”*. What interested Elias was the place and role of the individual in history, starting from the suspicion aroused in him by the idea of the ‘isolated man’ as a traditional subject of knowledge. The questions and debates with Höningwald included (Korte, 2002): how do ideas emerge in the course of history?

<sup>1</sup> Chapters “El forastero” (Pag. 95-107) and “La vuelta al hogar” (Pag. 108-119) in Schütz (1974).

What are the reasons why the Greeks saw and felt nature differently from the Romantics? Why does a 'primitive' person consider a tree a spiritual being while we do not? This type of question would accompany him all his life, and seeing them unanswered drove him to find a response in what would become his great book "The Civilising Process".

As mentioned above, even at this early stage, despite the confrontation with his advisor (or perhaps because of it), his thesis contains one of the central themes running through his entire oeuvre: the critique he would call *homo clausus*, springing from doubt about the authenticity of the transcendent subject. This doubt, in the neo-Kantian context in which Elias moved, emerged *de facto* from the critique of the *a priori* (the transcendental conditions making experience possible) that the Königsberg philosopher proposed in his "Critique of Pure Reason"<sup>2</sup> and was the basis of the epistemology in use at that time in Breslau and half of Europe. As Elias himself said (1991:114):

*"It was already impossible for me to ignore everything Kant saw as timeless and as given, before any experience, whether it was the idea of a causal nexus, like that of time, or natural or moral laws. I believed that these things had to be learned from other people together with the corresponding words so that they would be available in the consciousness of individuals."*

So, in his argument with his thesis advisor R. Höningswald, to whom he eventually gave way because he realised that his tutor was more powerful than he was, Elias was already sketching out another core theme in his life's work: the question of why one person and his/her group feel the obligation to behave in certain ways and why other human groups feel the obligation to behave in different ways. To put it in modern terms, Elias was wondering about different social normativities, both at different moments in history and among different social classes and estates or countries, and how this normativity is conditioned by different habits of perception, behaviour and appreciation. Elias had found "the theme of his life" (Korte, 2002).

Before it took definitive shape in the book "The Civilising Process", this second central theme of his work accompanying the critique of the individual knowing subject and transcending Kantian epistemological postulates was more specifically and simply pre-formulated in a 1921 article for the magazine of a Jewish youth group called the "Blau-Weiss" movement (Korte, 2002; Blomert, 2002). This group of 'aware' Jews prepared young people who wanted to go to live in Palestine, where there were already Jewish communities. For example, his colleague and the leader of the group, Martin Bandam, would end up in Palestine some years later, while over time Elias gradually abandoned his extreme Zionist positions.

In the article "*On the View in Nature*", Elias was already raising the question of human behaviour and its patterns from a historicist perspective: social, factual (as against aprioristic) and long-term. If patterns of knowledge, behaviour and understanding realities are different throughout history, the way such habits of perception, behaviour and appreciation develop must be studied in order to understand the conditions of knowledge. His interest in two of the main directions in which

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<sup>2</sup> It is curious that a critique of Kant similar to that made by Elias should be the way in which P. Bourdieu began his famous post-scriptum "Distinction" (Bourdieu, 1980).

sociology developed during the 20th century must be seen based on this line of thought. On the one hand is his interest in and focus on the sociology of knowledge, in Berger and Luckman's (1988) sense of analysing what is conceived, experienced and practised as knowledge in each historical period and why. On the other hand, in a development that also runs parallel to that of A. Schütz, is his work on the world of everyday life, minor habitual, insignificant things, and of language (genealogy and evolution in the uses, nuances and meanings of concepts) as key tools for understanding social realities, their development, their changes and their meanings. At the same time, in this article Elias was already giving glimpses of two elements of his point of view that would be constant features of his work: methodologically, a more functional and less substantive view and use of concepts, and, theoretically, attention to the relationships between individuals and social contexts.

## 2. Heidelberg

Between 1923 and 1924, just as he was finishing his studies, his parents began to suffer financial hardships which prevented them funding his studies. Because of this, for those two years, Elias worked in a factory as a bookkeeper. It was a time which taught him many practical things about economics, in line with his spirit of making positive use of life experiences (Elias, 1991:44). He finally earned his PhD from Breslau, and considering his differences with the thesis advisor and the impossibility of forging an academic career there, he moved to the University of Heidelberg in 1925. It was a university where memories of M. Weber and G. Simmel were still alive, and with the presence of three figures who would mark his stay there: Alfred Weber, Karl Mannheim and Marianne Weber. He attended the two sociologists' seminars, and he was also invited to the scientific/literary meetings that M. Weber's widow organised in the 'salon' she hosted at her home.

At Marianne Weber's 'salon' Elias was, via Mannheim, invited to write a dissertation, and he chose to come up with a "sociology of Gothic architecture" (Varela, 1994). In it, he proposed a materialist explanation of the types of Gothic construction detached from the cliché of human aspiration and focusing instead on the competition between mediaeval cities to make the tallest, most beautiful church. At this point, a distinction emerged which would prove crucial in "The Civilising Process", which encompasses the distinct evolution of French and German societies from the 16th to the 18th centuries based on relations between the court, the bourgeoisie and the people, and how that was also reflected in the architecture of their cathedrals.

Concerning Alfred Weber, at that time he was studying the specific nature of culture and its development as the core of all human society. According to Alfred, and following the debate with Marxism ushered in by his brother Max, culture cannot be exclusively interpreted based on economic processes, as the nature of culture is different and it evolves in a specific way. Weber's book "History of Culture" (1941) emerged from this interest and research. Elias suggested to A. Weber the role of Florentine society and culture in the birth of modern science as a subject for the work he needed to write in order to qualify in sociology. With this end in mind, Elias travelled to Florence with the question of why, in the specific context of late Middle Ages Florence, did the step he described as mythological to scientific thinking begin, taking the example of Galileo. But the project did not come to fruition for various reasons: the demands of A. Weber, the time he was being asked to wait to become a *Privatdozent*, and K. Mannheim's offer move to Frankfurt as professor to accompany him as his assistant.

Elias had known Mannheim since he had arrived in Heidelberg, and they were more or less the same age. He got on better on a personal and political level with Mannheim than he did with A. Weber, and he began to act as an unofficial *Privatdozent* for him, although in fact Mannheim still held that position. So, although Elias took his interest in the conditions of possibility, change and interpretation of culture and the role of daily life from A. Weber, Mannheim had a powerful influence on him in the entire field of the sociology of knowledge. The rivalry between A. Weber and K. Mannheim was a reflection of an increasingly divided society. In the end, it exploded at the Assembly of Germanic Sociologists held in Zurich in 1928. The debate over the different epistemological positions discussed there was brilliantly explained by Elias (Varela, 1994:15): how could knowledge be freed from the anathema that the relativists (Mannheim), the economicist sociologists (Marx and Lukacs) and the nominalist philosophers had cast on it? In fact, Elias' work can be understood as an answer to that question based on a model that seeks to contextualise the search for objectivity based not on theoretical reflection but on the historical contextualisation of the development of social processes, attempting not to fall into either the blind individualism of the actionalists or social structuralist determinism, as Elias would once more try to make clear in "Involvement and Detachment" (Elias, 1983:47).

### 3. Frankfurt

As we can see, the years spent in Heidelberg were the time when Elias profiled the what and the how of his oeuvre, an oeuvre which took the figure of Mannheim and the debates with him based on the sociology of knowledge as the third pillar on which Elias would construct his point of view, and would also show the clear influences of S. Freud and M. Weber. As we have said, in 1929 Mannheim received an invitation to occupy a professorial chair in sociology at Frankfurt and he suggested that Elias should be his assistant. Elias accepted, seeing this collaboration as a shortcut to qualifying as a tenured lecturer and thus skipping a waiting list of at least ten years with A. Weber. So, in the spring of 1930, Mannheim and Elias began their sociology seminar on the first floor of the Institute for Social Research, run by Max Horkheimer and with the presence, among other prestigious researchers, of T. W. Adorno (fifty years later Elias would receive the award bearing his name for his great book), W. Benjamin, E. Fromm and H. Marcuse. But there was little cooperation between the two leaders, Horkheimer and Mannheim, as the latter was politically too far to the left and the former too far to the right. Despite these disagreements, their two assistants, L. Löwenthal and N. Elias, acted as intermediaries and their relationship was a cordial one.

Elias, who had a good touch with students, was the one who effectively ran the sociology seminar and the relations with and attention to undergraduates. As for the study to earn his tenure, Mannheim wanted Elias to research French liberalism, as he was studying the subject at the time. But when Elias began work on the subject he came across the 18th century and began to take an interest in 'courtly man', opting instead to study this subject. Thirty years later, this research would be published for the first time under the title "The Man of the Court" (Elias, 1982b). It sought to understand how the warrior and landowning nobility ended up becoming the elite of the absolutist French state in a process of increasing mutual dependency between them and the absolute monarch. Already in this research we find the embryo of his great work "The Civilising Process" in terms of both perspective (link between the sociogenesis and psychogenesis of civilisation processes, ambivalence and the non-teleological intentionality of social and historical processes and their results, interdependences between groups, classes and

estates) and concepts (civilisation, interdependency, human behaviour, affective economics).

In 1933, after three interesting, intense years in a highly intellectually stimulating atmosphere in Frankfurt - as Elias himself said when receiving the Adorno award, "those years were the richest and most exciting in my life"<sup>3</sup> - Elias completed his qualifying work and began the procedure to claim his new status. In fact, after receiving the *Venia Legendi*, it only remained for him to give his inaugural address and he would have been qualified, but ill fortune intervened and Elias' real difficulties now began. The German political and social context descended into a spiral that would end with the rise of Nazism and World War II. After Hitler's electoral defeat to Hindenburg in 1932, the leader of National Socialism promoted a crescendo of uprising and street violence aimed weakening and bringing down the legitimate government; it was a revolt that would culminate in his rise to power on the 30<sup>th</sup> of January 1933, when he was proclaimed German chancellor. Hitler called new elections in May 1933 in a very overexcited atmosphere and won them, albeit without a majority, beginning his pathway to accumulating all the positions of power in the country in order to become *Reichsführer*.

In this political and social context, the universities were among the first places to be subjected to Fascist violence, particularly a place like the Frankfurt Institute for Social Research, which was nicknamed 'the House of Marx'. Elias had the foresight to destroy lists of 'red students' and other 'compromising' documents and books, and, after a few days, the Nazi SS went looking for him at home to force him to give them the keys to the Institute. As he explained, because he knew they would not find anything compromising, he behaved haughtily with the Nazi police, who, after interrogating him and searching the Institute in his presence, allowed him to go home. It was time to put into practice the plan for flight that Elias had been preparing since the beginning of 1933. He was first taken to by car to Switzerland, where he asked for aid and asylum but was given nothing. He then returned to Germany to flee to Paris, where he would stay for two years, while his parents, as mentioned above, remained in Nazi Germany perceiving no imminent danger, despite the crude reality.

#### 4. Paris

Elias greatly admired France, its language, history and culture (Elias, 1991:67). He had studied French since he was young and he had been keenly interested in the culture of the neighbouring country. But even though his memoirs recall those two years - 1933-1935 - as "very stimulating despite the fact that I was utterly alone and could not rely on help from other people" (Elias, 1991:66), they were tough times. He sought contact the universities of Paris by all possible means to obtain a lecturing post, but his attempts were in vain. His living conditions were tough, despite some money from his parents, and he set up a little toymaking workshop with two partners. As the months went by, it began to bring in enough money so that he could live modestly. At the same time, and as an example of the tenacity which he claimed was the result of basic confidence going back to his childhood, he managed to keep the academic flame alive and wrote an article for Klaus Mann, an exiled publisher, about "the kitsch style" (Elias, 1998d) and

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<sup>3</sup> Speech upon receiving the T.W. Adorno Prize in Frankfurt, entitled "The Authority of the Past: In Memory of Theodor W. Adorno".

received a small grant from a Dutch foundation to write about "The Expulsion of the Huguenots from France".

Despite these minor articles and his ability to keep the workshop going and sell toys, Elias his life in Paris was fraught with hardship. He told how, in Montparnasse, where he lived for those two years, more than once he had to go and ask people to buy him a cup of coffee and a sandwich because he had no money. Given this situation he ended up leaving France, yet without resentment, because he saw no future there and no path he could pursue in academia. When the Glucksmanns – Jewish friends from Breslau – invited him to England, he agreed, although he did not know much English and was sorry to leave France. So, in 1935 he passed through Germany to say goodbye to his parents (a fully Nazi Germany but at the same time a place "where order reigned and where the rule of law could be perceived" [Elias, 1991:68]), and they bought him a portable typewriter on which he would write "The Civilising Process". Finally, he arrived in England as an exile, thanks to the letter of invitation from Alfred Glucksmann.

## 5. England

Elias arrived in London in 1935 with the desire to revisit the theme of his qualification thesis on the "Man of the Court". He negotiated with a committee of Jewish refugees for aid to write a book as a possible entryway into England's academic world. But his poor English skills and the scale of his idea prevented him from doing this and, in the end, they agreed to give him a little money as maintenance so he could keep up minimum living conditions. With this aid, and installed in a modest room in London, Elias discovered the British Museum library, the same one where Karl Marx had written "Das Kapital", among other works. For the sociologist from Breslau, the library became the centre of his life. The exiled German, a poor outsider,<sup>4</sup> found an escape from the personal and family drama of the previous years in constant, daily intellectual work, never completely losing the feeling that what he was doing was useful and worthwhile, even though at the times it seemed to interest almost no-one.

It was there, in the British Museum library, where Elias accidentally discovered books on courtly behaviour and treatises on etiquette (it seems that the discovery began with De Courtin's "Nouveau traité de civilité"), writings which showed the diversity of the social norms applicable at different times and in different places. Based on this material, Elias began to delve into greater depth in his comparative study of countries and to analyse their evolution: his work on "The Civilising Process" had begun<sup>5</sup> and would last three years. This work was established based on the perspective posited in "Courtly Society", his unpublished qualifying thesis, although, like all intellectual works, it was also constructed against other perspectives, ideas and theories. As Elias himself explained, the work on the civilising process also sought to contradict fashionable psychological (but not psychoanalytical) theories (Elias 1991: 71-72)

<sup>4</sup> It is curious that, years later, Elias should have taken up this 'feeling' once again to write one of his most interesting books. Elias, N.; Scotson, J.L. (1964) *The Established and the Outsiders: A Sociological Enquiry into Community Problems*. SAGE. London.

<sup>5</sup> As in other cases, the issue of translation is problematic. The original title, "Über den Prozess der Zivilisation" has been translated into French as "Le procès de civilisation" and in Spanish as "El proceso de la civilización". So, it seems that it is not clear whether the definite article should be there or not and whether it refers to "The Civilising Process" (the English translation of the title) or the process of civilisation.

*“that firmly believed it was necessary to assess people's mentalities based on formulae or other quantitative methods in order to be able to say something irrefutable. Using this method, backed by the results of tests performed on people nowadays, they believed themselves capable of talking about human beings in general. For me it was clear that this was just an attempt to apply to people the methods of physics and biology, but in doing so excluding the entire process of human evolution.”*

For three years (1935 -1938), which were not free of incredulity from the committee of refugees that provided him with just enough money to live on, Elias worked tirelessly on his great work. The publication of "The Civilising Process" became yet another odyssey. As Korte explains (1998:53), the author's parents financed the printing of the proofs of the first volume of the work, "The History of Manners", which was published in 1937 by a small German publisher in Gräfenhainichen. Elias sent this first volume to various friends and well-known authors with the twofold aim of publicising the work and preparing the publication of the second volume, "State Formation and Civilisation", which was due to come out in Prague in 1938. But the Nazi occupation of Czechoslovakia led the printing originals to be secretly spirited away to Switzerland, where the work "The Civilising Process: Sociogenetic and Psychogenetic Investigations" was finally published in 1939 by the Haus zum Falken publishing house in Basel. The print run was small, and the work was published in a social and political context that led to a very negative reception. In fact, of prominent authors, only Thomas Mann declared that "it is an interesting book". From this period, Elias highlighted (Varela, 1994:18) that he was becoming increasingly aware of the differences in behaviour between German and English societies just at the point when his view based on differences in 'mentality' was being constructed. He believed from his own experience that 'national mentalities' needed to be studied systematically and, above all, comparatively, in order to understand them better.

After ultimately not qualifying to be a lecturer in Frankfurt, with exile in London and his work "The Civilising Process" having almost no impact, in 1940 Elias received a research grant from the London School of Economics. But he could only begin to use it when he returned from the eight-month internment on the Isle of Man to which he and other Germans were sentenced. On returning to England, he gradually began to enter academic circles; he set up the Group Analytic Society with Melanie Klein, and he worked with Foulkes, a psychoanalytical psychiatrist, on what they called 'group psychoanalysis'. Finally, in 1954, he received offers from the Universities of Leicester and Leeds to teach classes there. He decided on Leicester, where the Sociology Department was being set up, and there he met Neustand, another exiled German who, in fact, had suggested him for the post. He was also not too far from London and the British Museum. He had achieved his first stable academic post at the age of 57.

Students like E. Dunning (with whom he would work on the sociology of sport as a space for symbolically civilising violence between groups or states [Elias and Dunning, 1992]), A. Giddens, J. Goldthorpe ... and the department achieved considerable prestige at the English universities. Despite this, his views had little impact and little influence either in the university or among its students. For many years he was considered a second- or third-rate theoretician with no interesting contributions to make.

As we shall see, academic recognition did not really come to him until the 1970s, when he was already retired.

As Béjar says (1991:63), we can entertain at least three reasons for his lack of theoretical influence over so many years. First, as Featherstone says (1987), his great book was published in the wrong place (Switzerland), at the wrong time (the beginning of World War II) and in the wrong language (German). Secondly, despite the possible superficial reading of "The Civilising Process" as a book of curious, entertaining little stories about refinement at meals, how and when to spit or affairs of the bedchamber, it does require a certain theoretical background in order to be fully understood in the context of its theoretical and epistemological project, which is quite ambitious. Finally, understanding why it was forgotten for decades is easier if Elias' position of 'marginalised pride' confronting the two dominant sociological paradigms during much of the 20th century - Marxism and structural functionalism - can also be understood. On several occasions, Elias' notable anti-Parsonianism was seen more as personal resentment against one of the key figures in understanding the sociology of the 20th century (who, curiously, had also spent time in Heidelberg from 1920 to 1930) rather than impersonal theoretical criticism, and there was probably something in this. In 1978, L. Coser went in hard against Elias, who had just published "What is Sociology" (Coser 1978: 182):

*"While 'The Civilising Process', although written in the thirties, reads as if it had been written in the seventies, this book, written in the seventies, seems to have been written in the thirties."*

Coser's barbed comments probably contain some truth, although it is also true that the works written after "Process of Civilisation" help gain an understanding of the scope, theoretical project, perspective and programme of Elias' research. A final episode reinforced his status as an outsider before the recognition from academia that came in the 1970s. In 1962, with Elias already in his sixties, his colleague Neustand suggested that he should occupy a professorial chair in sociology in Ghana for a couple of years. There are two versions of why he accepted. On the one hand, his own (Elias: 1991:86) account suggests the hypothesis of curiosity about the unknown and a desire to discover other cultures as decisive factors in accepting the job. Meanwhile, other authors (Béjar, 1991:56) do not doubt that financial motives drove him to live in Africa for two years, where he was treated like a prince and chauffeur-driven everywhere. Considering an episode like this, it is natural to wonder about his personal life. When Elias was asked about his feelings, partners and family plans, he answered (1991:86):

*"I realised straightaway that the two things – achieving what I wanted to do and being married – were incompatible. There is always a rivalry between the two paths, but things turned out as they did; it was not a considered decision."*

Upon his return, he co-authored with John L. Scotson the 1964 publication "The Established and the Outsiders", an interesting study about the way different power resources (the power differential) and self-confidence are the key elements in



understanding central and peripheral positions on a specific playing field and the way a game develops based on the relationships of knowledge, recognition and mutual dependence among the different individuals and groups involved. This work contains a considerable amount of autobiography as, for example, Elias puts forward the case of the Jews who were unable to work in certain professions in 20th century Germany simply because of who they were. It is also a work in which Elias subtly recounts his own experiences in English academia, where he always felt like, and was treated as, an outsider. The German author did not leave behind this deep-seated feeling of marginalisation until he left England in 1975. It was a country whose nationality he held but where he never felt he belonged until, at the end of his life, the recognition he had been denied for decades finally came.

## 6. Germany, Holland and the end of his life

The re-publication and, with it, (re)discovery of his opus magnum in 1969; invitations to give seminars, particularly in Holland and Germany; the publication of new books throughout the 1970s and 1980s (“What is Sociology?”, 1970; “The Loneliness of the Dying”, 1982; “Involvement and Detachment”, 1983; “Time: An Essay”, 1984; “The Human Condition”, 1985; “The Society of Individuals”, 1987), and the Adorno prize for “The Civilising Process” in 1977 all served to restore the reputation and oeuvre of a marginalised figure who, for many years would dream of picking up the telephone excitedly hoping to hear someone and end up shouting desperately, "Can't anyone hear me?" (Elias, 1991). Finally, in 1975, Elias left England and established himself in Bielefeld, where he would later be honoured with an honorary doctoral degree, and where he would live almost until his passing, combining this return to Germany with periods abroad (for example, R. Sennett invited him to the University of New York), above all in Holland, where he died and where one of the most important Elisian groups, called the "Amsterdam School", remains to this day.

Elias probably would not have been able to cope with his tortuous life with the positive spirit that he seems to have maintained had he not enjoyed that basic security we mentioned at the beginning of the article. However, this security had a flip side throughout his life; it was another face that showed itself in at least three different ways. First, we have already mentioned the ‘marginalised pride’ with which he waged bitter disputes with the dominant theoretical paradigms. Beyond the fact that Elias can often be considered to be right in many of his criticisms, these were disputes in which he displays the rather resentful tone of someone who knows that he has something very interesting to offer but, because of the context of power relationships, is being almost completely ignored by everyone. Secondly, the other side of Elias' coin is shown in his enormous difficulty recognising the theoretical influences he received over the years, which, as with all authors, were manifold and very important. Thirdly and finally, Elias' security, aplomb and strength had a great deal to do with a conception of the role of sociology (Béjar, 1994) (and of himself as a sociologist) as almost a ‘redeemer’, a tool for salvation, a discipline with a mission (Elias, 1991:50):

*"What I was really trying to do was to lift the veil of the mythologies that conceal our view of society so that people could behave better and more reasonably".*

It is a mission for sociology which ultimately meant working in the context of a civilising process that is neither closed nor determined in order to achieve happiness for people in the context of a freer, more aware scenarios. Despite his lucidity on civilising social processes, Elias' attitude toward them was not pessimistic like Freud and Weber. As he reminds us in the last sentence of the last edition of "The Civilising Process", the mission of sociologists is to work (Elias, 1987a:552)

*"So that every man can find the best possible balance in his soul which we so often conjure up with big words like happiness and freedom; a lasting equilibrium or even consonance between his social duties as part the set of requirements of his social existence, on one hand, and his inclinations and personal needs on the other."*

## 7. Brief conclusions

I believe two conclusions can be derived from this intellectual portrait. The first, which encompasses the conceptual, methodological and analytical tools constructed by Elias, is a major inheritance for 21st century sociology and social sciences, in which Norbert Elias is (or may be) one of their greatest leading figures. But, for this to happen, his legacy must be included in university studies and his perspective brought into in social research. A good way to begin a move in this direction is to take into account his brilliant contributions to crucial debate today, such as those on individualisation, the process of modernisation, power relationships and the construction of the other. The second conclusion has a clear ethical and political dimension and is the invitation that Norbert Elias extended by example for everyone researching in social sciences to carry out an exercise in self-socioanalysis. In fact, the intellectual portrait presented herewith is an example of how, without an overall (self) view of an author's life and work, his experiences and influences, his starting points and interests, it is impossible to understand his research. And the most important thing for Elias: without this self-socioanalysis exercise it is very difficult to carry out scientific research which is more honest, more lucid and also more useful and liberating at a societal level.

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## **The daily press and political communication: The perception of the Statute of Catalonia in twelve daily Spanish newspapers**

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### **Abstract**

*The research presented in this article analyses the perception of the new draft Statute of Catalonia in the Spanish written press. The study was performed by analysing the editorials and the front pages published in twelve newspapers all over Spain between the 1st of October and the 15th of December 2005. The new draft Statute of Catalonia triggered an oversized debate that converted the media into a true “political arena”, a public locus where the media and politicians displayed a host of cooperative or competitive ideological strategies. The article concludes that the new Statute was harshly rejected in the majority of newspapers, especially in some of the national broadsheets, and it tries to pinpoint the differences among these twelve newspapers. The research also dissects the strong and weak points of the draft Statute in the newspapers analysed.*

**Key words:** media, Statute of Catalonia, political communication, Spanish press

### **1. Introduction and theoretical note**

This article presents an analysis of the perception of the new draft Statute of Catalonia in the Spanish press. The research was performed by analysing the editorials and front pages of twelve newspapers around the country, with the exception of those published in Catalonia<sup>1</sup>, between the 1st of October and the 15th of December 2005.

The new draft Statute of Catalonia riveted – and to some extent still rivets – the political debate all over Spain. The media as a whole, but especially the written press, have taken positions on the draft, which was approved on the 30th of September 2005 by the Parliament of Catalonia.

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<sup>1</sup> The goal of this study is to analyse the public opinion published in the newspapers in Spain which are issued outside of Catalonia. It would be interesting for future research to compare these positions with the ones expressed in the Catalan newspapers.

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The corpus analysed includes the most important newspapers in Spain as a whole<sup>2</sup>. In addition to the major nationwide newspapers, we also took region into account as a selection criterion in order to ensure representation of the different regional sensibilities. For this reason, some of the leading regional newspapers in the most important regions were also chosen.

The newspapers chosen for this study are El País, El Mundo, ABC, La Razón, Expansión, El Correo, La Voz de Galicia, El Norte de Castilla, Levante, Heraldo de Aragón, Diario de Sevilla and Última Hora. A total of 540 front pages were analysed, along with more than 495 editorials.

### *1.1. Theoretical note*

In the 1960s and 1970s, research in communication was dominated by the objectivist current of thinking, which enshrined facts over freedom of opinions and postulated a radical separation between information and opinion. Current research into communication assumes that when reporting the news, journalists inevitably adopt a point of view, an approach, a frame. This concept of approach or frame has been used quite often in journalist studies into political communication, especially in the past two decades.

The approach is the “core organising idea of the content of the news that provides a context through a process of selection, emphasis, exclusion and elaboration” (Tankard, 1991). The set of approaches to reality that newspapers have used throughout their history creates an image, a corporate identity that gains social importance which makes each newspaper what it is, different from the competition (Canel, 1999).

Using a reordering proposed by Borrat (1989: 99-101), the essential functions of the political language of newspapers can be summarised as: (1) interpreting and connecting; (2) disseminating information; (3) projecting to the future and the past; (4) implementing the public agenda; and (5) stimulating action. Any newspaper, by definition, does the first three; however, the fourth depends on its relative degree of influence in its respective political system (Farré, 1999).

On another front, certain factors in the sociology of communication should be borne in mind to grasp the media’s influence on politics. Sociology perceives reality as a product that is constructed through the multiple actions of human beings. These actions include those performed by the mass media, which become fundamentally important because of their central position in the symbolic mediation of experiences and their socially recognised and legitimised role as creators of public schemas of reference (Grossi, 1985). In turn, Maxwell McCombs and Donald Shaw (1972) propose the idea that through their selection of the news, the media determine the subjects about which the public thinks and speaks; the authors call this agenda-setting.

A complementary vision to agenda-setting and the construction of reality is the notion of “theme” – thematisation – (Marletti, 1985). Thematisation confers on the media the ability to choose a theme and place it in the spotlight of public attention. Marletti suggests that the media focus attention on certain themes but not on others out of a clear aim to set the political agenda in connivance with the political powers themselves. This conclusion by the Italian author can be applied in the process of

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<sup>2</sup> According to the latest figures from the Circulation Justification Office (OJD).

drafting and approving a statute. As can be seen, the media and the political apparatus are the ones who primarily develop the processes of thematisation (Marletti, 1985).

Likewise, in different sub-fields of political science, in-depth studies have been conducted on factors like administration, social organisation and constituent processes, such as the target of this study. However, much of the research focuses on shedding light on electoral processes as a whole or on specific aspects of them, such as the actors, the messages or the strategies of the different political parties.

There is a remarkable number of studies into political communication that demonstrate the impact of the media on individuals' electoral behaviour (Norris, Curtice, Scammell and Semetko, 1999; Zaller, J., 1992). Despite the fact that they are eminently empirical, these studies mainly consider three possible media effects on a voter: reinforcement, activation and conversion of the voting decision (Lazarsfeld, P., 1944).

## 2. Objectives and working methodology

The objectives of this study are the following: (1) to ascertain the degree and nature of the criticism against the new draft Statute of Catalonia; (2) to compare the positions of the different media analysed; and (3) to delimit the strong and weak points of the new draft Statute.

In overall terms, the methodology used was a systematic analysis of the contents, with a quantitative and a qualitative facet (Krippendorff, 1990; Wimmer and Dominick, 2001). The corpus was obtained using the criteria of readership and regionalism set forth in the introduction. The period analysed was comprised of 45 calendar days in the autumn of 2005 (October, November and December). The days chosen to be analysed were distributed as follows<sup>3</sup>:

- *Approval in Parliament*. From the 1st to the 15th of October (15 days after approval of the Statute in the Parliament of Catalonia).
- *Consideration and approval of its passage in the Congress of Deputies*. From the 2nd to the 16th of November.
- *Follow-up on the draft Statute*. From the 1st to the 15th of December 2005.

The research efforts concentrated on the editorials and the front pages of each publication. In fact, the editorials were the focal point of the study to validate the conclusions, since they reflect the opinion taken by the publishers of the newspapers. Information on whether the Statute was mentioned inside the newspapers was taken from the front pages, and the content was assessed according to whether it was in favourable, negative or neutral. We evaluated the inclusion of the issue on the front pages because the managers of the newspapers take part in assembling the front pages.

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<sup>3</sup> We considered the two most important dates in the approval of the text. The analysis ends on the 15<sup>th</sup> of December because after conducting an ad hoc analysis of different newspapers we noted that from this date on the agenda was set by other issues. It is worth noting that starting in January, and particularly in March, the issue of the Statute once again rose in prominence, dovetailing with approval by the Congress of Deputies.

Furthermore, we can state that even though they are not exactly an opinion genre, front pages do set trends since processes of hierarchisation with a heavy subjective component are used in assembling front pages.

The methodology proposed was developed by applying an analysis grid with its corresponding protocol. It should be noted that one study of the Statute (Sádaba and Rodríguez, 2007: 187-211) concludes that it is an issue that was given more coverage in opinion genres than in news genres, so that it is a widely discussed issue yet one that is barely contextualised from the news standpoint.

The texts were interpreted using the general principles of hermeneutic methods (Taylor and Bogdan, 1987). As a result, the analysis notes the following fields for each journalistic editorial included:

- Day of publication and thesis of the editorial
- Points in favour of the new draft Statute
- Points against the new draft Statute
- Degree of criticism

In a third phase, a comparative study was conducted of the media analysed which enabled us to identify the newspapers which had been the most critical of the Statute. This analysis also compiled all the most common points in favour of and against the Statute, which were then grouped into thematic areas.

### **3. Ideological positions of the newspapers analysed**

#### *3.1. ABC*

The newspaper ABC was frontally opposed to the new draft Statute of Catalonia. Specifically, all the editorials analysed (100% of the 14 pieces) disapproved of the text voted on in the Parliament of Catalonia. On the front pages, rejection also captures the majority: 81% of the headlines referring to this issue were opposed to it, while the remainder were neutral and none of them was favourable. In the opinion of the heads of ABC, the Statute violates the constitutional principles in force and signals a rupture of the current territorial model. Apparently the editorialists regard it as unacceptable for Catalonia to be defined as a nation, and they oppose the model of financing contained in the new draft Statute, as well as the relationship of bilateralism between Catalonia and Spain. In the words of this publication, the new Statute breaks the pact of coexistence that Spaniards reached in 1978, and this therefore heralds a second Transition, a “negative” one that is being forcefully “imposed”. At all times the newspaper acts as a guarantor of the unity of the Spanish nation, an unnegotiable reality in view of the “challenge” from the Catalan parties.

#### *3.2. El Correo*

El Correo took a critical position on the draft Statute, but it is not radically against it being passed. Over the 45 days of analysis, this newspaper devoted four editorials to this topic. Of the four, three rejected the text and one was neutral in tone. The analysis



of the front pages demonstrates that the new draft was rejected 66.7% of the times that it was mentioned, was the subject of neutral headlines 22.2% of the time and was discussed favourably 11.1% of the time. The majority position at El Correo is that the draft Statute violates the constitution, and the newspaper does not approve of “the unique model of financing”. Despite the criticisms of the text, El Correo sustains that dialogue and understanding are needed in order to reach statutory reform, and it frontally rejects inflexible positions.

### 3.3. *Diario de Sevilla*

The *Diario de Sevilla* is against the new draft Statute of Catalonia. Over the 45 days analysed, this newspaper devoted six editorials to the draft Statute. On all these days, it expressed its rejection of the text, except once, when it expressed a neutral opinion. The analysis of the front pages also demonstrates that the draft was not accepted: 92.3% of the headlines disapproved of the Statute, while almost 7.7% might be considered neutral.

There is no piece containing a favourable view of the new draft Statute presented by the Catalan parties. The justification of the *Diario de Sevilla*'s rejection of the new text is its unconstitutionality, the fact that it signals a second Transition and the fact that it proposes a “self-sufficient Catalonia” as the step prior to becoming a separate state. This Andalusian newspaper is also highly critical of all the Catalan political parties and of the PSOE.

### 3.4. *Expansión*

Generally speaking, the newspaper *Expansión* has negatively assessed the new draft Statute which emerged from the Parliament of Catalonia. The editorialists of this publication criticised the draft Statute in all eight pieces that discussed this subject. Rejection also figured prominently on the front pages of this Madrid-based newspaper, as half of the headlines in the period studied were against the new Statute, while 36% were neutral and only 14% were favourable.

*Expansión* believes that the draft Statute is unconstitutional and that it throws Spain off-kilter. What is more, the newspaper places special emphasis on the economic aspects of the draft Statute and reaches the conclusion that if it were applied it would be “harmful for the economies of both Catalonia and Spain”. According to the leaders of this newspaper, the new Statute would hinder Catalonia's growth and rupture its financial solidarity with the rest of Spain.

### 3.5. *Heraldo de Aragón*

The newspaper *Heraldo de Aragón* expressed its opposition to the new Statute of Catalonia, as can be gleaned from the fact that twelve of the fourteen editorials analysed over the 45 days (86% of the total) find negative points in the Catalan proposal. Regarding the front pages that were analysed, 61% discuss the Catalan text negatively, while the remainder were neutral and none was positive. The editorialists at the *Heraldo* believe that the Statute far exceeds the limits of the Constitution, leading to clear confrontation with Spain as well as a rise in tensions between Catalonia and Spain. As a result, there are also fears that Catalonia will one day become independent. The other

issues of interest to the newspaper are the term nation and financing. The editorials also reveal that the newspaper believes that the Statute is not only a challenge to the Constitution but also a danger that could lead to amendments in the constitution. It states that the Statute is “excessive” and asks that “it be stopped”.

### 3.6. *Levante*

The newspaper *Levante* is unfavourable in its assessments of the new Statute of Catalonia. First of all, it is worth noting that only two editorials focus on this subject in the 45 days studied (which accounts for a mere 4% of the total). These editorials recognise that the Statute could become a “political problem in Congress”. The front pages, where the Statute only appeared four days out of 45, show clear rejection of the Catalan text, since 75% of them highlight negative aspects of it, 25% remain neutral and none is in favour of it. The editorialists believe that the Statute has controversial points, such as the fact that Catalonia is defined as a nation, as well as the financing it proposes. However, the newspaper’s attitude is to remain neutral and avoid becoming alarmist. Nor does it take refuge in any specific ideology, and it gives a voice to all the political representatives.

### 3.7. *El Mundo*

The newspaper *El Mundo* was extraordinarily critical of the draft Statute of Catalonia during the research period. This Madrid-based newspaper held no punches in loading the paper with harsh invective against the Statute initiative. One hundred percent of the editorials that discussed the issue were unfavourable to the new Statute. Likewise, 82% of the related front page stories censured it, while none of the headlines spoke positively about the Statute. This newspaper’s ideological position is unbending: the draft is unconstitutional “look at it as you may”; what is more, Catalonia cannot be considered a nation as stated in the Statute’s text “because it is not”. Likewise, the newspaper also censures the fact that the new Statute aims to break the solidarity among the regions of Spain. Nor does it allow for any negotiation on the language issue: the publication claims that the current government of Catalonia marginalises Spanish speakers and that the new Statute would only accentuate this purported phenomenon.

### 3.8. *Norte de Castilla*

The newspaper *Norte de Castilla* takes a position in favour of the Statute, since 60% of the editorials analysed stressed positive features of the text. However, on the front pages the results are otherwise: 47% of the front pages analysed mention negative points, 40% are neutral and 13% highlight positive points. The newspaper’s editorials reveal that the Statute is viewed as a step towards the modernisation of Spain. Even though some controversial aspects are mentioned in the first editorial, such as the fact that Catalonia may choose independence as a future option, the suspicions and criticisms disappear in subsequent editorials. The Statute is labelled an “innovative” text, and the newspaper asks that it be shown respect for the mere fact that it achieved a majority in the Catalan Parliament.

### 3.9. *El País*

The newspaper *El País* covered the new draft Statute with calmness and balance, in contrast to the other newspapers from the capital of Spain (*El Mundo*, *ABC*, *La Razón* and *Expansión*). This Madrid-based newspaper has clearly modulated its position, which has overall been benevolent with the text approved in the Parliament of Catalonia. In its news features, this newspaper owned by the PRISA Group devoted 60% of its front pages to the new Statute and maintained clear neutrality: 68% of the headlines on the front page were neutral, while 21% were positive and 11% negative. The newspaper devoted few editorials to this subject (18% of the days) compared to the other newspapers with nationwide readership. Of the eight editorials that appeared in the 45-day period, half were favourable to the draft, three were neutral and only one could be described as against the new Statute. The newspaper's ideological position is very close to the positions of the PSOE, and in particular to the president of the government, José Luis Rodríguez Zapatero. It has also spoken out against radicalism and the Partido Popular's lack of tact on this matter.

### 3.10. *La Razón*

The newspaper *La Razón* is totally against the new draft Statute of Catalonia. On the 45 days analysed, the issue of the Statute appeared on a total of 20 days<sup>4</sup>, in every case rejecting the text approved by the Parliament of Catalonia. The analysis of the front pages also demonstrates that the project is not accepted: 70.9% of the headlines disapprove of it, while 29.1% can be regarded as neutral. There is no headline that shines a positive light on approval of the Statute. *La Razón* upholds that the new Statute violates the Spanish Constitution, and it further believes that it may imperil the unity and territorial cohesion of Spain. The Madrid-based newspaper is also highly critical of the stances of the PSOE, *Esquerra Republicana de Catalunya* and *Convergència i Unió*. On different occasions, it justifies the positions of the Partido Popular in the negotiation of the Statute and in taking the text into consideration in the Congress of Deputies.

### 3.11. *Última Hora*

The newspaper *Última Hora* has demonstrated that it is in favour of approval of the new Statute of Catalonia. Of the 45 days analysed, this newspaper devoted nine days to the draft Statute. Five editorials (55.6%) expressed a neutral position on it, while on three days (33.3%) the newspaper's position was favourable to approval of the text. There was only one day (11.1%) in which the newspaper expressed an opinion against approval of the text as it is currently worded<sup>5</sup>. Regarding the front pages, 69.3% of the headlines express opposition to the draft, while 33.7% of the headlines reveal a neutral position. This newspaper from the Balearic Islands justifies its position that the text must be respected because it was approved by 90% of the Catalan deputies. What is

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<sup>4</sup> This figure on the presence of this topic is one of the highest among all the newspapers in the sample analysed.

<sup>5</sup> The fact that a newspaper can publish editorials both in favour and against the draft of the new Statute might seem difficult to understand. However, the justification can be found in the fact that there are certain factors related to the left-right axis (such as: the Statute is a modern, advanced text in terms of social rights) in which the newspaper may be in favour of it because of its progressive ideology, while it can be against aspects from the national axis regarding relations between Catalonia and Spain (such as: the Statute violates the Constitution). This is the case of the newspaper *Última Hora*, among others.

more, it defends fair fiscal treatment of Catalonia and the Balearic Islands. From a strictly ideological standpoint, this newspaper upholds a federal model for Spain.

### 3.12. *La Voz de Galicia*

The newspaper *La Voz de Galicia* took a neutral/favourable position on the new Statute, as indicated by 67% of the front pages analysed over the course of 45 days which mentioned the issue (equivalent to six front pages all together). In contrast, 33% of the front pages (a total of three) revealed negative points about the Catalan text. According to the newspaper's front pages<sup>6</sup>, the issue that is the most worrisome is the constitutionality of the new Catalan Statute; 33% of the front pages analysed refer to this issue. Other aspects which also drew the newspaper's interest include financing and the term nation, but *La Voz de Galicia* always discussed the new draft Statute indulgently.

## 4. Comparative analysis of the presence and position of the newspapers in the sample on the new Statute

The presence of the subject of the new Statute on the front pages and editorials chosen for the study was quite disparate depending on the newspapers being analysed. This issued has been tracked in very different ways by the newspapers *La Razón* and *El Mundo*, which showed the highest presence of the topic of all the newspapers (around 50% of the days).

### Comparison of the newspapers most firmly against the Statute (Figures in % of unfavourable pieces)

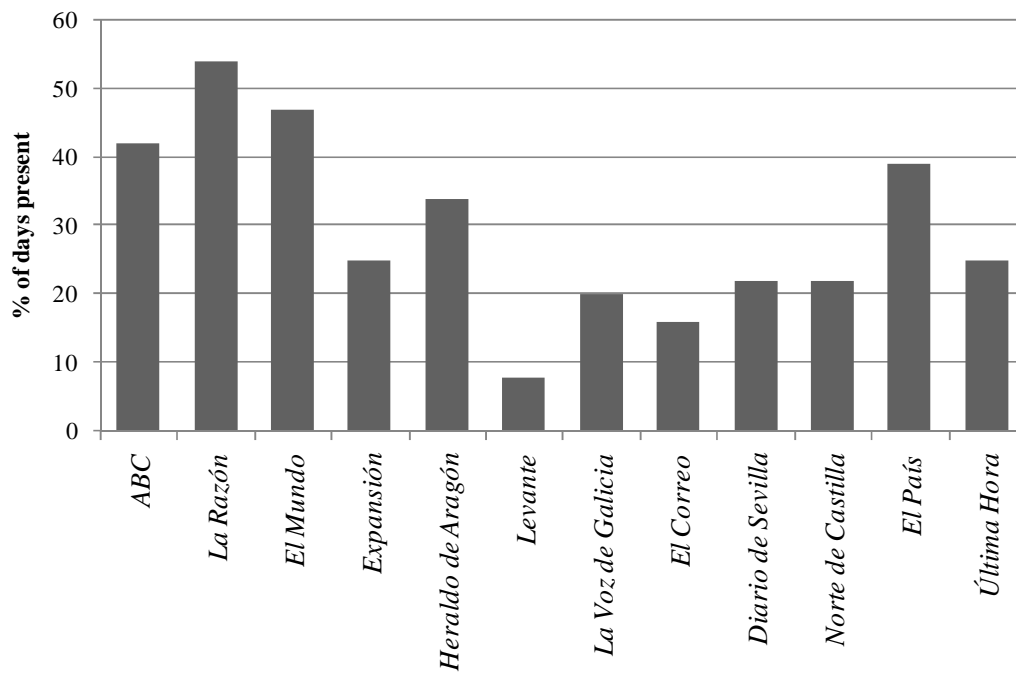
Publication	Editorials	Front Pages
<i>ABC</i>	100.00	80.77
<i>La Razón</i>	100.00	70.97
<i>El Mundo</i>	100.00	82.76
<i>Expansión</i>	100.00	50.00
<i>Heraldo de Aragón</i>	85.71	64.71
<i>Levante</i>	50.00	75.00
<i>La Voz de Galicia</i>	–	33.33
<i>El Correo</i>	66.67	75.00
<i>Diario de Sevilla</i>	83.33	92.31
<i>Norte de Castilla</i>	20.00	46.67
<i>El País</i>	12.50	10.71
<i>Última Hora</i>	11.11	69.23

<sup>6</sup> This newspaper upholds a longstanding tradition of not having editorials, which has made it difficult to establish its ideological position in this study.

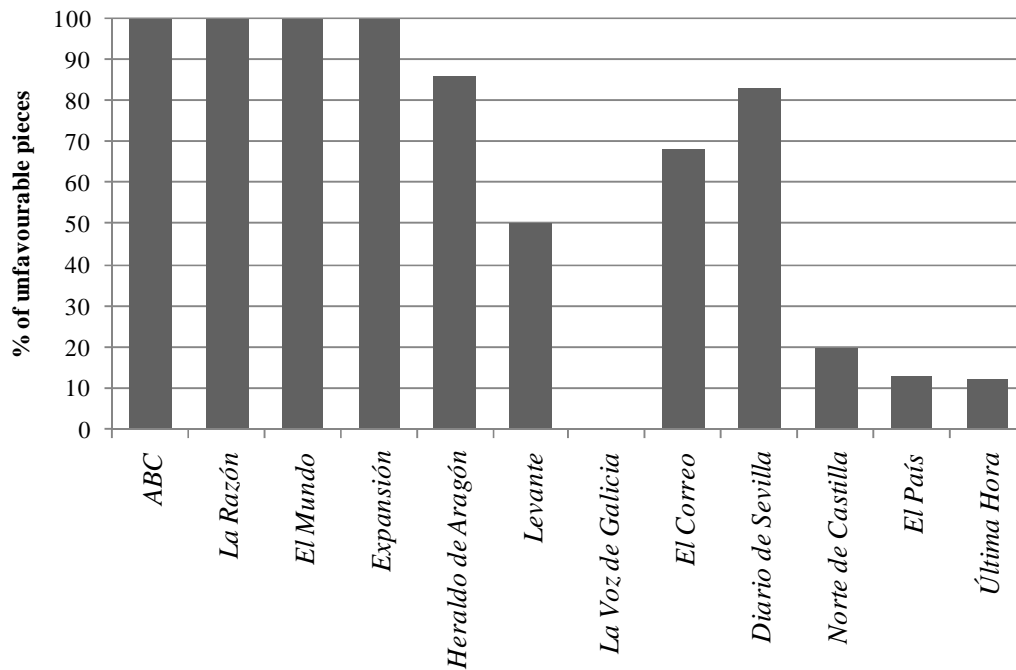
### Comparison of the presence of the Statute in the newspapers (Figures in % of days on which it appears)

Publication	Editorials	Front pages	Overall average
<i>ABC</i>	31.11	51.11	41.11
<i>La Razón</i>	44.44	64.44	54.44
<i>El Mundo</i>	35.56	57.78	46.67
<i>Expansión</i>	20.00	28.89	24.45
<i>Heraldo de Aragón</i>	28.89	37.78	33.34
<i>Levante</i>	4.44	8.89	6.67
<i>La Voz de Galicia</i>	–	20.00	20.00
<i>El Correo</i>	20.00	8.89	14.45
<i>Diario de Sevilla</i>	13.33	28.89	21.11
<i>Norte de Castilla</i>	11.11	31.11	21.11
<i>El País</i>	17.78	60.00	38.89
<i>Última Hora</i>	20.00	28.89	24.45

**Graph 1. Comparison of the presence of the Statute (front pages and editorials)**



**Graph 2. Comparison of the newspapers with the editorials most firmly against the Statute**



In turn, El País and ABC have prominently monitored the Statute and are still in the upper range, while the Heraldo de Aragón has devoted average attention to the reform of the Statute. We then find a group of newspapers which have shown little interest in this issue. The newspapers in this group include Expansión, La Voz de Galicia, Diario de Sevilla, El Norte de Castilla and Última Hora. Finally, there was very little monitoring of the draft of the new Statute by the newspapers El Correo and particularly Levante, as they only referred to it on fewer than 10% of the days studied.

Likewise, the newspapers analysed can be classified into three groups based on their positions on the new draft Statute of Catalonia approved by the Parliament. The first group includes the publications which are extremely opposed to the initiative, including El Mundo, ABC, La Razón, Diario de Sevilla, Expansión and Heraldo de Aragón. Between 80% and 100% of the editorials in these newspapers are against the Statute, and the information published on their front pages is openly against it.

The second group of newspapers includes El Correo and Levante, two publications which should be considered against the draft Statute, although their degree of opposition does not reach that of the first group. In particular, the positions in the Valencian newspaper Levante are slightly more positive than those in its Basque counterpart El Correo, especially in the editorials analysed.

Finally, there is a third group of newspapers that can be categorised as favourable to the new Statute of Catalonia. These newspapers include El País, El Norte de Castilla, Última Hora and La Voz de Galicia. In their editorials, the most positive figures from the entire sample can be found in the Balearic Islands newspaper Última Hora, followed by El País and the Valladolid-based publication El Norte de Castilla. No more than 20% of the editorials in these three newspapers were critical of the new Statute of Catalonia.

La Voz de Galicia has no editorials, but it is included in this group because the results of the front pages are the second most positive in the entire sample, only surpassed by the front pages of El País. It should be noted that the newspapers El Norte de Castilla and Última Hora have results that are less favourable to the Statute in the study of front pages, but the positive information contained in their editorials – the most important variable in the analysis according to the methodology designed – led them to be included in this third group.

## 5. Main strong and weak points of the new draft Statute

The main point in favour of the draft Statute reflected in the study is the broad support that the text earned in the Parliament of Catalonia – this is considered valid in 19% of the strong points of the project. The second most favourable point is the fact that the constituent initiative prompts a debate which should be conducted in a dispassionate, calm and reasoned way, without exaggerated claims (13%).

One argument used by the newspapers analysed is that the Catalan parties are willing to negotiate the text that emerged from its Parliament (10%). This is particularly appreciated by the newspapers that are the most favourable to the draft Statute, while the newspapers that are more opposed to the text use it as a weapon to criticise the Catalan political class.

One of the most important points praised in the new Statute is that it strives to fit within the Constitution (9%). According to the newspapers analysed, other points that justify supporting this draft include the fact that it is a modern text, that Catalonia needs better financing and that it is the right of Catalan citizens. Other positive points are that the Statute would be the best guarantee against “involutionist” or “adventurous” temptations, and that the text would deliver on many of the Catalans’ demands. Each of these latter points accounted for 6% of the total strong points of the draft Statute.

Representing 3% of the total, we can find strong points of the project such as the ones stating that the Statute can help to solve Catalonia’s fit within Spain, that it is good because it brings Spain closer to a federal model, and that it serves to show the PP that tensions do not help to resolve the territorial conflicts in Spain.

### Main strong points of the draft Statute

1	Broad support from the Parliament of Catalonia (90%)	19%
2	Prompts a dispassionate, calm and reasoned debate on the situation of Catalonia	13%
3	The Catalan parties are willing to negotiate	10%
4	It can fit within the Constitution	9%
5	Catalonia has the right to better financing	6%
6	It is a modern text	6%
7	The Statute would be the best guarantee against “involutionist” or “adventurous” temptations	6%
8	It is the right of the people of Catalonia	6%
9	The text delivers on many of the Catalans’ demands	6%
10	Catalonia’s fit within Spain must be resolved	3%
11	It improves the cohesion of the Tripartite	3%
12	More decentralisation / a federal model is needed	3%
13	Catalonia’s uniqueness must be emphasised	3%
14	The PP’s attitude does not help	3%
15	Other factors difficult to categorise	4%

### 5.1. Main weak points of the new draft Statute

The point in the new draft Statute of Catalonia that receives the most criticism in the twelve newspapers analysed is that it is unconstitutional (23%). In all the newspapers analysed, this is one of the issues that most concerns the editorialists. The majority of texts condemn the draft presented by the Parliament of Catalonia as violating constitutional principles or not being fully in alignment with the Constitution.

The second point most often sanctioned by the newspapers in the sample is that the financing system proposed by the Statute is not acceptable for Spain as a whole (12%). Some newspapers are particularly critical of this point and accuse the framers of the draft Statute of approving a text that is unfair and uncooperative with the other autonomous regions in Spain. This is even criticised by the newspapers that are the most favourable to the project, even though they do so less vehemently than the newspapers that are radically opposed to the text.

#### Main weak points of the draft Statute

1	The Statute is unconstitutional	23%
2	It has an unfair / uncooperative system of financing	12%
3	Catalonia is not a nation	11%
4	It attacks Spanish national unity	5%
5	It breaks territorial cohesion	4%
6	It is not a realistic text / It should be scaled back	4%
7	It defends the interests of "radical minorities"	3%
8	The PP and PSOE should agree to a new text	3%
9	Other autonomous communities might also want the same treatment as Catalonia	3%
10	The Statute is poorly explained	2%
11	It does not capture the thinking of the 10 million voters who support the PP	2%
12	It breaks the peaceful coexistence of the Transition	2%
13	It worsens the Catalonia-Spain conflict	2%
14	The ERC's attitude is inappropriate and hinders negotiations	2%
15	It entails a change in the Constitution	2%
16	Excess of competences (bilateralism)	2%
17	It is a step prior to independence	2%
19	It is a pact that violates laws	2%
20	Other factors difficult to categorise	12%

The term nation is also roundly rejected in the sample analysed: 11% of the total criticisms focus on the definition of Catalonia as a nation. On this point, the newspapers are particularly belligerent with the Statute, and the language that they use is often quite heated. The argument to support this rejection is that if Catalonia is defined as a nation, the state is ruptured, the Spanish nation is finished, the essence of the fatherland is broken, or simply it may serve as the stepping stone to Catalonia's independence.

Another of the severest reproofs of the Statute is regarding the unity of Spain. Thus, if we add the criticism arguing that the text breaks Spain's national unity to the criticism that it breaks Spain's territorial cohesion, together they total 9% of the admonitions on similar issues.



What is more, it is interesting to note the series of points that criticise the wording of the text. Five percent of the criticisms refer to the fact that the Statute is not a realistic text and that it is poorly worded. The newspapers that express disapproval of the draft Statute believe that it should be trimmed back because it is poorly thought through and poorly written.

Beyond the position against the new model of financing, we noted how some newspapers opposed approval of the Statute and justified it in economic terms, wielding the following arguments: it is an interventionist text, it would negatively affect the economy, and finally, it reveals the privileged treatment of the fiscal pact with the Basque Country and Navarra. If we add these points, they account for 3% of the total negative points of the analysis.

## 6. Conclusions

### *6.1. The Spanish newspapers analysed harshly criticised the new draft Statute*

The main conclusion of this study on the Catalan Statute initiative is that generally speaking the leading newspapers in the country are harshly against the draft written by the Parliament of Catalonia. The criticisms are quite harsh at times. This generic conclusion validates the main working hypothesis stated at the beginning of the study. If we make an overall numerical assessment, for every positive point of the Statute, six negative points can be found in the sample as a whole.

### *6.2. The newspapers in the sample can be classified into three groups based on the intensity and nature of their criticisms of the draft Statute*

The newspapers considered highly unfavourable to the Statute are El Mundo, ABC, La Razón, Diario de Sevilla, Expansión and Heraldo de Aragón. In turn, in light of the results, the newspapers that take a somewhat unfavourable stance include El Correo and Levante, while El País, El Norte de Castilla, Última Hora and La Voz de Galicia can be described as favourable to the Statute, albeit to differing degrees. The new draft Statute had a much broader presence in the newspapers that are opposed to the Parliament of Catalonia's initiative. Generally speaking, the new Statute figured more prominently in the nationwide newspapers than in their more regional or local counterparts.

### *6.3. The main criticisms of the new draft Statute revolve around two immovable theses: it is unconstitutional and Catalonia is not a nation*

The majority of the newspapers analysed believe that the draft presented by the Parliament of Catalonia does not fit within the bounds of the Constitution and must therefore be revised or withdrawn. This thesis accounts for 23% of all the criticisms of the new text. The newspapers that are the most hostile to the project are the ones that cultivate this argument the most. However, the newspapers that view the text more favourably also made its fit within the bounds of the Constitution an indispensable condition. The study also shows that the definition of Catalonia as a nation leads to vehement rejection in the Spanish written press. According to the media in the sample, the new Statute is an attack on the unity of Spain and breaks its territorial cohesion. The argument wielded against the Statute by the newspapers in the sample is that if it moves forward it could break the "unity of the fatherland".

*6.4. Another major criticism is that the financing system proposed is unfair and uncooperative with the rest of Spain*

Most of the newspapers analysed do not like the system of financing proposed by the draft Statute. The main criticisms are that the text is unfair to the rest of Spain and not very cooperative with the poorer autonomous regions in the country. For this reason, the newspapers analysed view the Catalan draft Statute as a text which “is not realistic”, and they suggest that the text which emerged from the Parliament of Catalonia be scaled back.

*6.5. The most noteworthy points in favour of the new Statute in the Spanish press are the broad support of Parliament and the fact that Catalonia has the right to have more economic resources*

The newspapers which find points in favour of the new text deem that it should be respected because it received the approval of almost 90% of the deputies in the Parliament of Catalonia. This, along with the fact that Catalonia has the right to better financing, are the only two points where there is some degree of unanimity among the handful of newspapers that found something positive in the Statute. They also view the Catalan parties’ willingness to negotiate and the fact that the text is modern and innovative as positive factors.

The newspapers that approve the new Statute believe that the Catalan parties are not opposed to negotiating the text. These newspapers believe that this argument is enough to merit listening to the proposal and embarking on negotiations that are agreed upon among all the Catalan forces which have supported the text and the state government.

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## Cartography, landscape and territory<sup>1</sup>

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### Abstract:

*The word landscape is fashionable. It has become thoroughly modern and triggers heated debates on concepts like territory and map. But the most decisive impetus to “canonise” the predominant word and concept of landscape has come from laws, which refer back to the idea of territory and protection. This makes clear the need for cartography. Maps are not an image like any other: they strive to bring order to the world; they serve to classify and qualify. Yet maps cannot reproduce the totality of the landscape or its evolution: when it abstracts, a map falsifies, departs from reality, simplifies and caricatures it.*

**Key words:** Landscape, cartography, geography, map, laws on the landscape

*“... cogor et e tabulis pictis ediscere mundos  
qualis et haec docti sit positura dei”.*  
*PROPERTIUS, Elegiae, IV, 3, 37-38.*

*“Learning the painted worlds of the map and what position they have been accorded by a learned god”*: the elegiac client of Maecenas felt driven to do this two millennia ago. Map and landscape: for many centuries the spatial representation has striven to capture in two dimensions – on a flat surface such as a stone plaque, a clay tablet, papyrus, parchment or a sheet of paper – two often divergent yet also harmonious objectives: one utilitarian and the other symbolic (Raisz, 1931). However, the map is – or aims to be – the rendering of a landscape, a figuration based on abstraction (an apparent contradiction) which must be read or interpreted.

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<sup>1</sup> First talk of the Second Catalan Geography Conference (19<sup>th</sup> of May 2008).

## 1. Concepts

### 1.1. Map, chart, plan

One simple yet not inaccurate idea refers cartography to space represented and measured. Indeed, our Euclidian representations of space are largely fixed by contemporary mapmaking practices (Bousquet-Bressolier, 1998). *Chart* and *map* are not the only terms adopted by the practice of cartographers. Perhaps the word *tabula* was used (in Latin; now we would say ‘painting’, which brings us closer to *landscape*), as well as *description*, which equally evokes a text and a drawing: those were the most frequent terms in the scholarly world of the first printing press. *Theatrum* (‘performance’, ‘spectacle’) became more solemn and complex, since it aimed to encompass territorial, urban, historical, architectural and other figurations. *Atlas*, a ‘counter-metaphor’, came later and was used for collections that could also be called *speculum*, *torch*, ...

Applied mapmaking, however, mainly clung to *charta* (‘paper’), a name that has prevailed in many Romance and Anglo-Saxon countries in sea travel, even among the Catalans: *carta de navegar*, Portolan charts, *carta nàutica*. Map comes from MAPPA (‘tablecloth’) and is a very early expression in the guise of *mappa mundi*. The English had no qualms about mixing *maps* and *charts*; nor do I when speaking about mapmakers and mapmaking, often better than cartography, which is ‘the science of maps’.

The map iconises space not only through perception – K. Lynch’s geography from the 1960s – but also through ideas – large, powerful, exalted country; or myths – biblical history, empires; or reflection – civility, development progress... Does the map reproduce, reflect, mirror reality, or does it create it, or does it create the image of it?

Regarding the materiality of design, today’s man tends to consider only documents that resemble or coincide with an azimuthal projection, a ‘bird’s eye view’, as maps. However, the history of cartography suggests a broader range. Between the vignette and the strict map or plan there is an entire range of vantage points, of views that range from a 0° to a 90° angle. Perhaps we should stress – and we shall further on – the role of ‘false perspectives’, ‘military perspectives’, cavalier perspectives and isometries in the attempts to include the third dimension.

Mapmakers wield their own language, both when the product has an instrumental purpose and when it is a symbolic or simply sumptuary caprice. This language has slowly taken root through reiteration, self-purging and consensus. The semiologic patterns are increasingly universal, more global, if you will. The Chinese or Swedes understand them as well as Senegalese or Catalan scholars. Instrumental, regardless of whether it means ‘for waging war, too’ – especially those! – or for scientific research and the struggle against hunger: this can be said not only of general but also thematic maps. Symbolic mapmaking fits more with an ideology: there has been talk of the theological cartography which the mediaeval Church imposed for centuries. The prominent sovereigns who show off the image of their realms or the owners who show off their domains or the municipal leaders of their city impose it equally. The shift from boasting ownership to struggling to defend or exemplify it is quite feasible. After all, were it not, would there be such a plethora of cartographic documentation of territorial disputes?

The kind of taxation which can only achieve a certain distributive justice through cadastral plans or maps is grounded upon land ownership. They could not be

more instrumental, yet more than once they have symbolised territorial power, *foncière* wealth, the progressive liberal ideology... When Anthonie van den Wijngaerde (1562) drew the palace of Valsain, he stressed royal power more than ownership or leisure. The 120 linear metres of maps of the Vatican in the Ottaviano Mascherino gallery celebrate the power and presence of the Catholic Church.

Today we cannot conceive of a map without scale. Biological phenomena can be represented with a ratio of 1:100 or in even more detail (Folch, 2003), while architecture requires scales falling between 1:100 and 1:1,000. Urban planning and ecosystems move easily in a range from 1:1,000 to 1:10,000, while ecology and the economy fit the scales from 1:10,000 to 1:25,000 and even 1:100,000, which are common in what we call topographic maps. A. Cailleux and J. Tricart (1958) established a taxonomic order of geomorphological magnitudes with six intervals, from the smallest (decimetres to kilometres), where lithology predominates, to the entire Earth, where large structures command in order to situate the morphoclimatic and palaeoclimatic context, in the third order. Other authors adopt the terms macro-, meso- and micro-scale, depending on whether we are closer or further away; this can be perfectly applied to cartography.

Since we try to measure the world from a human vantage point, the body often becomes the referent. Hereford and Ebstorf's 13th century table maps fit within the body of a majestic Christ, while the scales of the old charts used inches, palms, feet, steps, fathoms ('arms'), right hands and other units, all of them referring to the body. Miles merge in thousands of steps. It should be stressed that the measure is taken by man, for man. We measure our world in *destres*, or hand spans.

Intentionally or not, maps are works of art (Crone, 1956). It is obvious that symbolic or sumptuary maps are closer to being works of art, but we can find many utilitarian maps that have a high degree of artistic value, at least until the age of technification. Portolan charts are a good example, both the utilitarian ones and the sumptuary ones, which can reflect mountain chains or lakes, an urban, legendary or ethnologic landscape. From the revealed bestiary, we could extract a true zoological archive, and from time to time even a catalogue of plant depictions.

The Montjuïc signal tower, the Molo lanterns in Genoa, the windmills in Marseilles, the blue stripe of a river, the triangle or bulbous shape of a hill, the circle of a walled village become repeated symbols which end up becoming customary. Symbols, signs, information, legends of both handmade and printed maps include a set of information connected to a place. They are geographic facts which are situated, which are located visually and geometrically. However, the space, increasingly detailed and well-represented, becomes less artistic, perhaps because in advanced civilisation space is devoured by time, by speed. The global village has contracted the dimensions.

## 1.2. Landscape

Regarding the word and the concept, let us begin with Benjamin Disraeli's *boutade* (c. 1830): "... in the entire world, only seeing Paris and London is interesting; all the rest is landscape".

Today we are very accustomed to the word 'landscape', but we should trace the word back to its roots. The scientific concept stems from 19th and 20th century German geography, from Humboldt ("*Totalcharakter einer Erdgegend*") and Richter. The school ended up defining it as "*a dynamic system with a spatial structure*". *Landschaft* and 'landscape' come from the Celtic or Basque root *landa* with the Dutch suffix –

*schap* tagged onto the end. Sixteenth-century Flemish painters introduced the practice and name. In the Romance languages, the French *paysage* came to prevail, which comes from the root *pays*, which in turn comes from the Latin *PAGENSIS* ('farmer' to us, 'pagès' in Catalan) and *PAGUS*. "*Le doux pays*" comes from the novel *La Mort le roi Artur* dating from the mid-16th century, from the mouth of Lancelot, who was condemned to go into exile in the *pays* of Logres. Before that, Chrétien de Troyes had used it in around 1170. Starting in the end of the 15th century, the word came to mean 'native land'; hence its sentimental ring.

Adhesion to Mother Earth is implicit in the expression, which is often ethnocentric (Zumthor, 1994). Space is perceived from a specific place, from a certain distance. We move closer to or further from it; we speak about here and there with geographic concreteness. *Paisaje* reached Spain through the Frenchman É. Reclus, picked up by F. Giner. The institutionists<sup>2</sup> mentioned "*el contacto purificador con la Naturaleza*" (purifying contact with Nature) and "*El paisaje es la expresión del orden natural*" (Landscape is the expression of natural order). R. Otero (1928) revived *paisagem* of Galicia with the literature of the *bocaribeira* and the *seno ártabro*.

The landscape is a spectacle that requires spectators who may have a pragmatic vantage point (such as the farmer or ploughman, the planner, the speculator), or a poetic or literary, urban, acoustic or patriotic perspective. The "static image of the frontal or oblique view of some open space" can be compared to a panorama or view (Folch, Rodà and Terradas, 2003). Some authors add to this "a socio-ecological algorithm" (Folch, 1999) to introduce an environmental landscape, "the sum of the specific traits of a territory". Let us return to Humboldt. The aesthetic perception remains in second or third place.

However, there are many landscapes. Within the **artistic landscape**, we can include both a 'still life' and a 'landscape with figures'. If we hark far back in time, we can head it with the story of the gardens of Rome, for example, the fountain of Clitumnus so vividly described by Pliny (*Ep.*, 8, 8)<sup>3</sup>. However, before the 14th century, no one in Europe spoke about the art of nature. In contrast, there are Chinese mediaeval landscape artists such as Wang Wei (701-761), a painter and poet, and Hsu Taoning (1000), when we at most were describing sacred landscapes or decorating the backgrounds of altarpieces. We cannot discuss Peter Brueghel (16th century), Nicolas Poussin (17th century), Cézanne (19th century) or Van Gogh (20th century) as landscape artists in the most understood and widespread meaning of the word.

Nicolau Rubió (Serrano, 2007), a 19th century bourgeois and *noucentista*<sup>4</sup> garden designer, regarded the landscape on different scales: the garden, the park, the urban landscape ("marrying the city with the landscape"), up to regional planning. He spoke about agricultural, industrial and urban spaces "amicably distributed" in the midst of parks, hunting preserves and the like. With the landscape "of Latinity" we would return to the beginning. The aesthetic is perceived and/or sought by the traveller, by the wanderer, by the tourist. Even now, thanks to remote sensing, GPS, 3-D and other technological advances, we can even devise a *meta-landscape*, an invented landscape.

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<sup>2</sup> The *Institución Libre de Enseñanza*, founded in 1876 by the Krausist F. Giner, promoted a clear revamping of educational practices all over Spain.

<sup>3</sup> Teubner edition, pp. 248-249.

<sup>4</sup> *Noucentisme* was a cultural movement which encroached into politics that got underway in Catalonia in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century.

There also exists a **literary landscape**. One of the themes in Frankfurt in October of last year was “The City as Literary Landscape”. What would remain of Jacint Verdaguer’s *Canigó* if we took away the landscape? Teodor Llorente’s “El barranc dels Algadins” and Joan Alcover’s “La Serra” are emotive evocations of landscapes<sup>5</sup>. Through professional bias, I should say that the key to toponyms – letters and words rooted in the land – lies in the physical and cultural landscape.

A book by my friend Salvador Tarragó was just released, entitled *Paisatges construïts*, and it refers to the Catalan legacy of public works. It is unquestionably part of what we could call the **humanised landscape**, or the cultural or anthropic landscape, ultimately an artefact. We have had centuries of history; without houses, without churches, without castles, without roadways, without bridges, the native soil would not be ‘ours’. Culture is not only a relic; it is also alive, living patrimony. The syntagma ‘**cultural landscape**’ reflects a concept evolved in its perception: sometimes nature loses and culture wins... In the French geographic tradition – to which my generation owes so much – the landscape was considered the ‘expression of societies’, not so far from genre of life or the life horizon.

The expression **urban landscape**, the kind inhabited by over half of the Earth’s population, does not sound so strange. It has been translated – even artistically – into paintings and engravings. Let us recall J. d’Barbari’s Venice or Pietro del Massaio’s Florence or Rosselli’s “map with the chain” in elevated perspective, not to mention Van der Wijngaerde’s striking views. They are also constructed landscapes brought to life by human activity or presence.

The **archaeology of the landscape**, which took off with geoarchaeology (Butzer, 1960), has become a discipline in its own right (Ashmore and Knapp, 1999), especially in Great Britain, and has been cultivated in Spain with brilliant studies (Bolòs, 2004). The territory is “*the best document we could have for studying the past..., if we know how to read it*” (Hoskins, 1955).

For my professional taste – I am a physical geographer, a geomorphologist – I might stop at the **physical landscape**, even though I have always proclaimed, in addition to the unity of geography, that human beings are a prime factor in it. Our tired old lands have withstood millennia of anthropic pressure: broken soil, fires, breakages, ploughing, levelling, edging, drainage, river corrections, up-building, civil works, buildings, road networks, etc. All of this also fabricates the physical landscape. Perhaps for this reason it is so difficult to classify landscapes. Not so long ago, some colleagues in Madrid – through the Ministry of the Environment – published an *Atlas de los paisajes españoles* (Mata and Sanz, 2003), and in an appendix they felt obliged to construct the periphrasis: “associations of kinds of landscapes”, a photograph album...

### 1.3. In the end, geography

After so many discursive formations where I have eluded the ‘cognitive landscape’, allow me to place myself in a slightly improper or unorthodox position. I believe that the term ‘landscape’ has been used and abused to express a reality closer to *land* or *territory*. The landscape is a constructed yet diverse object or artefact; it can be personal, sentimental, touristic (with water and blue depicted, if needed), pictorial (the

<sup>5</sup> J. Verdaguer, T. Llorente and J. Alcover, respectively, are some of the leading poets from the Catalan-speaking lands and were the spearheads behind the *Renaixença* or Catalan cultural Renaissance.



word 'picturesque' comes from 'painting'), industrial or archaeological. It is another metaphor which has triggered the semantic evolution of the word: everyone understands whatever he or she wants when the word is modulated. Does someone who mentions the *archaeology* of the landscape mean the same as someone who speaks about the *archaeology* of knowledge?

If landscape structures depend on the biophysical matrix (lithology, relief, soil, hydrology, biota) which human intervention has affected, it would probably be better to speak about geography. Regardless of how much we add the novelty of GIS or the ecological footprint, it still remains pure geography, a landscape imposed on us by Europe. What is one to do?

## 2. Which came first, maps or landscapes?

In 1336, Francesco Petrarca climbed Lo Ventor (1,909 metres above sea level) at the same time that Angelino Dulceti was drawing up the first Mallorcan navigational charts. Apparently Petrarca was the first to make an ascent in order to view the landscape. The Middle Ages still respected Saint Augustine's dictum: "*Remove your gaze from the world*". Six centuries later, the Félibriges F. Mistral and T. Aubanèu would scale the Provençal peak. Four hundred years after Petrarca, Michel-Gabriel Paccard and Jacques Balmat would be the first to conquer the peak of Montblanc, egged on by H.-B. Saussure, in a gesture regarded as the beginning of mountaineering. In these different episodes, aesthetics, leisure and profit all come into play. The map or chart would be considered more utilitarian than the landscapes viewed or depicted, but next to the Portolan charts we have symbolic or theological maps.

### 2.1. *The ancient world*

Above we said that the Latin authors had shown some interest in the literary but not the artistic landscape. The architectural landscape was something else entirely, if we translate it into technical treatises and patrimony. On the other hand, an embryo of instrumental mapmaking can be glimpsed in diverse pieces of information or relics that still survive. One of the most spectacular, Arausio's stone cadaster (AD 77), is basically a fiscal instrument (and a register of the land divided among colonists), but it also contains the layout of the roadways (Via Agrippa) and the course of the River Berre, a tributary of the Rhone. The portico of Agrippa in Rome had a kind of marble mural map of the imperial domains; it does not survive today. There is also information on a city map which must have been more useful than decorative.

Finally, the *Tabula Peutingeriana* is a late copy of a large itinerary map covering the entire Roman Empire and rendered on a series of parchments measuring six metres long and 0.3 metres wide, which required schematic, deformed drawing. It depicts seas, rivers and mountain ranges, in addition to pictorial symbols for the mansions, baths, cities and ports. Yet there are few concessions to sumptuary appearance in the ancient remains we have cited. Now utility does not exclude a certain representative or propagandistic turn.

## 2.2. *The Middle Ages*

Ptolemaic maps – if any remain from the ancient world – must not have contained any reference to the landscape, nor do the ones that have survived, which are fully from the Middle Ages or Renaissance, reconstructed or recopied. An astronomic basis, a simple geographic design and toponyms are the sum total of their contents. Biblical maps – erroneously called theological – Isidorian maps or the maps of the oft-copied “holy men” (Beatus of Liébana) adopt an ideological bent that we could allow into mental cartography. Not for nothing, the simple scheme of the T-O map is made to dovetail with the start of the *terrarum orbis*. Three continents, Asia as an eastern semicircle, Europe in the NW quarter, and Africa in the SW, are separated by seas or rivers without a great deal of precision, which are decorative or doctrinaire if they do appear. There is nothing about landscape, except the terrestrial paradise or the celestial city of Jerusalem: pure decoration.

Likewise we could speak about the large encyclopaedic maps that develop the previous scheme – perpetuating classical sediments – in altarpieces or large panels which are actually a sermon on the Creation or an exposition on biblical history implanted in the ecumene. The Hereford altarpiece (from the late 13th century) is called *estorie* and has more than 1,100 inscriptions. It boasts not only a framework of seas, rivers, islands and mountain ranges but also a multitude of architectural vignettes, a lengthy bestiary and many human figures. The Ebstorf Map (probably prior to its Hereford counterpart and destroyed during World War II) had similar characteristics. Yet there is no landscape intention: the world was drawn as a divine creation subjected to the judgement of God (Harvey, 2007).

In around 1154, Al-Idrissi, a transnational geographer born in Septa who ended up living in Sicily under Roger II, drew up a large map divided into 70 sections (and seven climates) which has many Ptolemaic transmutations. The texts accompanying it note its instrumental purpose – didactic and/or for travellers – but its embryonic decorations (wavy sea and blue rivers, mountains like caterpillars, floral buttons for the cities) begin to suggest a vague idea of landscape, in contrast to other Islamic maps, which were strictly schematic and symbolic.

I would daresay that the rudimentary city maps that started to be drawn up in the 9th or 10th centuries are more symbolic of the emblematic *situs* of the most important cities, Jerusalem and Rome. Yet the defence walls, representative buildings, temples and streets evoke something of the landscape.

Portolan charts, which were initially instrumental, require a chapter of their own. Sailing and cargo loads were facilitated with the compass and *sestes* (dividers). In these charts, the coastal landscape is simplified into a heavily broken littoral line; inland, there is nothing more than perpendicular toponyms. They are true scale maps. Now the masters of navigational charts found a more profitable placement for their product, sumptuary, decorative or didactic. The majority of works that are still conserved are in this luxurious style and are peppered with a host of figurations that begin with vignettes of cities and flags, followed by mountains and chains, images of sovereigns, terrestrial animals, fish, ships and more. I would not claim that the panorama introduced is more landscape than cartography.

In reality, we are reencountering the encyclopaedism – ethnographic, even – of the large 13th century altarpieces. What is clearly established (Pujades, 2007) is the duplicity between the utilitarian and the sumptuary bias. The latter encompasses the

isolaria which, during the transition to the Renaissance, allowed for imaginary journeys with the accompaniment of texts and images. But not much landscape.

### 2.3. *The Modern Age*

In the late 15th century, Martin Behaim tried to transfer the cartographic information from his age onto a metal globe. A. Örtel and many others would later follow suit. Generalisation and synthesis had to be imposed by force, no matter how meticulous the engraver was. Parchment and paper, nonetheless, were the materials of a cartography that began to spread thanks to the printing press. A sheet is two-dimensional, even though the decoding of many figures enables one to penetrate the depth or height: some are even perceived nose-dived (Zumthor, 1994).

Soon printed maps, the earliest ones woodcuts and later brass or copper engravings, strove to remake the landscape, but for centuries they barely went beyond the relief, portrayed with shaded, angled silhouettes or tortuous caterpillars, the river system with undulant courses, and a hint of vegetation from time to time. The range of symbols of settlement would gradually become richer. In simplifying, mapmakers become aware of abstraction, and when they want to offer *landscape*, they add vignettes or panoramas of both cities and monuments and coats of arms. Likewise, progress in the engraving technique yielded increasingly artistic products.

Maps, now more detailed with scales of around 1:500,000, could offer substantial guidance in commercial treks, both peaceful and hostile. Wars and invasions could lead to a *bellicose landscape*. All we have to do is recall the obsession with the *cols* or passes of the Pyrenees shown the 16th century cartography through the map consulted by Pere Gil in 1596 (“els colls de la mappa”, 1600). ‘Regional’ maps were particularly widespread in Central Europe in the 16th and 17th centuries; from then on, the sovereigns and monarchs were the main driving forces behind the cartography associated with power: the more land, the more power. The executors were called ‘geographers’; we should not lose sight of that.

Some map collections are labelled as *theatre*, which evokes the perspective technique assimilated by painters, especially landscape painters. Geometrised gardens and the Albertian regularisation of Renaissance buildings appear on the plates of Abraham Örtel’s *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum*. Does this mean that strict mapmakers are making landscape? *Stricto sensu*, no. They inform, they communicate using a graphic language with vacillating codes. When they want to make cities, monuments, histories pictorial, as in F. Braun and J. Hogenberg’s *Ciuitates Orbis Terrarum*, they resort to another frame: perspective.

### 2.4. *Today*

The word *landscape* is fashionable. It has become thoroughly modern; it is a unique presence in the world of the humanities and triggers heated debates among geographers, ethnologists, landscapists, environmentalists, philosophers and epistemologists on concepts like *territory* and *map* (Baridon, 1999). In 1997, Jean-Pierre Le Dantec mentioned fourteen journals (in English, French or German) which had ‘landscape’ in their title or as a core theme. Anne Coquelin’s *L’Invention du Paysage* and Louis Dagognet’s *Mort du Paysage: Philosophie et Esthétiques du Paysage* were released in

1989. The hoard of rising literature is unattainable, and the term's presence in the media is insistent.

The landscapes of the 20th century used everything visible, everything that can be detected or photographed on foot, from a balloon, from an airplane, from a satellite. The purpose of remote sensing must be the landscape... If remote sensing is used in cartography, the purpose of cartography must also be the landscape. Have we concluded the syllogism correctly?

Since the introduction of airborne sensors and plotters – a wartime advance, like so many others – mapmaking technique has made spectacular progress: the task that took the old topographers years can now be accomplished in just a few days. The GPS has ended up being a tool within everyone's reach, and maps have almost inexhaustible bases. It is clear that we must examine alternative sources to introduce invisible elements into them which are perhaps not related to the landscape. Professor Veny's *Atlas del domini lingüístic* cannot be drawn up from an airplane, but from many pilgrimages on foot across the land. Are dialectal colours, isoglosses, the cultural landscape?

A geomorphic atlas – stereoscopic analysis, the filtering of greys or colours, helps a lot – and a phytogeographic map are unquestionably about the landscape, but we could wonder whether they encompass the entire landscape, all the landscape we have surveyed. More than one century ago, E. Raisz advocated and executed morphological and physiographic maps derived from diagrams which had been introduced by William M. Davis in the transition from the 19th to the 20th century. They were combined perspectives with geographic sections that combined pictorial symbols – around 40 different kinds – with oblique, stylised aerial views. Understandable by anyone with basic education, I believe that they are actually the most complete synthesis of map and landscape. However, they were only useful for 'small' scales.

For centuries, cartography has been burdened with the problem of the third dimension. J. G. Lehman's solution (1799) of more or less dense hachure according to the gradients systematised the shadings made popular during the 18th century, but isohypses were not introduced until 1830 ("six-inch" map of Ireland). Legibility was enhanced with colour (hypsometric tinting), and the topographic landscape acquired plasticity with the more or less conventional shading in which Helvetic cartography would excel. The world of tourism, on the other hand, adopted hybrid forms of depicting the relief, which became veritable landscapes, always at the expense of topographic accuracy.

In the last 25 years, seizing upon the overabundance of data and models, the third dimension has once again come to the fore. Maps of slopes can be accompanied by models of the surface curvature, of visibilities, of elevations or of potential solar radiation. The three-dimensional views found in Google Earth – virtually a videogame – are available to everyone.

### 3. The ontological landscape and laws

Some philosophers, such as George Lakoff (1989), claim that our life and all our thoughts are made up of cartographic operations, or mapping. Grammar, they say, is nothing other than a map of the language. Metaphors are determinants of everyday life, and since metaphors are mapping operations, all our thinking takes place thanks to this mapping of concepts and structures. Thinking means drawing a map, outlining

boundaries, organising a terrain, transforming it into a known landscape (Shusterman, 1999). This works wonderfully for us geographers. The map, just like the pictorial landscape, would be a *double* of the real territory, a mirror of the truth. This is why we find so many maps and plans in the archives as legal evidence.

However, maps cannot reproduce the totality of the landscape or its evolution, not even on a 1:1 scale. For this reason, the editor or institution often enlists aid (hypocritically) to correct and update them. Maps are not an image like any other: they strive to bring order to the world; they serve to classify and qualify. We cannot forget that measuring the land always becomes an appropriation of space.

The management of “spatial capital”<sup>6</sup> suggests or demands cartography: consider the situation of a borderland or the closeness or distance of a road; or in the issue of strategy, either geopolitical or urbanistic (the qualification of lands!).

Yet let us return to the landscape. Do the treatise writers, scientists and philosophers lead or trail behind the terminology? I would not dare to answer this question, regardless of whether it is to see or to represent. Pictorial figuration aims to be a portrait of reality (and aerial photography is even more so), while mapmaking is always an abstraction of the land or the landscape. When it abstracts, a map falsifies, departs from reality, simplifies and caricatures it. For this reason, maps bear legends, a word which comes from the Latin *legere*, literally ‘to read’, meaning that at least part of the cartographic code is not obvious. Here we should add the relationship between text or narration and map in many (historical) cases. Once again we are evoking the implication between written Portolan and mediaeval navigational charts. The *Liber de existencia riueriarum Mediterranei* was written to explain or accompany a 12th century *cartula mappaemundi*. The great map by al-Idrissi came coupled with the *Kitab al-Rugar*.

Since we scientists cannot agree, we have pragmatically passed off the task of defining the landscape to technicians, politicians or legislators.

### 3.1. Laws on the landscape

The most decisive impetus to ‘canonise’ the predominant word and concept of ‘landscape’ has come from laws. Since the 1960s, some European states have legally formalised the declaration of ‘protected spaces’ and issued provision to ensure their promotion and survival. By the late 20th century, almost all governments – some with greater or lesser efficacy and conviction than others – had enacted a set of protectionist laws. Gradually, a specific jurisprudence began to take shape, even though the figures on safeguarding, cataloguing and promoting the landscape were extremely diverse (Llorens and Rodríguez Aizpeolea, 1991).

The European Landscape Convention was gestated between 1998 and 2000 (Florence, 20.10.2000). The expression ‘space worthy of protection’ has become *landscape*: “The natural and humanised environment expressed in landscapes has become part... of territorial planning and development policies” for the member states of the Council of Europe. A new concept was introduced: the *sustainable* development of the cultural, ecological, environmental and social realms and a natural and cultural legacy was mentioned.

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<sup>6</sup> “The pool of resources accumulated by an actor which allows him to get profit according to his strategy, to the use of the spatial dimension of the society” (Lévy and Lussault, 2003).

The ‘European’ definition of landscape must be noted: “any part of the territory, as perceived by the people, whose character is the outcome of the action and interaction of natural and/or human factors”. Other definitions refer to “landscape policies”, “landscape quality”, “landscape protection”, “landscape management” and “landscape planning”. I believe that it is essential to note that the most solid part of the proposals – which are not always precise enough – refers back to the idea of territory and protection. Underlying it is the qualification and cataloguing for which cartography is indispensable, even though it is not mentioned. Identifying and qualifying in order to plan: geography’s mission *par excellence*.

Valencia’s law on *Ordenació del Territori i Protecció del Paisatge* (Territorial Planning and Landscape Protection, 30.06.2004) was the first<sup>7</sup>. Section I is devoted to planning criteria, which include quality of life and sustainable development. Article 11 refers explicitly to landscape protection, as does the whole of Section II, which is tellingly divided into the rural environment and the urban landscape. Section III mentions the land planning instruments. In all of its 236 pages, the regulation from December 2006 never mentions cartography! At any rate, it has hardly been applied.

The Catalan law on *Protecció, Gestió i Ordenació del Paisatge* (Landscape Protection, Management and Planning) dates from 2.06.2005. Articles 10, 13 and 14 cover landscape catalogues, a landscape observatory and maps of the landscape, respectively, without either specification or definition. Another thing altogether is the regulation issued on 21.09.2006 which includes the claims of the College of Environmentalists. Article 9 mentions cartography in detail – maps of landscape units, maps of visual basins, evaluation maps and landscape quality maps – and stipulates a minimum scale of 1:50,000. Even though the administrative language is not always satisfactory, the interdependence between landscape – this slightly slippery landscape that is legislated – and cartography is quite clear.

The Balearic Islands are in a category of their own. Since 2006, there have been attempts to embark upon a legislative project bearing in mind that “the landscape is an economic asset” and the backbone of tourism. I know that work is underway on a draft in the corresponding regional ministry, but the delay is significant. The people working on it are knowledgeable about maps.

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A vaporous, blurred, diffuse landscape that is legally rarefied requires a map as a means to define it. As Shusterman (1999) said, there is a rhizomatic web between map, landscape and territory. A map is open and can be connected on all sides; it can be improved, folded, cut or filled as a political act or as a reflection. When a description is overly arduous, we geographers add a sketch or a map, like the gentleman Tristram Shandy in Laurence Sterne’s disturbing novel (c. 1760).

The pragmatic offices that work for others and draw up “positive environmental impact” maps (!) speak about the “cartography of the landscape”. We could talk about the *cartographic landscape*, but that would be the topic of another chapter. Geotechnical maps (I am resisting the expression ‘geoscientific’) tend to accompany

<sup>7</sup> The circumstance of the congress where this lecture was delivered made it necessary to cite examples from all three Catalan-speaking lands: Catalonia proper, the region of Valencia and the Balearic Islands.

maps of risks, forest planning, pollution, waste elimination, etc. (Obartí, 2008). The adjectival label 'landscape' conceals an indisputable, clear applicability, a dichotomy that is not easy to resolve.

In the 'European' concept of preservation, protection tends to imply an adversary: protection against ourselves, even against *urbanity*. Urbanism does indeed devour territory, yet it also creates landscape... So many dichotomies, so many contradictions, so many mirages! Perhaps everything is simpler and clearer, regardless of whether we call it territory or landscape. With maps, of course.

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## The Rousseau Institute of Geneva's influence on and presence in Catalan pedagogy in the first third of the 20<sup>th</sup> century<sup>1</sup>

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### Abstract

*The influences from international pedagogical currents and active pedagogy's impact on spearheading the renovation of Catalan pedagogy in the first third of the 20th century have been the subject of many studies which enable us to sketch a European pedagogical map that can help us to grasp the keys of this broad, deep renovating movement that started to fertilise the rough terrain of European education in the last few decades of the 19th century. Geneva and Catalonia, and Spain by extension, should be joined by a thick line on this map. A study of the documentary sources in the archives of the iconic Jean-Jacques Rousseau Institute, founded in Geneva in 1912, along with a survey of different studies and publications enable us to gain a new perspective with the goal of contributing further elements to help us assess the influence of this Geneva-based institution on Catalan pedagogy in the first third of the 20th century.*

**Key words:** active pedagogy, pedagogical renovation, educational sciences, history of education, new school, JJ Rousseau Institute, experimental psychology

Active pedagogy's impact on the drive to renovate Catalan pedagogy in the first third of the 20th century has been the subject of many studies. Based on their results, we can trace several lines that join different points in Europe's geography and explain the pedagogical relations, conceptual genesis and influences which ultimately reveal the keys to understanding this sweeping, profound movement of renovation which both intensively and extensively fertilised and seasoned the difficult terrain of European education in the last few decades of the 19th century. One of these lines would connect Switzerland, and more specifically Geneva, with Catalonia and, by extension, Spain (Laudo and Monés, 2008).

In the Archives of the J.J. Rousseau Institute (AIJRR) we have found a letter from before the institute opened which is related to the rising prestige of the studies

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<sup>1</sup> This article is the result of a research stay at the Archives of the J.J. Rousseau Institute (AIJRR) in Geneva during January and February 2008 with funding from the University of Vic.

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being conducted by Claparède's Experimental Psychology Laboratory<sup>2</sup>. The letter is from Joan Bardina (on the letterhead of the *Revista de Educació*); it was signed in Barcelona on the 20th of December 1910 and addressed to Claparède. In it, Bardina presents the plans to publish a new journal starting in January 1911 with the goal of “*sembrar dans notre pays et dans l'Amérique espagnole les nouvelles théories sur la Psychologie, la Méthodologie et la Culture scolaire, ici presque complètement inconnues*”. After the introduction and preamble, Bardina asks Claparède to cooperate with the journal “*en mettant votre pensée au service des maîtres espagnols, avides de savoir, mais, malheureusement, ayant plus de bonne volonté que de science*”<sup>3</sup>. Beyond the merely anecdotal, this letter pinpoints the origin of the relations between Catalan teachers and pedagogues and Geneva. These relations unquestionably stemmed from the prestige that Geneva's psychology and pedagogy had gradually garnered thanks to Flournoy and Claparède and in the pages of the *Archives de Psychologie*, a journal which came to be included in the most important education libraries, including the library of the Pedagogy Council<sup>4</sup>.

In the archives there is also a letter from Eladi Homs (dated the 13th of May 1912) in response to a complaint from Claparède that the *Revista de Educació* had not covered the project to create the Rousseau Institute, while it had published information on Brussels<sup>5</sup>. Homs apologises and announces that the journal will cover the opening of the Rousseau Institute in a forthcoming issue, in which an article by Claparède would

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<sup>2</sup> At that time, Claparède was already a famous psychologist and pedagogue. His book *Psychologie de l'enfant et pédagogie expérimentale*, published in 1905, had been translated into Spanish by Domingo Barnés and published in Madrid in 1910 by the Librería Francisco Beltrán.

<sup>3</sup> Source: Archives de la Famille de Morsier [consulted at the Archives of the J.J. Rousseau Institute (AIJR), yet meant for the Claparède collection in the Département de Manuscrits of the Bibliothèque de Genève].

<sup>4</sup> *Quaderns d'Estudi*. Vol. III, no. 1, year II, October 1916. The section containing information (sheet no. 1) on the library of the Council of Pedagogy notes that the collection contains all the issues since 1911. When the roots of the relations between the Catalan teachers and the city of Geneva were being laid down, we cannot forget the educational journeys made by different groups of Barcelona teachers starting in 1911 with the support of the Town Hall. The first group of 14 teachers travelled during the month of July and went to different cities in France, Switzerland and Germany, with a brief stop in Geneva. This visit, which lasted a little over a day, was limited to just a few schools, especially secondary and professional education (see: *Viaje pedagógico a Francia, Suiza y Alemania en el año 1911: memoria presentada al Excmo. Ayuntamiento de Barcelona por varios maestros públicos de dicha ciudad*. Barcelona, J. Horta, Impresor, 1911). The different members of the group, coordinated by Celestina Vigneaux, included Rosa Sensat and Llorenç Jou, who would later return to Geneva and have relations of differing intensities with the Rousseau Institute. The report on the educational journey taken in 1913 mentions no contact with the Institute, which had been operating for just one academic year. This should not come as a surprise for two reasons: first, the journey followed an itinerary similar to that of previous years, plus the Rousseau Institute conducted no activities during the month of July, and the vacation courses, which were launched in 1916, had not yet begun. Worth noting is the visiting teachers' positive assessment of the tolerant treatment of the religious and linguistic differences they observed in the Swiss schools (See: *Viaje pedagógico a Francia, Suiza, Alemania y Bélgica en el año 1913: memoria presentada al Excmo. Ayuntamiento de Barcelona por varios maestros de las escuelas nacionales de dicha ciudad*. Barcelona, Imprenta Elzeviriana de Borrás, Mestres y C<sup>a</sup>, 1914).

<sup>5</sup> The *Revista de Educació* (no. 4, vol. II, April 1912, p. 232) had published a report on the forthcoming opening of the “International Pedagogy Faculty of Brussels”, a higher school of psychological and pedagogical studies envisioned as a research and teaching centre. To please Claparède, issue 5 from May of the same year (pp. 302-307) contained an extensive, detailed report on the “School of Educational Sciences (J.J. Rousseau Institute)” which explained the goals of the centre, the conditions for admission, the cost of the programmes, the faculty, the schedule of courses and the subjects being offered for academic year 1912-13.

also appear<sup>6</sup>. He also takes advantage of the occasion to explain that he had studied in the United States for three years, that he had read Claparède's child psychology books, that he was replacing Joan Bardina at the head of the journal and that Pau Vila had requested a scholarship to study at the Rousseau Institute. Therefore, this was a minor diplomatic incident which was easily digested by Geneva's liberalism, internationalism and *savoir faire* and only serves to corroborate that the threads of a partnership were beginning to be woven<sup>7</sup>.

Not unrelated to this mutual interest was the parallelism we can establish between the so-called *esprit de Genève*, with its sights set on the need to provide a political-educational utopia, and the concerns with building the country through education among the Catalan bourgeoisie first and the progressive and republican sectors later on. Nor should we ignore the fact that the cantons of Geneva, Vaud and Neuchâtel are francophone, which facilitated communication in French, a language spoken by the Catalan teachers and professors.

As Eladi Homs announced in his friendly response to Claparède, Pau Vila registered in the first course at the new Rousseau Institute in 1912 and opened up an avenue of exchange which would be heavily trodden in the forthcoming years, albeit more by ideas than by actual people<sup>8</sup>. The analysis of these comings and goings, the stays, the news generated and the articles and monographs written are the pretext and motive of the reflections below in an attempt to reconstruct the diffuse influence which Teresa Marín Eced (1990) mentions when she assesses the European contributions to Spanish pedagogy based on educational journeys.

## 1. The Jean-Jacques Rousseau Institute of Geneva

### 1.1. An institute of educational sciences as a crucible of educational renovation

The 1912 opening of a school devoted to the sciences of education which bore the name of the Geneva-born philosopher Jean-Jacques Rousseau, dovetailing with the second centennial of his birth, culminated a process gestated years earlier. Throughout this process, a complex edifice revolving around the educational sciences was constructed. The evolution had gotten underway in the late 19th century, based on a conception of pedagogy as a moral science; it took shape in 1912 with the creation of the Rousseau Institute and the development of child psychology and experimental psychology; and it finally unfolded and became professionalised after 1929, and particularly after 1933, with the development and academic recognition of the educational sciences as a discipline unto itself (Hoffstetter and Schneuwly, 1998, 2006a and 2007). By the end of the process, the free school initially envisioned by Claparède, who followed in the

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<sup>6</sup> Claparède, É. (1912) "La educación atractiva", *Revista de Educación*, vol. II, no. 5 (May), pp. 257-262. This is a text excerpted from the book *Psicología del niño y Pedagogía experimental*, translated by D. Barnés.

<sup>7</sup> Source: AIJRR (Fonds général - Correspondance de la direction – Box 1: 1912-1918).

<sup>8</sup> Issue 3 (December 1912) of *L'Intermédiaire des Éducateurs*, the journal of the institute that had just opened its doors two months earlier, reports on the visit by a group of teachers from all regions of Spain who were on an educational journey funded by the Board for Advanced Studies. Ferrière lectured to them and projected photographs on "Les écoles nouvelles du Dr. Lietz". As we shall discuss further on, in January 1913, after a study trip to Belgium, Switzerland and Germany, Rosa Sensat made a brief stop in Geneva and a brief visit to the Rousseau Institute accompanied by Pau Vila, a student at the centre.

footsteps of Théodore Flournoy<sup>9</sup>, would become fully integrated into, yet also diluted in, the University of Geneva, after which Piaget would determine the fate and define the orientation.

The construction of the disciplinary edifice around the activity of the Rousseau Institute was grounded upon a merger of psychology and pedagogy, which complemented and fed each other. Throughout this process, this common trunk gradually branched out until it separated into a plurality of dissociated, distinct disciplines in all fields which pervaded the academic contents of the courses, research, congresses and the structure and profile of the university degree programmes and publications<sup>10</sup>.

The social and political context in the canton of Geneva did not remain divorced from this evolution, and instead led to the presence of tensions and both internal and external struggles on a personal and institutional level. The 'times of political and social passions' that Geneva experienced during the 1930s led to upheaval for the Rousseau Institute and determined the fate of its main players (Vidal, 1988).

Since 1920, there had been some criticisms levelled against the liberalism emanating from the Rousseau Institute, which was imbued with Geneva's pacifist and internationalist spirit, especially at times when the Institute was experiencing economic difficulties. Claparède and Bovet saw their institute as a model and example that captured the dream of a new era which would be attained through education: an educational community grounded upon friendship and respect. This educational project aimed at social reform was reinforced in 1925 with the creation of the Bureau International de l'Éducation (BIE), which was the perfect synthesis between the climate at the Rousseau Institute and the spirit of Geneva. The spirit and trajectory of the first twenty years of the Rousseau Institute can be studied in publications by Claparède (1912), Bovet (1912, 1917 and 1932), Rosselló (1923) and, more recently, Daniel Hameline (2004).

A few years later, Geneva would be influenced and pressured by Europe, which was unfortunately evolving towards quite different pathways of internationalism and pacifism. During the 1930s, the pressures from conservative groups in Geneva increased and had more resonance and effects in a city which, as Professor Vidal tells us, was no longer an island but a reflection of what was happening in Europe, where the economic crisis and rise of fascism and nationalism would become the predominant features (Torracinta, 1978; Spielmann, 1981). The dire clashes derived from social and political conflicts experienced in Geneva in 1932 were crucial to the political and academic

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<sup>9</sup> Théodore Flournoy, Claparède's first cousin, was the creator of the Chair in Experimental Psychology in Geneva in 1889. See: Claparède, É. (1921) "Théodore Flournoy, sa vie et son oeuvre", *Archives de Psychologie*, vol. XVIII, pp. 1-125.

<sup>10</sup> The following unpublished study by Professor Germaine Duparc is interesting: *L'École de Psychologie et des Sciences de l'Éducation de l'Université de Genève. Notice historique concernant l'évolution des objectifs et la mutation des structures, 1912-1971* (Source: Archives de l'Université, 1984/16/10). Professor Duparc, who died on the 7<sup>th</sup> of January 2008 (just a few days before my stay in Geneva), had been born in 1916, held a degree in Biology and a PhD in Anthropology and had been a teacher and director of the Maison des Petits and later a professor at the University of Geneva. In this study, she schematically chronicles the transformations brought about within the Rousseau Institute based on the changes in name, chronological events, objectives and studies and degrees offered. Jean Piaget, one of the spearheads of the changes, is described and analysed from her own viewpoint in the article "L'Institut des Sciences de l'Éducation de 1914 à 1956", *Histoire de l'Université de Genève. Tome IV*. Geneva, Georg, 1959.

authorities' decision to intervene decisively in the Rousseau Institute's life, and starting in 1933 to neutralise it through science.

### *1.2. A model of pedagogical training: From experimental psychology to active pedagogy, from the sciences of education to educational practice*

If we look back to 1912, just before the Institute was created, and review the founding texts written by Claparède, we can catch a perfect glimpse of the motives and purposes reserved for the new institution:

*“The project of an institute of this sort comes from a twofold claim: first, we realise that the psychological and pedagogical training of educators is not sufficient; and secondly we note that no measure has been taken to ensure the progress and development of the science of education”* (Claparède, 1912:21).

Claparède's reasoning was clear, and his conclusion was striking: if children were at the core of the educational system, there was no reason to stint on or ignore future educators' need for experimentally grounded knowledge of children (*“Discat a puero magister”* would be the slogan of the new institution) as the first step towards constructing a kind of pedagogy that was also grounded on experimentation and science:

*“No theoretical reason can oppose the fact that educational issues are proven through experimentation. Quite to the contrary, we see the health of pedagogy as lying in controlled observation and deliberate observation”* (Claparède, 1912:43).

In short, the mission was to create a centre with a twofold objective: to train educators and to further the construction of knowledge. In the end, the Institute was born from the heart of the debate on the real role of pedagogy and the relationships between psychology and pedagogy<sup>11</sup>. The model of the new institution drew inspiration from the experimental laboratory and the *laboratoires vivants* used to observe the conduct of students in natural situations. Rita Hoffstetter and Bernard Schneuwly (2006b) have called this a “laboratory of laboratories”. In fact, this is the same avenue pursued in Dewey's laboratory school model and Binet's *école laboratoire*.

Claparède's project envisioned a structure built upon four pillars: a school where the fundamentals of education and scientific research methods were studied; a research centre oriented at developing the educational sciences; an information centre built

<sup>11</sup> Claparède, É. (1905) *Psychologie de l'enfant et pédagogie expérimentale*. Neuchâtel, Delachaux et Niestlé. The relationships between psychology and pedagogy in Geneva are analysed in the following article: Lussi, V.; Muller, C.; Kiciman, V. (2002) “Pédagogie et psychologie: les frontières mouvantes du développement des sciences de l'éducation à Genève”, in Hoffstetter, R.; Schneuwly, B. (Ed.) *Sciences de l'Éducation 19e-20e siècles. Entre champs professionnels et champs disciplinaires*. Bern, Peter Lang, pp. 383-421. For a broader view of the place of psychology in the hotbed of Geneva, the following book is worth a look: Ractcliff, M.J.; Ruchat, M. (dir.) (2006) *Les laboratoires de l'esprit. Une histoire de la psychologie à Genève 1892-1965*. Geneva, Musée d'histoire des sciences/Éditions LEP.

around the publication of the journal *L'Intermédiaire des Éducateurs*; and finally a 'propaganda' and dissemination centre for the new ideas generated. There was a great deal of psychology and pedagogy in Claparède's yearnings, yet there was also a sound dose of what we have called the spirit of Geneva, suffused with tolerance, free thinking and liberalism:

*"The objective of our school shall be to guide, not to indoctrinate. We shall make an effort to present the lessons of the past and present within a framework of tolerance, with the stress on what might be good and useful to apply in any system. The school (of educational sciences) seeks to strengthen educators with the idea that only faithful, unbiased, calm research with no a priori agenda, rigorous with itself yet generous and welcoming of the opinions of others, constantly doubting – with fertile doubts on hypotheses and demonstrations, kindling the spirit of the quest for the truth and distancing itself from sterile scepticism – so that only a method like this one is capable of opening up to us the brilliant prospects of the future"* (Claparède, 1912:60).

There is no denying that Claparède's intentions were permeated with the educational optimism so characteristic of Geneva's educational utopia in the early 20th century (Berchtold, 1973). The educational orientation of the Rousseau Institute would be marked by the functional conception of education that Claparède upheld, which had points of connection with Kerschensteiner's work-school proposals, Dewey's progressive education and Ferrière's active school. It is clear that, in this sense, the Rousseau Institute did not remain on the sidelines of the spirit and trends in contemporary pedagogy; rather it became one of the intersection in the different pathways along which the diversity and heterogeneity of the new education movement travelled, along with Vienna and Brussels (Hameline, 2004). As we shall stress further on, what characterised the Rousseau Institute, besides theoretical underpinnings and educational practice, was a given style in the educational relationship; individualisation, the family atmosphere and a stress on the student's personal work were the unique features of a clearly Pestalozzi-inspired atmosphere.

Pierre Bovet, a professor of philosophy and pedagogy at the University of Neuchâtel, accepted the invitation and became the executor of Claparède's dream and an indisputable referent of the new pedagogy that was being gestated in Geneva.

### *1.3. Towards the new education: The genesis and evolution of active pedagogy*

*"The active school is the school of spontaneity, of the child's creative expression. It reflects the tendency toward freedom that is found at the bottom of all human spirits"*

Ferrière used this reference to spontaneous, creative and free expression to open the chapter on “Les fondements psychologiques de l'école active” in his book *L'école active* (1922)<sup>12</sup>.

The origin of the concept of active school should be situated in the scientific and cultural context of the Rousseau Institute of Geneva during the period 1917 to 1920. Ferrière noted that this term was unknown in 1918 yet common by 1920, and he thinks that its authorship can be attributed to Pierre Bovet, the director of the Rousseau Institute, who used it in an article entitled “La tâche nouvelle de l'école”, where he proposed viewing the child as an active organism and turning the school into an active school.

Everything leads us to believe that the term ‘active school’ was used in the Rousseau Institute and that this opened the door to the theoretical underpinning that Ferrière tried to supply based on Bovet’s proposal and on the doctrine Kerschensteiner’s of the work-school (Hameline, Jornod and Belkaïd, 1995).

Ferrière’s theoretical thinking on the active school must be interpreted in three senses: scientific, moral and religious, all at the service of constructing an anthropology of the human phenomenon on both the individual and social scale<sup>13</sup>.

These underpinnings of the active school were debated and criticised by Claparède. In an article entitled “La psychologie de l'École active”<sup>14</sup> published in 1923, he levelled the criticism at the fact that Ferrière addresses issues like the law of progress, biogenetic law and the psychological types which are “totally foreign to the fundamental principle of the active school” and does not focus further attention on what is truly fundamental and constitutes the only cornerstone around which the concept of education should revolve: the law of need or interest. He did not look fondly upon the use of the term ‘active school’ because, according to Claparède, this entailed the error that ‘active’ means ‘acting externally’, and for this reason he preferred the term ‘functional education’, based on need. Claparède claimed the role of psychology as one of the sciences behind educational principles, shunning other explanations which, though important, cannot serve as the underpinning of the principle of activity because they are often “opinions of the spirit or metaphysical hypotheses” rather than the expression of an observable and objectively provable fact. Claparède’s article was controversial and received responses from both Ferrière and Chessex. The latter addressed an open letter to Claparède, where he noted several expressions of the

<sup>12</sup> This is the review of an article published in 1914 in the *Revue psychologique* of Brussels with the title of “Les fondements psychologiques de l'école du travail”, in which the concept of active school is replaced by the concept of work-school or *Arbeitsschule*.

<sup>13</sup> For an analysis of Ferrière’s thinking with regard to active education, our introductory study has referred to the Catalan edition of *L'autonomia dels escolars* (Vic, Eumo, 1997, pp. XXV-LVIII), and in particular to the studies by Daniel Hameline, the top Swiss pedagogy expert, from whom we highlight: Hameline, D. (2005) “Relater sa pratique? Les tentations d'Adolphe Ferrière (1879-1960): entre compte rendu d'évaluation et libelle de propagande”, *Revue française de pédagogie*, no. 153 (October-November-December), pp. 67-80; Hameline, D. (2004) “Adolphe Ferrière”, Preface to Ferrière, A. *L'école active*. Paris, Fabert, pp. 7-29; Hameline, D. (1995) “Adolphe Ferrière”, in Houssaye, J. (dir.) *Quinze pédagoges. La seva influència, avui*. Barcelona, Universitat Oberta de Catalunya/ Proa, pp. 185-199; Hameline, D. (1993) “Adolphe Ferrière (1879-1960)”, *Perspectives*, Paris, UNESCO, vol. XXIII, no. 1-2, pp. 395-423. To compare the vision of active pedagogy, the following survey and critical work is also interesting: Renard, A. (2008) *La pédagogie et la philosophie de l'école nouvelle d'après l'oeuvre d'Adolphe Ferrière*. Paris, Éditions Don Bosco (initially published in 1941).

<sup>14</sup> We are referring to the article published in *L'Éducateur*, 1923, LIX (23), pp. 371-379.

concept of active school and stressed the importance of everyday experience at school as a source of knowledge. Ferrière also defended himself in the pages of *L'Éducateur*, attempting to seek common points between the two approaches and identifying the concept of *élan vital* which he defended along with Claparède's *vue d'esprit*, and seeking to demonstrate the correspondence between functional psychology and genetic psychology (Chessex, 1924; Ferrière, 1923).

Behind this controversy is Claparède's attitude, roundly against any explanation that uses speculation unrelated to the scientific terrain, which is based on controlled experience. Ferrière's so-called genetic psychology starts with sociology and philosophy. It is much closer to an anthropological view of human existence and quite distant from the strictly psychological views despite the fact that he himself never tired of trying to forge correspondences and commonalities throughout his entire oeuvre.

#### *1.4. The men and women of the Rousseau Institute: The human capital working towards the renovation of the school*

The controversy over the concepts of active education and functional education serves to shed light on the intellectual atmosphere in Geneva and players roiling in modernising ideas and generating a host of proposals with a common denominator: the need to ground a school model that would replace the traditional school.

It is not at all gratuitous to state that at the Rousseau Institute of Geneva, the men and women who filled the institution with education-related knowledge and concerns were more important than the structure itself, which was always weak until its permanent annexation into the University of Geneva. The students and visitors were also important; along with the more permanent or contributing faculty, they were the extraordinarily valuable human capital around which a network of human relations was woven which connected, from Geneva, the main focal points of educational renovation in Europe and the world. Pere Llobera, a Catalan professor who worked in Switzerland, describes and analyses these considerations after a journey to the city of Geneva in 1927:

*“The scientific disciplines related to the child and modern pedagogy are studied at this Institute, which is frequented by students, professors, teachers and doctors from all the continents. (...) Of course everything that has entailed a scientific step forward has not remained concealed as a professional secret within the Institute. Its guiders have taught courses and delivered lectures outside of Geneva (...). At the same time, they have called on prominent personalities, such as Rabindranath Tagore, a poet and teacher from Santinikitan in 1921, and they have organised congresses such as the Congress of Peace for the school in Prague, and the one on bilingualism and education in Luxembourg. These actions prove the influence that those professors exert among education experts and in the milieu of teachers who consider the education of children a vocation, and they also explain why societies of friends of the Rousseau Institute have also been started in numerous countries. Right now it has become the most important hub of pedagogy in the world” (Llobera, 1936).*

Llobera then cites the publications of the most famous professors, and pays particular attention to:

*“The Maison des Petits, where directors of nursery schools do practices; the École internationale, for the civil servants from the League of Nations; the Institut Jaques-Dalcroze and the rhythmic gymnastics method; the international office of the New Schools, founded in 1899; the outdoor schools of Bois de la Bâtie and the Frontenex plateau for children with tuberculosis; and the International Education Bureau”.*

Pere Llobera’s description stresses several essential points with regard to the orientation and scientific mission of the Rousseau Institute and makes it quite clear that the institution was not only one or two people; instead, a veritable human team worked there which was permeated with an explicit educational mission, despite differences, and was spurred on by a shared educational utopia. It is no less certain or obvious that Claparède was the one who inspired and innovated, and that Bovet, who was fully dedicated to the Institute and its students, supervised and led the day-to-day operations. The jobs of both pedagogues were perfectly complementary, as noted by Pere Rosselló (1923): “M. Bovet and M. Claparède complement each other, one as the imagination creating, and the other as the will bringing it to fruition.” The 1917 and 1932 reports by Pierre Bovet recounting the activity of the first five years and reporting on the institution’s twentieth anniversary list the most prominent names and enable us to assess the institution’s projection and capacities from that vantage point: Alice Descoedres, an educational psychologist and the author of *L’éducation des enfants anormaux* (1916) and professor of special education; François Naville, a doctor in charge of the medical aspects of special education; Adolphe Ferrière, present in the Institute’s activities from the start, a lecturer and teacher of monographic courses on moral education in which the students presented written projects that he corrected, annotated and commented on with extraordinary rigour and care; Jules Dubois, a philosopher with profound education acquired in the classrooms of the Collège de France, charged with teaching classes and lectures on the history and philosophy of education; Mina Audemars and Louise Lafendel, the directors of the Maison des Petits and in charge of early childhood education; Albert Malche, a school administrator and prominent politician, who entrusted the training of future Geneva public school teachers to the Rousseau Institute; Emmanuel Duvillard, a primary school teacher and active member of the Société Pédagogique de la Suisse Romande who was in charge of sharing the experiences of the teachers in school classrooms with the Institute’s students; Paul Godin, a retired military physician and researcher into children’s growth based on innovative anthropometric measurement techniques, and the driving force behind students’ training in anthropology and anthropometrics at the start of the Institute; Charles Baudouin, a psychologist and psychotherapist interested in experiments on suggestion and auto-suggestion in relation to self-education, who discovered psychoanalysis and fully joined this current, which would characterise his teaching collaborations (Ruchat and Magnin, 2005).

The list of prominent lecturers and occasional contributors to the Institute’s academic activities is virtually endless. Other names that should be added to it include Jean Piaget, Albert Chessex and Robert Dottrens, important personages in the history of the Institute as it was being annexed by the University of Geneva. Nor can we forget



other illustrious names such as Pere Rosselló and Helène Antipoff, who started as students and later became professors at the centre, and André Rey and Marguerite Loosli-Usteri, prominent professors during the Institute's second phase.

The web of human relations was the other cornerstone holding up the Rousseau Institute's pedagogical mission. We must transcribe a paragraph written by Alexandre Galí (1931) in the introduction to an extensive essay on the active school which is permeated with that atmosphere steeped in nature and conviviality:

*“It was 1922. We are on the banks of Lake Léman, on a vacation course which had become quite famous in the annals of the Rousseau Institute. From the college where the course had been taught, we could see the still blue waters of the lake and the banks in green, humble terraces all around it, with the houses of the châteaux and the tiny villages with red and black roof tiles. Far away stood the grand theatrical decor of the Jura Mountains or the Alps, massifs that were too abrupt to be taken as real in the gentleness of the immediate landscape. In sum, we saw the same tender and conventional landscape that had inspired the pages of La Nouvelle Héloïse, where Corinne and Adolphe had been able to fan the flames of their passions. After the rituals of the programme had been completed, Master Claparède met with us freely and spoke with us about our essays, our ideals, our hopes. He was particularly interested in noting the results of their application within the currents of the active and liberal school which informed the doctrine of the course. We gathered as dusk fell in a library room on the ground floor with the windows open in the midst of the twofold repose of the coming evening and the quiet, contained surroundings. As can only happen in courses at the Institute, we were a group of the strangest provenances. In addition to the French and Swiss who were the locals, there were Belgians, Greeks, Finns and Poles. The conversation was not always brilliant, like people who are not used to speaking or who have very little to say. Rather I must confess that it languished a bit, and that M. Claparède, a meditative, timid man, was not the most suitable person to enliven it. And his spare questions, the offspring of a sagacious, rigorous critic, did not help to alleviate it, which gave the apparently best-presented questions a twist that shows conclusively what is true gold and what is merely foil”.*

Beyond the always fine-tuned and critical details coming from Galí's pen, there is no doubt that the Rousseau Institute sought relationships and proximity as a means of creating a suitable educational atmosphere. Bovet expresses it in other words in the text of a lecture from 1912, at the start of the Institute's activities:

*“De la conviction qu'un éducateur doit non seulement avoir appris les réponses, mais connaître les problèmes, il suit que notre enseignement, tel que nous le concevons, doit être caractérisé par une collaboration constante du maître et de l'étudiant. L'un a quelques connaissances de plus que l'autre, mais tous deux cherchent ensemble”.* (Bovet, 1917)

Pere Rosselló (1923) speaks about “naturalness” to describe the atmosphere of interpersonal interactions:

*“The ability through which a teacher knows how to appear before his students just as he is, knowing how to reveal without concealing anything, all the moments through which one passes in the course of research. [...] At the Institute, the majority of professors and students know each other not only as professors and students, but also as people, which enormously benefits the teaching”.*

The organisation of pedagogical weeks (such as Spain’s Pedagogical Week in 1925 on the occasion of the visit of a group of inspectors and teachers on scholarships from the Board for Advanced Studies, or JAE) was the chance to forge ties with people and institutions from other countries and to strengthen the Institute’s external outreach<sup>15</sup>. The Institute’s student association, the *Amicale*, which organised a wide range of activities (including soirées, outings, plays, exhibitions and lectures) is yet further proof of these ties which were forged and which the Institute encouraged. The chronicles published since 1912 in the pages of the Institute’s magazine, *L’Intermédiaire des Édicateurs*, which in 1921 was integrated and merged with *L’Éducateur*, the publication of the *Société pédagogique de la Suisse romande*, are faithful testimonies of these activities<sup>16</sup>.

## 2. Across the Pyrenees and the Alps: Catalan teachers and pedagogues in Geneva

### 2.1. The Catalan students at the Rousseau Institute

The list of teachers who became students at the Rousseau Institute does not justify the specific weight of this institution and its professors’ influence on educational thinking in Catalonia in the first third of the 20th century. A survey of the list of 263 regular students at the Institute from the period 1912-1922 reveals only six names from Catalonia or Spain: Pau Vila, Llorenç Jou, Mercedes Rodrigo, Joan Alegre, Raimon Vila and Pere Rosselló<sup>17</sup>. After the early years of the Primo de Rivera dictatorship, the number rose, especially in the summer courses. In the commentary found in the pages of the *Revista de Psicologia i Pedagogia* in 1935, written on the pretext of a review of

<sup>15</sup> The complete programme of the Pedagogical Week can be found at: *Memorias de la JAE (cursos 1924-26)*. Madrid, Junta para Ampliación de Estudios e Investigaciones Científicas, volume 1, pp. 149-156.

<sup>16</sup> The Catalan and Spanish students were active members of the *Amicale*, as can be seen by several programmes which are still conserved in the AIJRR and several texts written by Bovet himself. Examples include the performance of *Tschin-Ta-Ni à l’Institut* on the 25<sup>th</sup> of June 1921, with Pere Rosselló in the starring role and Raimon Vidal and Joan Alegre playing two professors along with Jean Piaget who played Claparède; and the musical *La Cyclopédagogie*, put on during the national festival of Geneva, *L’Escalade* (12<sup>th</sup> of December 1921) in which Mercedes Rodrigo provided the piano accompaniment for the songs by the different soloists and a choir of professors which included Claparède, Piaget and Bovet [Source: AIJRR, Fonds général, *Livre d’or des revues de l’Institut*, ancienne cote FG-63].

<sup>17</sup> Source: Jornod, A. (1995) *Étude prosopographique. Informations générales sur les volées d’étudiants de l’Institut Rousseau de 1912 à 1922*. Geneva, Archives Institut J.-J. Rousseau (unpublished work - Fonds général. Files 3, 111, 212, 228, 229, 233). This list of names should at least include Josep Mallart, who studied in Geneva in academic year 1915-16; we are unsure why his name does not appear on the list and why there is no file on him in the student book.

Bovet's book on the Rousseau Institute's first twenty years, their influence and presence is assessed, which unquestionably had a more qualitative than quantitative dimension in regard to the number of students:

*“The Rousseau Institute has exerted considerable influence (...), directly on those who have travelled to Geneva to take its courses. Especially Catalonia, perhaps because of its greater proximity and also because it lives more with its sights set on Europe, has produced a constant if not large stream of students of all stripes, sometimes even without enough prior education to be able to situate the new developments they observed there”<sup>18</sup>.*

Only the intellectual quality of the majority of participants and the intensity of the stays can explain the close ties that were forged between the Geneva institution and Catalan pedagogy after 1912, when Pau Vila became the first student registered in the Institute's courses:

*“I went to Geneva with the idea of acquiring a more systematised training, a kind of training I didn't have. I was the first student at the École des Sciences de l'Éducation, also known as the Rousseau Institute (...), dedicated to child psychology and a renovation of pedagogy. (...) I was particularly interested in Claparède's classes, although I took a bit of everything. I learnt how to write tests with Bovet. I remember that I took my final exam based on past tests of two of Bovet's children. (...) Claparède was from one of the old families in Geneva; he was a man with Protestant roots, yet without any kind of religious practice of his own. We became good friends. He was an avid hiker, and once we took an amazing outing to Montblanc. (...) My stay in Geneva was a year well worth it. I worked, I was happy, I was able to reflect on myself and I visited schools. Incidentally, the Swiss school was not my cup of tea. It was a French-style school, disciplined and rigid” (Rovira, 1989:67-70).*

Vila's narration is measured and quite clearly describes what those waves of Catalan and Spanish teachers were seeking in Geneva: training in psychology and pedagogy. There they found a “bit of everything”, but especially a climate open to study, along with personalities that captivated them. This explains why the relationships endured over time. In the somewhat celebrated case of Pere Rosselló, the former student became an associate professor at the Institute in 1924, when he began to teach the course on Pedagogical Bibliography, and later Comparative Education<sup>19</sup>.

<sup>18</sup> This is from the review of the Spanish version of the book: Bovet, P. *La obra del Instituto Rousseau: 20 años de vida* (Madrid, Espasa-Calpe, 1934). The review was signed by M. C. and published in *Revista de Psicología i Pedagogia*, vol. III, no. 10, May 1935, pp. 197-199.

<sup>19</sup> Pere Rosselló was in Geneva at the same time as Mercedes Rodrigo, and the two struck up a close friendship with Claparède and Bovet. They exchanged fascinating correspondence in letters which were often signed jointly by Rosselló and Rodrigo in Madrid. The content of the letters and postcards is diverse: New Year's wishes, announcements of visits, requests for counsel, advice or collaboration, news on the situation in Spain after the coup d'état by Primo de Rivera, difficulties in carrying out their professional duties in Madrid, regrets that not more Spanish students were registering at the Rousseau Institute, etc. [Source: *Bibliothèque de Genève – Département de Manuscrits - Correspondència de*

Pau Vila's relationships were also intense and extensive; after studying at the Rousseau Institute in the winter and summer terms of academic year 1912-13, he returned in the summer of 1914 and again for the vacation courses in 1932 to join the celebrations of the Institute's twentieth anniversary. Vila was often cited in the chronicles of the Institute in *L'Intermédiaire des Édicateurs* and became a contributor to the Geneva-based magazines, which reported on his pedagogical activities in Barcelona and Colombia. He also became the first president of the Spanish Alumni Association of the Rousseau Institute, created in 1921<sup>20</sup>.

The case of Pau Vila was not unique. Setting aside the more famous names whose careers have been studied, including Pere Rosselló and Josep Mallart, who had strong and proven ties with Geneva, we seem to find similar relations in Narcís Masó, Anna (Anita) Bassegoda, Jesús Sanz, whom we shall discuss below, Raimon Vidal, Alexandre Galí, Emili Mira and many more. In some cases, the relationships survived difficult times, as shown by the correspondence between Pere Rosselló and Mercedes Rodrigo and Claparède during the years of the Primo de Rivera dictatorship, and the letters exchanged between Jaume Bertran from his exile in Buenos Aires and Pierre Bovet in 1941, as well as the missives between Inspector Joan Comas in Mexico City and Bovet in 1939<sup>21</sup>.

A reading of the correspondence and a review of the *Livres d'Or* of students and visitors to the Rousseau Institute enables us to establish categories of relationships between the Catalan students and the Geneva pedagogues: the intensity of these relationships differed, but they tended to last over time. They included direct or sometimes indirect contacts through other people; often reciprocal relationships, although sometimes only one-way; and interpersonal relationships, some of which were institutional. This diversity is largely due to the differing degrees of closeness between the Catalan teachers and pedagogues and Geneva. Some of them, those with the weakest ties, were regular students during the semesters in a given academic year, which was extended through the summer (Joan Alegre and Raimon Vidal) or more than one academic year (Narcís Masó and Pere Rosselló). A significantly higher number only took summer courses (Galí, Sainz-Amor and Roura-Parella, for example) or several courses (Jaume Bertran). Some became direct collaborators with the Geneva-based

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Claparède; Reference: Catalogue des Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Publique et Universitaire de Genève - Tome XIII – Manuscrits français, 4001-4200; AIJJR - Fonds Générale – Correspondance de la direction].

<sup>20</sup> The first Board of Directors of the organisation was made up of: Pau Vila (president), Domingo Barnés (vice president), Mercedes Rodrigo (secretary), Miguel Herrero (treasurer) and members Anselmo González, Carmen Abela, Luis A. Santullano, Llorenç Jou, Ángel Llorca and Pere Rosselló. The organisation was headquartered at La Lectura publishing house in Madrid, which was charged with publishing the Spanish translations of the works of Claparède, Bovet and other authors linked to the educational renovation movement inspired by Geneva pedagogy, as part of the organisation's mission: to foster and develop the Rousseau Institute and to spread the pedagogical doctrines spearheaded by this Institute [Source: Asociación Española de Antiguos Alumnos y Amigos del Instituto Rousseau. *Proyecto de Reglamento*. Madrid, 1921. AIJJR, Fonds général, Sociétés Amis de l'Institut - ancienne cote FG - 2 – G].

<sup>21</sup> Much of the correspondence that resulted from these relationships is on deposit in Geneva in the Archive of the Rousseau Institute (Fonds général: Correspondance de la direction) and at the Bibliothèque de Genève – Département de Manuscrits. The letters would merit their own particular, specific study. They contain requests for information on the courses, relations with publishing houses, publications, recommendations for teachers who were going to the Institute to study, exchanges of information, requests for collaboration, information on the educational activities conducted in Catalonia, Spain and the Americas (in the case of the exiles) and personal notes of greeting or reaffirmations of friendships.

institutions (Mallart and Rosselló). Finally, the vast majority only briefly stayed at the Institute as part of a pedagogical journey (Leonor Serrano, Rosa Sensat and Joaquim Xirau, just to mention three of the most famous). The names of the latter are more difficult to determine because often no trace remains of their stay in Geneva since they took the journey and visited the Institute as part of a group<sup>22</sup>. Regardless, Bovet (1932) outlines his conviction that the students from Catalonia were the ones who integrated the best, and that along with the students from the Swiss canton of Tessin, they were the *boute-en-train* (soul) of the institution.

At the risk of not having all the information existing and therefore of omitting some names, we thought it worthwhile to provide a list of the students or visitors from Catalonia to the Rousseau Institute of Geneva which we have been able to reconstruct and confirm based on the Institute's own records<sup>23</sup>:

<i>Name</i>	<i>Academic Years</i>	<i>Vacation Courses</i>	<i>Other Activities</i>
ALEGRE, Joan	1920/21		
ALEMANY, Joaquina		1931	BIE course (1931)
BASEGODA, Anna (Anita)	1926/27	1928	
BERTRAN, Jaume	1930, 1931, 1932 and 1935 (summer semesters)		Short stay (autumn 1929)
BERTRAN, Mercè	1935 (summer semester)	1935	
BOHIGAS, Francisca	1925/26 (2 <sup>nd</sup> semester)		
BOIX, Isidor		1932	
BOSCH, Remei		1924	
CASTELLÀ, Leonor		1924	
DOMÈNECH, Maria			Short stay and courses (summer semester 1916)
FABREGA, Abelard		1924	
FURNÓ, Emília		1930	

<sup>22</sup> By checking the archives and files of the JAE, we can determine some of the names of the Catalans who participated in group journeys to Switzerland in 1912 (Joan Llach, Joan Llarenas, Joan Ribera, Pere Riera, Josep Udina and Blas Vernet) and in 1925 (inspectors Antonio Michavila from Lleida and Josep M. Villergas from Girona). [Source: JAE Archives, available at: [http://archivojae.edaddeplata.org/jae\\_app/JaeMain.html](http://archivojae.edaddeplata.org/jae_app/JaeMain.html)].

<sup>23</sup> The main source of the list is the previous study performed by François Bos, the head of the AIJRR, entitled "Spanish Students"; in 2004 he conducted a preliminary culling of the lists of students registered that still exist, which are unfortunately not available for every year. This list, which we were able to see, contains the full names, the registration period and, in some cases, the address in Geneva or the place of origin. Through an analysis of the chronicles of the Institute in the pages of the *L'Intermédiaire des Éducateurs*, the correspondence in the "Fonds général" of the AIJRR, the students' *Livre d'Or* (with files on some of them), the *Livre d'Or* of visitors (with dedications and signatures) and the files of the JAE we have managed to flesh out some of this information and add a few names, although the list is certainly not complete. For the individuals appearing on the list, we have used alphabetical order of the first surname and indicated when they studied. As noted, the most difficult thing to pinpoint is the short visits or stays which were made either individually or as a group as part of pedagogical journeys with funding from the JAE, the Associació Protectora, the Barcelona Town Hall or other institutions. Finally, we should note that we have limited our list to students from Catalonia (either their place of birth or their workplace when they travelled to Geneva), even though there was a significant number of visitors from the Balearic Islands and the region of Valencia as well.

<i>Name</i>	<i>Academic Years</i>	<i>Vacation Courses</i>	<i>Other Activities</i>
GALÍ, Alexandre		1922	3 <sup>rd</sup> Congress Moral Ed. (1922)
GARRIGA, Joan			Visit – 3 <sup>rd</sup> Congress Moral Ed. (1922)
GISPERT, Vicenta			Visit (1922)
GUINART, Montserrat		1924	
HERRERA, Rosa		1930	
ISERN, Carme			Visit – 1 <sup>st</sup> Congress Childhood (August 1925)
JOU OLIÓ, Llorenç	1915/16	1916	
JUNQUERA, Josep			Visit with a JAE group (May 1921)
LLOBERA, Pere			Short stay (1927)
LLONGUERES, Joan			Visit (summer 1920)
MALLART, Josep	1915/16	1916	Visits (1919, 1923 and others)
MANUEL, Francesc			Short stay (1928)
MARTÍ ALPERA, Fèlix			Visit – 3 <sup>rd</sup> Congress Moral Ed. (1922)
MASÓ, Narcís	1926/27, 1927/28	1924, 1927, 1928, 1932	Visit (summer 1926)
MASRIERA, Víctor	1925/26 (winter semester)	1926	Taught courses on drawing
MIRA, Emili			Visit (1920): 1 <sup>st</sup> Int'l. Conf. on Psychotechnics
NOGUÉS, Dolors		1925	
PARRAMON, Antoni		1930	
PORTAS, Assumpció		1922	Visit - 3 <sup>rd</sup> Congress Moral Ed. (1922)
PUJOLÀ, Anna	1928/29		
ROCA, Montserrat		1931	BIE course (1931)
ROSSELLÓ, Pere	1920/21, 1921/22	1921, 1922	Professor at the IJJR starting in 1924
ROURA-PARELLA, Joan		1928	
RUBIES, Anna		1924	
RUIZ CASTELLÀ, José			Visit (1920): 1 <sup>st</sup> Int'l. Conf. on Psychotechnics
SANTALÓ, Miquel			Short stay and visit (1922, 1924)
SANZ, Jesús	1927/28	1924, 1928	
SÈCULI, Enriqueta		1928	
SENSAT, Rosa			Visit (January 1913)
SERRANO, Leonor			Visit (1925)
TORT, Emili			Visit with a JAE group (November 1921)
URIZ, Elisa			Visit (1922)
VANDELLÓS, Concepció		1924	
VIDAL, Raimon	1920/21		
VILA, Pau	1912/13	1932	Short stay (1914); Visit (1922) – 3 <sup>rd</sup> Congress Moral Ed.
VILASECA, Francesca		1924	

<i>Name</i>	<i>Academic Years</i>	<i>Vacation Courses</i>	<i>Other Activities</i>
XANDRI, Josep M.			Visits (1922, 1925)
XIRAU, Joaquim			Short stay (1925)

Further proof of the solid relations between some of these students and the faculty of the institution is their participation in the activities to celebrate the twentieth anniversary of the Rousseau Institute in 1932. The list published in the *L'Intermédiaire des Édicateurs* includes Pau Vila, Llorenç Jou, Pere Rosselló (who was then working at the BIE in Geneva), Anita Bassegoda, Narcís Masó and Jesús Sanz. On this occasion, Rosselló presented the results of a survey administered to Institute alumni to evaluate the institution's impact on their personal and professional lives. Rosselló's study confirms some of the claims we have made above and offers a clear profile of the kind of training provided and received in the classrooms and within the climate of the Rousseau Institute. The cordiality of the faculty, the cooperation between teachers and students, the freedom of academic pursuits, the spirit of scientific research, the balance between theory and practice, the cosmopolitan climate, the respect for each individual's personality and the critical spirit are just some of the factors highlighted by the alumni when evaluating the Institute's efforts. Regarding their assessment of the importance of the disciplines learnt in professional practice, the results are quite significant. The disciplines mentioned included experimental psychology, child psychology, the internship at the Maison des Petits, psychotechnics and professional orientation, as well as the education of abnormal children and courses on drawing, psychoanalysis, medical-pedagogical consulting and bibliography. According to these assessments, the most highly valued names were Claparède, Bovet, Piaget, Audemars and Lafendel (Rosselló, 1932).

## 2.2. *The training courses and programmes at the Rousseau Institute*

The results of the survey conducted and analysed by Pere Rosselló sketch out a picture of the training programme at the Rousseau Institute. In summary, we could say that it included "a little bit of everything", all revolving around the core of child psychology and experimental psychology with the clear goal of renovating education (hence the concern with the ties between theory and practice) within a climate steeped in functional education and/or the active school. Thus unfolded the sessions of the courses, seminars, colloquia, laboratory work, visits, internships, lectures and other activities scheduled throughout two terms in Geneva's academic life, even today: the winter semester and the summer semester<sup>24</sup>.

The programme of the course revolved around two strands: the child (general and child psychology, research methods, psychology of abnormal children, etc.) and

<sup>24</sup> The case of Mallorca native Joan Comas is worth examining. Even though he worked as an inspector in Girona, we have not included him in the list of Catalan students at the IJIR because he was on his way to Lugo when he studied there for the semesters in academic years 1928-30 along with his wife Regina Lago, a professor at the Normal University in Lugo. A glance at the memoir that Comas wrote for the JAE offers detailed information on the courses and contents he took, which were taught at the Rousseau Institute and the University of Geneva. The different reviews of works by Bovet, Claparède and Piaget and some BIE editions published by Comas in the *Revista de Pedagogía* are also proof of the interest in Geneva pedagogy. [Source: File "Juan Comas". Available at [http://archivojae.edaddeplata.org/jae\\_app/JaeMain.html](http://archivojae.edaddeplata.org/jae_app/JaeMain.html)].

education (general pedagogy, teaching at nursery school, organisation of teaching, etc.). Moral education and the history and philosophy of education were other important subjects.

The programme called for theoretical classes, laboratory practices, research and more, combining courses at the Institute itself with classes at the University of Geneva. The programme was supposed to take two years, but the institution offered the possibility of completing it in three semesters, or even two for student who came sufficiently prepared in advance.

The spirit of freedom and the low degree of systematisation of the classes dominated in the early stages of the Institute, in line with Claparède's character and interests, until Piaget's sense of order started to permeate its academic life when the Institute was annexed to the University of Geneva. This did not affect the quality of the teaching, but it did change the style and climate of the institution. From the start, the students assembled their own curriculum, which was almost always complemented by a few courses at the University of Geneva under the tutelage and counsel of Pierre Bovet. This lack of strict coordination and systematisation of the different branches of studies is one of the features that the alumni in Rosselló's survey mentioned with regard to the Institution. As Rosselló himself said, perhaps this flaw was the consequence of the greatest of the Institute's qualities: the spirit of freedom. For this reason, some alumni believed that the way the Institute operated was ideal for those who arrived with clearly defined goals, yet it hindered the initial adaptation of students who registered without prior preparation or clearly defined interests<sup>25</sup>.

The vacation course was an excellent complement to the training received during the two semesters of the regular academic year, as well as an opportunity for foreign students who were interested in Geneva pedagogy but unable to study there for extended periods during the academic year. The first vacation course was held in the summer of 1916.

The content was monographic and the methodology reflected the spirit of the Institute. After the first two editions, the summer courses were halted and not resumed again until 1922, when they were held in the town of Thonon on the banks of Lake Léman from the 20th to 26th of July. The programme of the course was organised around four main strands: child psychology and experimental pedagogy (taught by professors Claparède, Duvillard, Piaget and Descoedres); professional orientation (under the supervision of Fontègne and Bovet); functional education (taught by Malche, Claparède and Cousinet); and the organisation of education in France and current issues (taught by the French inspector Barrier). The academic system was organised as follows: there were theoretical classes from 8 to 11 in the morning, and after lunch there were working groups on psychological exams of schoolchildren, the application of tests, professional orientation experiences and other practical exercises. The afternoons also

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<sup>25</sup> Age was another important factor in the students' initial attitude and preparation. Here we can find wide divergences: while Joan Alegre and Raimon Vidal went to Geneva at the ages of 18 and 16, respectively, on grants from the Barcelona Town Hall, Llorenç Jou went there at 28, Narcís Masó at 36, and Jaume Bertran and Pau Vila at 31; Vila already had substantial educational experience under his belt by the time he went to the Rousseau Institute to study the year the centre opened. The different levels of prior preparation and/or experience also influenced the students' expectations and their ability to profit from the experience. Arriving at the Rousseau Institute with the experience of a Pau Vila or a Llorenç Jou, or with the intellectual preparation of Jesús Sanz, was not the same as arriving just after graduating from the Normal University, as others did. [Source: AIJRR; Fonds général, *Livre d'Or des élèves de l'Institut Rousseau*, vol. 1 and 2].



included outings and field trips, colloquia and, in the evening, family-style meetings (sometimes on the estate of the Claparède family) to exchange experiences and debate pressing issues. This model combined theoretical work with practical experimentation, always in the quest for personal contact and close relationships; therefore, it had the unmistakable air of the Rousseau Institute. In fact, the main series of courses were always the study of child psychology and experimental pedagogy, which every year focused on a more specific aspect through theoretical classes, exercises applying tests to measure aptitudes, individual and group experimental studies and discussions<sup>26</sup>.

In the summer of 1922, Geneva hosted the 3rd International Congress on Moral Education (Cicchini, 2004). Whenever they could, the Geneva pedagogues tried to get different synergies to converge in order to make the programme more appealing to visitors and students. In other words, it is clear that they knew how to take advantage of their own resources to build the image of a city and a canton imbued with active pedagogy, pacifism and internationalism. The course on education for peace that the Bureau International d'Éducation organised in the summer of 1928 is yet another example of this canny strategy. And we could extend the list with congresses of pedagogical societies, international lectures and more activities. On the other hand, the visitors were also extremely grateful and many contributed to the pedagogical atmosphere in Geneva.

The International Congress on Moral Education of Geneva deserves particular attention because of its resonance and the Spaniards' heavy participation in it, judging from the names of those attending<sup>27</sup>. The issues examined by the congress were the international spirit and the teaching of history, as well as the relationships between solidarity and education. At it, Pau Vila presented a report entitled "L'internationalisme et le nationalisme dans l'enseignement de l'histoire" in which he analysed the rights and problems of stateless nations and outlined a history programme within an oppressed nation in an attempt to overcome the opposition between nationalism and internationalism<sup>28</sup>. This noteworthy participation underscores an interest in making the

<sup>26</sup> Thirty people from different countries participated in the vacation courses in Thonon: five from France, two from Belgium, one from Finland, two from Cyprus, five from Spain (the sisters Matilde and Pilar del Real and Ángel Llorca from Madrid, and Assumpció Portas and Alexandre Galí from Barcelona) and 15 from Switzerland from the cantons of Bern, St-Gall, Tessin, Neuchâtel, Vaud and Geneva (Source: AIJRR, Fonds général, Cours de vacances). The commentary in the *Butlletí dels Mestres*, which was no doubt written by Galí, is quite illustrative: "it had an air of squabbling about the new pedagogy – utopian pedagogy" (no. 16, 15<sup>th</sup> of August 1922, p. 255). The programme of the 1916 vacation course advertised in the pages of the journal *Quaderns d'estudi* had a similar structure: a core made up of experimental psychology and pedagogy taught by Claparède and Bovet, and other courses which that year were related to and specialised in the field of linguistics and language teaching and learning, with a special emphasis on teaching methods and practical courses ("Cursos d'istiu a l'Institut J.-J. Rousseau de Ginebra", *Quaderns d'estudi*, vol. II, no. 5, June 1916, pp. 426-427).

<sup>27</sup> This delegation made up of 23 participants included Catalans Alexandre Galí, Joan Garriga (president of the Economic Society of the Friends of the Country, in Barcelona), Fèlix Martí Alpera, Nicolau d'Olwer (councillor in the Barcelona Town Hall), Assumpció Portas Dotras (a teacher from Barcelona), Pere Rosselló and Pau Vila [Source: *Troisième Congrès International d'Éducation Morale*; AIJRR - Fonds général – ancienne côte: FG-4].

<sup>28</sup> The report by Pau Vila was published in the Congress proceedings: *Troisième Congrès International d'Éducation Morale. Rapports et Mémoires*. Geneva, Secrétariat du Congrès - IJRR, 1922, pp. 159-168. The Catalan translation can be seen in: Vila, P. "L'internacionalisme i el nacionalisme en l'ensenyament de la història", *Quaderns d'Estudi*, vol. XIV, no. 52, July-September 1922, pp. 233-239. In the section with papers, there is also a joint contribution by Pere Rosselló and Mercedes Rodrigo on the subject of "Ce que les enfants espagnols pensent de la guerre" and another by Ramon Rucabado entitled "L'idée de solidarité i l'éducation de la chasteté"; since Rucabado did not attend the congress, he delegated the

presence of Catalan pedagogy explicit in the leading scientific forums of the day, seeking influences and interrelations with the leading modernising groups in Europe.

### 2.3. *The example of Jesús Sanz: An educational itinerary rooted in Geneva*

An analysis of the educational career of Jesús Sanz Poch and the pedagogical ideas he generated offers us insights into the content and atmosphere of the training that visitors found in Geneva (Soler, 2009a). After submitting several applications to the JAE to study in France, Belgium and Switzerland, he was granted a scholarship in 1927 to go study in Geneva (Marín Eced, 1990:374; 1991:325-326). His first contact with the Rousseau Institute had been in 1924, when he attended a vacation course on his own, where he met up with Narcís Masó. A few days before the summer course, Sanz had taken advantage of his stay in Geneva to participate in the 21st Congress of the Société Pédagogique de la Suisse Romande and there he experienced firsthand the debates on the single school and the reform of teacher training, which had aspirations of becoming a university degree, as it did in other countries. After his teaching from Costal in Girona and Cossío in Madrid, Geneva would become the third stage in his training between October 1927 and July 1929<sup>29</sup>. During his long stay, he studied in the Faculty of Humanities at the University of Geneva (history of education, moral education, experimental pedagogy and experimental psychology) and at the Rousseau Institute, earning a certificate of studies from the Institute. He also attended the classes of some of the courses in the doctorate in Pedagogy (philosophy, moral philosophy, psychology and experimental pedagogy), attended the International Conference on Bilingualism in Luxembourg in 1928, and participated in the vacation course and the course on education and peace organised in the summer of the same year by the Bureau International d'Éducation of Geneva.

Jesús Sanz fully immersed himself in the climate of the Rousseau Institute, which was dominated by the scientific spirit and oriented at building the sciences of education, yet he was also imbued with the liberal, collegial spirit and the internationalism and pacifism that permeated the city during the period between the wars. Back home from Geneva, Jesús Sanz developed much of his own educational thinking around the subject of the selection of gifted students, which was actually a pretext for further examining two concepts the hovered over the educational debate at the time: the concern with constructing a customised school, in an expression borrowed from Claparède; and the need to implement a single school as a hallmark and guarantee of the social justice to which democratic societies should aspire (Sanz, 1933; Soler, 2009b)<sup>30</sup>.

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reading of his paper to Alexandre Galí [Source: *Troisième Congrès International d'Éducation Morale*; AIJRR - Fonds général – ancienne côte: FG-4].

<sup>29</sup> The IJRR's *Livre d'Or des élèves* contains a brief introductory text written by Sanz and illustrated with a photo of him at the Parc des Bastions near the University of Geneva. Sanz explains that he entered the Institute in October 1927 and left in July 1929. At the Rousseau Institute he met up with Narcís Masó, as well as with Anna Pujolà in the summer semester of 1928. On the 18<sup>th</sup> of April 1929 he was chosen to be a member of the committee of the J.J. Rousseau Institute's Amicale and was chosen as vice-treasurer [Source: Archives Institut J.-J. Rousseau - Université de Genève, Fonds Général, Livre d'Or des élèves de l'IJRR, volume 2, p. 288].

<sup>30</sup> In 1930 he published a series of articles in the *Boletín de la Institución Libre de Enseñanza*, in the *Revista de Escuelas Normales* and in the journal *Baixeras*, which were the outcome a reading and interpretation of Claparède's oeuvre and of his studies in psychology and experimental pedagogy during

The mark of Claparède's thinking is quite clear in Jesús Sanz's work after his sojourn in Geneva. This influence can also clearly be seen in his active participation in the Sixth International Conference on Psychotechnics held in Barcelona in April 1930, at which he presented a paper on "Le travail et les aptitudes des interprètes parlementaires" (Sanz, 1930). This contribution was the result of a study performed during his stay in Geneva with the goal of exploring and analysing the aptitudes of an important profession in the internationalist context of the day, parliamentary interpreters. The results that Sanz contributed to the Barcelona conference came from his analysis of the responses to a survey administered to a group of interpreters along with direct observations made in the sessions of the League of Nations and different international congresses and conferences held in the city. It should be noted that this study has been assessed by Professor Franz Pöchhacker (2004) from the Centre for Translation Studies at the University of Vienna as a pioneering contribution to the discipline of empirical studies on conference interpretation in Europe. During his sojourn in Europe, he also learned through Ferrière about the educational endeavours of Freinet and his Secular Education Cooperative (CEL). Once back in Lleida, he conveyed this knowledge to inspector Herminio Almendros and several teachers in the Batec group, including José de Tapia and Patricio Redondo, who were the pioneers in introducing the printing technique to schools in Catalonia. There is no doubt that Sanz's interest and participation in language teaching was fertile ground for receiving innovative techniques, yet there is also no question that facts like this confirm Geneva as an intersection through which European pedagogical trends criss-crossed, and that the training of those who studied there transcended the boundaries of this small country.

#### *2.4. The Maison des Petits: A model of active pedagogy for Catalan nursery school students*

*"Qui s'intéresse à l'histoire de l'Institut J.-J. Rousseau ne peut pas ne pas rencontrer la Maison des Petits. (...) Dans l'entre-deux-guerres, on ne peut venir à Genève pour y visiter l'Institut Rousseau sans faire le détour par le chemin Sautter, puis l'avenue de Champel ou le boulevard Carl-Vogt, comme si ce pèlerinage pédagogique à la célèbre petite école constituait le moyen de vérifier comment les idées de l'Institut sont mises en oeuvre en situation éducative réelle". (Hameline, 1996)*

Professor Hameline's opinion perfectly reflects what we can see just by browsing through the pages of the *Livres d'Or* des visitants of the Rousseau Institute and the Maison des Petits and when we read the reports or articles written by the students who stayed in Geneva: the merger between both institutions<sup>31</sup>. In fact, ever

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his stay at the Rousseau Institute in Geneva. However, we have to wait until the course he taught at the 1931 Summer School and the article he published in 1933 in the *Revista de Psicologia i Pedagogia* to find the most mature formulation of these ideas and the convergence between the single school and the customised school to which we have just referred.

<sup>31</sup> Before she worked in Barcelona, Concepción Sainz-Amor attended a vacation course in 1926. In the report that she wrote and sent to the JAE to justify the scholarship it had granted her, she particularly mentions and makes a complete report of her visit to the Maison des Petits as an example of what she had found in Geneva: experiences with practical applications and with a consistent theoretical underpinning [Source: File "Concepción Sainz-Amor y Alonso de Celada", JAE/130-44].

since it was founded, the Maison des Petits was envisioned as the school where the principles of the Rousseau Institute could be applied under the influence and advice of Claparède and Bovet, but particularly under the supervision of the teachers Mina Audemars and Lafendel, the souls and driving forces behind the project. Tests of active pedagogy were conducted in its classrooms, along with student practices and especially observations for numerous studies<sup>32</sup>.

Materials were a key component and instrument in this school/laboratory/observatory for children aged three to ten, organised by rooms for construction, modelling, language and arithmetic, learners' workshops and teams of researchers and inventors in which "*on découvre les pouvoirs de l'enfant et on les cultive*" (Audemars and Lafendel, 1923:7). However, the children were at centre stage as experimenters, builders and producers within a rich educational environment.

The Maison des Petits was envisioned in 1913 and its doors opened in September 1914 under the stewardship of Audemars and Lafendel, while the teaching was conducted by three students of the Rousseau Institute, including Hélène Antipoff, who would later become Claparède's partner at the Geneva Psychology Laboratory. After an early period under the shadow of Montessori, the school became an example and model of Geneva pedagogy, truly positioned at a crossroads<sup>33</sup>. This unquestionably influenced the school's pedagogical orientation (a functional school, according to the directors), which was marked by a kind of eclecticism that included Fröbel, Montessori, Decroly, Dewey, Foerster and obviously Claparède.

It is not overly bold to claim that this more eclectic position in which the Maison des Petits deliberately refused to set a pedagogical line under a specific name is one of the causes of Catalan pedagogues' and teachers' interest in it as an alternative to the omnipresence of Montessori's materials and method. In fact, the dissemination of the teaching materials developed by Audemars and Lafendel can be noted in *Quaderns d'estudi* since 1917, the same year that we can detect a rising interest in Claparède's work and Geneva pedagogy<sup>34</sup>.

<sup>32</sup> The meaning of the existence and educational efforts of the Maison des Petits as part of the Rousseau Institute's activities is analysed by Bovet in chapter VIII of "La Maison des Petits" from the book *L'Institut J.J. Rousseau, de 1912 à 1932* (Neuchâtel-Paris, Éditions Delachaux et Niestlé, 1932, pp. 59-70). The educational activities of the Maison des Petits in Catalonia and Spain were disseminated by articles and news items in pedagogical journals (See: Miaja, P. (1927) "Una visita a la Maison des Petits de Ginebra", *Revista de Pedagogía*, vol. VI, pp. 176-183) and especially based on the vision of it expressed by the Geneva pedagogues in their works, as analysed in a paper by Francisco Canes presented at the 8<sup>th</sup> Colloquium on the History of Education: Canes, F. (2005) "La difusión de la Maison des Petits de Ginebra en España a través de la traducción de libros de profesores del Instituto J.J. Rousseau (1923-1937)", in Dávila, P.; Naya, L.M. *La infancia en la historia: espacios i representaciones*. Vol. II. Donostia, EREIN, pp. 383-394.

<sup>33</sup> We should note the parallelism between the name of this Geneva school and the name of Montessori's Case dei Bambini in Rome. It is no coincidence that the first work that had been translated and published in 1912 in the new series of the Rousseau Institute's "Actualités pédagogiques et psychologiques" collection was the French version of Maria Montessori's *Case dei Bambini*.

<sup>34</sup> In the review of the article "Art, ciència i pedagogia" which appeared in the *Journal de Genève* on the 29<sup>th</sup> of May 1917, there is an explanation of the characteristics of the "Joc de superfícies" (Surfaces Game) created by Audemars and Lafendel at the Maison des Petits (*Quaderns d'Estudi*, no. 4, year II, vol. II, May 1917). During the Second Republic, Jaume Bertran, a former student of the Rousseau Institute, acted as the sales representative of the educational materials developed by the Maison des Petits. Bertran had a close relationship with Geneva, which extended even into his exile, during which he kept up correspondence with Bovet. In one of the letters (2.6.1941), Jaume Bertran explains to Bovet the projects

During the Republican period and as part of the rising interest in Decroly's methods, the Maison des Petits took a leading role in numerous activities at Barcelona's Summer School. An exhibition of teaching materials from the Maison des Petits was held in 1932, and this became part of a broader exhibition the following year. In 1935, as part of a monographic course on Decroly in the last week of the Summer School, Geneva-based teacher Alice Descoedres, a contributor to the Maison des Petits, taught several lessons on "Els tests de càlcul Decroly" (Decroly's Arithmetic Tests) and "El material a l'escola Decroly" (Decroly's School Materials), accompanied by an exhibition of projects by both regular and developmentally-delayed students (Descoedres' speciality)<sup>35</sup>.

### 3. Epilogue: The spirit of Geneva at the new Catalan school

The deepest and most lasting mark of Geneva pedagogy in Catalonia came through written publications. The pedagogical journals published in Catalonia (*Revista de Educació, Quaderns d'Estudi, Butlletí de Mestres and Revista de Psicologia i Pedagogia*) contain hosts of examples of news items, reviews and articles which prove an interest in and prominent presence of Geneva-based authors. The same holds true with their presence in Spanish journals like *Revista de Pedagogía* and *Boletín de la Institución Libre de Enseñanza*<sup>36</sup>. What is more, the fact that Geneva-based journals like *Archives de Psychologie* and *L'Intermédiaire des Éducateurs* were received and read and then reviewed in Catalan publications once again confirms that pedagogical journals were a powerful vehicle of communication and the exchange of ideas.

It is well known and studied that the interest in European pedagogy promoted many translations of the works by the prominent pedagogues of the day. As a result of this trend, almost all the works by Claparède, Bovet and Ferrière, as well as works by Dottrens, Audemars, Lafendel and Piaget, were translated and published by renowned, prestigious publishing houses in Catalonia including Publicaciones de Revista de Pedagogía, Ediciones La Lectura and La Llibreria Francisco Beltrán (especially in the case of Ferrière), just to cite three of the most important ones. The list of translators puts

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and work in which he was involved in Buenos Aires and asked Bovet about the possibilities of finishing his research in order to earn the Institute's diploma. Bertran did not forget to ask Bovet to send his regards to the Institute's professors and particularly to Audemars and Lafendel at the Maison des Petits [Font: AIJRR - Fonds générale: Correspondance de la direction].

<sup>35</sup> See: *Escola d'Estiu (1914-1936)*. Facsimile edition of the programmes and chronicles. Barcelona, Diputació de Barcelona, 1983. Jaume Bertran, an alumnus of the Rousseau Institute, was the driving force in Catalonia behind the organisation Acció Educativa, which engaged in activities like organising radio sessions by experts. In one of these broadcasts, professor Alice Descoedres delivered a lecture on the issue of students with developmental delays, her main field of study (*La Vanguardia*, 6 September 1935, p. 8).

<sup>36</sup> To confirm this point, we recommend the bibliographic studies by León Esteban Mateo and Eloisa Mérida-Nicolich on the contents of the *Boletín de la Institución Libre de Enseñanza* and the *Revista de Pedagogía* until 1936: Esteban Mateo, L. (1978) *Boletín de la Institución Libre de Enseñanza. Nómina bibliográfica (1877-1936)*. Valencia, Universidad de Valencia; Mérida-Nicolich, E. (1983) *Índice de la Revista de Pedagogía (1922-1936) Análisis de contenido*. Pamplona, Eunsa; Mérida-Nicolich, E. (1983) *Una alternativa de reforma pedagógica: la Revista de Pedagogía (1922-1936)*. Pamplona, Eunsa. In the case of the *Revista de Pedagogía*, the following articles also offer insight: Mérida-Nicolich, E. (1992) "La Revista de Pedagogía: 1922-1936", *Revista Española de Pedagogía*, year L, no. 192 (May-August), pp. 257-270; Viñao, A. (1994-95) "La modernización pedagógica española a través de la *Revista de Pedagogía (1922-1936)*", *Anales de Pedagogía*, no. 12-13, pp. 7-45.

names to the personal, direct interest in the oeuvre of these pedagogues<sup>37</sup>. In almost all the cases, this interest in the content came hand-in-hand with an interest in publishing the works because the fees paid in exchange were hardly a meagre means of subsistence<sup>38</sup>. Regardless, the presence of works on the pedagogical underpinnings of the Geneva authors is perfectly visible and present in Catalonia and Spain through translations, as well as through the original editions that can be found in the historical collections of the most famous libraries which served to drive and ground educational practice and pedagogical renovation.

When taking stock of and assessing the educational journeys of the Catalan teachers to different European countries, Alexandre Galí thought that:

*“It is a little difficult to calculate the professional efficacy of this kind of journey, which was always brief and always constrained by tourist incidents. With his measured tone, Llorenç Jou accepted the canny insinuation that the educational purposes were not the most interesting ones on this kind of expedition. (...) We are not familiar with the intimate atmosphere of the caravans of Catalan teachers, but we suspect that the lessons they learnt there, more than pedagogical, were lessons on peaceful coexistence, the civic spectacle and the flexibility of the spirit in view of worlds different to one’s own, lessons that are also profoundly edifying for a teacher. Only he who has been capable of seeing such a civilly and politically well-organised country can bring home a great treasure for future actions”.* (Galí, 1978: 271)

It would clearly be groundless to put all the experiences in the same bag because, among other reasons, some sojourns were simply trips or short stays, while others were lengthy periods of study and research. However, it is not inaccurate to think that the question of the usefulness of the journeys, courses or long stays in Geneva and at the Rousseau Institute opens up a wide range of answers which, though discussed throughout the length of this article, can be listed and systematised in this last part. We shall do so by enumerating five possibilities, which are in no way mutually exclusive:

1. Those who, through Ferrière’s endeavours, found in Geneva the chance to establish and strengthen contacts with the Ligue Internationale d’Éducation Nouvelle and, in general, with the new education movement, learning about new experiences, finding a

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<sup>37</sup> The translations of the more prominent pedagogues such as Claparède, Bovet and Ferrière can be viewed in several more up-to-date editions of their works: Claparède, E. (2007) *La educación funcional*. Madrid, Biblioteca Nueva (Introductory study by J. González-Agàpito); Bovet, P. (2007) *El instinto luchador*. Madrid, Biblioteca Nueva (Introductory study by J.M. Fernández Soria); Ferrière, A. (1997) *L'autonomie dels escolars*. Vic, Eumo (Introductory study by J. Soler Mata). For the translations of Piaget, we refer the reader to the monographic issue of the journal *Anuario de Psicología* (no. 25, 1981) devoted to his life’s work

<sup>38</sup> During the period 1909-1928, a series of letters between the Swiss pedagogue Claparède and the Spaniards Domingo Barnés (the translator) and Francisco Beltrán (the publisher of some of works) crossed paths as they set forth the publication conditions of several translations into Spanish [Source: Bibliothèque de Genève – Département de Manuscrits. Reference: Catalogue des Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Publique et Universitaire de Genève. Tome XIII – Manuscrits français 4001-4200].

forum for sharing their own experiences and opening up the doorway to participation in international congresses on the new education.

2. Those who, at the crossroads of the diverse educational itineraries that could be found in Geneva, discovered new or old trends and, in some cases, the motivation to keep travelling and seeking elsewhere: Kerschensteiner, Freinet, Decroly and the long list of European pedagogues and currents.

3. Those who, in view of the study of child psychology and especially experimental psychological and pedagogical methods, discovered the need to theoretically ground and rigorously apply education, making the most of the teachings of Claparède, Bovet, Piaget and the other professors.

4. Those who took advantage of the prestige of the studies at the Rousseau Institute and the University of Geneva and the contacts and good references of the renowned Geneva pedagogues to re-launch and foster their own prestige and therefore to undertake a licit pathway of professional advancement.

5. Those who became imbued with the liberal, open, pacifist, democratic and internationalist atmosphere in Geneva to reinforce their own democratic convictions and, in the end, learn to live in a different kind of society and strive to build a similar or better one.

The picture sketched in these five points would not be complete without bearing in mind the “different stages” in Geneva and the Rousseau Institute which we have mentioned and the different circumstances that characterised the visitors’ homeland. These include the initial uncertainties, the difficulties during the years of the Great War in Europe (1914-1918), the restrictions during the years of the Primo de Rivera dictatorship, the impetus and new perspectives ushered in by the creation of the Bureau International d'Éducation in 1925, the rise in the number of JAE scholarship recipients from 1926-1936, and finally the proclamation of the Second Republic and later the onset of the Spanish Civil War. In the complexity of this scenario, we can discern three lines that define the attitude of the Geneva pedagogues and institutions towards Catalonia: a legitimately interested attitude or, if you will, an intersection of interests in having good relations in an effort to attract students, promote publications and achieve a presence; more direct contact and knowledge through individuals, especially alumni, if not through the institutional presence of Catalan pedagogy in Geneva; and consequently, an intensive and extensive assessment of the efforts and subsequent work of the Institute’s alumni.

### *3.1. From theory to practice: The Catalan view of Geneva pedagogy*

To borrow Galí’s expression, we should ask about the “practical nature of Catalan pedagogy” and Geneva pedagogy’s possible contribution to the theoretical underpinning of this practice or what Galí himself (1979, 1984) called technical conscience.

This question is difficult to answer in a univocal way, mainly because of the complexity of the factors that come into play. Perhaps each of the respondents, the alumni of the Rousseau Institute, would have answered it differently. We would probably also answer it differently depending on the case, based on an analysis of each one’s subsequent works and contributions. In a personal dedication he wrote in the *Livre d'Or*, Narcís Masó expressed that in order to know what he thinks of the Institute

one would have to read a long list of songs and poems that he had written during his sojourn at the Institute in Geneva. Yet perhaps for our question it is more pertinent to recall that in the prospectus of the school in S'Agaró in 1935 (a Catalan version of the *École International de Genève*), he made references to Claparède, Bovet and Piaget, and that Claparède's opinions and criticisms are clearly present in the texts he wrote, either explicitly or implicitly<sup>39</sup>. Masó also left his personal and intellectual mark on Geneva; his studies always earned the praise of the faculty, and some even appeared in the most prestigious journals<sup>40</sup>. On the other extreme there were also visitors, the most prominent and famous being Rosa Sensat, who did not find anything interesting enough in Geneva to merit a longer stay. The future director of the *Escola de Bosc* did not refrain from expressing this, alleging that she found it impossible to find insights on the subjects that motivated and interested her (the teaching of the physical, chemical and natural sciences) in Geneva compared to what she had found in Brussels or hoped to find at the Normal School of Lausanne<sup>41</sup>. It is clear that not everything was available in Geneva, and in that sense Rosa Sensat was totally right. Nor can we forget the names of Joan Llongueres and Elisa Uriz; what they sought in Geneva, Jaques-Dalcroze's rhythmic gymnastics, they found outside the classrooms of the Rousseau Institute<sup>42</sup>.

We have already reviewed the cases of Pau Vila and Jesús Sanz, and the careers of Mallart and Rosselló are known for having made up the bulk of the positive answers to the question we asked, but perhaps the fair measure of the sceptical attitude towards the new developments and the reluctant attitude towards external gratuitous praise can be found in Alexandre Galí: he was critical of some of active pedagogy's positions and

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<sup>39</sup> See: *Escola de S'Agaró. Pensionat de primer ordre*. Sant Feliu de Guíxols, 1935 (Imp. Tip. Catalana, Vic. Also: Masó, N. (1990) "L'Escola Nova. Les bases, l'essència i l'esperit", in Marquès, S. (Ed.) *Narcís Masó, pedagog de l'escola activa*. Girona, Diputació de Girona, pp. 57-82. We should note that Narcís Masó left an extensive record at the Rousseau Institute, not only because of his long stay there but also because of his character, intelligence and endeavours. He was also fondly recalled and valued for his poetic and musical contributions in the guise of songs for the festivals and outings, including an anthem for the students of the Rousseau Institute ("Chant des élèves de l'Institut").

<sup>40</sup> Masó, N. (1929) "La valeur de l'activité de l'esprit dans la fixation des idées: contribution expérimentale à la théorie de l'école active": travail du Laboratoire de Psychologie de l'Université de Genève et de l'Institut JJ Rousseau", *Archives de Psychologie*, vol. XXI, no. 83-84, pp. 275-292.

<sup>41</sup> Rosa Sensat briefly stayed in Geneva during her study trip from October 1912 to March 1913. As she writes in her diaries, between the 8<sup>th</sup> and 22<sup>nd</sup> of January 1913 she lived in Geneva and made several visits to different schools in the city. Accompanied by Pau Vila, she visited the Rousseau Institute, greeted and met Bovet and attended Claparède's experimental psychology classes for a single morning, from which she drew an ambiguous impression: "He may be very wise, but he says things halfway with no emphasis, with no zeal, without even trying to make it interesting; in a word, without having attended the previous lessons I was unable to get much from it. I was just biding my time" while she secured permits to visit the Geneva schools [Source: *Diaris de Rosa Sensat - Arxiu Rosa Sensat*; boxes 2 and 3 - Fons històric/Biblioteca Rosa Sensat; and also: File JAE/137-439 "Rosa Sensat Vilà". Available at: [http://archivojae.edaddeplata.org/jae\\_app/JaeMain.html](http://archivojae.edaddeplata.org/jae_app/JaeMain.html)].

<sup>42</sup> Joan Llongueras had a scholarship from the JAE to study at the Jaques-Dalcroze Institute of rhythmic gymnastics in Hellerau (Dresden, Germany) in academic year 1911-12. He also took a summer course at the Jaques-Dalcroze Institute in Geneva in 1920 and kept up regular contact with it. Elisa Uriz, a professor at the Normal School of Girona, also studied there in 1922. On the 16<sup>th</sup>, 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> of August 1926, the first "Congrès du Rythme" was held in Geneva, organised by the Jaques-Dalcroze Institute. The participants included Narcís Masó ("La rythmique dans l'enseignement primaire") and Joan Llongueras ("La Gymnastique rythmique dans l'éducation des aveugles") [Source: *Programme Général du Premier Congrès du Rythme*. AIJRR, Fonds Général, Congrès - ancienne côte FG-2].



interested in Claparède's contributions to the disciplines of experimental psychology and pedagogy<sup>43</sup>.

Galí, who had personally met Claparède in Barcelona in 1920 and had attended the vacation course in Geneva in 1922, placed the Technical Courses on Pedagogy under the umbrella of the Rousseau Institute, which he used as a model. The formula based on "training and teaching" plus "research and study" and his studies and research bear the mark of Claparède and the methodologies used at the Rousseau Institute. Some of these studies were known and valued by Claparède and Bovet, as shown by an article in *L'Éducateur* signed by the latter, with the pretext of reading the Annals of the Technical Courses on Pedagogy from 1928-29 (Bovet, 1930). Bovet, who demonstrates perfect familiarity with *La mesura objectiva del treball escolar* (1928), writes an intellectual likeness of Galí which extends beyond simple courtesy and instead praises his capacity for observation, analysis and tireless research in an effort to improve school performance. The use of objective measurements and method is the motive for a special comment by Bovet, who confesses that in 1929, under the direction of Helène Antipoff, he tried to apply and verify the measures proposed by Galí at the Rousseau Institute with French language students. The article makes a detailed review of Galí's studies published in the Annals in relation to the natural foundations of teaching written composition, the orientation of children's thinking in the written language and the influence of reading on the written language.

The article closes with the desire for this kind of study to continue and be imitated in other places in order to spread this "*belle communauté de travail internationale*" even further, in clear alignment with the spirit of the Geneva-based institutions. It is clear that in his concern for methodical observation and experimentation aimed at acquiring the "technical conscience" that should characterise pedagogues and educators, Galí was in harmony with the orientation and spirit of Geneva pedagogy<sup>44</sup>.

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<sup>43</sup> Galí's comments on Claparède's *L'Éducation fonctionnelle* published in the journal *Butlletí dels Mestres* are interesting. After noting the book's interest and assessing the functionalists' contributions to pedagogy, he warns about the perils entailed in the aim of establishing a complete system and in generalisations. With the pretext of reviewing the book, Galí also warns about the danger of giving "done" science to children, but then he went on to express his disagreement with those who only want to let children engage in free activities (See: Galí, A. (1931) "Problemes d'educació funcional", *Butlletí dels Mestres*, no. 54 (15 October), pp. 146-148; Galí, A. (1932) "Problemes d'educació funcional: vida directa i vida científica", *Butlletí dels Mestres*, no. 62 (15 February), pp. 50-51).

<sup>44</sup> Galí's work, *La mesura objectiva del treball escolar*, had already been reviewed by Pierre Bovet in the pages of *L'Éducateur* the same year it was published. Then, as now, he made a highly favourable comment on the content and the editing: "cette perfection d'exécution qui caractérise les éditions de Barcelona" (*L'Éducateur*, year LXIV, no. 3, 4 February 1928, p. 47). We should recall that Galí participated in the International Conference on Bilingualism in 1928, held in Luxembourg, where he defended the talk "Com es pot mesurar la influència del bilingüisme" to an outstanding audience reception (See: *Le Bilinguisme et l'éducation. Travaux de la Conférence internationale tenue à Luxembourg du 2 au 5 avril 1928*. Geneva, Bureau International d'Éducation, 1928). Also attending this conference were Narcís Masó and Jesús Sanz as part of the delegation from the Rousseau Institute (See: Sanz, J. (1928) "Conferencia internacional acerca del Bilingüismo", *Revista de Escuelas Normales*, vol. VI, pp. 170-173).

### 3.2. *Active pedagogy after active pedagogy*

In these pages, we have revisited some of the common places and myths of Catalan pedagogy with the pretext of tracing and reconstructing the physical, intellectual and scientific journeys and exchanges that were undertaken between Catalonia and Geneva in the first third of the 20th century. It is not easy to draw definitive conclusions from our study, beyond the reflections, statements and comments that we have shared throughout the text. Complexity and heterogeneity counsel caution, yet they also open up questions on some of the concepts that have often been used to describe and analyse the evolution of education in Catalonia. The very concepts of the new school and active pedagogy which so profoundly marked Catalan pedagogy (an overly complex and imprecise subject, beyond geographic criteria) gradually appear less homogeneous and more multifaceted as the studies and research progress from the standpoint of both content and meaning. There is no doubt that the crucible of Geneva catalysed the development of the new school movement and played a pivotal role in driving the experiences which were developed in Catalonia under the aegis of the principles of active education. Yet just as active education is a conceptual crossroads of functional education, progressive education, the work-school, the serene school and other conceptualisations, the influence of the pedagogy gestated in Geneva, either at the Rousseau Institute, the Bureau International de l'Éducation, the University of Geneva or the Jaques-Dalcroze Institute, travelled back and forth along multiple pathways until reaching Catalonia. The single initial trunk of Geneva pedagogy also ramified and generated a series of branches within the discipline of the sciences of education. However, this systematisation and view of the whole did not reach Catalonia, or it reached it weakened and blurred, with less intensity than the experiences, practices, methods and actions which found more fertile ground in what Galí called the “practical nature” of Catalan pedagogy.

Perhaps this is an overly general conclusion, yet it is also a point of departure for embarking upon new studies from the perspective of the complexity noted in some publications (Ohayon, Ottavi and Savoye, 2004; Hameline, 2006). The history and evolution of the concepts themselves have generated a polysemy that we cannot ignore. This may be a pathway worth exploring in order to trace the evolution of active education in our country, and more specifically to pinpoint the causes and vectors that have guided and transformed active pedagogy (based on the goals, underpinning and project) into school activism which leads to practice with neither direction nor underpinning. In other words, this study, with all its existing limitations, may lead us to analyse the moment or moments of rupture with the spirit(s) of Geneva, precisely by reconstructing the multiple pathways along which contemporary pedagogy has travelled.

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