Kant's Lectures on Pedagogy on world tour

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Abstract

Immanuel Kant is a leading thinker in philosophy, but in educational science, and consequently in the Philosophy of Education, he does not have any significant importance – one might think. For his 300th birthday in 2024, Kant's collected works will appear in a new edition of the so-called academy edition – including his *Lecture on Pedagogy* from 1803. In this context, L. Koch and T. Mikhail, who are responsible for the publication of this work, give the first complete overview of all translations. It shows that Kant's *Lectures on Pedagogy* have appeared in 18 different foreign languages with 50 first editions. This is astonishing against the background that in the German-speaking area it is assumed that scholars who deal intensively with Kant's pedagogy are a "lost bunch" (Fischer, 1998, 125) – especially because of Kant's complicated language and trains of thought (cf. Guyer/Wood 2020).

Firstly, the article will show how far Kant's *Lectures on Pedagogy* has spread worldwide since 1808, only 5 years after its publication in the original. Secondly, the article shows results of a qualitative content analysis of the paratexts (forewords by the editors). The comparative analysis of the framings of German and English editions reveals differences in lines of interpretations of the quality of the text and its relation to Kant's ethics. It turns out that English-language editors evaluate the *Lectures* far more positively and link their status to Kant's genius as a philosopher.

Keywords

Immanuel Kant; Content Analysis; Philosophy of Education; Global Science Network; General Education

Introduction

Immanuel Kant is one of the most important thinkers of modern science. His œuvre subsequently shaped the development of philosophy, the natural sciences, and the humanities. His works are still being translated, read and quoted worldwide (Schlüter, 2020). For pedagogy it can be stated that Kant's ideas about education have achieved a discipline-defining status too (Webb, 2020; Sticker & Bakhurst, 2021). The worldwide distribution of his *Lectures on Pedagogy* shows this.

In the German-speaking world, however, Kant's *Lectures* are still neglected to this day. As late as 1998, Wolfgang Fischer, one of the few German-speaking pedagogical experts on Kant at the end of the 20th century, came to the conclusion that those who dealt intensively with Kant's pedagogy or his *Lectures* on Pedagogy were a "lost bunch" (Fischer, 1998, p. 125). This judgment can only have been made at the time without taking into account or acknowledging great international interest. The opposite is the case. Since 1998 alone, 16 first editions of the text have appeared worldwide in 11 different national languages. In addition, around 30 reprints and follow-up editions of earlier editions were published. In contrast to Fischer's judgment, Kant's *Lectures* seem to receive a great deal of attention worldwide.

Kant's *Lectures on Pedagogy* are extremely controversial, especially in the

German-language Philosophy of Education (Mikhail, 2017). This controversy is related to the question of whether or not it is an authentic work by Immanuel Kant. The Lectures were published in 1803 by Kant's former student and later colleague Friedrich Theodor Rink - first in a longer version, then in the same year in an abridged version. Even in the earliest subsequent print of the Lectures, in the so-called Rosenkranz Edition of 1838, Friedrich Wilhelm Schubert points out in his preface that Rink must have massively intervened in the publication version. At the latest, after the detailed investigation by the Swiss education historian, Traugott Weisskopf, the question of authenticity of the Lectures on Pedagogy is one of the dominant, topics in the German-speaking world (see also the two essays by Werner Stark in the Kant-Studies, 2000; 2012). Weisskopf (1970) tries to prove that the work is based on Kant's notes, but essentially obtained the form of publication through Rink's interventions in terms of content, composition and style. At the end of his study, he even goes so far as to demand that the Lectures shall be removed from the Academy Edition, precisely because, in his opinion, it is not an authentic text by Kant. In the foreign-language editions, this discussion is rarely an issue at all.

Taking this difference as an opportunity, the following question arises as to how Kant's *Lectures on Pedagogy* were judged in the various national pedagogical specialist discourses. What discipline-shaping importance and what pedagogical quality can be attributed to Kant's *Lectures* worldwide? The object of this investigation is not the translation of Kant's writings, but the editor's introductions (of course this has to be explained and justified).

This research question would require the analysis of all editions published worldwide or all of their introductions; however, such

comprehensive investigation cannot be carried out here, yet. It is related to a larger research project currently being planned, which intends to pursue the global attribution of significance to Kant's Lectures on Pedagogy and their assessment. In the following, we will start off by comparing the assessments in selected Germanlanguage editions with the three Englishlanguage editions that have appeared so far. This sampling unit is examined by using a qualitative content analysis approach according to Mayring (2015) and Kuckartz (2018) with regard to the leading research question. We will proceed in four steps: 1. Comments on the global distribution of Kant's Lectures on Pedagogy with a special focus on its beginning; 2. Comments on the research method and the text genre of the editor's introduction; 3. Results; and 4. Discussion of the results.

Kant's Lectures on Pedagogy and their global spreading

On the occasion of Immanuel Kant's 300th birthday in 2024, the Berlin-Brandenburg Academy of Sciences and Humanities will publish a new edition of the Academy Edition. Despite the disputed question of authenticity, the Lectures on Pedagogy will be reprinted in volume 9 of Section I, which contains Kant's original works. Lutz Koch & Thomas Mikhail are responsible for the new edition. For the editorial report of the new edition, they have prepared an almost complete overview of all editions of the Lectures – the German-language editions as well as the translations. This bibliography is far more extensive than that of the Cambridge Edition by Robert B. Louden & Günter Zöller (2007), which meanwhile has become the worldwide standard, and also larger than the impressive online project "Kant in the classroom", which was recently created at the University of Manchester (Naragon, 2020). According to the Bibliography of Koch & Mikhail, Kant's Lectures on Pedagogy

were published in 16 different foreign languages with 45 first editions, plus 15 German-language editions. A total of over 100 translations, including reprints and subsequent editions, are now circulating worldwide. In the course of research for this article, further first editions were also found, so that a total of 50 foreign-language first editions can now be listed. With the Persian and Turkish translations, there are also 18 national languages (see Table 2 below this article).

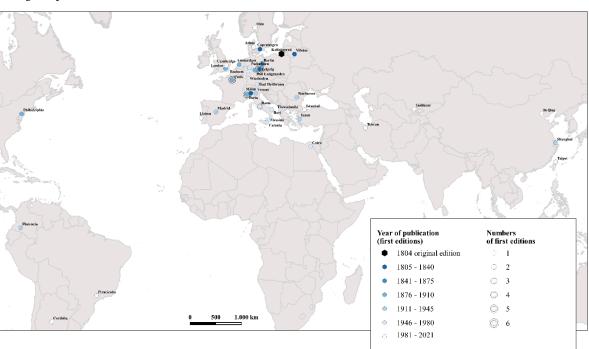
Surveying the worldwide distribution history of the first editions, the rapid spread of the *Lectures* all over the world since the beginning of the 20th century is striking. This can be traced back to the first English edition of 1899 and the reprint in the 1905 French complete edition. Both editions served as translation templates for many of the subsequent foreign language editions, insofar as they did not fall back on German models (especially those by Hartenstein) and English and French acted as *linguae francae* in the

period after Fischer's judgment on the "lost bunch", is striking – at least from the perspective of the German-language Philosophy of Education. The last German text edition of the Lectures actually dates from 1964, which makes Fischer's assessment of 1998 at least somewhat understandable. In Norway, Greece and in the Russian-speaking area, editions are available for the first time in the new millennium. In China and Denmark, new translations appeared more than 100 years after the first national-language editions. This confirms the thesis that Kant's Lectures outside of Germany have not lost their interest in the global Philosophy of Education. On the contrary, this interest seems to be increasing worldwide.

As the map shows, Kant's work spread from the publication center in central Europe to all regions of the world.

Figure 1. Places of publication of the first editions worldwide





Secondly, the accumulation of first editions in the new millennium, i.e., in the

Thirdly, the large number of Italian editions is noticeable, the earliest of which dating back to 1808, heralded its worldwide spread only five years after the publication of the original. In fact, there is no language into which the *Lectures* have been translated more often than Italian. In the period between 1985 and 2015 alone, they appeared 50 times in Italian, including first editions, reprints and subsequent editions (Petrone, 2020, p. 140). This puts the *Lectures on Pedagogy* in fifth place among the most frequently used works by Kant in Italian, even ahead of the *Critique of Judgment*.

This beginning of global distribution should be briefly considered here. An annotated translation was published in Denmark the same year as the Italian edition. However, this edition, prepared by the writer Jens Stephen Heger, was not available, which is why we cannot make any statements about it. The Italian edition was provided by the German-born painter and multilingual translation talent August Eckerlin, who had already translated Kant's Physical Geography a year earlier, in 1807. In his introduction, he praises the Lectures on Pedagogy as a model ("tipo") of a liberal educational idea ("liberali idee sulla educazione") (Eckerlin, 1808, p. IX). Eckerlin then presents this work as the basic theory for developing good taste ("perfezionamento del buon gusto"), placing it at the center of an aesthetic educational theory. Overall, he considers Kant's Lectures to be so successful that he hopes his translation will serve as an opportunity to prescribe a perfect educational plan for Italian youth, as Kant himself intends to do in his work for all countries of the world. Ecklerin's introduction is noteworthy as aspects of aesthetic education in the German edition history were only addressed by Otto Willmann (1873, p. 44) in connection with the Lectures, but otherwise are not mentioned anywhere.

First, this shows that a qualitative analysis of the editor's introductions can enrich the professional discourse on Kant's theory of education with aspects that have received little attention up to now. Secondly, it shows that Kant's work definitely deserves to be considered as defining the discipline for the Philosophy of Education, precisely in the sense of a "tipo."

The text genre of the editor's introductions

The Lectures on Pedagogy open up very different question horizons due to their global distribution and also because of Kant's charisma. The present study refers to the formulated question about the differences in the assessment of the work with regard to its discipline-shaping importance and its educational-theoretical quality considered from the different national perspectives. This shifts the focus to the prefaces and introductions of the editors. These texts can be understood as a special text genre, namely as research contributions to Kant's Lectures that are independent of the translations. Introductions refer to a text (here to a scientifically educational text), but also as an independent scientific paratext. Prefaces and introductions give a scientific paratexual framing to the referred main text (Wirth, 2004; 2010). According to Genette (1982), such paratexts function as a framing prescription or as a reading instruction. In this respect, they also instruct about the structural order and guiding interpretation patterns of the text. However, these interpretation patterns refer even more to the knowledge and the state of research of the editors and thus at least indirectly or even directly to the state of knowledge of the scientific communities they belong to (Genette, 1982, p. 191). Scientific paratexts show a relatively high level of standardization and can be considered to be of high quality, since their authors can usually be

considered important representatives and experts of their respective national scientific community. Editors and thus their introductions have a relatively high scientific status and show a credible assessment of a text that they paratextually frame and the importance of this text for contemporary national scientific discourse. As paratexts, prefaces and introductions do not have the character of spontaneous statements, but represent controlled statements on a main text staged as a key text.

Research method

The methodological access to the selected paratexts follows a qualitative-empirical approach, as developed by Mayring (2015) and Kuckartz (2018), who are closely linked to the work of Siegfried Kracauer and Clive Seale. The focus is placed on the content level of the texts in the interpretative discussion. Aspects of social and power structure levels - as would be possible following Michel Foucault's discourse-analytical approach (Keller, 2008; Keller & Truschkat, 2013) - remain excluded. Such a content analysis requires the complete coding of the texts (with MAXQDA) according to an adequate category system. The selection of categories, particularly in the question of whether they are formed inductively or deductively, can only be made and legitimized depending on the question and the text corpus. In a deductive procedure, the categories are determined a piori and the text units are coded accordingly. In induction, the category system is developed from the coded texts. Both, question and sampling units we have chosen, suggest a deductive procedure specifically, these are the categories according to which Walther Schwarz (1915) examined Kant's Lectures on Pedagogy. The deductive approach can be justified by the fact that we are dealing with such a prominent text for which extensive secondary and research literature is available.

The points of investigation found there hardly seem to be expanded by an inductive approach. Schwarz's (1912) category system can be justified insofar as his study was not only awarded the Kant Prize in 1912 by Kant's alma mater in Königsberg. In addition to Weisskopf's book, it represents the most profound, comprehensive and detailed study of Kant's *Lectures* to date, containing a structure which was also widely adapted by Weisskopf. Its structure, which serves us as a category system, is abstract enough that the coding does not already anticipate the answer to the research question.

The following four meta-categories can be differentiated according to Schwarz: Category I Status of the text, Category II Work-immanent Relations, Category III External References, Category IV Topics of Education and Educational Theory. These categories can be further differentiated for the coding, also following Schwarz's research points (see Table 1 below).

Category I provides information about the dominant theme of authenticity in Germanlanguage pedagogy, but also about the fragmentary nature of the Lectures, which has been repeatedly criticized since the Rosencrantz Edition (Schubert, 1838, p. XVI). This category is central to our research question of assessing the quality of the text. Category II is ostensibly more relevant to philosophical Kant research, but references mentioned in the Lectures on Pedagogy to other works by Kant, in particular to the Critique of Pure Reason and the moralphilosophical writings, also allow assessments of scientific quality The importance of these works is ultimately undisputed (Rohlf, 2020). Category III allows conclusions to be drawn as to whether or not Kant and his Lectures have a disciplineshaping significance and are therefore decisive for the history of the Philosophy of Education, i.e., whether he is also seen in education as a key

thinker like John Locke and Jean-Jacques Rousseau or not. Ultimately, Category IV can show how Kant's pedagogical ideas can be assessed qualitatively and on the basis of concrete problem-solving. This category also allows a direct comparison with regard to the importance and quality of the writing that shaped the discipline.

Before we present the results, a comment on the legitimacy of the recording units is required. Since only three first editions are available in English (Davids, 1899; Buchner, 1904; Cambridge Edition, 2007) and we are restricting ourselves to English editions in this article, this sampling unit also forms the recording units. From the sampling unit of the German-language prefaces and introductions, we have determined those by Otto Willmann (1873), Theodor Vogt (1878) and Paul Natorp's comment text from the Academy Edition (1923) as the recording units (the bibliographical information on these 6 paratexts can be found in Figure 2, not in the references). In terms of standardization and scientific status, the choice of the Academy Edition clearly corresponds to Louden's introduction to the Cambridge Edition. The paratexts by the German educational philosopher Willmann and the Austrian educational philosopher Vogt are appropriate because they have written detailed introductions that are similar to the scope of Davids and Buchner. Additionally, Willmann and Vogt, together with Davids and Buchner, form what can be described as a "Denkkollektiv" (thought collective) with Ludwik Fleck (1980), in that they occur in a conceptual sequence. Both Davids and Buchner quote or name Willmann and Vogt. A comparison of the different assessments of writing is therefore needed, especially within this thought collective with regard to this direct reference.

Results

The schematic overview shows which categories occur in the introductions.

Table 1. Category occurrence in German and English introductions

	1		1			1
	Willmann (1873)	Vogt (1878)	Academy Edition (1923)	Davids (1899)	Buchner (1904)	Cambridge Edition (2007)
Cat. I Status of the text						
Context of origins	X	X	X	X	Х	X
Quality	x	x	x	x	x	X
Specifity	x	x	x	x	x	X
Author's characteristics	x	x		x	x	x
Cat. II Work-immar	Cat. II Work-immanent relations					
Works on Ethics	x	x	х	x	х	x
Anthropology (Religion)	х	x	-	x	x	х
Critique of Pure Reason	x	x	x	x	x	-
Works on Philo- sophy of History & Political Theory	x	x	-	x	-	x
Essays concerning the Philanthropinum	x	x	-	x	x	x
Others	x	x	-		x	-
Cat. III External Re	eferences					
Locke	-	-	-	x	-	x
Rousseau	х	-	-	X	X	X
Basedow	х	-	X	X	X	X
Others	x	-	-	X	X	-
Cat. IV Topics of Education and Educational Theory						
Aim of Education	x	X	-	X	x	х
Nature and Classification of Education	x	х	-	х	х	x
Determination of Education	x	х	-	x	x	x
Scientification of Pedagogy	-	x	-	x	x	х
Other Topics	х	-	-	-	X	-

Category I Status of the text

For the German introductions,
Schubert's assessment as the earliest Germanlanguage commentary has become paradigmatic
and groundbreaking (Leone, 2019). In the
Rosenkranz Edition he writes that Kant's

Lectures are merely "fragmentarily presented
papers" (Schubert, 1838, p. XVI). He closely
links this character of the fragmentary to the
context of origins, which was achieved through a
compilation of "many single scraps of paper"
(ibid.) on which Kant is said to have spent little

time and effort. Referring to this, Natorp judges in the Academy Edition that "a satisfying disposition cannot be recognized" (1923, p. 569). Willmann, to whom the Academy Edition refers, also believes that these are "loosenotes", although he unquestionably counts the *Lectures* as part of the "collection of the most important pedagogical documents" (1873, p. 5). Vogt attests the work to be "rich in excellent thoughts" (1878, p. 67), but it lacks the scientific-philosophical character that one would actually expect from Kant.

Although the English paratexts also address the fragmentary character of the Lectures, they do not assess it as critically. Davids, as the earliest commentator, knows that the writing "was not compiled for publication by the master himself" (1899, p. V). Therefore, the Lectures do not give an "exhaustive theory of education" (ibid.). Nevertheless, according to Davids, it will "prove a benefit" to English readers, and modern pedagogy "will in no wise suffer from keeping in view Kant's wide and high prospect" (1899, p. XVIII). In the course of the content analysis, it is noticeable that Davids sometimes seems to forget that Kant is not the writer of the Lectures (Figure 2, "the hand of the writer"). Buchner reports on the Germanlanguage discussion about quality and also addresses the criticism shared by the majority (explicitly also by Vogt). In this context, however, he also mentions the study of the Austrian Anton Burger (1863), who was of the opinion that "Kant did entertain an idea of education which had organizing power" (Buchner, 1904, p. 65). However, Buchner refrains from making his own assessment. In the Cambridge Edition, Louden is clearer. In terms of the quality of the *Lectures*, he sees "a less familiar Kant", who does "not always say what we expect or want him to say" (Cambridge 2007, p. 17). The Cambridge Edition does not address

the problem of authenticity at all. Typical for all three English-language introductions is the evidence of the quality of the *Lectures* with reference to the brilliant intellectual characteristics of their author. Davids is paradigmatic when he writes "Kant is too great to be merely historically interesting" (1899, p. XV).

Figure 2. Kant's personal characteristics as a quality feature of the text (Davids-Text, MAXQDA-View)

But Kant is too great to be merely historically interesting.

There is much in these lecture-notes worthy to

be considered by educators for many a generation

to come. Now and again the hand of the

writer is on the pulse of the future. Always he

is earnest, wise, and sane.

Broadly divided, education for Kant is either

physical or moral, is either *cultization* or

moralisation of the individual.

Category II Work-immanent Relations

For Willmann (1873) and Vogt (1878) there is no question that the Lectures on Pedagogy are related to Kant's ethical writings and also to Anthropology from a Pragmatic Point of View. Only from this context could their importance be adequately assessed. It is remarkable in the Academy Edition that Kant's "non-application of the categories" from the Critique of pure Reason, which Willmann also criticizes, is seen as a systematic weakness (Natorp, 1923, p. 560). In this context, Vogt criticizes that the Lectures are "free from the considerations of philosophical presuppositions", which is why he attributes to the paper "only an empirical character" (1878, 67). This is a relatively devastating judgment for the German tradition of Philosophy of Education of his time. What is worth mentioning for all

three German paratexts is the attempt to locate the *Lectures* in the overall work through many different references – regardless of the open question about Kant's authorship – and thus, at least to some extent, to vouch for their quality. This is an indication, according to Koch & Mikhail in the new Academy Edition appearing in 2024, that the editor Rink could never have accomplished this feat without a very decent manuscript template from Kant's own hands, so that Kant is presumably the lead author of the *Lectures*.

The English introductions also refer to other Kantian works, even to lesser-known ones such as Physical Geography (Davids, 1899, p. V; Buchner, 1904, p. 85). Buchner makes detailed references to the three Critiques. In these considerations, however, he neither criticizes the non-application of the categories from Transcendental Analytics nor the lack of philosophical presuppositions. Rather, he arrives at the positive assessment by applying a psychological reading, thanks to Kant's "genial entertainment" (Buchner, 1904, p. 55). Overall, however, similar to the German-language introductions, the reference to Kant's moral writings and Anthropology is considered to be the most important. Although Louden does not explicitly address these relations in the Cambridge Edition, they become evident through the citations in his introduction.

Category III External References

As Table 1 indicates, the biggest difference between the German and English-paratexts lies in the category of external references. While Vogt does not provide a single external reference and while the Academy Edition only mentions Basedow once (in a completely irrelevant context), English introductions present the *Lectures* as a historically valuable key text and Kant as a key

thinker of Enlightenment education. According to Davids, Kant stands in direct line of thought with Comenius and Locke who "had been fashioning him" (1899, p. IX). According to Louden, "Kant follows Basedow, who in turn follows Rousseau, who in turn follows Locke" (2007, p. 15). The influence of Rousseau, whose Émile "produced a great impression" on Kant (Buchner, 1904, p. 22), is strongly emphasized in the English introductions, especially by Buchner. Buchner also names Basedow and Montaigne who were Kant's "associates" (1904, p. 22). Montaigne's influence in particular cannot be overestimated for Kant's thinking about education (Kühn, 2001, p. 79; see also Willmann, 1873, p. 21). Willmann (1873) is also the only German educational philosopher who very astutely points out the similarities, but also the differences between Kant and Rousseau. In contrast, the English introductions emphasize Rousseau's influence on Kant, his further development and his modifications.

Category IV Topics of Education and Educational Theory

In this category, there are also major differences between the German and Englishlanguage introductions, although these are not immediately obvious. Apart from the fact that Natorp does not say a word about the content of the Lectures on Pedagogy in the Academy Edition, the discussion in Willmann and Vogt is fundamentally different from that in Davids, Buchner and the Cambridge Edition. Willmann and Vogt take an extremely critical view of the fundamental theoretical problems that Kant addresses in the Lectures. Vogt considers Kant's transcendental theory of freedom in his ethics incompatible with the moral education in the Lectures. According to him, this problematic difference is "unsolvable" (Vogt, 1878, p. 51). In addition, Willmann refers to Schleiermacher and Herbart with the objection that Kant's theory of

freedom would have "collapsed in its origins" if he had considered the problem of education earlier (Willmann, 1873, p. 55). Overall, Willmann completely relativizes Kant's thoughts on moralization as the main goal of education and instead refers to a "practical education restricted to children" (1873, p. 54).

On the other hand, the English introductions emphasizes the theoretical and systematic strengths of the script. What is particularly striking (also because this aspect is not mentioned in the German introductions) is the emphasis on the cosmopolitan trait that is laid out in Kant's *Lectures* (Louden, 2007, p. 52). Central to this is the connection between experimentalism and naturalism (Louden) or between dogmatic and inductive procedures (Davids), which is shown through references to Kant's critical philosophy. The three English introductions also emphasize both the connection made in the Lectures between nature and reason (in the dichotomy of physical and practical education) as well as a positive thematization of moralization as the goal of all education, which Buchner even systematically justifies. Buchner's judgment on the Lectures is characteristic of this aspect: "For it is a supreme moral idealism which is thus introduced into pedagogy. It is at this point that his greatest service to education is to be seen." (Buchner, 1904, p. 69) It is also Buchner who, like the earliest Italian editor Eckerlin, sets out the foundations for a theory of aesthetic education in the Lectures on Pedagogy.

Discussion

The comparative analysis of the German and English-language introductions clarifies the differences in the perception and assessment of the respective editors of the paratextual framings of Kant's *Lectures on Pedagogy*. The analysis clearly shows that some aspects,

especially in categories I and II, were assessed very similarly. This primarily concerns the fragmentary character of the presentation and the location of the *Lectures* in Kant's complete works. Nevertheless, the differences are fundamental. The focus of the English-speaking editors is therefore much more on the content of the *Lectures*. Their assessments are also largely positive, i.e., they are aimed at the retrospective justification of Kant's educational theory. The German editors, on the other hand, are increasingly focusing on the formal editorial problems, also in a deficit-oriented direction.

A key finding is that English editions relate the *Lectures* to moral philosophy in a much more positive manner than the German editors do. In fact, this reference is not only made biographically, but also on the level of content. In the English-speaking world, Kant's pedagogy and his moral philosophy are understood as being theoretically complementary, but by German editors as being antagonistic. Kant's groundbreaking turn in transcendental moral philosophy is also reflected in the interpretation by the Englishspeaking editors of his pedagogy. This reflection was not taken into consideration by German editors. On the contrary, they dispute the possibility of the compatibility of freedom and educational influence and thus emphasize the gap between Kant's ethics and his educational theory in the *Lectures*. In comparison to the English publishers the appreciation of ethics among German editors does not lead to their appreciation of pedagogy, but rather to a disparagement of it.

Overall, the comparison reveals differences in cultures of interpretation when dealing with the script. Willmann and Vogt show a very formalistic culture of interpretation, which primarily focuses on the form of the *Lectures* and their origin. The English-speaking

editors, above all Davids and Buchner, assume the characteristics of the author as "earnest, wise and sane" (Figure 2). In this respect, they hardly dwell on the context in which the writing came about and the questions associated with it, but rather focus more on the content-related discussion. In their introductions, they always take the brilliant Kant as a basis, seriously, unreservedly, and sometimes even benevolently. It is therefore not surprising that the English editors accord Kant the status of an educational key thinker, much more than the German editors. Category III has shown that the Englishlanguage editors consider the importance of Kant's educational theory for the history of Western Philosophy of Education to be far greater than the German editors consider it to be.

The analysis of the editor's introductions as paratextual framings proves to be fruitful. Due to the expertise of the editors and the formal standardization of the text genre, a more realistic insight into the worldwide assessment of the Lectures can be gained than through the analysis of secondary literature such as articles in journals or anthologies. This access enables a deep insight into the global assessment of writing and its significance. The texts analyzed here illustrate lines of argumentations that seem very deeply grounded in national discourses. In this way, (national) thought collectives can be reconstructed with some degree of reliability in their assessment of Kant's Lectures on *Pedagogy.* However, the comparative analysis also clearly shows that the arguments within a collective of thought can be very complex. It would be useful to consider a broader, perhaps even complete, qualitative comparison across different languages and national discourses of Philosophy of Education to see how Kant's Lectures on Pedagogy are framed globally. Just as Kant's *Lectures* have been "in motion" for

more than 200 years, research into this central educational work could also set "in motion" in the future.

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Appendix

Table 2. Chronology of first editions worldwide

Year	Language	First Edition
1803	German	Immanuel Kant über Pädagogik. Hg. v. D. Friedrich Theodor Rink.
(Original) German	Königsberg: Nicolovius.	
1808	Danish	Iman. Kant om Opdragelsen. Oversættelse af Jens Stephen Heger. Copenhagen: Kongelig og Universitets-Bogtrykker.
1808	Italian	Idee di Emanuele Kant sull'educazione pubblicate dal Dott. Rink. Traduzione dal tedesco di August Eckerlin. Milan: Silvestri.
1819	Polish	O pedagogice. Tlumaczenie Jána Bobrowskiego. Wilna: drukarni XX. Missyonarzow p.k.ś. Kazimierza.
1838	German	Über Pädagogik. Hg. v. Friedrich Wilhelm Schubert. In Immanuel Kant's sämmtliche Werke. Hg. v. Karl Rosenkranz und Friedrich Wilhelm Schubert. Neunter Theil. Leipzig: Voss, (367-438).
1839	German	Immanuel Kant über Pädagogik. In Immanuel Kant's Werke, sorgfältig revidirte Gesammtausgabe in zehn Bänden. Zehnter Band. Hg. v. Gustav Hartenstein, Leipzig: Modes und Baumann, (379-450).
1868	German	Immanuel Kant über Pädagogik. In Immanuel Kant's sämmtliche Werke. In chronologischer Reihenfolge hg. v. Gustav Hartenstein. Achter Band. Leipzig: Voss, (453-513).
1873	German	<i>Immanuel Kant über Pädagogik.</i> Hg. und erl. v. Julius Hermann von Kirchmann. (= Philosophische Bibliothek, Bd. 57). Berlin: Heimann, (209-276).
1873	German	<i>Immanuel Kant. Über Pädagogik.</i> Mit Einleitung und Anmerkungen versehen von Prof. Dr. O. Willmann. Leipzig: Sigismund & Vilkening.
1878	German	<i>Immanuel Kant. Über Pädagogik</i> . Mit Kant's Biographie hg. von Theodor Vogt. Langensalza: Beyer & Söhne.
1883	Dutch	<i>Immanuel Kant Over pedagogiek</i> (= Paedagogische bibliotheek, Bd. 16). Vertaald door Jan Geluk. Amsterdam: Versluys.
1883	Italian	La pedagogia du Emanuele Kant. Proemio e Traduzione di Angelo Valdarnini. Torino/Roma/Milano/Firenze/Napoli: G. B. Paravia).
1886	French	<i>Traité de pédagogie</i> . Traduction par Jules Barni. Avec une préface, des Sommaires analytiques et un lexique par Raymond Thamin. Paris: Felix Alcan.
1890	German	<i>Immanuel Kant</i> (= Die Klassiker der Pädagogik, Bd. XI) Bearb. v. G. Fröhlich. Langensalza: Koerner.
1892	Latin	De tractatu Kantii paedagogico. Proponebat Georges Dumesnil. Paris: Librairie Hachette et Cie.
1899	English	On Education by Immanuel Kant. Translated by Annette Churton with an introduction by Foley Rhys Davids. London: Kegan, Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co. Ltd.
1904	English	The Educational Theory of Immanuel Kant. Translated an edited with an introduction by Edward Franklin Buchner. Philadelphia/London: Lippincott, (99-222).
1905	French	Traité de pédagogie. Dans: Eléments métaphysiques de la doctrine de la vertu (2e partie de la Métaphysique des moeurs): suivis d'un Traité de

		pédagogie. Traduit de l'allemand par Jules Barni avec une introduction analytique et critique du traducteur (= Oeuvres Completes de Kant). Paris: Durand.
1911	Spanish	Kant, Pestalozzi y Goethe sobre educacion. Traducción Lorenzo Luzuriaga. Madrid: Daniel Jorro.
1912	Romanian	<i>Tratat de pedagogie</i> . De Constantin Victor Buţureanu. Bucuresti: Editura Librariei 'Universala' Alacalay.
1914	Chinese	康德教育論. Translated by Qu Junong. Shanghai: Shang wu yin shu guan.
1920	German	<i>Immanuel Kant. Über Pädagogik</i> (= Taschenausgabe der philosophischen Bibliothek, Heft 57). Hg. v. Karl Vorländer. Leipzig: Meiner.
1922	Germann	Immanuel Kant über Pädagogik. In: Vermischte Schriften. Mit Einleitung, Anmerkungen, Personen- und Sachregister neu hg. v. Karl Vorländer. Leipzig: Meiner, (189-251).
1923	German	Vorlesungen Kants über Pädagogik. Hg. v. Otto Buek. In: Immanuel Kants Werke, Bd. VIII. In Gemeinschaft mit H. Cohen u.a., hg. v. Ernst Cassirer. Berlin: Cassirer, (453-508).
1923	German	<i>Pädagogik</i> . Hg. v. Paul Natorp. Kant's Werke. Akademieausgabe, Bd. 9. Berlin/Leipzig: De Gruyter, (437-499).
1933	Turkish	Kant'ın Pedagojisi. Çev. Mustafa Rahmi Balaban, İzmir: Fikirler Neşriyatı.
1934	Italian	La Pedagogia. Traduzione di F. Rubitschek. Studio critico introduttivo di L. Ventura. Firenze: Battistelli.
1934	Italian	La Pedagogia. Prefazione, versione e note di Adolfo Zamboni. Torino et al.: Societa Editrice Internatzionale.
1934	Japanese	カント教育学: 全訳 (Kanto kyōikugaku: Zen'yaku). Translation by Hiroshi Nishida. Tōkyō: Meguro Shoten.
1938	Japanese	<i>內容: 教育学</i> . Translation by Jinjō Kiba,. In: Kiba, J. (Ed.). 教育学其他 (<i>Kyōikugaku sonota</i>). Tōkyō: Iwanami Shoten.
1941	Italian	Pedagogia. Di Luigi Causo. Verona: La Scaligera.
1949	Arabic	Kitāb fī-t-tarbīya. Tarǧama Ṭahṭāwī Ǧūharī. Al-Qāhira: Al-maṭbaʿ as-salafīya.
1953	Italian	La pedagogia. Rivista da Rosario Assunto e Rolf Hohenemser. Bari: Laterza.
1954	Italian	L'opera pedagogica. <i>La pedagogia e i Frammenti</i> . Introduzione, traduzione e note di Lucia Bruno. Catania: Edizioni B.
1955	Italian	<i>Pedagogia</i> . Traduzione, introduzione e commento Nicola Abbagnano. Torino: Luni Editrice.
1959	Italian	Lezioni di pedagogia. Di Giuseppe Catalfamo. Messina: D'Anna.
1959	Japanese	教育学. Translation by Kiyoshi Shimizu. In:人間学; 教育学 (Ningengaku). Machida: Tamagawa Daigaku Shuppanbu.
1960	German	Immanuel Kant über Pädagogik (= Klinkhardts Pädagogische Quellentexte). Hg. v. Theodor Friedrich. Bad Heilbrunn: Klinkhardt.
1961	German	<i>Immanuel Kant. Über Pädagogik</i> (= Kamps pädagogische Taschenbücher, Bd. 5). Hg. v. Hermann Holstein. Bochum: Kamps.
1961	French	Réflexions sur L'Éducation (= Bibliothèque des textes philosophiques). Introduction, traduction et notes par Alexis Philonenko. Paris: Vrin.
1963	Italian	La pedagogia. Traduzione, introduzione e note di Vincenzo de Ruvo. Roma: Signorelli.

1963	German	Immanuel Kant. Ausgewählte Schriften zur Pädagogik und ihrer Begründung. Besorgt v. Hans-Hermann Groothoff unter Mitwirkung von Edgar Reimers. Paderborn: Schöningh, 1963 (7-59).
1964	German	Immanuel Kant über Pädagogik. In: Immanuel Kant. Werke in sechs Bänden. Hg. v. Wilhelm Weischedel. Bd. 6. Wiesbaden: Insel, (691-761).
1971	Japanese	內容: 教育学講義. Translated by Shuichi Katsuta. In: hims/Yōko Iseda (Ed.). Pädagogik. Der Streit der Fakultäten. Tokyo: Meiji-tosho-shuppan.
1974	Italian	Il pensiero filosofico e pedagogico. A cura di Pietro Chiodi. Torino: Loescher,
1981	Persian	<i>Taʿlīm va tarbīyat</i> . Translation by Ġolām-Hosseyn Šokūhī, Teheran: Entešārāt-e dānešgāh-e Tehrān.
1986	French	Propos de pédagogie. Dans: Œuvres philosophiques, Tome III: Les derniers écrits. Sous la direction de Ferdinand Alquié. Paris: Gallimard, (1145-1203).
1991	Spanish	Sobre Pedagogía. Pròleg de Joan-Carles Mèlich i Sangrà; traducció de Jaume Tió. Madrid: Eumo Editorial.
1996	Italian	Antologia di scritti pedagogici. A cura di Giordano Formizzi. Verona: Gabrielli.
1996	Portuguese	Sobre a Pedagogia. Tradução de Francisco Cock Fontanella. Piracicaba: UNIMEP.
2000	Danish	Om pædagogik. Redigeret af Vagn Lyhne. Oversat af Bengt Moss-Petersen. Arhus: Klim.
2001	Italian	L'arte di educare. A cura di Andrea Gentile. Roma: Armando, 2001.
2002	Chinese	康德論教育(Kang de lun jiao yu). Translated by Jia Fuming. Tai bei shi: Wu nan.
2002	Romanian	Despre pedagogie. Traducere și studiu introductiv Traian Brăileanu, prefață Constantin Stroe București: Paideia.
2004	Greek	<i>Peri paidagōgikēs</i> . Translated by Paraskeuē Sidera-Lytra. Thessalonikē: Kyriakidēs.
2005	Chinese	論教育. Transl. by Zhao Peng und Zhaowu. Shanghai: Shanghai Century Publishing Group.
2006	Turkish	Eğitim Üzerine. Çev. Ahmet Aydoğan. İstanbul: İz Yayıncılık
2007	English	Lectures on Pedagogy. In Anthropology, History and Education, translation by Robert P. Louden. Cambridge: University Press, 2007 (437-485).
2009	Italian	La pedagogia. A cura di Luciana Bellatalla e Giovanni Genovesi. Roma: Anicia.
2009	Spanish	Sobre pedagogia. Traduccion y nota preliminar por Oscar Caeiro. Cordoba/Argentina: Editorial UNC.
2010	Chinese	教育學(Jiao yu xue). Translation by Qiuling Li. In Li, Q. (Ed.). 邏輯學. 自然地理學.教育學 (Luo ji xue. zi ran di li xue. jiao yu xue). Beijing: Renmin University Press (Vol. 9 Chinese Academy Edition).
2012	Portuguese	Sobre a pedagogia. Tradução et notas de João Tiago Proença. Lisboa: Edições 70.
2013	Russian/ Uzbek	Pedagogika tugrisida. Translated by Mirzali Akbarov. Taschkent: Niso Poligraf.
2015	Italian	Pedagogia. Traduzione, introduzione e commento di Nicola Abbagnano. Milan: Luni.

2016	Norwegian	Om pedagogikk. Oversatt med forord, noter og kommentarer av Bjarne Hansen. Innledning ved Lars Løvlie. Etterord ved Svein Østerud. Oslo: Aschehoug & Co.
2019	Turkish	Eğitim Üzerine. Çev. S. Emre Bekman. Instanbul: İz Yayıncılık.