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# ARTICLES AND DISSERTATIONS

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DOI: 10.14746/bhw.2018.38.1

## **The Image of the Little Child and its Upbringing as Reflected in *Yconomica* by Conrad of Megenburg. A Contribution to the History of Education in the Late Middle Ages**

**Abstract:** The paper is concerned with the views of the fourteenth-century German thinker and writer Conrad of Megenburg on the nature of a little child (until the age of seven) and his or her upbringing as reflected in his *Yconomica*. This work belonged to the *oeconomica* genre – books of instructions about the prudent management of the household, including recommendations on the proper upbringing of offspring. Conrad perceives the child primarily as lacking an ability to reason. Consequently, in his opinion what the child speaks or does is only a mindless imitation – a kind of aping – of what he or she hears or sees in others. Therefore, recommendations given by Conrad to parents on how they should take care of their children are mostly concerned with their health and proper physical development. To a lesser degree the first years of living is a time for the child to learn some good manners, e.g. while eating and to gain basic religious knowledge. This kind of learning, however, does not require any understanding, it consists in developing appropriate habits in children. Only when they reach the age of seven did their proper education begin. In his view of the little child and his or her upbringing Conrad of Megenburg follows the Aristotelian tradition.

**Keywords:** Little Child's Image; Late Medieval Upbringing; Conrad of Megenburg; *Oeconomica* Literature

The historical studies on childhood which have been developing intensively for a long time, have significant achievements also with regard to the Middle Ages<sup>1</sup>. Owing to the research carried out by medievalists based on various categories of sources, we currently

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<sup>1</sup> See the following research overviews: C. HEYWOOD, *Centuries of Childhood: An Anniversary – and An Epitaph?*, [in:] *Journal of the History of Childhood and Youth*, 3, 2010, no. 3, p. 343-365; M.L. KING, *Concepts of Childhood: What We know and Where We Might Go*, *Renaissance Quarterly*, 60, 2007, no. 2, p. 371-407 (also early modern era); A. CLASSEN, *Philippe Ariès and the Consequences. History of Childhood, Family Relations, and Personal Emotions. Where do we stand today*, [in:] *Childhood in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance. The Results of a Paradigm Shift in the History of Mentality*, ed. A. CLASSEN, Berlin – New York 2005, pp. 1-66; B. HANAWALT, *Medievalists and the Study of Childhood*, *Speculum* 77, 2002, pp. 440-460. Polish studies on the history of life of children in the Middle Ages are represented primarily by the works by M. DELIMATA and to some extent those by D. ŻOŁĄDŹ-STRZELCZYK.

have fairly abundant knowledge about the realities of life and attitudes towards children in Middle Ages. On the other hand, the state of knowledge about the image of the child and childhood prevailing in medieval culture is much more meagre<sup>2</sup>. In other words, what kind of image or rather images of the child and childhood was shared by people of the Middle Ages. The term of image, whose equivalents may be: a concept, perception, understanding or idea covers the answers that a given society, or a given social group or community, gave at a certain time and place to questions, including about who a child is, what his or her nature and needs are, what is its meaning, value and role in society. Referring to the perspective outlined by *gender studies*, one can also ask a question about the socially and culturally constructed difference between a human being at the beginning of his or her life and in later stages thereof. The problem of culturally and historically variable perception and definition of child and childhood, included in the notion of image, is also one of the main problems of studies on childhood in current times<sup>3</sup>.

The area of studies on the image of child and childhood comprises also the issue of the perception of a young child and its implications for taking care of him and his upbringing contained in the work entitled *Yconomica*<sup>4</sup> written in the fourteenth century. Its author, Conrad from Megenburg, is one of prominent figures of the scholarly culture of the late Middle Ages. He was born in the early fourteenth century to a family of the lower German gentry (the so-called ministeriales). He first attended a school in Erfurt, and then he continued his education in Paris, where he graduated and obtained a master's degree. In later years, he lectured in philosophy and theology there. Then he moved to Vienna, where he was the rector of the Saint Stephen School, and a few years later to Regensburg, where he joined the local chapter functioning at the cathedral church. There he lived until his death in 1374.

He is counted among the most prolific German writers of the 14th century. He is the author of over 30 works in which he raised problems in theology, socio-political issues, moral philosophy, and natural science (i.e. natural philosophy as understood at that time). The latter area also covers the work for which he became famous: the treatise on the nature *Buch der Natur*<sup>5</sup> written in the old German language.

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<sup>2</sup> For works which reconstruct the image of childhood contained in belles-lettres, see: J.A. SCHULTZ, *The Knowledge of Childhood in the German Middle Ages, 1110-1350*, Philadelphia 1999; a set of studies *Childhood in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance. The Results of a Paradigm Shift in the History of Mentality*, ed. A. CLASSEN, Berlin – New York 2005; Ph. GAFFNEY, *Constructions of Childhood and Youth in Old French Narrative*, New York 2011.

<sup>3</sup> See J.M. GARBULA, M. KOWALIK-OLUBIŃSKA, *Konstruowanie obrazu dzieciństwa w perspektywie psychologicznej i socjokulturowej*, Przegląd Pedagogiczny, 2012 no. 1, pp. 25-34; M.J. KEHILY, *Zrozumieć dzieciństwo: wprowadzenie w kluczowe tematy i zagadnienia*, [in:] *Wprowadzenie do badań nad dzieciństwem*, ed. M.J. KEHILY, transl. M. KOŚCIELAK, Kraków 2008, pp. 15-40.

<sup>4</sup> Die Werke des Konrad von Megenberg 5. Stück: *Yconomica*, (3 books), published by S. KRÜGER, (= Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores, Staatschriften des späteren Mittelalters 3.1-3), vol. I – III, Stuttgart 1973-1984, hereinafter cited as: *Yconomica*, with the relevant book, part and chapter specified.

<sup>5</sup> See S. KRÜGER, *Einleitung*, [in:] Die Werke des Konrad von Megenberg 5. Stück: *Yconomica*, (book I), vol. I, Stuttgart 1973, pp. XII-XXII.

*Yconomica* is one of the less known works written by Conrad. It belongs to the genre of “economic” writing related to household issues, which dates back to Greek ancient times. The discussion on this subject was reopened in the Middle Ages, predominantly from the twelfth to the fourteenth centuries. Conrad’s *Yconomica* is also a result of the revival of interest in this subject<sup>6</sup>. Apart from advice on the management of household, the main purpose of “economics” was to instruct the readers on the rules of mutual living of members of the household community, in particular the relationship between husband and wife, parents and their offspring, and the master of the house and servants. The Conrad’s work follows this pattern. The first of the three books of his work tackles the issue – as the title suggests – “of the management of ordinary people’s households” (*de regimine domestico popularium hominum*). The second part of this book is dedicated to the relationship between parents and children (*de communicacione proliativa, scilicet parentum ad filios et eciam econtra*) which is the subject of my scholarly interest. It contains also recommendations addressed to parents about the care and upbringing of the child, which will be used by me to reconstruct the way Conrad perceived the child’s person and his or her education.

What is a human being, according to Conrad’s views, in the first period of life? For Conrad, the first stage of human life, from one’s birth till the age of 7 years, is the period referred to as *infantia* or the age of infancy. While performing the etymological analysis of this term, he explains that this stage: “is called the age of infancy, derived from the words “no” and “say” as the child does not speak at the time” (*et dicitur etas infantilis, ab in quod est non, et for faris, quasi tunc puer nesciens fari*)<sup>7</sup>. He referred here to the long tradition of discussing “periods of life” and resulting division of lifetime into various stages and characteristics given to them, dating back to the beginnings of antiquity and then continued through the Middle Ages<sup>8</sup>. For example, respective explanations we find in *Etymologiarum sive originum libri viginti* written in the early Middle Ages by Isidore of Seville, who explains that a human in the first period of life: “is called *infans* because he does not speak, that is he cannot speak” (*Dictus autem infans quia adhuc fari nescit, id est loqui non potest*). And, as he further explains: “For as long as the teeth are not yet well grown, the speech is not quite articulate” (*Nondum enim bene ordinatis dentibus minus est sermonis expressio*)<sup>9</sup>. This way of defining the first period of human life as a period of infancy, which is the result of either lack of speech or clumsiness in speaking resulting from a particular stage of development of teeth, was later adopted and disseminated by ency-

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<sup>6</sup> This type of studies and the manee how it developed is discussed in: I. RICHARZ, *Oikos, Haus und Haushalt. Ursprung und Geschichte der Haushaltsökonomik*, Göttingen 1991, the work of Conrad of Megenburg is discussed on pp. 52- 57.

<sup>7</sup> *Yconomica*, book I/2.13, p. 88: the cited fragments of *Yconomica* are translated by me.

<sup>8</sup> See for example J.A. BURROWS, *The Ages of Man: A Study in Medieval Writing and Thought*, Oxford 1986, passim; E. SEARS, *The Ages of Man: Medieval Interpretations of the Life Cycle*, Princetown – New York 1986.

<sup>9</sup> *Isidori Hispalensis episcopi Etymologiarum sive originum Librii XX*, ed. W.M. LINDSAY, Oxford 1911, book XI/2.

clopaedists: Rabanus Maurus who lived in the ninth century, or those closer to the times of Conrad, like Vincent of Beauvais and Bartholomeus Anglicus representing the 13th century<sup>10</sup>. However, unlike them, Conrad associates the child's infancy with another feature of the child's nature. As he explains:

It is not that [a little child] can say anything, but that what he says is imitation and done by mere mimicking without the slightest understanding. For this reason, young children speak and act more habitually, like monkeys, and when they see anything people do, they want to imitate them.

*(Non quia nihil possit loqui, sed quia quod loquitur, symeale est ac imitativum, minutissima luce rationis concurrente. Qua de causa fit, ut infantes plus consuetudine loquantur et operentur, quia symea quicquid ab hominibus operariri videt, imitari desiderat)*<sup>11</sup>.

As an example of such a mindless imitation, he quotes a story that allegedly happened in Nuremberg during the reign of Emperor Louis IV. According to the story, a little child (*infans*), having seen his father slaughtering lambs, once grabbed a knife and, considering it a play, cut the throat of his companion. Then he said: 'this is the way ... my father used to slaughter lambs' (*Sic ... pater meus agnos mactare consuevit*)<sup>12</sup>.

So the key trait, by which Conrad defines the period of early childhood, and from which the name of the period derives, is not so much the lack of speech ability as such, but the lack of reasoning ability, making it impossible to grasp the essence of what these children see or hear. He writes about this directly, saying that "the first stage of life shows little understanding" (*prior etas parve indicatur discrecionis*) or that in children "neither discernment in them is such that they can understand well the sense of a given issue" (*nec discrecio est tanta in ipsis, ut veritatem cuiuslibet rei sciant apprehendere bene*). This is also illustrated by another example, stating that each man with a hairless top of his head is taken by children for a priest. In this regard, he also warns that one should not always believe their statements<sup>13</sup>.

He also points to other manifestations of lack of reasonableness in their behaviour, at the same time cautioning parents about the matter. Whatever is being done or said at home, which would be better kept secret, should be kept hidden from children. This is so because when little children hear or see anything, they are prone to pass it on to others. They love to talk about what they see or hear. This inclination encourages them not only to reveal secrets, but also frees them to try to learn them so they can talk about them later. This ten-

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<sup>10</sup> See K. ARNOLD, *Kind und Gesellschaft in Mitterlater und Renaissance*, Paderborn – München 1980, pp. 18-19. For studies on Vincent of Beauvais in Polish, see: A. FIJAŁKOWSKI, *Puer eruditus. Idee edukacyjne Wincentego z Beauvais* (ok. 1194-1264), Warszawa 2001.

<sup>11</sup> *Yconomica*, book I/2 c. 13, p. 88.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 88-89.

gency also leads to a situation that, when asked about something, they often make up the answer without knowing it to please the one who asks a question<sup>14</sup>.

So, what efforts of child's parents towards the little child were suggested by Conrad according to his views on the nature of a little child? The vast majority of advice formulated by him regards the parents' care about health and proper physical development of their child. In fact, this care should be basically in place even before the child's conception, because some of his remarks concern the physical condition of husbands, the right time, and the position in which they should have intercourse with their wives to produce healthy offspring, especially male<sup>15</sup>. He also gives instructions on how a prospective mother should behave and take care of herself during pregnancy. For the good of a child, for example, she should show restraint in wine consumption<sup>16</sup>, avoid excessive effort, sudden jumps during dancing or bumps while driving a carriage. Otherwise, it would result in a premature delivery, the birth of a child with physical defects or susceptible to numerous diseases. Apart from these recommendations we are familiar of nowadays, which are obviously right, we also meet other ones, like an advice for a pregnant woman to look at people having a shapely posture (*bene formatos homines*) during the period when the individual members of her child's body are formed, or to watch paintings hung over her bed showing decent people (*decentes hominum picturas*)<sup>17</sup>.

However, the greatest care is required by the child in the first period after birth, as Conrad puts it: "as long as stays in the cradle" (*quamdiu cunabilis existat*)<sup>18</sup>. The crucial role is played here by the wet-nurse – the baby's nanny and carer. As one can think, the more desirable situation in his opinion is when the mother cares about the child herself. He compares mothers who refuse to breastfeed their children to raven females of whom he writes that these, not wanting to feed their chicks, simply throw some of them out of their nests. Also, he refers to those who give the care of his offspring to a stranger as wicked<sup>19</sup>. Nevertheless, the whole of his argument about little child feeding and caring concerns the wet-nurse, whose presence he accepts as something obvious and natural. As regards wet-nurses, he makes a number of comments about how to choose a right person<sup>20</sup>, as well as many dietary recommendations for them. A wet-nurse is to avoid foods that cause bloating and such drinks as strong wine. As far as drinking wine is concerned, he first of all warns about the dangers a drunk wet-nurse may bring to a child. Being under the influence of alcohol, she can fall asleep, and during her sleep one of household animals can bite her child. The child can also fall out of her hands into the water or into the fire or be suffocat-

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<sup>14</sup> Ibidem, p. 88.

<sup>15</sup> Ibidem, book I/2 c. 5, pp. 73-74.

<sup>16</sup> Ibidem, book I/2 c. 6, p. 74.

<sup>17</sup> Ibidem, book I/2 c. 7, pp. 76-78.

<sup>18</sup> Ibidem, book I/2 c. 8, p. 78.

<sup>19</sup> Ibidem, pp. 79-80.

<sup>20</sup> Ibidem, p. 78.

ed by her in bed when the child sleeps with her. The dangers mentioned by Conrad must have often happened, because, as he emphasized, “This is the way so many little children die” (*Sic enim multi infantes perierunt*). He also points out that when under the influence of alcohol, the nurse is also more prone to debauchery, and once she gets pregnant, she loses food for breastfeeding. Because of these threats, he instructs the parents as follows: “who loves the child, does not give up looking after the wet-nurse, or providing her with proper food and drink” (*qui amat puerum, non abhorreat nutricem custodire et ipsi cibos potusque congruos amministrare*), and he further explains that the nurse, treated properly, will love the child more. He also holds that it is more reasonable to have a wet-nurse at home than to give a child outside the home, because: “the parental care nourishes the child more than the wet-nurse’s breast” (*parentina diligentia oculo suo plus infantem nutrit quam sibi nutricis proficere possit peregrina papilla*)<sup>21</sup>.

As regards efforts to ensure health and proper physical development of an infant, he also provides guidance on nursing the body of the child by the wet-nurse<sup>22</sup>, and when the baby reaches the correct age, about 1.5-2 years, he or she should be weaned, Conrad teaches how to do it<sup>23</sup>, and then provides advice on how to feed the child with solid food<sup>24</sup>. As regards this stage of early childhood, he also discusses the issue of outdoor physical activity of young children. He points to the specific benefits associated with these activities to strengthen child’s health and physical fitness, and also provides instructions about proper exercises<sup>25</sup>.

He also mentions the right games (*decentes ludi*) a child should play at the early stage of growth. They are: playing with dolls (*pupinas tractare*), twirling wooden dolls (*sculptilia volvere*) and looking in the mirror (*speculis se ipsos intueri*). Interestingly, Conrad notes as follows on such a selection of games: “For the age of infancy admires what is insignificant and satisfies with simple things” (*Nam infanciam in minimis ammiratur facilibusque mercibus contentatur*). As he further stressed, such games have a positive effect on the child’s well-being, and at the same time contribute to strengthening the body and its further correct development<sup>26</sup>.

Nowadays, children’s activities have also an educational function, but this role is absent in Conrad’s deliberations. This does not mean that the problem of educational influence at an early stage of life is completely absent there, so it will be further discussed herein, but the correct beginning of upbringing and education takes place, according to his views, only when the child enters the seventh year of life. As he puts it, “at the age of seven, the age of infancy is subject to learning to read and write and learning about customs”

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<sup>21</sup> Ibidem, book I/2 c. 9, pp. 80-82.

<sup>22</sup> Ibidem, book I/2 c. 11, p. 84 et seq.

<sup>23</sup> Ibidem, book I/2 c. 10, p. 83 et seq.

<sup>24</sup> Ibidem, book I/2 c. 12, p. 86 et seq.

<sup>25</sup> Ibidem, book I/2 c. 14, pp. 89-90.

<sup>26</sup> Ibidem.

(*Septennis autem infanciam iam apta est litteris et morum informacioni*)<sup>27</sup>. This entails the acquisition of reasoning skills that were not possessed earlier. Interestingly, the child also acquires sex identity: “At the age of 7, childhood becomes either male or female” (*Est ergo septennis infanciam aut masculina aut feminina*)<sup>28</sup>. From now on, the pattern of parental care previously common to both sexes, is subject to differentiation, whether it is girls or boys. In the case of the latter, it is subject to further differentiation depending on whether the boy is to be destined for a clerical or secular career. In turn, if the child is to lead the life of a lay person, then the direction of his education should be consistent with the character of the inherited patrimony (*secundum finem possessionis paterne*). A son of a knight is to be raised differently than a son of a merchant<sup>29</sup>. However, the actual preparation for the future occupation and the way of life typical of the one’s social status took place during the next seven years, related to the stage of life called *adolescencia*, lasting from the age of 14 to 21. This was connected with the fact that, as Conrad explains himself, “then the light of reason begins to develop fully, and also physical fitness grows” (*quoniam et tunc vigere incipit lumen rationis et virtus corporea firmiter roborari*)<sup>30</sup>.

Nevertheless, as already indicated, the life of a child in the age of infancy is not completely free from influences to shape the child’s character and behaviour. According to Conrad’s statement, it can be assumed that the child is subjected to them almost immediately after birth. Summarizing the scope of education in individual stages of human life, he pointed out in relation to the first seven years that “the first seven years of life is the time of feeding and teaching ‘milk habits’ and the mother language” (*primum septennium lactiferis moribus nutritur et materna lingua instruitur*)<sup>31</sup>. These milk habits are, as it seems, the habits that the child acquires together with milk. The author refers here to the belief shared in the past that milk serves the child not only as food, but also conveys traits of the person feeding the child. Therefore, when choosing their wet-nurse, parents were to pay attention not only to her physical conditions, but also to her character, and in particular they were warned about feeding the children with milk of animal origin<sup>32</sup>. Conrad does not discuss the issue of risks related to breastfeeding by a nurse in more detail, but when it comes to learning the language, he makes an interesting recommendation that during the period after weaning, the child be accompanied by a girl aged 8 or 9 or even older, “who would entertain the little child and with its talkative character would fertilize the speech of the baby” (*que diversis ludis infantem alliciat et suis loquacitatibus linguam infantis con-*

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<sup>27</sup> Ibidem, book I/2 c. 13, p. 89.

<sup>28</sup> Ibidem, book I/2 c. 15, p. 90.

<sup>29</sup> Ibidem, book I/2 c. 15, p. 91.

<sup>30</sup> Ibidem, book I/2 c. 17, p. 95.

<sup>31</sup> Ibidem; the verb *nutrire* means both to feed and to bring up.

<sup>32</sup> Ph. GAVITT, *Breastfeeding and Wet-Nursing*, [in:] *Women and Gender in Medieval Europe. An Encyclopedia*, ed. M. SCHAUSS, New York – London 2006, pp. 93-94.

*tinue fecundet*), at the same time providing assistance to the nurse when busy with other matters<sup>33</sup>.

The transition of an infant to solid food, when he or she can eat on their own, is also the time to learn proper behaviour while eating. According to Conrad, children should not yet eat their meals at the father's table, as due to *discretionem carentes* ("in the absence of reason") they cannot behave properly. Nevertheless, they should be already taught habits of proper behaviour. In this regard, he also recommends: "let the rod of discipline be ready over the head of the wet-nurse to teach the children with appropriate severity" (*Et virga disciplinaria super capite nutricis in pariete sedeat, que pueros decenti rigore magistret*)<sup>34</sup>. Similarly, with regard to the children's habit of making up and telling lies, he advises: "and for their habit of false and ugly talkativeness they are to be punished with rods" (*et pro loquacitatibus suis falsis turpibusque sunt virgis corrigendi*)<sup>35</sup>.

Apart from these activities, which primarily boil down to teaching the child correct habits, Conrad also recommends at this stage of the child's life to start teaching the basics of faith. He addresses this issue in the third book of his work, dedicated to the monarch's home and in relation to the education of the sons of the ruler, but as he states himself, sons of princes, and above all, of the emperor, like all people (*sicut et omnes homines*) should be taught from early childhood that they habitually adhere to the faith<sup>36</sup>. He recommends that the child learn the basic prayers: I believe in God (*symbolum apostolicum*), Our Father (*oratio dominica*) and Hail Mary (*salutatio angelica*) and another ones in the course of growth of the child. What is interesting here is the way Conrad argues that children at this age are already ready for religious education. As he notes, a child's mind still simply accepts simple statements without a thorough inquiry. As he emphasizes: "They do not ask why it is so or how it can become, but when instructed so, they accept it immediately" (*Non enim querunt, quare hoc est vel quomodo fieri potest, sed mox docentis monitionibus acquiescunt*). And the essence of faith is, as he explains by referring to the Apostle Paul's letter to the Hebrews (Hebrews 11:1), just accepting as something certain things we do not see yet, what will come, and what cannot be explained by pure reason of reason. This notion of faith suggests also that the childhood is suitable to teach the faith, "because then the human mind in simple children simply accepts what they are taught about without undue inquiry" (*cum adhuc humana mens in pueris simplicibus consenciat simpliciter assercionibus sine scrupulis inquisicionum*)<sup>37</sup>. The inability of reasoning, which occurs at this stage of human life, is therefore not an obstacle, nor is this ability required to teach the child the basis of faith.

Summing up the presented Conrad's views, it should be noted that he perceives the person of an infant primarily through the lack of the ability to reason. In contrast to other

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<sup>33</sup> Ibidem, book I/2 c. 10, p. 83.

<sup>34</sup> Ibidem, book I/2 c. 12, p. 87.

<sup>35</sup> Ibidem, book I/2 c. 13, p. 89.

<sup>36</sup> Ibidem, book II/4 c. 2, pp. 166-167.

<sup>37</sup> Ibidem, book II/4 c. 2, pp. 167-168.



authors who, when defining the first period of human life, associate infancy with the lack or incoherence of speaking, for Konrad, infancy is expressed and is a consequence of the lack of awareness of the words spoken. This also applies to child's behaviour which is an irrational imitation of the activities he/she observes in others. Based on this lack of reasoning ability, Conrad also constructs the fundamental difference between a little child and a human being at later stages of development. In this way of perceiving early childhood in terms of absence of rationality, he followed the tradition based on the authority of Aristotle<sup>38</sup>. Another of the features in the nature of children noticed and noted by Conrad, though somewhat casually, is their simplicity, which makes them able to enjoy and be satisfied with simple things, as well as accept uncritically all the things taught by adults, such as the truths of faith. However, it is difficult to determine whether in the Conrad's thought it is another manifestation of lack of ability of reasoning at this stage of life, resulting in a lack of inquisitiveness and making them satisfied with what is simple as they are unable to appreciate more complex problems. Or maybe he refers to the positive assessment of children on the ground of biblical exegesis, wherein their simplicity and uncriticalness in accepting the truths of faith are given as justification for Christ's special favour and where due to these features they are used as role models by adults?<sup>39</sup>

The lack of reasoning ability is also determined by the Conrad's model of behaviour towards an infant, in which he also follows the Aristotelian tradition, according to which the parents' efforts and care are aimed almost exclusively, which is understandable, at caring of health and ensuring proper physical development. It is also worth emphasizing that parental care, at least as it appears from the reading of Conrad's work, is not so much manifested in the personal care they provide, but rather the proper supervision over the wet-nurse. Admittedly, the activities that go beyond the care for health and physical development of a young child, aimed at shaping the correct behaviour, are present in the Conrad's deliberations but to a relatively small extent. They come down to developing the desired habits in a young child, or rather eliminating inappropriate behaviours, not so much by convincing him/her of their impropriety, but by fear of punishment. This is consistent with the way Conrad perceived young children, who in his opinion, as pointed out earlier, "speak and act rather habitually" (*plus consuetudine loquantur et operentur*), and not by using reason that they do not yet have. The religious education has a similar character of developing a habit as well. Right upbringing, as well as intellectual education, referring to reasoning and requiring the child to possess such a capacity are associated only with the next stage of human life, called *puericia*.

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<sup>38</sup> See D. MACGOWAN, TRESS, *Aristotle's Child: Development Trough Genesis, Oikos, and Polis*, *Ancient Philosophy* 17, 1997, pp. 63-83.

<sup>39</sup> See W. BRZEZIŃSKI, *Obraz dziecka w perspektywie historyczno-porównawczej. Przeszłość we współczesności, współczesność w przeszłości*, *Przegląd Pedagogiczny* 2012, no 1, pp. 144-147.

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