



Espacio, Tiempo y Educación

E-ISSN: 2340-7263

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Espacio, Tiempo y Educación, vol. 4, núm. 1, enero-junio, 2017, pp. 1-21

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Salamanca, España

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From Ottoman colonial rule to nation statehood: Schooling and national identity in the early Greek school

De la dominación colonial Otomana a la nación-estado: la escolarización y la identidad nacional en la escuela griega temprana

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Abstract: After Ottoman colonial rule, education in Greece became an important institution for the ideological construction of a Greek national identity. This paper looks at schooling in Greece just prior to the Greek Revolution and immediately after Greek Independence, and how the Greek national school system assisted in the construction of a Greek national identity. This paper is divided into several sections. The introductory section discusses how a newly independent Greek nation-state struggled to unite the Greek people under a collective national identity. While most people at the time identified with their families, communities, and Greek Orthodox Christian religion, after Greek independence people began to see themselves as members of a broader Greek nation. The section that follows provides a discussion of Greek education during Ottoman colonial rule, and how a type of Greek identity (centered around the Greek Orthodox Christian faith) was maintained through the Greek Orthodox milieu. The Greek Church ran schools, and taught Greek children how to read and write, as well as the virtues of the Orthodox Christian faith. Section three of the article looks at Greek education during the early years of the Greek nation-state. In this section the general contours of the Greek educational system are delineated. The section also discusses how the organization of the Greek national school system was borrowed from extant school models found in Western Europe. Section four describes the Greek national curriculum and how the national curriculum would help to teach future generations of Greek citizens what it meant to be Greek. This is further reinforced in the Greek school textbook, which is part of the discussion in section five. Section five concludes with the role of education and its implications in uniting nations from around the world.

Key words: Colonial Greece; Education; National Identity.

Resumen: Después del dominio colonial Otomano, la educación en Grecia se convirtió en una importante institución para la construcción ideológica de una identidad nacional griega. Este artículo examina la escolarización en Grecia justo antes de la Revolución griega, la escolarización en Grecia inmediatamente después de la independencia griega y cómo la escuela nacional griega ayudó en la construcción de una identidad nacional griega. Este artículo se divide en varias secciones. La sección introductoria discute cómo un estado-nación griego recientemente independiente luchó en unir al pueblo griego alrededor de una identidad nacional colectiva. Mientras que la mayoría de la gente identificada en ese momento con sus familias, comunidades y religión griega ortodoxa cristiana, después de que la gente griega de la independencia comenzó a verse como miembros de una nación griega más amplia. La sección que sigue proporciona

una discusión sobre la educación griega durante el dominio colonial otomano y cómo se mantuvo un tipo de identidad griega (centrada alrededor de la fe cristiana ortodoxa griega) a través del mijo ortodoxo griego. Las escuelas de la Iglesia griega enseñaban a los niños griegos cómo leer y escribir, así como las virtudes de la fe cristiana ortodoxa griega. La tercera sección examina la educación griega durante los primeros años del Estado-nación griego. En esta sección se delinear los contornos generales del sistema educativo griego. La sección también discute cómo la organización del sistema escolar nacional griego se toma prestada de los modelos de escuela existentes encontrados en Europa occidental. La sección cuatro describe el currículum nacional griego y cómo el plan de estudios nacional ayudaría a enseñar a las futuras generaciones de ciudadanos griegos lo que significaba ser griego. Esto se refuerza aún más en el libro de texto de la escuela griega, que es parte de la discusión en la sección cinco. La sección cinco concluye con el papel de la educación y sus implicaciones en la unificación de naciones de todo el mundo.

Palabras clave: Grecia colonial; Educación; Identidad nacional.

Recibido / Received: 16/05/2016

Aceptado / Accepted: 07/10/2016

1. Introduction

In 1821 a major revolt erupted in Southeastern Europe. Seeking to break from the Ottoman Empire, the Greek people rose up after nearly four centuries of colonial rule to form an independent Greek nation-state. The state that was created would be called the *Hellenic Republic* and its people *Hellenes* in Greece, and Greeks in most other parts of the world. Hellenism meant that a Greek national identity dated back to ancient Greece. The term *Hellenic* moreover argued for a continuity of Hellenic culture from the ancient Greek past to modern Greek present. An alternative name was *Roman* stemming from imperial Byzantium, but also referring to Orthodox Christians during Ottoman colonial rule.

At first, the Greek state struggled in developing a notion of what it meant to be Greek. Much of the country continued to look much like it had since Ottoman colonial rule and most citizens had yet to adopt a Greek national identity. Europe would see Greece as a bridge between east and west and a transitory part of Europe (Gourgouris, 1996). Issues of westernizing and modernizing Greece were also debated from a social and cultural standpoint (Tsoukalas, 2002). Greece wanted to be seen as European, but retain some of its traditional character that dated back to its Ottoman colonial past. The West on the other hand saw Greece as the cradle of western civilization and as an integral part of European civilization, but at the same time understood that Greece did not partake in many of the cultural, political, and social achievements of the West.

What westernization meant to Greece and the West moreover differed. One aspect of this was the secularization of institutions. Many western European states had adopted secular models for their schools. Greece on the other hand was reluctant to let go of its historical relationship between the Church and schooling. In the end, the Greek school would do away with much of its Ottoman past and look to the West and its ancient roots when developing its notion of what it meant to be Greek. The following section looks at the Greek school

during Ottoman colonial rule and how a type of Greek identity was maintained in these schools.

2. The Greek school during ottoman colonial rule

During much of Ottoman colonial rule (1453-1821) most Greek communities operated a Greek school (Kazamias, 1990). By the eighteenth century, the Ottoman Empire consolidated many of its political and social institutions in the Balkans and granted its minority groups a substantial degree of self-rule (Braude, 2014). Religious groups (Muslim, Greek Orthodox, Jewish, and Armenian Christians) were organized by a system called *millets* or nations. The *millet* system worked well for both the Sultan and the Greek Orthodox community. In return for their loyalty, the Greek Orthodox Christian *millet* was given the flexibility to govern itself through the Greek Orthodox Church. The Church was responsible for collecting taxes, maintaining order within its own millet, administering the Sultan's laws, and operating its own schools.

For most of Ottoman rule, Greek education varied considerably (Kazamias, 1990). It was mostly a loosely organized educational system intended for children at the primary school levels. Greek schools had operated for centuries in parts of Europe and the Middle East. In major trading cities like Alexandria, Constantinople, Smyrna, Jassy, and Venice, Greek schools were typically better organized than the schools found in Greece. The Church moreover ran the majority of the Greek schools in Ottoman Greece. In these schools, Greek Orthodox priests conducted lessons in reading and writing as well as on the general tenants of the Greek Orthodox Christian faith. By the late 1700s, Greek education becomes more formalized and better organized (Cavarnos, 1995). More schools are opened, and the Church devises a general framework for a curriculum.

Although there is no precise count of the number of Greek schools that operated during Ottoman colonial rule, most Greek towns and villages had makeshift schools that were housed in a church or other public building (Kekavmenos, 2012). Few communities had enough monies to build their designated school buildings. Funding for Greek schools relied primarily on the local church and community, independent philanthropic organizations, and wealthy individuals. Greek schools located in large cities and wealthy trading centers were typically better funded than schools located in rural towns (Aggelou, 1997).

Children between the ages of six and twelve years old attended these schools (Hatzopoulos, 1991). They generally attended classes in the late afternoon

because they worked during the day. Orthodox priests were responsible for the daily operations within the schools and served as the schools' primary teachers. Books and other print materials were typically written in the *Koine* Greek, rather than the spoken vernacular *Demotic* (Mackridge, 2009). Students practiced their reading, writing, pronunciation, and spelling from a text used by the priest. Lessons typically emphasized religious education, history, arithmetic, and basic reading and writing (Hatzopoulos, 1991).

In 1779 Iosippos Misioudax published his Treatise on *Pediatric Education* or *Pedagogy*, written in Modern Greek. *Pedagogy* became a teaching guide for teachers at many of the Greek run schools in Europe (Misioudax, 1779). The guide focused on the moral development of the child as well as the teaching of the Greek language. In the manual Misioudax states, «While pedagogy is a pedagogical method, it also considers the child's moral development and the child's overall development in achieving moral excellence... as the child is already predisposed with the spirit for a love of learning» (Misioudax, 1779). Important in these schools was the overall development of the child and how the child's innate love of learning could lead specifically to the child's moral development.

Another teacher's manual from 1782 called *Christian Teaching (Didaskalia Chistianiki)* helps shed light on what children learned in many of the church run schools during late Ottoman colonial rule. The manual begins with instructions to the teacher/priest on how to teach students how to read and write. It follows by explaining the importance of the Greek Orthodox Christian faith (*Didaskalia Chistianiki*, 1782). Later, the text instructs the students on the proper way to do the sign of the Orthodox cross. It then asks the teacher/priest to have his students read from a dialogue found in the text in which the priest asks the students questions about the Greek Orthodox faith, such as: What is a Christian? Who was Jesus Christ? Why was man created? And recite the Nicene Creed.

In a similar teaching manual from 1813 titled *Pedagogia: Prota Mathimata*, reading is again taught while teaching children about the Greek Orthodox Christian faith. *Pedagogia* begins by explaining to the teacher/priest the proper way to instruct students, what is a good education, what makes a good Greek Orthodox Christian, and why the moral and ethical development of the child is important. The text follows with important prayers to be memorized by students and follows with a dialogue between the teacher/priest and his students. The text concludes with a story about a child named Alexandros.

In the story a stranger is knocking on Alexandros's front door. Alexandros's mother asks him to check who is knocking at the door. Alexandros notices that it is a beggar. At first, Alexandros is reluctant to answer the door but his mother assures him that they should help the man because Jesus said «If you help your

fellow man, God will later reward you for your good deeds» (*Pedagogia*, 1813). Alexandros finally opens the door and helps the needy beggar.

Overall reading, writing, and the Greek Orthodox Christian religion were taught in the Greek Church run schools during Ottoman colonial rule. Greek children were also expected to attend church services, take communion, learn common Christian prayers, celebrate holidays, follow the sacraments, and help the poor and sick. While education for most Greek children, both girls and boys, did not go beyond the age of eight or nine, the schools did help preserve a Greek national identity around notions of the Greek Orthodox Christian religion.

After independence the Greek state would develop its own unique modern Greek educational system. The newly formed Greek school system would help shape a modern Greek national identity. The following section looks more closely at the Greek school immediately after the Greek Revolution and how the school system is reorganized to meet the needs of the Greek state.

3. The Greek school immediately after the Greek revolution

After the Greek Revolution, Greece continued to be a mostly rural based society much like it had been during Ottoman colonial rule (Sergeant, 1887). The population of the country was about 1.8 million people, and nearly 98 percent of the population lived in the rural areas of the country (Gallant 2016). Drastic population growth would not occur until the later part of the nineteenth century after Greek ambitions to (re) claim lands under an expansionist geopolitical policy called the *Megali Idea* (Stouraiti & Kazamias, 2010).

In most parts of the country people identified with their families, community and Greek Orthodox Christian religion (Gallant, 2015). Most people had yet to see themselves as part of a broader Greek national community. The family and household comprised the primary social unit for which familial and national social structures were built and where different family generations were linked together (Sant Cassia, 1992).

By the time of the Greek Revolution (1821-1830), Greek education was brought to a standstill (Antoniou 2002). However, as early as 1822 the first Greek National Assembly advocated for free elementary education for all Greek citizens. The Assembly's report recommended for the establishment of elementary, middle, and high schools. The elementary schools were divided into two levels, followed by three-year programs at the so-called Hellenic schools, then an optional four years of study in schools called *gymnasia*.

Almost immediately after Greek Independence the Greek school system was reorganized by the central government and administered by the Greek Ministry

of Education (Massialas, 1981). In 1833 the first Greek King, Otto of Bavaria (1833-1862), enacted the *Primary and Communal Education Law* and in 1834, another law established compulsory education for all children between the ages of five and twelve (Bouzakis, 2005). A training school for teachers was also opened in 1834 (Bouzakis, 2011).

The early Greek school system was modeled after the French *Guizot Law* (1833, mandating the creation of primary schools across France) and the Bavarian school system for secondary education (Dimaras, 2013). The king of Greece approved the so-called *Bavarian Plan of 1834-1836* whereby a two-tier system comprising elementary and secondary education was established (Antoniou, 2002). Elementary education consisted of grades 1-4. Secondary education was organized into a two-ladder system, the Hellenic schools and the *gymnasia*. The Hellenic schools taught grades 5-7. *Gymnasia* consisted an additional four years, (grades 8-11). Students were not required to continue their education beyond the Hellenic schools. Thus, there were fewer students attending the *gymnasia* than the Hellenic or the primary schools, and even fewer at the university level.

The Greek Orthodox Christian religion was also integrated into the school curriculum and the Church and state were linked when it came to matters on education. This was accomplished through the incorporation of religious instruction such as a mandatory course in catechism in the elementary schools and courses on sacred history in the Hellenic schools and *gymnasia*.

According to some figures, in 1830 there were 71 elementary schools in Greece with 6,121 pupils (Bickford-Smith 1893). A decade later there were 252 elementary schools with 22,000 students, and 10,000 teachers (Brickford-Smith, 1893). The king also commissioned the construction of several new school buildings. The national budget allocated about 141,120 francs in 1829 for its schools and 220,500 francs in 1830 (Bickford-Smith, 1893).

Overall, few school buildings were constructed after independence because the government had little money (Tirs, 1972). Most rural towns and villages continued using the makeshift schools they had been using since Ottoman colonial rule. The few new school buildings that were built were nevertheless imposing structures. They were typically up to three stories high and modeled after the popular European neoclassical design; recognized for symmetry, clean elegant lines, and standing classical Greek columns (Kalafati, 1988). The new school buildings symbolized westernization, modernization, and a revival of classical Greece---in the country in which it originated. They could also be easily confused for a government or municipal building, which ostensibly suggested government regulated education and uniformity. By the mid-nineteenth century, the Greek government devoted more resources to its school system. By 1855

there were 450 primary schools and 81 Hellenic schools, and by 1910 there were 3,678 primary schools and 282 Hellenic schools (Gennadius, 1925). The teaching profession was also reorganized after the Greek Revolution (Bouzakis, 2011). By this time most Greek teachers were trained at the Pedagogical Institute in Athens. Teacher training programs were comprised of both men and women and typically required two years of training.

Schooling for children was free and many children found schooling to be an escape (even if temporarily) from the hard work and daily chores of work life on their farms. At the same time, many families had yet to grasp the notion that an education could lead to a better life. Most families saw schooling as recreational or an opportunity for their children to play and interact with their peers.

In the school, students followed a fixed daily schedule; ascribed to clearly defined rules of discipline, and were expected to dress and behave appropriately. For many teachers a well-regulated classroom where children sat upright, and heads forward was a productive classroom. Children were also put to task while in school and most children learned the same material throughout the country.

The first schools after the Greek Revolution had three common goals: to create a literate citizenry, expand the agricultural and commercial sectors of the country, and unite the Greek people around a Greek national identity (Dimaras, 2013). Of great importance to the state was uniting the nation around a collective national identity, where the nation as an «imagined community» would feel that it was part of a broader national community whose members shared similar social and cultural practices as well as a common historical experience (Anderson, 2006). Ultimately, the national curriculum and school textbook would help accomplish these goals.

4. The national curriculum

For much of the nineteenth century, schools in Greece were expected to follow the curriculum approved by the Greek Ministry of Education (Zervas, 2017). In the elementary and Hellenic schools students studied Greek language, arithmetic, physics, history, Greek mythology, geography, drawing, penmanship, gymnastics, hygiene, singing, religion, and handwork. In the *gymnasia*, many of these subjects were repeated. Important at all school levels were the subjects of history, Greek language (literature and grammar), and geography. The history curriculum typically focused on Greek (both ancient and modern) and European history. Geography focused on the physical and natural geography of Greece and the world's physical and political geography. The Greek language courses

centered on reading and writing, but in the upper grades students read works by notable Greek and European authors.

In the case of the Greek history curriculum, Greek history was taught in chronological fashion from past to present (Avdela, 2000). It was based off the Greek historian Constantine Paparrigopoulos's historical model of one continuous and unbroken Greek history from past to present. In 1850, Constantine Paparrigopoulos reaffirmed a notion of a continuous Greek identity from ancient past to present when he wrote the first of his six-volume *History of the Greek Nation* (Paparrigopoulos, 1877). His history of Greece was written as one Greek history from ancient Greek past to present and ostensibly suggested that the Greek people of today were the same people of the past. Furthermore, Paparrigopoulos found no historical and cultural distinction between the ancient Greek and the Modern Greek people, which challenged popular nineteenth century European assertions that there were few similarities between the Modern and ancient Greeks.

Paparrigopoulos's model categorized Greek history in five chronological time frames: *First Hellenism*, *Macedonian Hellenism*, *Christian Hellenism*, *Medieval Hellenism*, and *Modern Hellenism* (Paparrigopoulos, 1886). Each of Paparrigopoulos's historical time periods denoted a period that was part of a broader and connected Greek history. It ultimately set the standard for the Greek history curriculum in schools and how Greek history would be written and taught.

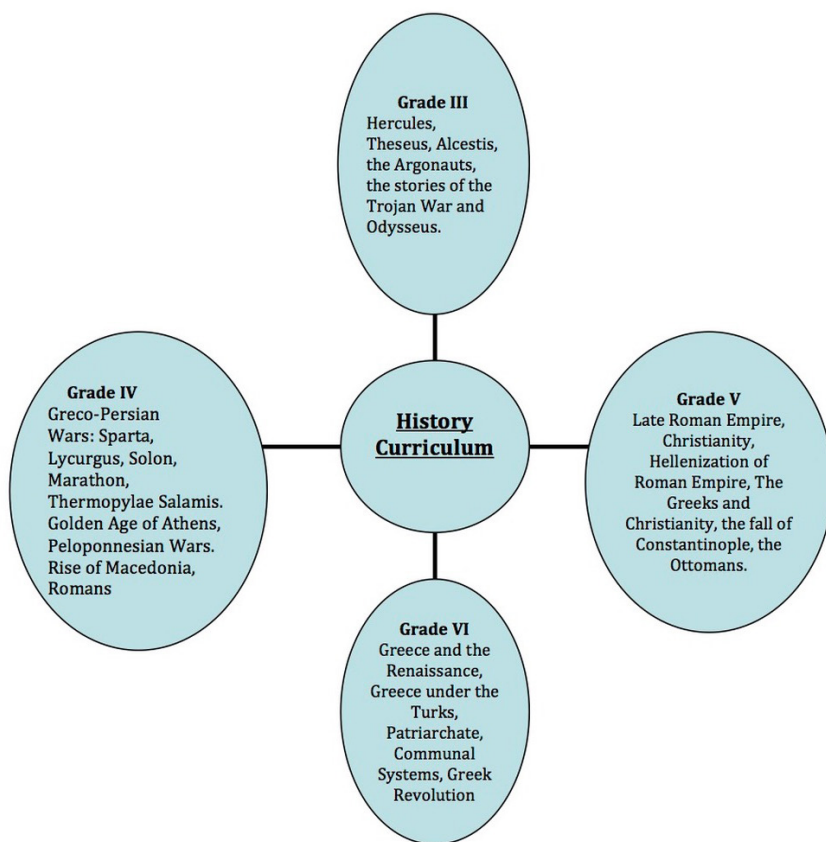
Generally speaking, the history curriculum began in fourth grade and moved from ancient, to Medieval/ Byzantine, to contemporary or Modern Greek history, with each era revisited in the Hellenic schools and *gymnasia*. Before fourth grade, students typically studied Greek mythology, which was seen as preparation for their later studies of ancient history. As taught at the time, Greek mythology was dominated by ideals of heroism and courage and focused around the lives of «great» individuals, while history courses were focused around the collective ideals of the nation and its people (Koulouri, 1991).

In the upper grades of the elementary schools students typically studied Byzantine and contemporary Greek history. The Byzantine Empire was typically presented as Christian and Greek. Mention was often made to Constantine the Great and the Christianization of the Roman Empire as well as Justinian's construction of the Hagia Sophia, and the fall of Constantinople to the Ottoman Turks in 1453.

Greece under the Ottoman Empire was generally presented as a period of slavery or 400 years of Turkish occupation. The Greek Revolution discussed the heroes of the Revolution such as Rigas Feraios, Adamandios Koraes, Theodoros

Kolokotronis, Andreas Miaoulis, Yiannis Makriyanis, Athanasios Diakos, Laskarina Bouboulina, and Odysseas Androutsos. Mention is also made to the *kefts* and *armatoloi* as well as the major battles of the Greek Revolution and the Massacre at Chios, the Dance of Zalogo at Souli and the fall of Messolonghi.

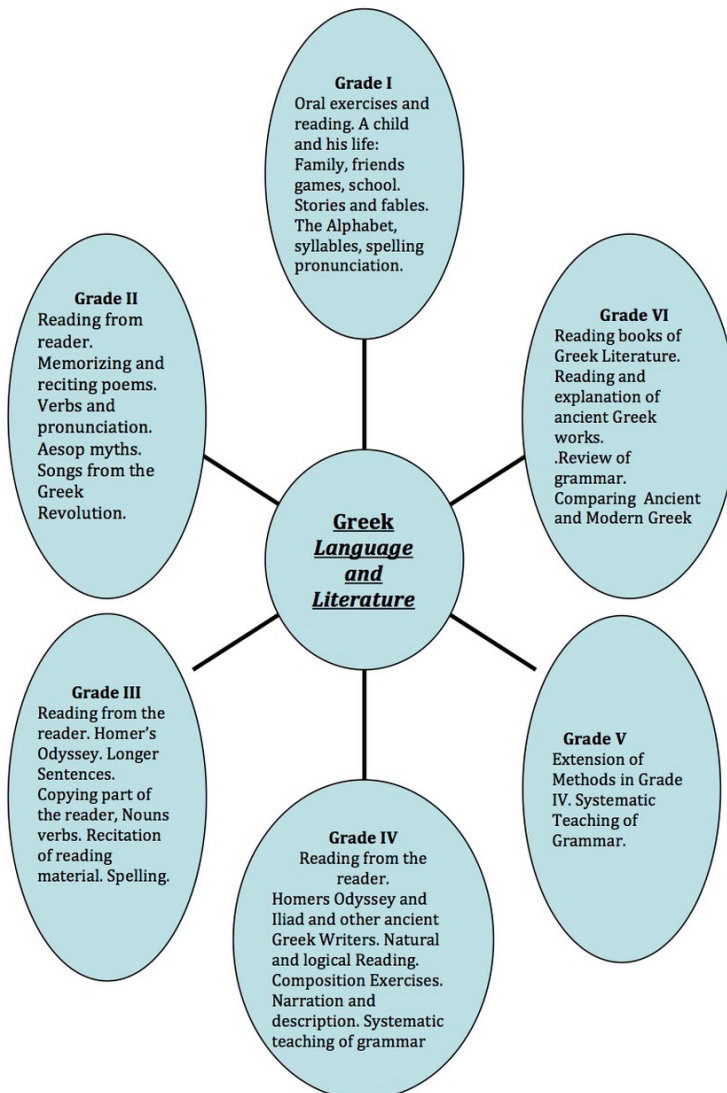
Overall, Greek history was presented as one continuous history from ancient past to present. The teaching of Greek history was viewed as something that could help generate patriotism and national unity amongst the Greek people (Zambeta, 2000). It also fostered a strong sense of national identity and strengthened the Greek people's loyalty to the nation (Repoussi, 2011).



In the Greek language courses, students used a reader or primer as their primary textbook. The reader included ancient Greek mythology as well stories from Aesop and contemporary folk songs, poems, and riddles. Early elementary school readers called *Alphabitarion* and *Christomathia* focused almost exclusively on the Greek alphabet and pronunciation while also providing some short stories, ancient Greek mythology, and poems. Ioannis Arsenis's *Little Primer* instructed

elementary students on the Greek alphabet, pronunciation, vocabulary as well as how to perform simple reading and writing tasks. Words were broken down in Arseni's primer in order to help students memorize vocabulary, spell words, and pronounce words correctly (*Mikron Alphavitarion*, 1852).

The grammar and literature curriculum for upper elementary and middle school grades centered on simplified and abridged versions of ancient Greek mythology and general works on the topics of Modern and ancient Greece. While in school, students were typically asked by their teachers to read out loud to the class from the reader, and to recite and memorize passages. Students were also asked about their own lives: their family and friends, games that they played, and their personal lives at home and around school.



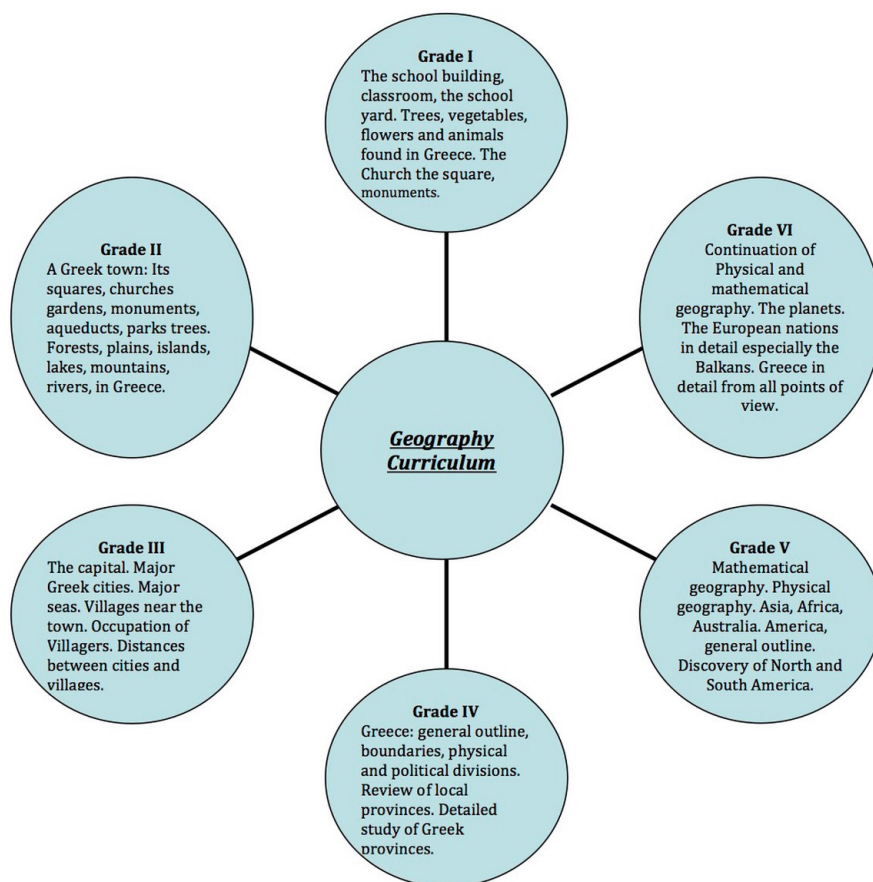
For the geography curriculum lessons began as early as grade one (Zervas, 2010). These very young students studied basic concepts found in the physical environment such as the school building, the classroom, and the schoolyard, the church, the square, and any other distinctive monuments, both natural and artificial. Students also observed and learned about the trees, vegetables, flowers, and various animals found in their community.

In grade two, students continued their exploration of the Greek town. Students again reviewed a town's squares, churches, gardens, monuments, aqueducts, parks, and trees. The Greek landscape was also examined and forests, plains, islands, lakes, mountains, and rivers were identified. Thus even in the earliest geography course, the land and its people play an important role, ostensibly connecting students to the land and the area for which they live. The country was moreover portrayed as peaceful, sanitary, domestic, and provincial. By grade three, students shifted their attention to a broader examination of the political geography of Greece. The capital, Athens, and major cities were discussed; distances between cities and towns were examined; and the professional occupations of the population were also considered.

By grade four, attention shifted to a general overview of Greece's borders, both physical and political. Topics taught were Greece's size relative to other countries, as well as Greece's physical geographic shape. Local provinces were studied in detail, and the Greek landscape was examined.

By grade five students examined world geography, including cartography; the continents, the oceans, and the world's other major landforms (mountains, rivers, lakes etc.); the nation and people found therein; European colonial explorations; and Greece position in the world. In grade six, students continued their exploration of maps and mathematical geography. The planets were studied, and then attention was shifted to Europe, and specifically to the geography of the Balkans. The Greek nation was also seen as a living organism and its geographic space as *lebensraum* or a natural living space that was occupied by the Greek people (Peckham, 2001).

It was the Greek textbook that was the primary instructional vehicle in the Greek school after Ottoman colonial rule and the creation of the Greek national school. The following section looks at some textbooks used in the Greek school after Greek Independence.



5. The school textbook

The first Greek textbooks used in the Greek school were borrowed from Western Europe (Koulouri, 1991). The textbooks were translated into Greek and then used in the Greek school classroom. Revisions to textbooks rarely occurred. Because resources and school funding was limited we find that the state rarely issued new textbooks. Often schools were required to insert pages into already extant texts or even omit pages and specific sections found in textbooks. While the historical record does not inform us on the extent to which teachers used the textbook and whether all teachers presented the material found in the textbook, we could confidently say that the textbook was the primary instructive resource that was used by teachers and students in the Greek school classroom.

For much of the late nineteenth century, the textbook in Greece was the means to which children learned about their nation and what it meant to be Greek (Hamilakis, 2003). The textbook was intentionally written and conformed

to particular standards and guidelines articulated by the Greek Ministry of Education. The Greek textbooks covered a wide array of topics, ranging from early age readers, which instructed students on learning the alphabet to books on hygiene that taught students the proper ways to wash. The first few pages of many textbooks often gave instructions to the teacher on how to present the material to students. Most Greek language textbooks at the elementary levels were typically composed of short stories. Students would typically read these stories out loud in class and the teacher would assist students in their reading skills. Students also worked on their penmanship, pronunciation, and memorization was important to the learning process.

Other textbooks included history textbooks, religious textbooks, geography, and literature textbooks as well as books on drawing and arithmetic. A 1909 manual instructed elementary school teachers and school officials on the subjects to be covered in the Greek school (Sounatso, 1909). Among the subjects were Religion, Greek Language, History, Arithmetic, Geography, Physics, Chemistry, drawing and calligraphy. The manual also recommended how many hours per week each grade level would spend on each subject. For example, students in the first, second, and third grades would spend two hours per week learning about the Greek Orthodox Christian faith. Among the topics covered in the religion course were Church history and Church music, catechism, the *Bible*, and liturgy. In the first, second, third and fourth grades students would spend six hours per week learning the Greek language. One hour would be spent on grammar for the first and second grades. In grades one to four students would spend three hours learning arithmetic. By the fifth grade students would spend two hours learning geometry. Students would take geography in the first second and third grades in which they would spend two hours per week. By grades four and five students would take physics, which was mostly physical geography. Students would spend about two hours per week learning history and two hours per week learning drawing.

In 1853 Constantine Paparrigopoulos published a school textbook, which was widely used in the Greek schools. His textbook echoed his thesis for one continuous Greek history from ancient Greek past to present. After Paparrigopoulos publication of his Greek history, textbook in Greece would be Greek authored and follow Paparrigopoulos's Greek historical model.

One first grade textbook *Virtuous Learning* from 1898 taught children about ancient Greece (Papavasiliou, 1898). *Virtuous Learning* is divided into four easy to read sections. Section A: Proverbs, consists of 52 ancient Greek proverbs, Section B: Myths, includes 47 short mythical stories, Section C: Short Stories,

includes 68 short stories from Greek mythology and Section D: Historical Short Stories, includes 38 short stories from ancient Greek history.

A 3rd grade reader by Dimitrios Kolokotsas's was used in the Greek school in the early twentieth century (Kolokotsas, 1906). Kolokotsas's first section is titled «Beginning the School Lesson». The section instructs students on the proper ways to behave in school as well as what was expected of the student both at school and at home. The textbook follows with stories on the relationship between the child and his/her parents and the importance of caring for one's family. The textbook follows with stories about animals such as a horse, a bat, and a spider as well as stories about a Greek ship, a train, and a bicycle. Biblical and religious stories are also incorporated into the textbook as well as some of Aesop's fables. Kolokotsas's textbook ends with stories about ancient Greek history such as the Battle of the Marathon, Leonidas and his Spartans at Thermopylae, Themistocles and the Battle of Salamis, and a story about ancient Mycenae.

In the lower elementary grade history books were primarily textbooks on ancient Greek mythology, Aesop Fables, and contemporary stories, folk songs, and poems (Votis, 1988). In the first and second grades students learned about the Greek gods, ancient Greek figures like Theseus, the Minotaur, Perseus, Hercules, Pandora, Jason, the Trojan War and Odysseas travels back to his home on Ithaca. Detail was often provided to each god and their relationship to the other gods on Mount Olympus. Many of Aesop's fables were often found in the early school readers and mythology textbooks. At the end of each fable students were asked to provide the moral of the story. The fables intended to help in the moral development of the child. In many school textbooks in the early twentieth century we find the incorporation of modern Greek folktales. Also included are stories about vampires, fairies, demons and witches.

At grade three students learned about ancient Greece in their history class. Paparousis's third grade history book was used in Greek schools in the late nineteenth century (Paparousi, 1889). The textbook begins with the geography of ancient Greece. The section follows with the proto-inhabitants of Greece, Paparousis's states, «The earliest inhabitants of Greece were Pelasgians, who originated from Asia Minor and settled in present day Epirus, Thessaly, Attica, the Peloponnese and other parts of Greece» (Paparousi, p. 10). The following section is titled «Heroic Years». Here the textbook covers the Trojan War its heroes and major event during the war.

By their last year of elementary school, students learned about the Greek Revolution. Theodoros Apostolopoulos's history textbook, *The Rebirth of Greece* begins with the fall of Constantinople to the Ottoman Turks (Apostolopoulos, 1883). It follows with a section titled "Greece Under the Turks." In this section

Apostolopoulos says, «The Turks became of the rulers of Constantinople and all of Greece. The Greek people suffered for centuries under the barbarous and uncivilized Turks» (Apostolopoulos, p. 4). Apostolopoulos's textbook continues with the Greek Revolution, the major heroes of the Revolution as well as the major battles of the Revolution. The textbook ends with the first Greek king Otto of Bavaria. Ancient, Byzantine, and Modern Greek history were topics covered in the teaching of history in the Greek schools. All served to provide students with a link from past to present and to give the perception that the Greek people had existed for centuries.

Ioannis Asimakopoulos geography textbook was used in Greek elementary schools during the late nineteenth century (Asimakopoulos, 1889). The textbook begins with a discussion on the earth the sun and the solar system. It follows with a discussion on the rotation of the earth and other planets in the solar system. Later the textbook explores the continents and the oceans. After a discussion on the physical geography of the planet, Asimakopoulos textbook abruptly shifts to a section titled «The Ancient Greeks». In this section Asimakopoulos covers ancient Greek history. The next section is titled the «Byzantine Greeks». In this section Asimakopoulos discusses the Byzantine Empire and how it was a «Greek» Empire. The following section is on Greece under the Ottoman Empire and a section on the Greek Revolution and Modern Greece, before the textbook gets back to its focus on geography by looking at the physical geography of Greece. A map of Greece is provided before the individual counties of Greece are discussed.

In the upper elementary grades, topics in the geography textbook included Greece's size relative to other countries in the region and world, as well as Greece's physical geographic shape and the countries it bordered. Important were also world geography, the planets other major landforms (mountains, rivers, lakes, etc.); the nations and people found therein; and Greece and its place in the world. In high school, geography textbooks explored the planets and then attention was heavily placed on the geography of Europe, and the Balkans.

Other textbooks included drawing, mathematics, and hygiene. Ioannis Drakis's drawing textbook was used in the Greek elementary school in 1880 (Drakis, 1880). It begins by teaching students how to draw a straight and curved lines. It follows by teaching students to draw angles and parallel lines. It later teaches students various shapes, such a circles, squares, trapezoids, rectangles, pentagons, triangles, and so forth. The textbook follows by teaching students to draw three-dimensional images such as a cube and a cone. The final pages instruct students to draw a vase, a teapot, an urn, a lamp, and a fountain. The textbook then follows with simple geometric problems.

Georgios Gerakis's mathematics textbook was used in the upper Greek elementary grades in the late nineteenth century (Gerakis, 1883). Gerakis textbook includes complex addition, subtraction, multiplication, and division problems. A multiplication table is also included and later in the text students were expected to work on simple fractions and word problems. Almost all the word problems are designed around the lives of Greek children. There is a word problem about a boy named Pavlos and several missing pages in his textbook, about a mother who has sent her son to buy some things for her at the local store, about two laborers who get paid by the day and are able to save.

Important was also the teaching of hygiene in schools. Child illnesses in Greece covered a wide range of infectious diseases, such as measles, scarlet fever, diphtheria, chickenpox, pertussis, meningitis, influenza, conjunctivitis, and malaria. Many of these illness resulted in a high child mortality rates among children in Greece. The Department of School Health Service of the Ministry of Public Education (Τμήμα της Σχολής Υγειονομικής Υπηρεσίας του Υπουργείου Δημόσιας Εκπαίδευσης) established rules that were incorporated into the school curriculum and the teaching of hygiene in schools (Τσιάμης, 2014). N. Lampadariou's manual for school hygiene was used by school administrators and teachers to teach students about hygiene (Λαμπαδαρίου, ¹⁹²⁸). The manual is over 300 pages and covers a variety of topics such as the proper way to bathe, the dangers of wearing shoes that are too small, how to prevent the spread of lice, and the proper way of washing one's hands. Other topics covered in the manual were proper sanitation in schools, open outdoor space for student to play, and daily physical exercise for students. It was believed that the environment in which students learned also helped in the physical and psychological development of the child.

6. Conclusion

Universal learning is synonymous with the modern world. Education is viewed as away to function in society, whether it is finding a job, participating in a political process, or engaging in the social and cultural life of one's community. By the nineteenth century European nations reconsider the role of education. Education becomes open to all citizens and is no longer a pursuit granted only to elites. Most western European governments also make schooling compulsory for both boys and girls. While education was important for the economic growth of the nation it also served to foster cultural, social, national, and ideological goals. By the late nineteenth century, almost every national school system in Europe taught a common national language (usually the language of their most noted

authors). A national history was taught and some school systems such as those in Spain, Greece, and Italy continued to teach students about the ascribed national religion.

After the Greek Revolution, Greece transitioned from an Ottoman colonial territory into a full-fledged nation-state. Unlike most former colonial dominions in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, Greece did not look to its former colonial ruler for direction when developing its own educational system. It looked instead to western Europe. In this sense, Greece's nineteenth century educational endeavor was partially a case study of borrowing and adapting western European educational models.

Important to the Greek state was also a highly centralized school system that would ostensibly give the state control of all schools throughout the country. As such the state would serve as the primary purveyor of education and schooling as its vehicle in which a Greek national identity was disseminated to its citizens. A national curriculum was devised and national textbooks were selected by the state.

After Greek independence, education played a critical role in transforming Greek society. Much like the rest of western Europe, its *raison d'être* was to provide citizens an opportunity to an education that was free, democratic, and open to all citizens. The modern school was thus reorganized to be efficient. The school classroom resembled the age it was born out of; children packed in classrooms sitting in rows of desks while they listened to a teacher who presented them information. Learning was designed to be systematic, orderly, and effective. A formal education also became valued. It was a way out of poverty it gave one a certain degree of social and cultural capital, but it also united a people around a collective national identity. National identity consists of specific characteristics that make a particular national group distinct from other national groups. For most Greeks today, being Greek means speaking the Greek language, being Greek Orthodox, inhabiting lands that have been inhabited by Greek for centuries, and being the descendant of the ancient Greeks.

This paper looked at the transition of Greek schooling beginning with late Ottoman colonial rule to immediately after the Greek Revolution and the formation of the Greek national school. Education in Greece also became an important institution for the ideological construction of a Greek national identity. Through a national curricula and a Greek national identity is constructed in the Greek national school.

6. References

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