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THE GREEK TEACHER GEORGIOS AUXENTIADIS  
AT THE TOWN OF ZEMUN (1793-1802)

The present-day Yugoslav town of Zemun (Zimony in Hungarian, Semlin in German, Σεμλίνον in Greek) formed from the year 1718 a Hungarian province of the Hapsburg Empire. This town, since it was situated exactly north of the Turkish-held city of Belgrade, rapidly acquired a considerable commercial and economical importance generally, and especially during the period of the first Russo-Turkish war (1768-1774) during the reign of Catherine the Great<sup>1</sup>. On account of this a large number of inhabitants from various areas of the Turkish-held Balkans, chiefly Orthodox Greeks and Serbians, gathered and settled at Zemun<sup>2</sup>.

The education of the Greek children of this town was entrusted in the beginning to private teachers. That is to say that various men of learning undertook for a certain fee to give private lessons to the children of rich Greeks of Zemun. Amongst these private teachers Dimitrios N. Darvaris, who was from Kleisoura in Western Macedonia, stood out<sup>3</sup>. Apart, from Greek, Darvaris knew Slavic: because of this many Slav children were included amongst his pupils, chiefly the children of rich Serbs. In the education of these last pupils of his Dimitrios Darvaris showed particular interest. On account of this he translated from the Greek into the "Slavo-Serbian" language certain notable works such as the *Χρηστοθήθεια* of Antonios Byzantios, the *Πίναξ* of Kevis of Thebes, and the *Ἐγχειρίδιον* of the stoic philosopher, Epictetus<sup>4</sup>.

1. Tanasije Ž. Ilić, *Iz prošlosti Zemuna i Vojne Granice. Separat predgovora za I. knjigu gradje iz zemunskih arhiva za istoriju prvog srpskog ustanka* [Aspects relating to the past of Zemun and its military frontiers. Reprint of the prologue to the first book, which contains material from the archives of Zemun connected with the first Serbian revolution], Beograd 1955, p. XXIV.

2. Vasilija Kolaković, "Ljubica i Dimitrije Kolaković" [Ljubica and Dimitrije Kolaković], *Scena* 6 (Novi Sad 1969), 281. Concerning the Greek population of the town of Zemun generally see: Apostolos E. Vacalopoulos, *History of Macedonia, 1354-1833*, Thessaloniki 1973, pp. 382-383.

3. See the newspaper *Φιλολογικός Τηλέγραφος*, year 1820, no. 6, column 46. Cf. Nikos Bees, "Δημητρίου Ν. Δαρβάρως, Ἀφιέρωμα εἰς Ρήγαν Βελεστινλήν-Φεραῖον μετ' αὐτογράφων σημειωμάτων τοῦ Πρωτομάρτυρος" [Dimitrios N. Darvaris, Dedicated to Regas Velestinlis-Pheraios with autographed notes of the Protomartyr], *Πρακτικά Ἀκαδημίας Ἀθηνῶν* 19 (1944), 365.

4. Stojan Nivaković, *Srpska bibliografija za noviju književnost 1741-1867* [Serbian bib-

All the Greeks of Zemun, however, were not rich enough to employ private teachers for their children. Thus, a way had to be found whereby the children of needy families would be able to study also. For this reason it was decided to found a school which would belong to the entire Greek community of Zemun. And, in fact, in the year 1794 the Greek inhabitants of Zemun succeeded in founding a communal school which received the characteristic name of the period: “Ἑλληνομουσεῖον” [Ellinomouseion]<sup>5</sup>. Not only the Greeks sent their children to study at this school but the other Orthodox communities did too, (Serbians, Bulgarians, etc.), as well as the Hungarians and Germans of Zemun, of Belgrade, and the other areas which today belong to the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia<sup>6</sup>. For example, it can be mentioned that two important men from Serbia studied at the Ellinomouseion of Zemun: the celebrated poet, Sima Milutinović-Sarailija, and Ilija Garašanin, the greatest political intellect of Serbia during the 19th century<sup>7</sup>.

The contribution of the Greek school of Zemun, as we see, was not only confined to Greeks of the Diaspora but was extended to other certain inhabitants of the northwestern Balkans. Thus, it is worth the trouble investigating everything connected with the educational system, the teaching staff, and the functioning generally, of this school. We intend to deal here with one matter in particular in reference to the Greek school of Zemun: Georgios Auxentiou or Auxentiadis, who is classed amongst its first and most important teachers.

Unfortunately, historical study, in Greek as well as in the other Balkan states, has very little occupied itself with the teacher Georgios Auxentiadis, and this has occurred because until recent years there has not been sufficient

liography dealing with modern literature 1741-1867], Beograd 1869, p. 22, no. 88; p. 48, no. 202. Georgije Mihailović, *Srpska bibliografija XVIII veka* [Serbian bibliography of the eighteenth century], Beograd 1964, p. 175, no. 184. *Katalog knjiiga na jezicima jugoslovenskih naroda 1519-1867* [Catalogue of books which have been written in the languages of the Yugoslav peoples 1519-1867], Beograd 1973 (Publication of Narodna Biblioteka Srbije), p. 7, no. 37.

5. See *Istorijski Arhiv Beograda*, Zemunski Magistrat section, year 1821, Publicum 14. Cf. L. Čelap, “Srpska škola u Zemunu u XVIII stoleću” [The Serbian school in Zemun during the 18th century], *Godišnjak muzeja grada Beograda* 2 (1955), 120.

6. Soppron, *Monographie von Semlin und Umgebung*, Semlin 1890, p. 545.

7. M. Dj. Miličević, *Pomenik znamenitih ljudi u srpskog naroda novijega doba* [Listbook of the important men of the Serbian people during modern times], Beograd 1888, p. 363. D. Popović, *O cincarima. Prilozi pitanju postanka našeg građanskog društva* [About the Koutsovlachs. Contribution to the problem of the birth of our urban class], 2nd edit., Beograd 1937, p. 221. Stevan Radovanović, *Iz kulturne istorije Zemuna* [Concerning the civil history of Zemun], Zemun 1970, p. 44.

historical evidence. In the year 1964, however, the unpublished manuscript codex of the learned Ioannis Economou (1783-1842) of Larissa, which contains various letters of learned men, senior clerics, and so on, received the light of publicity<sup>8</sup>. Thus, the researcher is now able to evaluate this unquarried historical evidence and, with the aid of the other preserved sources, to provide as clear as possible a picture of the life and activity of Georgios Auxentiadis.

The historical evidence which is available to us does not mention the year of birth of Georgios Auxentiadis. Nevertheless, this same historical evidence informs us that his place of origin was *Zoupani* (present-day Pentalofo) in Western Macedonia<sup>9</sup>.

Georgios Auxentiadis attended the school of the Thessalian town of Tirnavos and had as teacher the distinguished, learned man, Ioannis Pezaros, who is also known to us by the name of Ioannis Economou. It should be explained here that this teacher of Auxentiadis has no connection with the learned Ioannis Economou of Larissa who was mentioned a little above. Pezaros was a vigorous, indefatigable teacher. All day he taught grammatical analysis and syntax, corrected expositions and essays, taught beginners counting and writing, elucidated philosophy and mathematics to the advanced and expounded the ancient writers to most classes of his school. And he especially delighted in expounding the *Iliad* of Homer, whole passages of which he recited by heart with a merry and enthusiastic countenance—revealing in this way that his soul was sensitive to the virtues of the great poet<sup>10</sup>. It is not

8. Ioannis Economou Larissaios, 1783-1842, *Ἐπιστολαὶ διαφόρων. Μεταγραφή, παρακολούθηση, πρόλογος Γιάννη Α. Ἀντωνιάδη. Φιλολογικὴ παρουσίαση, μελέτη, πίνακες Μ.Μ. Παπαϊωάννου* [Letters of various people. Transcription, editing, prologue by Yannis A. Antoniadis. Literary presentation, critical evaluation, indexes, M. M. Papaioannou], Athens 1964 (Hereafter: Economou, *Ἐπιστολαὶ διαφόρων*).

9. Economou, *Ἐπιστολαὶ διαφόρων*, pp. 11, 18-21. Also, the fact that Georgios Auxentiadis came from Zoupani in Western Macedonia it is known from the following reliable source: *Βιβλίον τῶν μνημονευομένων τεθνηκότων (κεκοιμημένων) Ἀδελφῶν ἡμῶν, τῶν συντρεξάντων εἰς τὸ Φοῦτος τῆς τῶν ἐν Ζέμوني Ῥωμαίων καὶ Μακεδοβοσλάχων Ἀδελφότητος Ἑλληνικοῦ Σχολείου, τῷ Σαββάτῳ τῆς ἀποδόσεως τῆς Ἁγίας Πεντηκοστής, καθ' ἣν γίνονται αἱ πρὸς Θεὸν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν Παρακλήσεις*. This book, which remains unpublished, is preserved without any bibliographical indication in the church of the Mother of God (Crkva Bogorodice) in Zemun and consists of 34 unnumbered folios which are only written in recto. The folio which interests us here is no. 4<sup>r</sup> (my own numbering).

10. Concerning this teacher see K. M. Koumas, *Ἱστορίαι τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων πράξεων* [Stories of Human Actions], vol. 12, Vienna 1832, pp. 567-572, 583. Mathaios K. Paraniakas, *Σχεδίασμα περὶ τῆς ἐν τῷ Ἑλληνικῷ Ἔθνει καταστάσεως τῶν γραμμάτων ἀπὸ ἀλώσεως Κωνσταντινουπόλεως (1453 μ.Χ.) μέχρι τῶν ἀρχῶν τῆς ἐνεστώσης (16<sup>ο</sup>) ἑκατονταετηρίδος* [Outline of the state of learning in the Greek Nation from the fall of Constantinople (1453

difficult, then, for anyone to understand how wide was the education which Georgios Auxentiadis received while in attendance at school near this important teacher<sup>11</sup>.

About the end of 1792 or the beginning of 1793 Georgios Auxentiadis left Tirnavos and settled at Zemun. His arrival in the town was due to the invitation which the Greek merchant, Georgios Mantzarlis, had made to him to work as an employee in his establishment<sup>12</sup>.

The relations between Georgios Auxentiadis and his employer, the merchant Mantzarlis, were already not good from the beginning. The two of them never managed to collaborate and counter-accusation followed counter-accusation<sup>13</sup>. Fortunately, Auxentiadis was soon given the opportunity of leaving Mantzarlis' commercial establishment and changing his job. Namely, the Greeks of Zemun suggested to him that he undertake to teach in their school, something which Georgios Auxentiadis accepted with great alacrity<sup>14</sup>.

A.D.) until the beginning of the present (19th) hundred years], Constantinople 1867, pp. 58, 86. Pantelis M. Kontoyannis, *Ἱστορικαὶ διηγήσεις* [Historical Narratives], Athens, undated, pp. 32-38. (Socr. Vamvakos), "Θεσσαλικὸν Ἡρῶν" [Memorial of the Thessalian Heroes], *Θεσσαλικά Χρονικά* 1 (1930), 69.

11. Here it must be underlined that the erudite Georgios Zachariadis, whose activity was many-sided, also graduated from the school of Ioannis Pezaros. Chiefly remarkable was this learned man's contribution to Slavic letters (regarding this see Ioannis A. Papadrianos, "Der griechische Gelehrte Georgios Zachariadis und sein Beitrag zum slawischen Schrifttum im 19. Jahrhundert", *Balkan Studies* 17, Number 1 (1976), 79-91).

12. A letter which Georgios Auxentiadis sent on 20th November, 1792, from Tirnavos in Thessaly to the abbot of Sparmos monastery, Papazacharias, forms the terminus post quem of his migration from Tirnavos. Again, another letter of his, sent from Zemun on 30th September, 1793, to his friend Constantine Koumas in Larissa, can serve as a terminus ante quem of his installation in this Hapsburg Empire town (see Economou, *Ἐπιστολαὶ διαφόρων*, pp. 7-11). Consequently, I. Sopron's view, *Monographie von Semlin*, p. 426, that Georgios Auxentiadis settled in Zemun in 1795 is invalid. The same scholar, see above, expresses the view, also advanced by D. Popović, *O cincarima*, p. 220, that Auxentiadis arrived in Zemun from the Tirnovo (Tärnovo) in Bulgaria. The views of these researchers, however, cannot be true since Georgios Auxentiadis, letter dated 20th November, 1792, which was referred to above, proves clearly that this Greek living abroad arrived in Zemun from the Thessalian town of Tirnavos and not from the Bulgarian Tirnovo.

13. Economou, *Ἐπιστολαὶ διαφόρων*, pp. 22-23. Auxentiadis' employer, Georgios Mantzarlis, whose place of origin we unfortunately do not know, dealt chiefly in trade with animals. A series of documents preserved in entirety assists us in observing the wide commercial activity of this Greek inhabitant of Zemun during the years 1804-1823 (see *Gradja iz zemunskih arhiva za istoriju prvog srpskog ustanka* [Material from the archives of the town of Zemun concerning the history of the first Serbian revolution], Vol. 1, Beograd 1955, pp. 56, 142, 204, Vol. 3, Beograd 1969, pp. 220, 435, 608).

14. Economou, *Ἐπιστολαὶ διαφόρων*, p. 23.

During which period of time, however, can the beginning of his career be located? One source, written some years later, in 1820, mentions that Georgios Auxentiadis began to teach at the Ellinomouseion of Zemun in the year 1796<sup>15</sup>, while the more recent researcher, Tryphon Evangelidis dates the event as between 1795 and 1797<sup>16</sup>. However, Auxentiadis provides the exact date in a letter of 17th August, 1794, to Father Anthimos at Tirnavos in which he expressly mentions that in September of that year he would begin teaching in the Greek school of Zemun<sup>17</sup>.

The sources tell us that Georgios Auxentiadis was appointed “Ἑλληνοδιδάσκαλος” [Greek teacher] at the above school<sup>18</sup>. But what did the term “Greek teacher” signify? In order for us to answer this question we must see what was the structure of the Greek school of Zemun. The information we derive from our sources speaks of two schools<sup>19</sup>. However, as the researcher of the Greeks of the Diaspora, M. Gedeon, very properly observes, there was not a question of separated school buildings but of stages of education<sup>20</sup>. And, in fact, the minute examination of the sources helps us to explain the two sets of studies.

Firstly, the pupils were registered and attended the simple Greek school or the primary school. This school formed the lower stage of their studies. The pupils finishing the simple Greek school successfully were able from this time to attend lessons in the Greek school or the secondary school, which formed the senior stage of their studies<sup>21</sup>. The teacher in the first school was called “ἄπλοελληνοδιδάσκαλος” [simple Greek teacher], or “ὑποδιδάσκαλος” [under-teacher] and had to obey the teacher of the secondary school<sup>22</sup>: the teacher

15. *Φιλολογικὸς Τηλέγραφος*, year 1820, no. 6, column 52.

16. Tryphon Evangelidis, *Ἡ παιδεία ἐπὶ τουρκοκρατίας* [Education during the Turkish occupation], Vol. 2, Athens 1936, p. 380. By the same, “Ὁ Ἑλληνισμὸς ἐν Οὐγγαρία” [The Hellenism in Hungary], *Μεγάλη Ἑλληνικὴ Ἐγκυκλοπαιδεία Πυρσοῦ* 19 (1932), 193.

17. Economou, *Ἐπιστολαὶ διαφόρων*, p. 23.

18. See *Φιλολογικὸς Τηλέγραφος*, year 1820, no. 6, column 52.

19. See *Φιλολογικὸς Τηλέγραφος*, year 1820, no. 20, column 159.

20. M. Gedeon, “Ἱστορίαι ἀπὸ σκυβάλων” [Stories based on different sources], *Ἐκκλησιαστικὴ Ἀλήθεια* 36 (1916), 170.

21. *Δημοτικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη Κοζάνης* [Municipal Library of Kozani]. File of Bishop Veniamin (1815-1849), no. of document 4. *Φιλολογικὸς Τηλέγραφος*, year 1820, no. 20, column 159.

22. We are informed of the fact by the following trustworthy source: “Διάφοροι διαταγαὶ διρῆκτωρος καὶ ἐπιτρόπων πρὸς τοὺς διδασκάλους τῆς 10ης Φεβρουαρίου καὶ 1ης Ἀπριλίου 1828” [Various instructions from the director and trustees to the teachers, 10th February and 1st April, 1828]. This source, which remains unpublished, is preserved in the Zavičajni Muzej Zemuna (local muzeum of the town of Zemun) registration no. K. 75 and consists of 6 numbered folios which are written only in recto. The folio which interests us here is the one under no. 2r. (Hereafter: *ZMZ*, *Διάφοροι διαταγαὶ διρῆκτωρος*).

of this latter school, the senior, was called the "Greek teacher" and had to guide the under-teacher in his teaching work and see generally to the harmonious functioning of both stages of the studies, namely, of all the Ellinomou-seion of Zemun<sup>23</sup>. This is what the term "Greek teacher" meant and in this position Georgios Auxentiadis was appointed by the Greek colony of Zemun in September 1794.

Auxentiadis' annual salary was fixed at 500 florins (800 piastres). Besides this he was granted free accommodation and heating<sup>24</sup>.

Under such conditions, then, and having as assistant, the under-teacher Dimitrios Argyriou from Thrace<sup>25</sup>, Georgios Auxentiadis undertook the job of educating the Greek and other pupils who studied at the Greek school of Zemun.

The lessons which were taught at this school present special interest to the researcher. Specifically, the pupils of the first stages of studies were obliged to take the following subjects: 1. Knowledge of the letters. 2. Spelling from the alphabet primer. 3. Reading from the alphabet primer. 4. Calligraphy. 5. Learning by heart from the *Catechism*. 6. Arithmetic. 7. Principles of Grammar. 8. The learning by heart of words from Greek into Old Slavonic<sup>26</sup>. For this last lesson the pupils were also provided in 1803 with a valuable aid, namely, the *Ῥωμαϊκοσλαβωνικὸν Λεξικὸν* [Modern Greek-Slavonic Dictionary], which was written by the erudite Greek, Georgios Zachariadis<sup>27</sup>.

The following subjects were taught to the students at the second stage of studies: 1. *Catechism*. Here, however, this lesson was not taught as it had been during the first stage of studies. That is, it was not sufficient for the students to learn it by heart only: the teacher explained the lesson to them in detail in Modern Greek, Serbian, and German. 2. The etymological part of Grammar. 3. The Syntax of all the parts of speech. 4. Arithmetic. 5. History. 6. Geography. 7. Ancient Greek Writers. 8. Rhetoric.<sup>28</sup>

As can be seen, the Greek school of Zemun had taken care to cover the

23. *Φιλολογικὸς Τηλέγραφος*, year 1820, no. 6, column 52.

24. Economidou, *Ἐπιστολαὶ διαφόρων*, p. 23. Cf. Soppron, *Monographie von Semlin*, p. 426. Popović, *O cincarina*, p. 220. Radovanović, *Iz kulturne istorije Zemuna*, p. 149.

25. Popović, *O cincarina*, p. 319.

26. *Φιλολογικὸς Τηλέγραφος*, year 1820, no. 20, column 159. ZMZ, *Διάφοροι διαταγαὶ διδασκῶντος*, fol. 4<sup>r</sup>, 5<sup>r</sup>.

27. For details of this dictionary see Papadrianos, "Der griechische Gelehrte Georgios Zachariadis", pp. 84-86.

28. *Φιλολογικὸς Τηλέγραφος*, year 1820, no. 11, column 57; no. 20, column 157. Popović, *O cincarina*, p. 242. Em. Turczynski, *Die deutsch-griechischen Kulturbeziehungen bis zur Berufung König Ottos*, München 1959, p. 83. Vacalopoulos, *History of Macedonia*, p. 392.

linguistic needs also of those pupils who were not of Greek origin. Specifically, the learning by heart of words from the Greek language into old Slavonic which was done by the pupils of the first school, and the detailed explanation of the Catechism lesson in Serbian and German which the teacher of the second school gave to his pupils, aimed at fulfilling the above-mentioned needs: to help the foreign pupils thoroughly learn the Greek language.

The thorough learning of Greek by the Balkan Slavs was imposed, apart from other considerations, for the following serious reason: the economy of the Balkan countries, and especially trade, during the years with which we are concerned here, was for the most part in Greek hands<sup>29</sup>. Thus, those Slavs of the Balkans who knew Greek would be better able to serve their economic interests. However, the means for learning the Greek language well were scanty, but with the establishment of the two lessons mentioned above the Greek school of Zemun was able to fill a part of this vacuum. And exactly here, we believe, lies the contribution of the Greek school of Zemun to the education of its Slavic pupils, both when Georgios Auxentiadis was headmaster, and later.

Side by side with this, however, the Greek children, too, profited from the teaching of the two lessons, of the learning by heart, that is, of words from Greek into old Slavonic, and the detailed exegesis of the Catechism in Serbian and German. Concretely, the Greek children were helped in learning the languages of the Balkan Slavs; that is, of those people who would comprise the chief customers of their commercial businesses<sup>30</sup>. The same applied to German, which was the official language of the state in which they were living.

Georgios Auxentiadis would teach at the Ellinomouseion of Zemun until the year 1798<sup>31</sup>, and then would again occupy himself with commerce, working in partnership with Georgios Patzis from Ambelakia<sup>32</sup>. Finally, however, Auxentiadis would leave Zemun and settle in Vienna. Unfortunately, the information which we derive from the sources which have been preserved do not provide us with the exact date of his departure for the Austrian

29. Concerning the contribution of the Greeks to the economic life of the Balkan peoples during the 18th century and the first half of the 19th century see Popović, *O cinca-rima*, p. 110, et seq.

30. See *Gradja iz zemunskih arhiva*, Vols. 1-3, passim.

31. See *Φιλολογικός Τηλέγραφος*, year 1820, no. 6, column 52. Cf. Evangelidis, *Ἡ παιδεία ἐπὶ τουρκοκρατίας*, vol. 2, p. 380. Turczynski, *Die deutsch-griechischen Kulturbeziehungen*, p. 83.

32. Economou, *Ἐπιστολαὶ διαφόρων*, p. 55. Concerning Georgios Patzis, partner of Auxentiadis, we know he was one of the first commissioners of the Greek brotherhood's school in Zemun (see *Φιλολογικός Τηλέγραφος*, year 1820, no. 6, column 47).

capital. At all events, a letter which his friend, Constantine Koumas, sent to him in Zemun on 2nd June, 1802<sup>33</sup>, can be considered as an approximate terminus post quem of the event. Georgios Auxentiadis would live in Vienna until 1813, which was also the year of his death<sup>34</sup>.

Aside from the activity of Georgios Auxentiadis as Greek teacher at the Ellinomouseion of Zemun we think it opportune here to touch upon another aspect of his life: his relationship, that is, with his Turkish-held homeland.

Auxentiadis' arrival in Zemun and his acquaintance with the educational systems which had been adopted in this town, as in the other areas of Austro-Hungary, produced in him great disillusionment and deep sorrow for the condition which the schools of Turkish-held Greece were in. He expressed these feelings of his in a clear manner in a letter which he sent from Zemun on 30th September, 1793, to his friend and former schoolfellow, Constantine Koumas, in Larissa.

«Ὁ ἔδῳ τόπος τῆς Εὐρώπης», he writes to him, «μέ τήν διάβασιν τοῦ χρόνου, μοι ἀρέσει πολλά, ὥστε ὁποῦ πλὴν τῶν φίλων τὰ αὐτόσε λοιπὰ μοι φαίνονται διὰ κόλασιν. Εἶδον καί τήν ἐπιστροφήν τοῦ Κωνσταντίνου Ἀναγνώστου, τοῦ συγκελλιῶτου μου, τῷ ὁποίῳ δὸς δι' ὑμετέρας αὐδῆς τήν φιλικήν πρόσρησιν. Λυποῦμαι λυποῦμαι πολλά ὄχι διότι χάνει ἔξοδα, ἀλλά διατι χάνει ἡλικίαν, τὸ τιμιώτατον καὶ πολυτελέστατον, εἰς αὐτὰ τὰ βρωμοσχολεῖα καὶ δὲν σηκώνεται νὰ ἔλθῃ ἐδῶ εἰς τὴν Εὐρώπην, διὰ νὰ ἀνοίξῃ τὰ ὀμμάτιά του μέ διάφορα εἶδη μαθήσεων. Ἔτσι καὶ ἓνα παιδί ἀπὸ τὴν Φιλιππούπολιν πρὸ τριῶν χρόνων ἐσπούδαζεν εἰς τὸ ἐν Τζαριτζάνῃ Κωνσταντῖνον τὸν γνωστὸν καὶ ἐν σκότει διεπορεύετο. Μετὰ ταῦτα ἀφείξῃ τὰ σχολεῖα τῆς Ρούμελης, τὰ ὁποῖα εἶναι μαρῖα τῶν Εὐρωπαϊῶν, ἤλθεν εἰς Βιένναν κάκεῖ, εἰς τρεῖς χρόνους, ἐξέμαθε διαλέκτους διαφόρους, νέμτζικην, ἰταλικήν, σέρβικην, φραντζέζικην, τὴν τὰ κομψὰ λαρυγγίζουσιν. Ἐπάνω εἰς αὐτὴν ἐδιδάχθη καὶ ἐπιστήμας, λογικὴν, φυσικὰ μέ τὴν πείραν, μεταφυσικὰ καὶ λοιπὰ, καὶ τῶρα, τὰς παρελθούσας, κατέβη ἀπ' ἐδῶ διὰ πατρίδα».

“This part of Europe”, he writes to him, “with the passing of time, pleases me much, for this reason save for my friends in our country everything else seems to me like hell. I also saw the return of Constantine Anagnostis<sup>35</sup>, my roommate, to whom give friendly regards in person. I am extremely sorry, not because he wastes his money, but because he squanders his years, the

33. Economou, *Ἐπιστολαὶ διαφόρων*, pp. 82-83.

34. *Φιλολογικὸς Τηλέγραφος*, year 1820, no. 6, column 46. Economou, *Ἐπιστολαὶ διαφόρων*, p. ρδ'. Cf. Evangelidis, *Ἡ παιδεία ἐπὶ τουρκοκρατίας*, vol. 2, p. 380.

35. It concerns Constantine Anagnostis Voliotis, fellow-pupil of Auxentiadis and Koumas at the school of Ioannis Pezaros (see Economou, *Ἐπιστολαὶ διαφόρων*, pp. νη', 25).



most precious and fruitful, in these *vile schools*<sup>36</sup> and does not rouse himself to come here in Europe and open his eyes by various kinds of knowledge. Thus, three years ago, a child from Philippoupolis studied under the well-known Constantine<sup>37</sup> of Tsaritsani and proceeded in darkness. After this he left the schools of Roumeli which are moronic to the European way of thinking and came to Vienna, and there in three years he mastered various languages: German, Italian, Serbian and French. In this last language he was taught sciences, logic, physics with experiments, metaphysics and so on, and now, the other day, he has left for his country”<sup>38</sup>.

Between the schools of Turkish-held Greece and the schools of the different regions of Austro-Hungary unquestionably no comparison can be made. We think, however, that the above judgements of Georgios Auxentiadis about the schools of his Turkish-held homeland are excessive. It seems that Auxentiadis was literally dazzled by the above educational systems which had been adopted in the various districts of the Hapsburg Empire and because of this made the severe judgements on the schools which were operating in the Turkish-held Greece. The truth, however, is that amongst these latter schools there were a number which, in spite of multiple obstacles, rendered valuable service to the enslaved race of Greeks<sup>39</sup>. Besides, Georgios Auxentiadis himself acknowledged the excellent work done by the school of Tirnavos in Thessaly that had as headmaster his teacher, Ioannis Pezaros<sup>40</sup>.

36. The underlining is mine.

37. Most probably it concerns the doctor, Constantine Zachariadis-Nosimachos, who taught in Tsaritsani during the years 1785-1790 (see Economou, *Ἐπιστολαὶ διαφόρων*, p. ρθ'. Evangelidis, *Ἡ παιδεία ἐπὶ τουρκοκρατίας*, Vol. I, Athens 1936, p. 220). Very much light is thrown on the life of Zachariadis-Nosimachos by the many letters which he sent to and received from various personalities known to him (see Economou, *Ἐπιστολαὶ διαφόρων*, pp. 47-48, 51, 96-97, 107, 119-126, 129-131, 156-157, 199-201).

38. Economou, *Ἐπιστολαὶ διαφόρων*, p. 10.

39. See Pararikas, *Σχεδίασμα*, passim. Evangelidis, *Ἡ παιδεία ἐπὶ τουρκοκρατίας*, vols. 1-2, passim.

40. In such a manner he wrote in a letter to his friend, Constantine Koumas, on 16th October, 1794, from Zemun to Larissa, the following: «Ὁ λόγος μου εἶναι ὅτι κατὰ τοῦ Ἰωάννου (τοῦ Πεζάρου) μὴ εἶπες ποτέ κατηγορίαν, ἀλλὰ στέφον αὐτόν ἐγκωμίων ἀνθεσιν, ὅτι αὐτός, καὶ οἱ ὅμοιοί του σπάνιοι, τὸ γε νῦν βαστοῦσιν εἰς τὴν περιφημον μῆποτε, τάλαιναν δὲ τὰ νῦν Ἑλλάδα, τὴν μάθησιν, ἥτις μικροῦ δεῖν κινδενεῦει νὰ ἐκλείψῃ ἀκυράτω πτερῶ καὶ νὰ ἀφήσῃ τὸ ἀθλιώτατον γένος μας εἰς τὸ βαθύτατον σκότος τῆς ἀμαθείας, φεῦ τῆς δυστυχίας. Στοχάσου τὰ περὶξ μέρη μας, ἐπίβλεπον εἰς τὰς γωνίας πάσας, καὶ θέλεις ἰδῆ εἰς τὸ παχύτατον σκότος τῆς ἀπαιδευσίας, νὰ λάμπῃ ἀπὸ κἀνένα ἀμαυρὸν καὶ μικρόστομον λυχνίδιον μετὰ διψαλέου θρυαλλιδίου, παραφυὰς τοῦ Ἰωάννου, ὅπου νὰ φορῆ τὴν προσωπίδα τῶν περιφημῶν ἀπογόνων μας Ἑλλήνων». “My opinion is never to accuse Ioannis [Pezaros] but on the contrary to make the best praise because he and a few others

Georgios Auxentiadis, as we saw above, tried to give to his friend and former schoolfellow, Constantine Koumas, information about the schools which were operating in various provinces of the Hapsburg Empire. Apart from this he undertook to explain to him at the same time what were *αἱ ἐφημερίδες* [the newspapers] that were published in Vienna. In this way, amongst other things, he explained that the collecting of many newspapers forms the basis for the writing of historical works<sup>41</sup>. These recommendations of Georgios Auxentiadis to Constantine Koumas were not without result. For, in fact, Koumas, when later he would decide to write his historical work,

like him conserve education in the now miserable Greece which, however, in the past was famous. This education has been in great danger and only needs a little to disappear and leave our race in the deepest dark of ignorance, alas! Think of our surroundings, be observant in every place and you will see in the thickest darkness of illiteracy a shine from a small, black candle with a thirsty wick, offshoot of Ioannis [Pezaros] wearing the mask of our famous Greek descendants” (see Economou, *Ἐπιστολαὶ διαφόρων*, p. 27).

41. «Αἱ γαζέταις», he writes to him in a letter of 15th January, 1794, «ὅπου ἐρωτᾷς τι εἶναι, αἱ ὅποια ὀνομάζονται καὶ νοβέλαις καὶ ἐφημερίδες καὶ τζαϊτούνκια, ἀπὸ τοῦ τζαΐτ, ὃ δηλοῖ τὸν καιρὸν γερμανιστί, εἶναι ὅπου τυπώνονται εἰς Βιέννην ἀπὸ ἐπὶ ταυτοῦ ἀνθρώπων, καὶ περιέχουσι κάθε πρᾶγμα ὅπου γίνεται νέον εἰς ὄλην τὴν Εὐρώπην καὶ Τουρκίαν καί, ὡς εἰπεῖν, εἰς ὄλην τὴν οἰκουμένην καί, ὅστις ἀγαπᾷ καὶ εἶναι φιλομαθῆς τῶν νέων πραγμάτων, περὶ τε πολέμων καὶ ἄλλων συμβεβηκότων, πληρώνει δέκα τέσσερα φιορίνια τὸν χρόνον καὶ τῷ στέλλονται δις τῆς ἑβδομάδος... Ἐκ τῶν αὐτῶν τῶν ἐφημερίδων ἡμπορεῖ νὰ συμπεράνη τινὰς, ὅτι γίνονται καὶ τὰ ἱστορικὰ συγγράμματα, ἐπειδὴ εἶναι συλλογὴ πολλῶν ἐφημερίδων ὅπου διαλαμβάνουσιν ἢ περὶ μόνων πολέμων ἢ περὶ ἄλλων ὑποθέσεων, ὡσάν ὅπου εἶναι ἀνάγκη νὰ γραφῆ ἕκαστὸν ἐκεί κάθε νεωτέρισμα».

“*The gazettes*”, he writes to him in a letter of 15th January, 1794, “when you ask what are these things that are called also *novels* and *ephemerides* and *tzaitounkia* from *Zeit*—which means time in German—I have to tell you that they are printed by specialist in Vienna. These gazettes include everything that happens in the whole of Europe and Turkey, or, rather, universally. Someone who is fond of learning news about wars and other happenings can pay fourteen florins a year and the gazettes are sent to him twice a week... From these newspapers some can conclude that the historical writings are based, since these constitute a collection of a great number of newspapers dealing either only with wars or with other affairs and in which it is necessary that every new current event is written about” (see Economou, *Ἐπιστολαὶ διαφόρων*, p. 17).

Seven months later, on 24th July, 1794, Auxentiadis again mentioned the importance of newspapers as a historical source and he wrote the following to his friend, Koumas: «Ἐγὼ τί νὰ σᾶς εἰπῶ, ἴσως ἀξιοῦσθε τῆς ἀναγνώσεως τῶν γαζέτων, αἱ ὅποια εἰσὶ πλήρεις νέων, καὶ μάλιστα τοῦ Φραντζίεζικοῦ πολέμου, ὃ ὅποιος ἐγίνε ὁ πολυθρήλητος (sic) τῶν ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ καὶ καθημερινῶς γίνεται». (When the passage was given we slightly corrected the spelling and punctuation of the original. The underlining of certain phrases of the text was done by us).

“What can I say to you, you perhaps have the opportunity of reading these gazettes which are full of news, particularly of the French war which became universally well known and continues to be so every day” (see Economou, *Ἐπιστολαὶ διαφόρων*, p. 21).

† ΓΕΩΡΓΙΟΣ	Αιωνία σο' ἀμάρτια	Καταρράδες
† ΙΩΑΝΝΟΣ	Αιωνία σου ἀμάρτια	Μοσχισόςεις.
† ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΣ	Αιωνία σο' ἀμάρτια	Κοινοτάτος
† ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΣ	Αιωνία σο' ἀμάρτια	Κοινοτάτος
† ΧΡΙΣΤΟΥ	Αιωνία σο' ἀμάρτια	Καταρράδες
† ΣΤΑΘΙΑΣ	Αιωνία σο' ἀμάρτια	Συμβίσις του Δόγμα 5 <sup>ου</sup> Σ <sup>τ</sup> Κρισεύρας
† ΚΑΛΛΙΝΗΣ	Αιωνία σου ἀμάρτια	Συμβίσις του Δόγμα 5 <sup>ου</sup> Σ <sup>τ</sup> Κρισεύρας
† ΓΕΩΡΓΙΟΣ	Αιωνία σου ἀμάρτια	Κοινοτάτος
† ΣΤΕΦΑΝΟΣ	Αιωνία σο' ἀμάρτια	Κοινοτάτος
† ΜΙΧΑΗΛ	Αιωνία σου ἀμάρτια	Κοινοτάτος

Mention of the birthplace of Georgios Auxentiadis (third from bottom).

See Βιβλίον τῶν μνημονευομένων τεθνηκότων, fol. 4r.



would be supported chiefly by the material which he would draw from the newspapers of his epoch<sup>42</sup>. Thus, we think that we shall not be exaggerating if we assert that Georgios Auxentiadis was the person who showed to Constantine Koumas the first steps in his historical researches.

Georgios Auxentiadis' interest in his Turkish-held homeland was warmly maintained until the last moment of his life. Thus, in his will he directed that his library should go to the schools of a neighbouring town of his birthplace, to Siatista. We are informed of this fact by the letters of thanks, which were sent in February 1818 to his brother and testator Dimitrios, who lived in Pest, by the bishop of Siatista Ioannikios and the trustees of the schools of Siatista<sup>43</sup>.

The question, however, is raised: Why did Georgios Auxentiadis not present his library to the school of his birthplace, Zoupani, which had already been functioning since the middle of the eighteenth century?<sup>44</sup>. Unfortunately, Auxentiadis did not judge it necessary in his will to mention the reasons that led him to decide to present his books to the library of the schools of Siatista and not to the school in his birthplace. But in spite of this, I do not think we shall be far from the truth if we give the following interpretation to the event: We know that the library of Siatista, the original core of which was raised in the middle of the seventeenth century, during the time of Georgios Auxentiadis, had many books, was well organized and was widely known<sup>45</sup>. In all probability, then, Auxentiadis would have considered it more useful to donate his books to an already formed library, as was that of Siatista, than to the small school of his birthplace<sup>46</sup> for which, besides, we do not know if there was even a rudimentary library.

42. Cf. Economou, *Ἐπιστολαὶ διαφόρων*, pp. ρδ'-ρε' where M. Papaioannou's views are to be found.

43. See the periodical *Ἐρμῆς ὁ Λόγιος*, year 1818, no. 16, pp. 466-468.

44. See relevant "memories" of the years 1755-1768 in Mih. Ath. Kalinderi's work, *Γραπτὰ μνημεῖα ἀπὸ τὴν Δοτ. Μακεδονίαν χρόνων τουρκοκρατίας* [Written memorials from Western Macedonia for the years of the Turkish occupation], Ptolemais 1940, p. 39. Cf. Stephanos I. Papadopoulos, *Ἐκπαιδευτικὴ καὶ κοινωνικὴ δραστηριότητα τοῦ Ἑλληνισμοῦ τῆς Μακεδονίας κατὰ τὸν τελευταῖο αἰῶνα τῆς τουρκοκρατίας* [Education and social activity of the Greeks of Macedonia during the last century of the Turkish occupation], Thessaloniki 1970, p. 187.

45. See Georgios Bondas, "Μανούσειος Βιβλιοθήκη Σιατίστης" [Manouseios Library of Siatista], *Μακεδονικὴ Ζωὴ* 8 (January 1967), p. 40. Cf. the book *Γνωριμία μὲ τὸν νομὸν Κοζάνης* [Acquaintance with the prefecture of Kozani], Thessaloniki 1970, pp. 256-258.

46. In all probability the school functioning then in the birthplace of Auxentiadis, in Zoupani, was a simple γραμματοδιδασκαλεῖον, namely Letter-teaching school (see also the views of Stephanos Papadopoulos, *Ἐκπαιδευτικὴ καὶ κοινωνικὴ δραστηριότητα*, p. 187).

Characteristic is the comment written about Georgios Auxentiadis in the periodical *Ἐρμῆς ὁ Λόγιος* on the occasion of the above-mentioned will. We quote an extract from this comment here:

«Λόγιος ὢν ὁ μακαρίτης καὶ φιλογενῆς ὅταν ἔζη, λογίως καὶ φιλογενῶς τφόντι ἔπραξε κατ' αὐτὴν τὴν τελευταίαν τῆς ζωῆς του στιγμὴν, δωρούμενος τὴν βιβλιοθήκην του ὄχι εἰς ἓνα συγγενῆ, ὄχι εἰς ἓνα φίλον, ἀλλ' εἰς κοινὴν τῶν συμπατριωτῶν του χρῆσιν. Ὁ κοινὸς πατήρ καὶ σεβάσμιος Ἀρχιερεὺς εὐχεται μετὰ τῶν πολιτῶν τῆς Σιατίστης πρὸς Κύριον ὑπὲρ τῆς ψυχῆς αὐτοῦ, καὶ οἱ ἀμέσως ὠφελούμενοι ἀπὸ τὰ βιβλία αὐτοῦ μνημονεύουσιν εὐγνωμόνως συχνάκις τὸ ὄνομά του, ἐπαινοῦσι δὲ καὶ τὸν (ἐν Πέστη τῆς Οὐγγαρίας διατριβόντα) ἐπαίων ἄξιον τφόντι ἀδελφὸν τοῦ μακαρίτου διὰ τὴν πιστὴν ἐκπλήρωσιν τῆς ἐσχάτης ἐκείνου θελήσεως».

“The deceased was learned and patriotic when living and truly acted wisely and patriotically during the last moment of his life, giving his library not to a relative, not to a friend, but for the common use of his compatriots. Our common Father and venerable Prelate [bishop Ioannikios] prays with the citizens of Siatista to God for his soul, and the beneficiaries from his books, often remembering gratefully his name, and they also praise the brother—who is worth praising—of the deceased [the brother lived in Pest in Hungary] for faithfully fulfilling the latter’s last will”<sup>47</sup>.

With the account of the life and work of Georgios Auxentiadis given above as a basis we are able to conclude with the following observations: 1) Education in certain parts of Turkish-held Greece, in spite of manifold difficulties, was fairly developed: Tirnavos in Thessalia, in the school of which Auxentiadis studied, was such an example. 2) The wide intellect of Georgios Auxentiadis was impressive, and helped him to understand the more advanced educational systems which had been adopted in the various provinces of the Hapsburg Empire, and to distinguish immediately the difference that existed between these systems and those which were applied in his native Turkish-held land. 3) The intellectual activity of the Greeks of diaspora was not confined only to people of that race but was extended to the inhabitants of the places in which the Greeks had settled. Thus, by various means, such as their school, the publishing of dictionaries etc., the Greeks living abroad helped the other nationalities (Serbs, Bulgarians, etc.) to learn Greek, while at the same time they themselves made the attempt to learn the languages spoken in the environments where they were living. 4) The intense interest of the Greeks living abroad to maintain close ties with their Turkish-held homeland and to assist it: Georgios Auxentiadis, who kept up a frequent correspondence

47. *Ἐρμῆς ὁ Λόγιος*, year 1818, no. 16, p. 468.

with his friends who were living in Turkish-held Greece and who donated his books to the library of the town of Siatista, was a living example of this.

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